

ETHICAL CRITIQUE OF POLIGAMY IN THE EARLY 20th CENTURY JAVANESE MANUSCRIPT *ALAKIRABI WAYUH KALIYAN BOTÊN*

**Iin Nur Zulaili^{1*}, Muhammad Khodafi², Muchamad Saiful
Muluk³, Moh. Iqbal Nafi⁴, and Ahmad Nabil Nasyir⁵**

^{1,2}*Sunan Ampel State Islamic University Surabaya, Indonesia*

³*Putra Sang Fajar State Community Academy Blitar, Indonesia*

⁴*Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University Yogyakarta, Indonesia*

⁵*Al-Azhar University Cairo, Egypt*

*¹Corresponding e-mail: iin.nur.zulaili@uinsa.ac.id

Received: 07-05-2025 | Revised: 07-10-2025 | Accepted: 31-12-2025

ABSTRACT

This study examines domestic ethics and moral reflections on polygamy in the early twentieth-century Javanese piwulang manuscript *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Botên* (AWKB). Previous research on Javanese household teachings has predominantly emphasized women's duties and obedience, leaving the moral responsibilities of husbands and the ethical consequences of polygamy largely unaddressed. This study fills that gap by analyzing AWKB as a rare textual source that articulates internal criticism of polygamy within the Javanese intellectual tradition. The research uses a descriptive analytical method based on philological data sourced from the digitized AWKB manuscript written in Javanese script and language. The manuscript was transliterated, paraphrased, and translated, followed by interpretive analysis using Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutic framework to contextualize its ethical messages. The findings show three key insights. First, AWKB presents implicit criticism of polygamy by highlighting the husband's inability to maintain material and emotional justice among wives. Second, the text emphasizes maturity, economic preparedness, and honesty as essential foundations for marital stability. Third, AWKB reframes domestic ethics by shifting moral responsibility from women's obedience toward the husband's ethical accountability. These findings contribute to Javanese philological studies by revealing an understudied moral discourse that challenges normative assumptions about gender roles in traditional household teachings. The study concludes that AWKB offers a culturally grounded critique of polygamy and provides a valuable ethical perspective for contemporary discussions on marital justice and family well-being.

Keywords: Household Ethics, Javanese Manuscript, Polygamy, Philological Study, Ricoeur Hermeneutics.

ABSTRAK

Kajian terhadap naskah-naskah Jawa yang memuat ajaran berumah tangga umumnya lebih menekankan kewajiban istri, sementara panduan moral dan tanggung jawab suami terutama dalam konteks poligami masih relatif terabaikan. Naskah Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Botĕn (AWKB) sebuah teks piwulang Jawa awal abad ke-20, memuat ajaran moral mengenai kehidupan keluarga yang menyoroti relasi suami-istri dalam konteks poligami. Namun, naskah ini relatif belum dikaji secara mendalam dalam studi filologi dan hermeneutika keagamaan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji ajaran berumah tangga dalam naskah AWKB dengan fokus pada tanggung jawab moral suami serta implikasi sosial dan psikologis poligami terhadap perempuan. Secara spesifik, penelitian ini mengungkap pandangan naskah terhadap keadilan, kejujuran, dan kesejahteraan dalam kehidupan keluarga. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif-analitik dengan teknik studi pustaka. Data bersumber dari naskah AWKB beraksara dan berbahasa Jawa yang telah dialihaksarakan, kemudian dianalisis melalui pendekatan filologi dan teori hermeneutika Paul Ricoeur untuk menafsirkan makna teks secara kontekstual dan historis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa naskah AWKB memuat kritik implisit terhadap praktik poligami, terutama terkait ketidakmampuan suami untuk berlaku adil secara lahir dan batin. Teks ini juga menegaskan pentingnya kematangan usia, kesiapan ekonomi, serta kejujuran sebagai fondasi utama dalam membangun rumah tangga yang harmonis. Secara teoretis, penelitian ini berkontribusi pada kajian filologi Jawa dengan memperluas perspektif tentang ajaran keluarga yang tidak semata berorientasi pada kepatuhan istri, tetapi juga menempatkan tanggung jawab moral suami sebagai pusat etika rumah tangga.

Kata Kunci: *Etika Keluarga, Naskah Jawa, Poligami, Studi Filologi, Hermeneutika Ricoeur.*

INTRODUCTION

Household ethics and marital conduct have long been central themes in classical Javanese literature, reflecting broader cultural expectations regarding gender roles, domestic responsibilities, and moral order. Across various regions of Indonesia, ancient manuscripts preserve teachings that articulate ideals of

family life, moral discipline, and social harmony, written in languages such as Malay, Batak, Sundanese, Balinese, Javanese, Lampung, Bugis, and Madurese. These texts serve as repositories of cultural memory and provide insight into historical conceptions of marriage, domestic authority, and interpersonal obligations. Philological research therefore plays an important role in preserving these intellectual traditions and enabling contemporary readers to understand the values embedded within them, despite the perception that philology is an obscure or unappealing discipline.¹

Within the Javanese context, teachings on household management appear in several well-known manuscripts. Mirya Anggraeni and Suyanto's study of *Serat Wulang Reh Putri* describes expectations that a wife obey her husband, respect him, and serve him faithfully.² An Nisa Lestyana's analysis of *Serat Warayagnya* and *Serat Darmawasita* emphasizes the importance of selecting a wife with the qualities of *bobot*, *bebet*, *bibit*, and *tariman*, and maintaining household harmony through attitudes such as *sumawita*, *manut*, *condong raos*, and *rumekso*.³ Djoko Pitoyo's work on *Serat Darmawasita* highlights moral teachings that require women to care for children, relatives, servants, and even co-wives.⁴ Ranggawarsita's *Serat Candrarini* further instructs women to manage themselves and their households while safeguarding the family's reputation.⁵ Other teachings,

¹ Muhammad Ali Said, "Ajaran Wanita Jawa Dalam Serat Wulang Reh Putri Karya Paku Buwana X" (Skripsi, Bahasa dan Sastra Jawa, Fakultas Bahasa dan Seni Universitas Negeri Semarang, 2019), 83.

² Mirya Anggraeni dan Suyanto, "Ajaran Tentang Bakti Istri Kepada Suami Dalam Serat Wulang Reh Putri," *Jurnal Nusa*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (2017), <https://ejournal.undip.ac.id/index.php/nusa/article/download/15677/11732>.

³ An Nisa Lestyana, "Etika Perkawinan Menurut Mangkunegara IV (Dalam Serat Warayagnya Dan Darmawasita)" (Skripsi, Fakultas Ushuluddin dan Pemikiran Islam, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta 2015), 9-10.

⁴ Djoko Pitoyo, "Ajaran Moral Berumah Tangga Dalam Serat Darmawasita Karya K.G.P.A.A. Mangkunagoro IV." *Jurnal Filsafat*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (2009), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22146/jf.3436>.

⁵ Indraswari Pikatan, "Ajaran Berumah Tangga Dalam Serat Candrarini Karya Ranggawarsita (Tinjauan Sosiologi Sastra)," *Penelitian*

such as those in *Serat Wulang Reh Putri* by Pakubuwana X, encourage women to accept the possibility of their husbands taking additional wives.⁶ These teachings, however, must be reconsidered in the present day, particularly regarding polygamy. Wahbah Az-Zuhayli argues that monogamy is the ideal marital arrangement, while polygamy is permissible only under specific and urgent circumstances.⁷

Other teachings, such as those in *Serat Wulang Reh Putri* by Pakubuwana X, encourage women to accept the possibility of their husbands taking additional wives.⁸ While such expectations were common in the past, their relevance today requires careful consideration, particularly regarding polygamy. Sheikh Wahbah Az-Zuhayli argues that monogamy is the ideal marital arrangement and that polygamy should be practiced only under specific and urgent circumstances.⁹ Islamic teachings on the reasons for the revelation of polygamy rules are detailed in the *Asbabun Nuzul*, yet Surah An Nisa verse 129 underscores the difficulty of achieving fairness in polygamous households.

Although these studies provide valuable insights into Javanese domestic ethics, they share several limitations. Existing research tends to emphasize normative morality and domestic obligations, often positioning women as subjects of obedience and men as figures of authority, without critically addressing relational inequality, justice, or the moral consequences of polygamy. Moreover, none of the previous studies examine the *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Botën* (AWKB) manuscript, despite its significance as a *wulang* text that offers an internal critique of

Humaniora, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2012): hlm. 42–48, <https://publikasiilmiah.ums.ac.id/xmlui/handle/11617/4455>.

⁶ Muhammad Ali Said, “Ajaran Wanita Jawa Dalam Serat Wulang Reh Putri Karya Paku Buwana X.”, 83.

⁷ Alhafiz Kurniawan, “Hukum Asal Poligami Yang Kerap Dipelintir Dalam Islam,” dalam <https://nu.or.id/bahtsul-masail/hukum-asal-poligami-yang-kerap-dipelintir-dalam-islam-la6m7> diakses pada tanggal 8 Januari 2024 pukul 20.46 WIB.

⁸ Muhammad Ali Said, “Ajaran Wanita Jawa Dalam Serat Wulang Reh Putri Karya Paku Buwana X.”, 83.

⁹ Alhafiz Kurniawan, “Hukum Asal Poligami Yang Kerap Dipelintir Dalam Islam.”

polygamy within the Javanese tradition. The AWKB manuscript reveals the impossibility of achieving fairness in polygamous households, the psychological suffering experienced by women, and the moral deterioration that may arise from unequal marital arrangements.¹⁰ This gap underscores the need for further research on household teachings in lesser-studied manuscripts.

Given these considerations, further research on manuscripts that discuss household procedures is necessary. Ancient manuscripts contain moral and social teachings that can inform the future of Indonesian family life.¹¹ These manuscripts are found throughout Indonesia and are written in various regional languages, including Malay, Batak, Sundanese, Balinese, Javanese, Lampung, Bugis, and Madurese. The present study focuses on a manuscript written in Javanese script and language.

A review of existing literature shows that no previous study has examined household procedures in the *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Botên* (AWKB) manuscript. Although several works have explored household teachings in Javanese literature, including those by Mirya Anggraeni and Suyanto, Djoko Pitoyo, An Nisa Lestyana, and Indraswari Pikatan, these studies generally emphasize domestic ethics and normative morality without critically addressing relational inequality, justice, or the moral implications of polygamy. The AWKB manuscript is therefore significant because it offers an internal critique of polygamy within the Javanese tradition by highlighting the impossibility of marital fairness, the psychological suffering of women, and the moral deterioration that may occur in polygamous households.

The AWKB manuscript, written in Javanese script using Old and Modern Javanese, was composed in 1912 in Batavia. Based on the issues outlined above, this study examines the teachings on household management contained in the AWKB manuscript and situates them within the broader tradition of

¹⁰ Suwarsa (Sandinama), *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Botên* (Semarang: H.A. Benyamin, n.d.), koleksi Yayasan Sastra Lestari, Surakarta, diunggah 2019.

¹¹ Siti Baroroh Baried, et al, *Pengantar Teori Filologi* (Yogyakarta: Badan Penelitian dan Publikasi Fakultas (BPPF), Seksi Filologi, Fakultas Sastra Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1994), 55.

Javanese *wulang* literature. The present study aims to analyze the concept of household management in the AWKB manuscript using a hermeneutic approach. Hermeneutics, as articulated by Paul Ricoeur, provides a framework for interpreting texts by uncovering meaning within specific contexts and recognizing the polysemous nature of language. Ricoeur argues that written discourse possesses autonomy, allowing the text to generate meaning beyond the author's original intention. Dilthey emphasizes the importance of hermeneutics in ensuring the validity of historical interpretation, while Heidegger highlights the role of language in guiding human thought. These perspectives support the use of hermeneutics to interpret the symbolic and moral dimensions of the AWKB manuscript.

This study contributes to scholarship in two significant ways. First, it offers the earliest academic analysis of the AWKB manuscript, thereby filling a clear gap in Javanese literary studies and expanding the corpus of texts examined in relation to household ethics. Second, the study provides a theoretical contribution by demonstrating how hermeneutic interpretation can reveal internal critiques of polygamy within traditional Javanese literature, offering new insights into cultural perspectives on marital justice and domestic well-being. Practically, the findings enrich contemporary discussions on family ethics in Indonesia by showing how historical teachings can inform present-day considerations of fairness, responsibility, and emotional well-being within the household.

METHOD

This study employed a philological and hermeneutic research design to examine the *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Botên* (AWKB) manuscript. The philological method is the most appropriate choice because the research aims to uncover the meaning, structure, and ethical teachings embedded in a historical Javanese text, and philology is the discipline dedicated to studying manuscripts and the cultural values they. Through philology, the researcher can access past worldviews and moral teachings preserved in ancient texts, which is essential given that the AWKB manuscript reflects Javanese perspectives on household

ethics and domestic relations. The hermeneutic framework complements this approach by enabling the interpretation of symbolic meanings and contextual nuances. Ricoeur's hermeneutic principles, particularly the autonomy of written discourse and the polysemous nature of language, guide the interpretive process used to understand the manuscript's moral universe.¹²

The primary data for this study consist of the AWKB manuscript obtained from the digitized collections of the Yayasan Sastra Lestari and the sastra.org platform. A search at the National Library of Indonesia and the Khazanah Pustaka Nusantara confirmed that no other versions of the manuscript exist, so AWKB was treated as a single manuscript. The inclusion criteria required the manuscript to be complete, readable, and available in a digitized form. Manuscripts that were incomplete, damaged, or lacking transcription were excluded. The digital version used in this study had already been transcribed into Latin script, allowing the research to focus on translation, interpretation, and textual analysis. Data collection and processing were conducted between late May and late August 2024. The manuscript's identity, origin, script, language, and physical condition were documented as the foundation for subsequent philological work.

The analytical procedure followed several structured stages. First, the manuscript was described in detail to document its physical and nonphysical characteristics, which served as the basis for textual analysis. Second, transliteration was conducted using standard Javanese-to-Latin spelling conventions, with minor corrections applied only to resolve inconsistencies without altering meaning. Third, text editing, paraphrasing, and translation were carried out in an integrated manner. Text editing used the standard edition method appropriate for a single manuscript, paraphrasing converted archaic expressions into a more communicative narrative form, and translation was conducted contextually from Javanese into Indonesian. The final stage involved

¹² Paul Ricoeur, *From Text to Action: Essays in Hermeneutics, II*, terj. Kathleen Blamey Dan John B. Thompson (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 45.

hermeneutic interpretation, beginning with a dialogical reading that allowed the researcher to engage with the manuscript's worldview. This process followed a hermeneutic arc that moved from structural explanation to deeper understanding, supported by the identification of key symbols that reveal ethical critiques of household practices, particularly polygamy, as depicted in the AWKB manuscript. Throughout the analysis, historical awareness was maintained to avoid anachronistic interpretations and to ensure coherence between the manuscript's original context and contemporary relevance.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Finding

Philological Approach: Description of the *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Boten* Manuscript

The *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Boten* manuscript is stored at the Sastra Lestari Foundation in Surakarta. *Sastra Lestari* is an independent non-profit organization. Since its establishment in 1997 and official incorporation in November 2010, *Sastra Lestari* has been involved in various activities related to the preservation of the languages and cultures of the Indonesian archipelago. In this endeavor, *Sastra Lestari* is actively involved in various language and literature, arts and culture, and educational activities. *Sastra Lestari's* mission is to rescue, preserve, and disseminate regional literary works from the Indonesian archipelago. Over time, *Sastra Lestari* has reproduced rare manuscripts and other writings as digital texts. Digital images are also produced when available so that the reproduced texts can be compared with the originals; an effort to maintain the authenticity of rare manuscripts and other writings.¹³

The *Alakirabi Wayuh kalihan Botên* manuscript (hereinafter abbreviated as AWKB) is a collection of the Sastra Lestari Surakarta Foundation, published by the Soeara printing house, H. A. Benyamin, Semarang. The *Alakirabi* manuscript is a 20th-

¹³ <https://www.sastra.org/tentang>, diakses pada tanggal 02 Juni 2024, pukul 20.05 WIB

century Javanese literary work, written by Suwara (Sandinama) and completed on July 27, 1912, in Batawi (Betawi, DKI Jakarta) in prose form. The *Alakirabi* manuscript has 54 pages consisting of 48 pages of text and 6 blank pages. The physical condition of the manuscript is good and intact. This manuscript is written on browned HVS paper measuring 22.7x14.2 cm (physical manuscript) with text measuring 15.6x9.9 cm.

This manuscript is written in Javanese script and language, but on the cover there are three lines of text in Dutch. The manuscript is part of a series published by the Commissie voor de Volkslectuur (Committee for Popular Reading), volume No. 127. The manuscript itself is still legible and clear, with no scribbles, marginalia, or other markings. In addition, there is a colophon that provides information about the completion of the manuscript, namely “Ing Batawi, kaping: July 27, 1912. Suwara” on the last page of the manuscript. There are no stamps, seals, or ownership marks found on the paper.

Broadly speaking, this manuscript contains information about household procedures and the differences in views between Javanese society and Europeans regarding polygamy and monogamy. Based on its content, this manuscript belongs to the *wulang* literary genre, which are literary works that contain explicit and implicit messages about behavior in society or teachings about achieving perfection in life. *Piwulang* literature is usually composed by authoritative figures in Javanese literary and mythological traditions.¹⁴ As *wulang* literature, the *AWKB* manuscript contains didactic ethical teachings for married couples in building a household, so that harmony, peace, and tranquility can be created in the household, or vice versa.

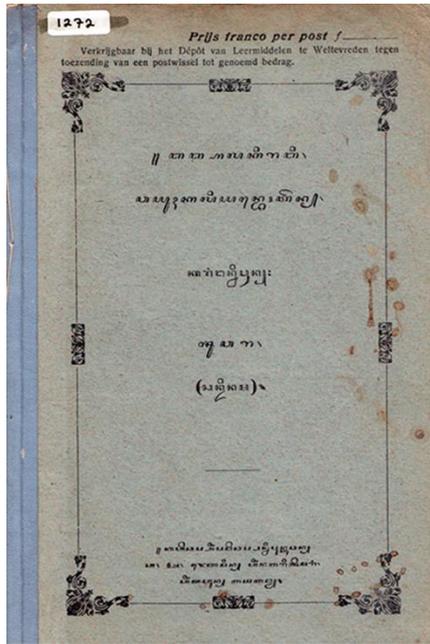
The *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Botên* manuscript is a type of Javanese literature that focuses on family life. Works in this genre consist of stories about the customs surrounding marriage and how to fulfill one's role in marriage. *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Botên* discusses the relationship of a man who has more than one wife. *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Botên* is written in a

¹⁴ Anggraeni dan Suyanto, “Ajaran Tentang Bakti Istri Kepada Suami Dalam Serat Wulang Reh Putri,” 108.

style rich in symbolism and allegory, conveying profound messages and often inviting readers or listeners to reflect on the meaning of life and the purpose of marriage. Works in this genre also often contain moral advice and wisdom that provide guidance for individuals in achieving inner peace and spiritual well-being.

The *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Botên* manuscript, written by Suwara, is a manuscript that falls into the single category. In this context, a single manuscript can be described as a parent manuscript, which will be researched to determine whether there is a familial relationship with other manuscripts. The *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Botên* manuscript is also a rare book. A rare book is a written work that has high historical, cultural, and literary value, as well as a limited number of existing copies. Rare books are often considered treasures for collectors and literature enthusiasts. Obtaining rare books is not easy. The limited number of copies and high demand make them rare and expensive items. Book collectors often conduct intensive searches and travel around the world to find rare and unique copies.

In relation to the titles found in the text *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Botên*, the author has found several references on the website *sastra.org*, as follows figure 1.



(Source: Yayasan Sastra Lestari digital collection
https://www.sastra.org/katalog/judul?ti_id=1272)

Figure 1. Manuscript Cover

Transcription

rijs franco per post f. ____

Verkrijgbaar bij het Dépôt van Leermiddelen te Weltevreden tegen toezending van een postwissel tot genoemd bedrag.

Bab Alakirabi, Wayuh kalihan Botên

Karanganipun:

Suwara

(Sandinama)

Kaêcap ing pangêcapanipun Tuwan H.A. Benyamin, ing nagari Sêmarang, ing taun 1913.

Translation

Postage paid by mail f. ____

Available from the Teaching Materials Depot in Weltevreden upon receipt of a postal order for the aforementioned amount.

Chapter Alakirabi, Wayuh Kalihan Botên

By:

Suwara

(Sandinama)

Printed by Mr. H.A. Benyamin in the city of
Semarang in
1913.

The title listed in the manuscript *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Botên*, written by Suwara, shows significant consistency in its writing style. The website *sastra.org* only includes the cover of the manuscript; the contents have not been digitized and only the physical manuscript is available at the Yayasan Sastra Lestari.

Discussion

Teachings on Marriage in the *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Botên* Manuscript

Javanese society often associates a person's success with what they own, including their occupation. For men, success is based on five things that must be possessed, namely: *wisma* 'house', *turangga* 'horse', *curiga* 'heirloom', *kukila* 'bird', and *wanita* 'wife'.¹⁵ Suwara (Sandinama) in the *AWKB* manuscript describes the teaching for men to think critically when they want to marry young, instead of thinking carefully if they want to practice polygamy.

The story begins with a description of how human children are essentially influenced by the customs of their community, and ideally, the best way is to follow God's commands by working and providing for their families from the fruits of their own labor. When a person reaches adulthood or is old enough to work, it is customary to look for a job for their own future. By getting a good job, happiness in life will follow. If a person has a stable and secure job, then he will be able to provide for and support his children and wife. Furthermore, the rest of his income can be used to save for his old age, as well as to help neighbors or others who are less fortunate. This description is

¹⁵ Atik Triratnawati, "Konsep Dadi Wong Menurut Pandangan Wanita Jawa," *Humaniora*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (2005): 300, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22146/jh.855>.

also reinforced in the *Serat Darmawasita* taught by Mangkunagoro IV, called *Asthagina*.¹⁶

Javanese people are known for helping and giving to one another. Even if someone has a high position but receives little pay for their work, they still cannot refuse gifts from their relatives. However, it is also said that it is not noble if a relative is lazy, ashamed to ask about suitable work, but when given food, they are not ashamed to accept it. They are not even ashamed to accept food from people who are also suffering (in a state of deprivation).

The next story is about a rich man who has three wives, and each of his wives often does not get along with the others. The manuscript describes how a husband will find it difficult to be fair because each wife has her own personality and character. Having many wives has the potential to bring about moral decay for the husband, such as frequently lying to flatter one another, and the time given to each wife will feel unfair.

The depiction of the misery of a man who marries more than one wife is expressed in the following sentence:

Kajawi adat ingkang kasêbut punika, ingkang dados tusing sangsara agêng dhatêng bāngsa kula Jawi: wawênangipun jalêr rabi kalih, tiga, sakawan.

Inkang sapisan: tiyang wayuh punika botên têntrem ing gêsangipun, rabinipun sabên dintên tansah abratayuda, rêbat mênang, sagêda amboyong laknipun, lulusa dados gadhahanipun piyambak, sampun ngantos nolih dhatêng marunipun

Translation:

Except for the custom that is a source of great suffering for my Javanese community: namely, the permissibility for men to marry two, three, or four women.

First: people who practice wayuh (marrying more than one woman/polygamy) do not live peacefully. Their married life is always turbulent, fighting to win, to have their husband, to make him their own, so that he does not give attention to his other wives.

¹⁶ Djoko Pitoyo, "Ajaran Moral Berumah Tangga Dalam Serat Darmawasita Karya K.G.P.A.A Mangkunagoro IV." *Jurnal Filsafat* Vol.19, Nomor. 3, Desember 2009. 220. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jf.3436>.

Her marriage is always turbulent, fighting to win, to have her husband, to be his own, so that he does not give attention to other wives.

The next story depicts women who become second, third, or fourth wives. A wife who becomes a *madu* or young wife (second, third, or fourth wife) is distracted or unfocused on taking care of herself, to the point that she does not eat or sleep, her heart is broken, and her body is thin and emaciated. Her children are also neglected because her heart is often in pain. It is even said that:

...,kathah ingkang pêjah ngênês, trêkadhang ewah budinipun.

Translation:

...many die in misery, sometimes even going mad.

A woman who becomes a second, third, or fourth wife in the past faces various complex and often personal challenges. In terms of social status, second wives are often considered “lower” than first wives. They also often experience discrimination in terms of rights and obligations. As second wives, they also usually experience social pressure from the community or their surroundings. In addition, financial dependence on their husbands makes it difficult for second wives to be independent and have more freedom of choice in life. Furthermore, access to education for women is very limited, making it difficult for second wives to improve their quality of life and fight for their rights.

It is different to be a second wife today, although there are some similarities, such as negative public perceptions of polygamy and the stigma of destroying other people's marriages. Another similarity is competition with the first wife, which can lead to jealousy, personal conflict, and psychological pressure. Furthermore, being a second wife also means the difficulty of building a relationship with stepchildren, especially if they already have a strong bond with their biological mother. However, in today's social media era, the challenges faced by women when becoming second wives depend on cultural, social, and economic factors. There are also stories of second wives living

happily and being well accepted by their first wives and their husbands' extended families.

The Social and Psychological Implications of Polygamy on Women

Over time and with the influence of modernization, Javanese society's view of polygamy has changed. More and more people consider polygamy to be a form of injustice against women. In addition, there is a growing awareness that polygamy can cause problems within families and surrounding communities. The rejection of polygamy is due to several factors, such as: the independence of women in terms of education and better careers, which means that women are not completely dependent on men. In terms of religion, especially Islam, polygamy is only allowed under certain conditions and with very strict requirements. Furthermore, there has been an increase in awareness of gender equality values, which has led to the realization that every individual, whether male or female, has the same rights.

The description of a *wayuh* (polygamous) man in the *AWKB* manuscript is as follows:

Ingang kaping kalih: tiyang wayuh punika langkung kathah wragading gêsangipun, tinimbang kalihan ingkang botên. Manawi manut agami Islam, tiyang wayuh botên kenging baukapine, bojo kalih utawi langkung kêdah sami dipun sukani griya, sandhang, têtêdh ingkang sami. Sanajan cara Jawi bojo kathah katunggilakên sagriya, mêksa kathah têtêlasing yatra ingkang kaangge ngawontênakên kabêtahanipun tiyang punika sadaya.

Translation:

Second: people who marry more than one person have more needs in life than people who are not polygamous. For example, according to Islam, a polygamous person cannot be selfish; two or more wives must be given the same house, clothes, and food.

Although in Javanese tradition, many wives live together in one house, he was forced to spend a lot of money to meet the needs of all those people.

The above context emphasizes that a man who practices polygamy will have greater living expenses because he must be fair in providing for all of his wives. Therefore, a husband must have sufficient financial capacity to provide adequately for all of his wives and children. In terms of other forms of fairness, a husband must also be fair in distributing emotional support, such as affection, time, and attention to each of his wives. This is because it is related to fairness in terms of a husband's rights and obligations towards his wives and family.

The following description is found in the sentence:

*Botên pisan-pisan èngêt, manawi semahipun enggal sêpuh
punika saking kakirangan, rêkaos anyambut damêl rintên dalu
angrencangi ingkang jalêr, supados sampun ngantos kalirên
sarta kêwudan. Sanajan ingkang èstri kipa-kipa botên purun
dipun kêmaru, asistèn wadana wau anglêksanani pikajêngipun,
mêndhêt sêlir anak lurah dhusun sawêg umur nêmbêlas taun.*

Translation:

He did not remember at all that his wife, who was already old, was originally a poor woman who worked hard day and night to help her husband so that they would not go hungry or naked (so they could buy clothes). Although his wife was adamant that she did not want him to take a second wife, the assistant chief still carried out his wish and took the village head's daughter, who was about 16 years old, as his second wife.

A married man must obtain permission from his legal wife when he wants to remarry. In the context of the *AWKB* manuscript, it is described that the assistant *Wadana* will still carry out his intention to remarry and will marry a 16 year old girl who is the daughter of the village head, even though his first wife does not allow it. Considering that the assistant regent had been promoted at that time, it is highly likely that his financial situation was sufficient to support his family if he took another wife. However, in traditional Javanese culture, a second wife is not only expected to serve her husband but also to assist the first wife in managing the household.

This *AWKB* manuscript clearly tells the story of the life journey of a polygamist. History records that polygamy is a remnant of slavery traditions that existed long before the Common Era. Polygamy was widely practiced by kings, state officials, and wealthy people. They took women for various purposes, some were married and some were only used as sexual objects due to the effects of war. At that time, many women were bought and sold, made into servants, then made into concubines and so on. Polygamy has become one of the favorite issues that is always raised by those who defend women and who like to argue with Islamic teachings. They always claim that the condition of women in Islamic society is very concerning and problematic because there is no equality between men and women. However, this is not the case. Islam does allow the practice of polygamy, but it is not recommended. The permission to practice polygamy in Islam also comes with strict conditions and requirements.¹⁷

Literary works in any form always contain messages related to human life. Literary works are created through a process of intellectual, emotional, and imaginative elaboration by an author. The breadth of an author's perspective can influence the creation of a literary work. Literary works that develop in society are influenced by economic, social, political, cultural, and environmental conditions. Literature also becomes a reflection of the environment in which it exists.¹⁸ The relevance of the teachings contained in the *AWKB* manuscript to the present day can be determined by analyzing the manuscript. The teachings contained in the *AWKB* manuscript relate to morality, which refers to the good or bad nature of a person's actions.

Moral values are used as a benchmark in determining the rightness or wrongness of human attitudes and actions. Every ethnic group and nation has different views on what is considered good or bad. Human beings are bound by moral values in

¹⁷ Sukring Syamsuddin, "A Legal Debate on Polygamy: Classical and Contemporary Perspectives," *ESENSIA*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (2018), 149. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14421/esensia.v19i2.1735>.

¹⁸ Septi Yulisetiani, *Ekokultural Jawa Merangkai Kearifan Ekologis Dalam Karya Sastra* (Yogyakarta: Jejak Pustaka, 2022), 6. [Tidak menggunakan hlm. Mohon perbaiki]

their actions and attitudes. If someone commits a moral violation, it will result in sanctions in the form of uneasiness. Moral values can only be realized through actions that are entirely the responsibility of the human being. The realization of moral values is a drive from the conscience that requires humans to act according to their heart without conditions.¹⁹

In the *AWKB* manuscript, moral values can be seen starting from page 7, which shows Kyai Kaji's hypocrisy. This hypocrisy was exposed because one day his wives gathered together at the first wife's house and talked openly about their husband's (Kyai Kaji's) attitude when it was his turn. Gradually, Kyai Kaji realized that something different was happening to his wives, who were usually never in harmony (always fighting), but suddenly the three wives were getting along. In the end, Kyai Kaji realized that he had committed a moral violation that made his heart restless, uneasy, and deeply regretful of his actions, so he apologized to his wives. However, his three wives' hurt feelings made it difficult for them to forgive Kyai Kaji's actions, so they grumbled and beat Kyai Kaji until he cried out in pain. As described on pages 7-8 of the *AWKB* manuscript:

*Kala rumiyin wontên kaji gadhah semah tiga, tiga pisan tansah
congkrah, nanging ing sawêktu èstri tiga wau sagêd rukun, nalika kyai
kaji kesah kêndhurèn, bojonipun tiga pisan sami ngalêmpak ing
pondhokipun [pondhokipun] êmbok sêpuh. Ing ngriku sami tanggap-
tinanggap bab lampah-lampahipun ingkang jalêr manawi dhong gilir
dhatêng salah satunggilipun. Tiyang tatiga botên kenging kumbi,
kêdah walêh sablakanipun.*

*Lah ing ngriku kawiyak sadaya lamisipun kyai kaji, pundi ingkang
botên tampi gilir dipun cantên anggalur botên wontên ingkang
kalêrêsan, olah-olahipun sadaya cêmplang tanpa raos, dalah
anggenipun wêdhak pupur supados lakinipun rêsêpa, dipun wastani
kêmayu ora nyêbut.*

*Inkang pinuju dipun dhatêngi dipun gunggung ngantos munyung-
munyung. Têmahan tiyang tiga pisan sangêt amuring-muring, sami
lumêbêt ing sênthongipun piyambak-piyambak akancing kori.*

¹⁹ Indraswari Pikatan, "Ajaran Berumah Tangga Dalam Serat Candrarini Karya Ranggawarsita (Tinjauan Sosiologi Sastra)," *Penelitian Humaniora*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2012), 47. <https://publikasiilmiah.ums.ac.id/xmlui/handle/11617/4455>.

Translation:

Once upon a time, there was a man named Pak Haji who had three wives. The three wives were always fighting, but one day they managed to get along when Pak Haji went to a feast. The three wives gathered at the house of the eldest wife. There, they discussed their husband's behavior when it was one of their turns. The three women agreed that they must not lie, but must tell the truth.

That was when the hypocrisy of the cleric was revealed. The wife whose turn it was not to be with him was considered worthless, her cooking tasteless, and when she dressed up to seduce her husband, she was considered vain.

The one being visited was showered with the highest praise.

Eventually, the three wives became very angry and returned to their respective rooms, grumbling.

The story written in the *AWKB* manuscript shows that Pak Haji had three wives. According to Islamic law, this does not violate the limits on polygamy, which is four wives. This limit is intended to prevent future harm and to ensure that the husband can be fair.²⁰ On the other hand, there are several things regulated by Islamic law that must be considered by someone who practices polygamy, namely that it must not conflict with basic principles that include abstract norms, such as justice, freedom, equality, interdependence, impartiality, humanity, and compassion.²¹ The most fundamental principle in polygamy is fairness. A husband must be able to treat all his wives fairly in material (physical) terms, such as providing clothing, shelter, and fairness in sharing love (spiritual). Therefore, he must not show favoritism towards one wife, which could cause the other wives to feel neglected.²²

²⁰ Lukman Santoso, Arij Amaliyah, and Miftahul Huda, "Refusal Of Polygamy Permit In Religious Court Decision : Criticism of Gender Justice Against Judge ' s Legal Reasoning," *Al-Risalah Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (2023), 164. <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v23i2.1474>.

²¹ Mukhammad Nur Hadi, "Conservatism on Islamic Legal Maxims : Judicial Interpretation of Polygamous Marriage at the Religious Courts of Mojokerto , Indonesia," *Journal of Islamic Law*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2023), 177. <https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v4i2.1637>.

²² Anwar Sadat & Ipandang, "Dinamika Poligami Di Tengah Budaya Oligarkis-Patriarkis (Studi Pada Masyarakat Poliwali Mandar Dan Konawe

In today's era, polygamy has become a hot topic of discussion on social media, such as Twitter and Facebook. Many people today reject the practice of polygamy in a household, while those who respond positively are very rare. For those who respond positively, they consider polygamy to be legalized by the state and Islam. They claim that polygamy can reduce a man's high sexual desire and also serve as an alternative for married men so that they do not engage in extramarital sex, which is prohibited for Muslims. There are several studies on the negative effects of polygamy in Africa, where people reject polygamy due to economic challenges and a lack of communication between children and their new mothers.²³ In addition, polygamous marriages have an impact on each family member, which in turn affects the husband's ability to be impartial towards his children and wives, thereby preventing human rights violations.²⁴

The AWKB manuscript reflects an awareness of the social and psychological impacts of polygamy, particularly on women. Emotional tension, jealousy, and inner insecurity are described as inevitable consequences when husbands fail to fulfill the principle of fairness. These findings reinforce Fahira's study, which shows that the practice of polygamy often causes psychological burdens for women, even though it is legally valid.²⁵

Sulawesi),”*Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2020), 141-142. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v14i1.3657>.

²³ Muhammad Nurwahid et al., “Data Mining Applied about Polygamy Using Sentiment Analysis on Twitters in Indonesian Perception,” *Bulletin of Electrical Engineering and Informatics*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (2021), 2231. <https://doi.org/10.11591/eei.v10i4.2325>.

²⁴ & Giyanto Mirna Taufik, Nina Damayanti, “Polygamy in the Context of Family Law and the Crisis of Civic Responsibility,” *Jurnal Civics: Media Kajian Kewarganegaraan*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (2024), 152. <https://doi.org/10.21831/jc.v21i1.66423>.

²⁵ Fahira, “The Issue of Polygamy in Islamic Family Law: Between Tradition and Gender Justice,” *Journal of Islamic Family Law* 5, no. 1 (2025), 69. <https://doi.org/10.59784/jifl.v1i2.8>

The Integration of Philology and Hermeneutics in Reading the Ethics of Polygamy

From a sociological perspective, the *AWKB* manuscript shows how women were viewed at that time. Their world revolved around the household, where men (husbands) had complete authority and had to be respected. At that time, women were simply a group of people who had to fulfill their obligations and resign themselves to their natural role at that time, which was to play their part in the domestic sphere. At that time, for Javanese society, early marriage and polygamy were inevitable, especially for those who had abundant wealth. The richer and higher a person's position, the more women he would marry. In a household, there are various combinations of characters, and in this world, no one can guarantee that all characters are completely perfect; there are bound to be strengths and weaknesses. That is where husbands and wives are required to create harmony by filling in the gaps.²⁶ In the *AWKB* manuscript, Pak Haji did not fully carry out his role correctly; he lied to his wives, causing commotion. In Islamic teachings, men and women are positioned as equal creations of Allah. This is the view expressed by Mernissi when she asserts equality between the two genders. The differences mentioned in the Qur'an are not a form of hierarchy or superiority, but are related solely to biological differences.²⁷

There is a Javanese saying that goes, “*suwargo nunut neraka katut*,” which means “heaven follows hell.” A wife will be obedient and submissive to her husband's commands. When viewed from the perspective of post-marital life, women are created to serve and devote themselves to their husbands. The husband acts as the head of the family, while the wife acts as the

²⁶ Mhd. Rasidin, Natardi, and Doli Witro, “The Impact of Unequal Marriage on Household Harmony (Case Study in Sungai Penuh City, Jambi),” *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2020), 321. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v4i2.8083>.

²⁷ Dini Asmarani, Sarah Monica, dan Sari D. Ratri, “The Tension of Religion-Tradition and the Ideas of Women's Liberation in *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood*, a Novel by Fatima Mernissi,” *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 20, no. 2 (2022), 302. <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlka.v20.i2.1040>.

homemaker. The patriarchal system that dominates society's culture is fertile ground for social injustice and gender inequality, which affect various aspects of human life. The case experienced by Ruwaiya in the writing of Novi Diah, et al, is a portrait of how patriarchy has silenced many women's voices and destroyed their lives.²⁸

Women are multi-talented beings; they not only act as wives but also as mothers to their children. They carry out these various roles with love and responsibility. In Javanese cultural conventions, women have many ideal characteristics, such as being gentle, loyal, patient, graceful, and accepting of things as they are, due to the influence of Javanese culture.²⁹

One of the important contributions in the *AWKB* manuscript is the affirmation that the moral responsibility of the husband is the main foundation of household ethics. Maturity, economic readiness, and honesty are emphasized as absolute requirements before someone enters into marriage, especially polygamy. This emphasis is in line with the *maqāṣid al-syarī'ah* approach, which places human welfare and dignity protection as the main objectives of family law. In Danial's findings, Surah An-Nisa verse 3 is not an absolute command to practice polygamy, but rather an ethical text that emphasizes the principles of justice and protection of vulnerable parties, especially orphans and women.³⁰ The *AWKB* manuscript contains implicit criticism of polygamy, especially regarding the husband's inability to be fair in both body and soul. Justice in this text is not reduced to material aspects, but includes emotional justice, attention, and balanced affection. This view reinforces the findings of Hasan et al., who state that the main problem with polygamy lies in the

²⁸ Novi Diah Haryanti et al., "Women's World in Short Stories on Duniasantri.co: A Reading of Santriwati's Works," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 21, no. 1 (2023), 82. <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlka.v21.i1.1103>

²⁹ Andriyana Fatmawati and Nur Hanifah Insani, "Citra Perempuan Jawa Dalam Teks Suluk Tenun," *Piwulang : Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Jawa*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2020), 118. <https://doi.org/10.15294/piwulang.v8i2.42686>.

³⁰ Danial, "Polygamy in Perspective of Islamic Law Hermeneutics," *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 8, no. 1 (2023), 64. <https://doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v8i1.5139>.

imbalance of power relations and patriarchal bias in its practice, not solely in the normative text that regulates it.³¹

On pages 7-8 of *AWKB*, there is advice on navigating married life, especially for a husband with more than one wife. Both husbands and wives must be well-equipped to navigate married life. This means having sincere love and affection for one's partner and treating them as well, as honestly, and as fairly as possible. Sincerity means being ready to accept our partner's circumstances and also being aware of our position as a wife. Likewise, as a wife, she must also respect her husband, regardless of his physical appearance, position, or financial status.

The sole purpose of marriage or family life is *sakinah*, *mawaddah*, and *warahmah*, which can be achieved if the functions of the family are carried out effectively. Scholars and religious leaders have formulated that the family has theological, social, psychological, protective, educational, and economic functions. In order for all these functions to run well in family life, anything that disturbs, damages, or hinders the creation of these things must be avoided and anticipated both at the time of marriage and afterwards.³² The *AWKB* manuscript depicts a household that lacks openness, where the husband is dishonest with his wives, creating discord. This is clearly not in line with the purpose of marriage and must be avoided, anticipated, and abandoned in order to achieve the goals of family life.

The *AWKB* manuscript depicts women as a reflection of the lives of women in many Asian countries at that time. The lives of Asian nations in the past had several similarities, especially regarding the role of women in the domestic sphere of household affairs. Looking at the position of Javanese women at that time, even though a noblewoman's rights were limited, it gave rise to a women's movement that wanted to open educa-

³¹ Hasan et al., "Polygamy: Uncovering the Effect of Patriarchal Ideology on Gender-Biased Interpretation," *HTS Teologiese Studies* 78, no. 4 (2022), 6. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v78i4.7970>.

³² Danial, "Polygamy in Perspective of Islamic Law Hermeneutics," *Al-Istinbath*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2023), 59. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v8i1.5139>.

tional services for women, abolish early marriage and polygamy, and provide space for women to appear in public.³³

Over time, the position of women has changed and they have begun to achieve gender equality, causing the teachings or household practices contained in the *AWKB* manuscript to fade, especially in terms of polygamy and early marriage. Even though polygamy has become taboo, the role of women in serving their husbands and families has remained unchanged over time. In the context of gender ethics, these findings show that *AWKB* implicitly shifts the moral burden from women to men. This is relevant to Fitria and Merita's argument, which emphasizes that gender justice in polygamy cannot be achieved without affirming the ethical responsibility of men as the party with greater authority in the family structure.³⁴

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study show that the *Alakirabi Wayuh Kaliyan Botên* (*AWKB*) manuscript provides a clear ethical position on household management within the Javanese literary tradition. The manuscript directly answers the research question by revealing that Javanese *piwulang* texts do not merely transmit normative domestic teachings but also articulate internal critiques of wayuh (polygamy). *AWKB* frames household ethics around justice, honesty, emotional responsibility, and the moral accountability of husbands, demonstrating that concerns about fairness and the psychological impact of polygamy were already embedded in local cultural discourse.

This study is limited by its reliance on a single manuscript, the absence of variant texts for comparison, and the interpretive nature of philological and hermeneutic analysis. These methodological constraints mean that the findings cannot be generalized

³³ Amanda Syakiyah Rahmanita, "Gerakan Perempuan Pada Abad 19-20 The Women's Movement in the 19-20 Century", *Cronologia*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2022), 47. <https://doi.org/10.22236/jhe.v4i1.9564>.

³⁴ Fitria dan Merita, "Islamic Law Review on Polygamy: Gender Justice and Human Rights," *International Journal of Humanities, Ethics and Social Sciences* 3, no. 1 (2023), 171. <https://doi.org/10.56338/ijhess.v5i2.6632>.

to all Javanese manuscripts or to the broader archipelagic tradition without further corroboration. Future research should therefore expand the corpus by examining related manuscripts, conducting comparative textual studies, and incorporating interdisciplinary perspectives to deepen understanding of household ethics in traditional literature.

Future studies may explore how AWKB's ethical critique of polygamy aligns with or diverges from other Javanese, Islamic, or Southeast Asian textual traditions. Theoretically, this study contributes to the understanding of *piwulang* literature as a site of moral reflection rather than mere prescriptive instruction. Practically, the insights from AWKB can inform contemporary discussions on family ethics in Indonesian Muslim society, particularly in addressing relational imbalances and promoting household values grounded in justice, empathy, and mutual responsibility.

Acknowledgement

We would like to express our gratitude to all those who have assisted in this research, especially our fellow authors. In addition, we would also like to thank the ladies of the Surakarta Literary Heritage Foundation for granting the researchers permission to view the original manuscripts and for kindly answering the researchers' questions regarding words that were difficult to transliterate.

REFERENCES

Books

Abdullah A. Thalib. *Filsafat Hermeneutika Dan Semiotika*. Palu: LPP Mitra Edukasi, 2018.

Gadamer, Hans-Georg. *Truth and Method*, terj. Joel Weinsheimer dan Donald G. Marshall. London: Continuum, 2004.

Kustri Sumiyardana, dkk. *Etika Jawa Dalam Novel Indonesia*, 2016.

Oman Fathurahman. *Filologi Indonesia: Teori Dan Metode*. Jakarta: Kencana, 2017.

Ricoeur, Paul. *From Text to Action: Essays in Hermeneutics, II*, terj. Kathleen Blamey Dan John B. Thompson. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991.

Siti Baroroh Baried, dkk. *Pengantar Teori Filologi*. Yogyakarta: Badan Penelitian dan Publikasi Fakultas (BPPF), Seksi Filologi, Fakultas Sastra Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1994.

Thiselton, Anthony Charles. *Hermeneutics: An Introduction*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.

Yulisetiani, Septi. *Ekokultural Jawa Merangkai Kearifan Ekologis Dalam Karya Sastra*. Yogyakarta: Jejak Pustaka, 2022.

Journal Articles

Asmarani, Dini, Monica Sarah, dan D. Ratri, Sari. “The Tension of Religion-Tradition and the Ideas of Women’s Liberation in *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood*, a Novel by Fatima Mernissi,” *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 20, no. 2 (2022).

Atik Triratnawati. “Konsep Dadi Wong Menurut Pandangan Wanita Jawa.” *Humaniora*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (2005): 300. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22146/jh.855>.

Danial. “Polygamy in Perspective of Islamic Law Hermeneutics.” *Al-Istinbath*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2023): 53–74. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v8i1.5139>

Fahira, “The Issue of Polygamy in Islamic Family Law: Between Tradition and Gender Justice,” *Journal of Islamic Family Law* 5, no. 1 (2025). <https://doi.org/10.59784/jifl.v1i2.8>

Fatmawati, Andriyana, and Nur Hanifah Insani. “Citra Perempuan Jawa Dalam Teks Suluk Tenun.” *Piwulang : Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Jawa*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2020): 116–26. <https://doi.org/10.15294/piwulang.v8i2.42686>.

Fitria dan Merita, “Islamic Law Review on Polygamy: Gender

- Justice and Human Rights,” *International Journal of Humanities, Ethics and Social Sciences* 3, no. 1 (2023), hlm, 171. <https://doi.org/10.56338/ijhess.v5i2.6632>.
- Hadi, Mukhammad Nur. “Conservatism on Islamic Legal Maxims : Judicial Interpretation of Polygamous Marriage at the Religious Courts of Mojokerto, Indonesia.” *Journal of Islamic Law*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2023): 172–96. <https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v4i2.1637>.
- Hasan et al., “Polygamy: Uncovering the Effect of Patriarchal Ideology on Gender-Biased Interpretation,” *HTS Teologiese Studies* 78, no. 4 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v78i4.7970>.
- Haryanti, Novi Diah, et al., “Women’s World in Short Stories on Duniasantri.co: A Reading of Santriwati’s Works,” *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 21, no. 1 (2023).
- Ipandang, Anwar Sadat &. “Dinamika Poligami Di Tengah Budaya Oligarkis-Patriarkis (Studi Pada Masyarakat Poliwali Mandar Dan Konawe Sulawesi).” *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2020):131–46. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v14i1.3657>.
- Mirna Taufik, Nina Damayanti, & Giyanto. “Polygamy in the Context of Family Law and the Crisis of Civic Responsibility.” *Jurnal Civics: Media Kajian Kewarganegaraan*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (2024): 151–61. <https://doi.org/10.21831/jc.v21i1.66423>.
- Mirya Anggraeni dan Suyanto. “Ajaran Tentang Bakti Istri Kepada Suami Dalam Serat Wulang Reh Putri.” *Jurnal NUSA*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (2017). <https://ejournal.undip.ac.id/index.php/nusa/article/download/15677/11732>.
- Nurwahid, Muhammad, Hendri Sayuti, Amri Darwis, and Miftahur Rahman. “Data Mining Applied about Polygamy Using Sentiment Analysis on Twitters in Indonesian Perception.” *Bulletin of Electrical Engineering and Informatics*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (2021): 2231–36. <https://doi.org/10.11591/eei.v10i4.2021.11111>.

org/ 10.11591/eei.v10i4.2325.

Santoso, Lukman, Arij Amaliyah, and Miftahul Huda. “Refusal Of Polygamy Permit In Religious Court Decision: Criticism of Gender Justice Against Judge’s Legal Reasoning.” *Al-Risalah Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (2023): 160–73. [https://doi.org/ 10.30631/alrisalah.v23i2.1474](https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v23i2.1474).

Pikatan, Indraswari. “Ajaran Berumah Tangga Dalam Serat Candrarini Karya Ranggawarsita (Tinjauan Sosiologi Sastra).” *Penelitian Humaniora*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2012): 42–48. <https://publikasiilmiah.ums.ac.id/xmlui/handle/11617/4455>.

Pitoyo, Djoko. “Ajaran Moral Berumah Tangga Dalam Serat Darmawasita Karya K.G.P.A.A. Mangkunagoro IV.” *Jurnal Filsafat*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (2009). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22146/jf.3436>.

Rahmanita, Amanda Syakiyah. “Gerakan Perempuan Pada Abad 19-20 The Women ’ s Movement in the 19-20 Century.” *Cronologia*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2022): 43–51. <https://doi.org/10.22236/jhe.v4i1.9564>.

Rasidin, Mhd., Natardi, and Doli Witro. “The Impact of Unequal Marriage on Household Harmony (Case Study in Sungai Penuh City, Jambi).” *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2020): 313–36. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhc.v4i2.8083>.

Syamsuddin, Sukring. “A Legal Debate on Polygamy: Classical and Contemporary Perspectives.” *Esensia*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (2018). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14421/esensia.v19i2.1735>.

Internet

Afandi. “Poligami Adalah Tradisi Pra-Islam Yang Diatur Dalam Al-Qur’an, Bukan Perintah.” Dalam <https://muhammadiyah.or.id/poligami-adalah-tradisi-pra-islam-yang-diatur-dalam-al-quran-bukan-perintah/> diakses pada tanggal 8

Januari 2024 pukul 21.11 WIB.

Kurniawan, Alhafiz. “Hukum Asal Poligami Yang Kerap Dipelintir Dalam Islam.” Dalam <https://nu.or.id/bahtsul-masail/hukum-asal-poligami-yang-kerap-dipelintir-dalam-islam-la6m7> diakses pada tanggal 8 Januari 2024 pukul 20.46 WIB.

Thesis

Lestyana, An Nisa. “Etika Perkawinan Menurut Mangkunegara IV (Dalam Serat Warayagna Dan Darmawasita).” *Skripsi*. Fakultas Ushuluddin dan Pemikiran Islam, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2015.

Said, Muhammad Ali. “Ajaran Wanita Jawa Dalam Serat Wulang Reh Putri Karya Paku Buwana X.” *Skripsi*, Bahasa dan Sastra Jawa, Fakultas Bahasa dan Seni Universitas Negeri Semarang, 2019.