

# ***Bobot, Bibit, and Bebet in Choosing a Mate*** **(A Study of *Serat Warayagnya* Manuscript by Mangkunegara IV)**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The concept of *bebet*, *bibit*, and *bobot* contain in the *Serat Warayagnya* manuscript by Mangkunegara IV, a poet and ruler of the Kadipaten Mangkunegara of Surakarta in the mid-19th century. Therefore, this *Serat Warayagnya* has been part of a modern Javanese literary work written by a Javanese *priyayi*. This manuscript is important to study considering that the term of *bobot*, *bibit*, and *bebet* is still popular among the people, especially the Javanese. The study using content analysis reveals that the concept of *bobot*, *bibit*, and *bebet* in *Serat Warayagnya* manuscript is related to four things that must be avoided in choosing a spouse/mate. Namely (1) choosing a spouse only because of his/her beauty; (2) choosing a spouse only because of his/her wealth; (3) choosing a spouse only because of his/her social status; and (4) choosing a spouse because of association and sweet seduction. In addition, it contains the concept of the noble *piwulang* value for young men and women to become human beings. It also contains the concept of *tatariman* (a mate given by the king) that is less relevant for today's life.

**Keywords:** *Bobot, Bibit, Bebet, Serat Warayagnya*

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Sri Mangkunegara IV or better known as Mangkunegara IV was as a poet of modern Javanese literature in the mid-19th century AD, and the ruler of Praja Mangkunegaran in 1853-1881 AD period. Besides, he was known as the Father of Javanese Ground Sugar (*Bapak Gula Jawa*) because of his program to establish sugar factories in various areas. These factories were able to support the revenue of the Kadipaten (a certain territory ruled by a kingdom or sultanate) Mangkunegara, so that during his leadership, the Kadipaten became a large independent and respected one among the Surakarta Sultanate and the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate.

Dozens of Mangkunegara IV's literary works influenced the thoughts and ideology of the Javanese people, one of which was *Serat Warayagnya* manuscript. It was written on Monday, April 22, 1856 AD and became part of the tradition of modern Javanese literary works in the palace environment written by a Javanese *priyayi* (aristocrat). So, its content reflected the thoughts and rules of life in the palace environment at that time. Among its content is

the concept of *bobot*, *bibit* and *bebet*. As part of the script by Javanese aristocrats, the concept was initially only circulated in the palace environment. Over time, it developed into a concept that was generally adopted by all Javanese people and has been a popular term until now.

The study of this concept in *Serat Warayagnya* manuscript is important as part of the continuation of the Javanese tradition based on the palace. In addition, it is expected to be an alternative solution to the problems of married life in today's society. Recently, the divorce and violence cases against women increase. Data of women's national commission states that cases on violence against women in 2019 increased compared to 2018. The number of increases was 406,178 cases or an increase of about 14% based on the 2018 Annual Records with the total 348,446 cases. The highest case records were in Central Java Province with 2,913 cases, followed by DKI Jakarta 2,318 cases, and East Java Province 1,944 cases [1].

The government has made various efforts to reduce the rate of domestic violence and divorce cases, but the data seems to explain that household problems have not been resolved. Since 1971, the government has

issued Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning the minimum age limit for men and women to marry. This law was later updated with Law No. 16 of 2019 which stipulates that the age limit for women to be married is 18 years (the previous law stipulates a minimum age of 16 years). The determination of the minimum age for marriage is not yet fully able to become a promising basic capital in shaping the commitment of the bride and groom towards harmony and longevity of household marriages. Often the serious problems in married life are greater, thus destroying their initial commitment. Therefore, the concept of *bobot*, *bibit*, and *bebet* as the inheritance of *piwulang* wisdom of the Javanese people is expected to provide insight into the importance of physical and mental preparation before fostering domestic life.

There have been many studies that have discussed Mangkunegara IV's thoughts. There are at least 3 (three) related study themes, namely: first, the study of character values in the manuscript by Mangkunegara IV. Articles related to the value of character education in Mangkunegara IV's manuscripts include: [2], [3], [4], [5], [6], [7], [8], [9], [10], [11], [12], [13], [14]. Second, the study of procedures for choosing a life partner, such as; [15], [16], [17]. Third, the study of the concept of value in the Javanese text as a motivation to increase business, namely; [18], [19], and the last is the *macapat* song as a learning medium [20], [21].

The study data above shows that most of the authors have studied character values in Mangkunegara IV's manuscripts and there have not been many studies on the concept of *bobot*, *bibit*, and *bebet* in *Serat Warayagnya* manuscripts. Therefore, this study provides an idea to complement the previous studies of Mangkunegara IV's work. This article was written to find out how the concept was in the text of *Serat Warayagnya* manuscript by Mangkunegara IV which was written in the mid-19th century.

## 2. METHOD

The main source of the manuscripts studied in this study is *Serat Warayagnya* manuscript, part of the stripped manuscript bundle with the MN code 104 entitled: *Serat-Serat Anggitan dalem Mangkunegara IV* (Anonim, t.th.). This *Serat* is one of the collections of the Mangkunegara IV Library. The MN 104 manuscript bundle is in the form of a striped manuscript containing approximately 28 titles of manuscripts with the following titles: (1) Wonogiri Jaman Kaping 3, (2) Giripuro Jaman Kaping 3, (3) Tegalgondo, (4) Srikaton Lelana, (5) Wonogiri Prangwadan Lelana, (6) Wredining Bangsal Tosan

(weapon), (7) Wredining Pandel Panjenengan (rank), (8) Ngadani Bendungan Tirtoswara, (9) Ngadani Bendungan Tambak Agung, (10) Tasikmadu (factory), (11) Salokantara, (12) Manohara (love), (13) Condrarini (piwulang estri), (14) Darmawasita, (15) Namaning Ringgit Samarang, (16) Pralambang Kalakuhan Estri, (17) Salokatama, (18) Warayagnya, (19) Sriyatna, (20) Wirawiyata, (21) Tripama, (22) Nayakawara, (23) Wangsalan Sapanunggalipun Macepat, (24) Serat Iber Mawi Sekar Macepat, (25) Babad Serenan (name of place/history), (26) Wiwahan Dalem Kaping 4 (show guide), (27) Pariwara, (28) Pariminta.

The research on Mangkunegara IV's manuscript was conducted using a qualitative research approach and content analysis. Qualitative research places more emphasis on the process of collecting and analyzing reliable data (trustworthiness), to obtain credible conclusions that reflect the depth and richness of the data. Miles and Hubberman (1994) state that there are 4 steps of the iterative process of qualitative data analysis, including: 1) data collection, 2) data reduction, 3) data presentation (data display), and conclusion drawing/verification [23].

The data collection was carried out through tracing the existence of manuscripts, interviews, FGDs, and observations. The process began with tracing the manuscript of *Serat Piwulang* of Mangkunegara IV and interviews. The search for manuscripts was held in several scriptoriums in Surakarta City, and interviews were conducted with the staff of the Radya Pustaka Museum, the Reksa Pustaka Library, and the Lestari Sastra Foundation. After getting the script, the next activity was to describe the script, and transliterate and translate the text to get the edited text and its meaning. The transliteration and translation of the texts of *Serat Warayagnya* manuscript were carried out in collaboration with Javanese text experts at the Reksa Pustaka Surakarta Library.

The edited and translated text of the manuscript was then comprehended to find out the content and values through FGD activities. The formulation of the concept of *bobot*, *bibit*, and *bebet* resulting from the FGD activities then became the main material for data analysis. In the data analysis process, there were several steps of activities carried out by referring to the data analysis activities from Krippendorff, namely: (1) determining the unit of analysis, (2) determining the sampling units, (3) determining the recording units, and the last (4) defining the context units.

### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### 3.1 Socio-Historical Manuscripts of *Serat Warayagnya*

*Serat Warayagnya* was written by Mangkunegara IV in 1856 AD. He was a poet as well as the ruler of the Mangkunegaran Praja Surakarta. *Priyayi* was inherent in his life. The story of Mangkunegara IV's marital life was not much different from the matchmaking system of the Javanese people at that time, namely the system with the criteria of *bobot*, *bibit*, and *bebet* of the prospective bride and groom. Mangkunegara IV was married in 1833, when R.M. Soedira (his real name) was about 22 years old. He was married to the second daughter of K.P. Suryamataram and the Princess Consort Suryadipuran by Sri Mangkunegara III. The criteria for *bobot*, *bibit*, and *bebet* were met because his first wife was the daughter of a *Kadipaten* leader.

In *Jumawal* year 1781 of Java or May 1853 AD, R.M. Sudira was remarried again to B. R. Ajeng Dhunuk, daughter of KGPAA Mangkunegara III. The criteria for *bobot*, *bibit* and *bebet* were clearly met because B.R. Ajeng Dhunuk was the daughter of one of the rulers of Praja Mangkunegaran. However, his second marriage was considered a political marriage, because it was originally designed by C.F. Winter and scholars from the Java Institute (Javanese poet association), then followed up by the Resident of Surakarta. This marriage proposal was carried out by sending a letter to the Governor General dated April 6, 1853, regarding the marriage proposal of P. A. Gandakusuma (R.M. Sudira) with the first daughter of Sri Mangkunegara III. The purpose and objective of the marriage was as a way for the Dutch East Indies government to suppress the disapproval of other princes towards the appointment of P.A. Gandakusuma to replace Sri Mangkunegara IV in the *Kadipaten* of Praja Mangkunegaran. In addition, the marriage of P. A. Gandakusuma was a requirement of Javanese customs and traditions, that someone, who will be appointed king, has inherited the throne of the previous king by marrying the king's daughter [24].

Thus, there were some initial assumptions to see the motivation of Mangkunegara IV in compiling *Serat Warayagnya* manuscript, including: (1) *Serat Warayagnya* was an edict or a kind of written marriage law from a king in Praja Mangkunegaran (2) *Serat Warayagnya* was written by Mangkunegara IV as part of a father's advice to his sons and daughters, (3) *Serat Warayagnya* was the legality of the concept of choosing a mate already popular in Javanese society (4) *Serat Warayagnya* was part of the legality of the

oral tradition of choosing a mate in the royal court which was later written by Mangkunegara IV.

#### 3.2. *Serat Warayagnya as the Manuscript by Mangkunegara IV*

*Serat Warayagnya* contains guidelines on how to choose a potential partner or wife. There are 3 (three) to consider in choosing a prospective wife/husband, they are the so-called *bibit*, *bobot*, and *bebet*. *Bibit* is related to the descendants of the candidates to be chosen whether they are descendants of the palace, officials, farmers, or employees and others. *Bobot* is related to the person who wants to get married, namely from the aspect of appearance, wealth, work, and education. *Bebet* is almost similar to *bobot*, which is related to the quality of someone who will be chosen as a life partner. There is a concept of *tatariman*, included in this *Serat Warayagnya* namely a mate as a gift from the king. The match that the king gave during the lifetime of Mangkunegara IV still occurred, and even personally, Mangkunegara IV married for the second time with a daughter of the previous ruler of the *Kadipaten* Praja Mangkunegaran.

*Serat Warayagnya* is part of the manuscripts in MN 104. It was written by KGPAA Mangkunegara IV based on the symbol in the manuscript. This is mentioned in the first stanza in the form of the *Dandhanggula* song. In this first stanza there is a time marker for writing, namely Monday, the 27th, the month of *Saban* (*Syakban*), the season of *dhestha* (eleventh), the Year of *Be*, with *sengkalan*: *nyatur* (4) *slira* (8) *memulang* (7) *mring sunu* (1) showing the Javanese year number 1784, as follows:

*Warayagnya wēdharing palupi*: Warayagnya is a good lesson  
*Warayagnya pinandara macapat sarkara*: composed a song *Dandhanggula*  
*ing nalika panitrane*: in the writing time  
*senen ping pitulikur*: (day) Monday date twenty seventh  
*sasi Saban Dhēstha Be warsi*: Syakban month (season) Dhēstha year Be  
*sangkala nyatur slira*: (with) sengkalan talking about body  
*mēmulang mring sunu*: teaching children  
*Jēng Gusti Pangran Dipatya*: Kanjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati  
*Arya Prabu Prangwadana kang amarni*: Arya Prabu Prangwadana who wrote  
*winahya mring pra putra*: held for relatives [25]

The marker mentions the writer of *Serat Warayagnya* manuscript named Arya Prabu Prangwadana. Arya Prabu Prangwadana was the name of Mangkunegara IV before being inaugurated as

Adipati (Duke) of Mangkunegara IV. This information can be found in Dhandanggula's stanza with the *asthma* code: "*Kanjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Arya Mangkunegara Ping Pat*"

<i>Kang winahya Jēng Sang Kusumaning</i>	(Kan-
Jeng)	
<i>Gusti sastra tinut ing sujana</i>	(Gus-ti)
<i>Pangringkēse ngeramake</i>	(Pa-nge)
<i>Rantaman amangapus</i>	(ran-A)
<i>dibyanira para maharsi</i>	(di-pa)
<i>titika arjeng naya</i>	(ti Ar-
ya)	
<i>manggih nugraha gung</i>	(Mang)
<i>kunane ana pandhita</i>	(ku-na)
<i>gagarane rakēt lan Sang Sidajati</i>	(ga-ra)
<i>pi (ng) ngit mring pat-yasmara (ping Pat)</i>	[25]

The year of writing *Serat Warayagnya* also marks that Mangkunegara IV was at the age of 45. The year 1856 AD was also the time after Mangkunegara IV got married for the second time for three years with B.R. Ajeng Dhunuk, daughter of Sri Mangkunegara III<sup>1</sup>. During their marriage, the two of them underwent forever married life.

### 3.3 *Serat Warayagnya Manuscript Content*

Not only does Mangkunegara IV's *Serat Warayagnya* manuscript contain the concept of *bobot*, *bibit*, and *bebet*, but it is also part of the *piwulang* script which contains noble values based on Javanese culture. These values are to not be arrogant, not hasty in choosing a mate, keep the dignity, always having noble character. The description of the values in *Serat Warayagnya* manuscript is mentioned below.

#### *Value of Not Being Arrogant*

A man when choosing a mate should not be based on arrogance nor think that women can be controlled. Such arrogance is usually seen when he gets married not based on common sense and applicable laws but only based on lust. It is mentioned in *Serat Warayagnya*, Pupuh Dhandanggula, verse (2) as follows:

*Kakung putri ing reh palakrami, sumawana kang sami jajaka, tan wun tēmbē pikramane, marmatinalyeng wuwus, wasitane mēngku pawestri, ywa dumeh yen wong priya, misesa andhaku, mring darbekireng wanodya, palakrama nalar lan kukum*

<sup>1</sup> Mangkunegara IV first got married at the age of 22 with the second daughter of K.P. Suryamataram and his consort Suryadipuran. This marriage took place on Saturday *Pahing* on the 20th of

*kang dadi, yen tinggal tēmah nistha (Pupuh Dhandanggula, bait: 2)*

Translation:

Marriage etiquette for men and women, as well as for young people who are soon to be married. Because it has been agreed in words, a teaching about the advice of choosing women. As a man, don't be arrogant and rule and think all women are theirs. Marriage must be based on common sense and based on law, leaving these two things means having committed a despicable act.

The foundation of an important value for a man when he is about to get married is not to feel arrogant. He is arrogant because he thinks he can marry many women. Meanwhile, basically marriage must use common sense and a clear legal basis, not merely according to lust.

#### *Value of Not Being Hasty in Choosing a Mate*

A young man or woman when deciding to get married should not be in a hurry so that there will be no regrets in the future. Getting married is a big decision in one's life. Marriage implies responsibilities in the form of rights and obligations that must be fulfilled by each family member. Therefore, the selection of a prospective partner in accordance with what is expected is important so that the purpose of the marriage to be carried out is achieved. This is mentioned in *Serat Warayagnya* of Pupuh Dhandanggula, verse (3) below.

*Wuryaning reh priya kang rumiyin, lamun arsa angupaya garwa, den patitis pamilihe, aywa kasēsēng kayun, mbokmanawa kēduwung wuri, ya bēnēr yen wong lanang, wēnang duwekipun, rabiya ping pat sadina, kēna uga wuruk karēpe pribadi, nanging ta tan mangkana (Pupuh Dhandanggula, bait; 3)*

Translation:

The first step for a man who chooses a prospective wife is that he must be able to choose correctly, he should not be in a hurry, because he may regret it later. It is true that men have the authority, they can marry four times a day, this happens because they obey their desires. However, it should not be done like that.

Verse 3 of Pupuh Dhandanggula states that Mangkunegara IV has advised that in choosing a

*Rejeb*, the year Dal 1759 or 1833 AD at the choice of Sri Mangkunegara III (adoptive father of Mangkunegara IV) (Siswokatono, 2006: 87-88)

prospective wife, do not be hasty, but consider carefully the figure of the woman he will marry. In addition, even though a man may marry four women, it should not be done in a day just because he follows his desires.

### *Keeping Dignity*

Husband and wife in living family life are expected to always try and work. Not just daydreaming and no work to do, so it does not produce anything. Without working, trying, a desire will not come true. It is mentioned in the following Pupuh Dhandanggula verse (4).

*Dadi ora ana ala bēcik ngilangakēn istiyaring gēsang, yen ngarah-apa tekade, andarung kadalurung, ngelmu sarak den orak arik, (m)buwang ajining badan, lumuh reh rahayu, tur upama kalakonna, kasangsara, kaduwunge anēkani, manglah nunutuh driya (Pupuh Dhandanggula, bait: 4)*

Translation:

Therefore, there is nothing bad, if in life the effort is eliminated. If you have a will, just obey your will, it's a bad trait or inconsequential, meaning that a rule has been violated, meaning you have lost your self-esteem, underestimating the good things. And if it happens, you will have a miserable and disappointed life, even blaming yourself.

What must be avoided is breaking the rules in life, including in marriage. Breaking the rules will bring down a person's self-esteem, and he/she will get punished and his/her life will be miserable. Thus, in the end, he/she can only regret.

### *Noble Character*

Mangkunegara IV also advised his children to have noble character because people with bad morals deserve to be reproached by others. In fact, there will be no parents who want to make their daughters as wives for people who have despicable character. It is mentioned in the following Pupuh Dhandanggula stanza (5).

*Aja nganti mangkana ta kaki, bēcik apa cinacad sasama, wong gēndhak kalakuwane, sapa kang duwe sunu, wadon awēh sira rabēni, kiraku nora nana, kējaba kēbutuh, ala rinabenan Koja, bēcik bangsa wit tan duwe putu Ēncik, mung iku ciptanira (Pupuh Dhandanggula, bait: 5)*

Translation:

Don't be like that, my son, is it appropriate for you to be reproached by others, reproached as a person

with bad behavior. Therefore, whoever has a daughter will never give up their daughter for you to marry, unless it is absolutely necessary. It is very bad if you marry someone who is despicable in his behavior. It's better to live like a tree, which has neither grandchildren nor children, that's in his mind.

Even this stanza 5 states that it is better not to marry than to marry someone who has a despicable character. This thought should be pondered because in married life, family happiness and welfare will not be achieved if family members (especially the fathers) have bad qualities.

### **3.4 The Concept of Bobot, Bibit, and Bebet in Serat Warayagna Manuscript**

*Serat Warayagna* generally contains concept about *bibit*, *bobot*, and *bebet*. The word *bibit* in the Javanese-Indonesian Dictionary is defined as *wiji* or *winih*; *bobot* means weight [26]. Meanwhile, the definition of *bebet* can not be found. The description of the elements of *bibit*, *bobot*, and *bebet* in *Serat Warayagna* manuscript is in the form of family education values.

The concept of *bibit*, *bobot*, and *bebet* relates four things that must be avoided by people who will choose a life partner, that is to choose partner (1) only because of their beauty, (2) only because of their wealth, (3) only because of their social status, and (4) because of their association and sweet seduction. This message was given by Mangkunegara IV in the following stanza 6 of *Serat Warayagna* of Pupuh Dhandanggula.

*Kawruhana kadawuning ati, jalarane mung patang prakara, wong anom dadi brangtane, dhingin myat warna ayu, kaping pindho melik wong sugih, kaping tri kawibawan, lan kaping patipun, kēna sambang sarawungan, rokok kinang winēhkēn lan ujar manis, rinukēt mrih asmara (Pupuh Dhandanggula, bait: 6)*

Translation:

Be informed about the disappointment of the heart, caused by four things as a guide for young people who are in love. First because of their beauty, second because of their wealth, third because of their social status, fourth because of association, by giving *kinang* and cigarettes and sweet words, with words of seduction to fall in love.

In the next stanza/verse, which is stanza 7, it is stated that a young man who chooses a partner based on these criteria is usually someone who chooses a partner not based on his deepest conscience, in other

words, he does not really love his partner. In this regard, Mangkunegara IV also advised not to marry a woman who has an affair. Marrying a mistress is considered a despicable act and will degrade the dignity of his parents. The sentence is stated as follows.

*Wēkasane ya kēna sayekti, ngadatira wong anom mangkana, keh rabi dudu niyate, yen kēna sutaningsun, arabiya jalaran bēcik, ojo rabi pasogan<sup>2</sup> nistha yen dinulu, angapēskēn yayah rena, wruhanira manungsa neng dunya iki, yēn kēna kang tinēdha (Pupuh Dhandanggula, bait; 7)*

Translation:

Finally, his wish was achieved, usually such a young man, he got married not because it was based on the deepest choice of his heart. Because of that, my son, if you can, marry with a good heart and mind. Do not marry a paid woman (an affair), it is a despicable act, it will reduce the dignity of parents. Know that humans live in this world, if possible, live as expected.

### **3.5 Selection of a Spouse and the Purpose of Human Life**

We must be careful to choose a life partner, and choose the one who has noble character and is not a woman or a man who has an affair. This is related to the four things as the purpose of human life, namely: (1) to be given safety in life, (2) to be kept away from all diseases, (3) so that his/her heart does not feel sad and (4) to have pious descendant. It is mentioned in the following 8th stanza of Pupuh Dhandanggula.

*Inggang dhingin rahayuning diri, kinalisna sakehing prakara, myang sak sērik sasamane, kapindo badanipun, aja kambah barang panyakit, kaping tri aja tansah, susah manahipun, kaping pat arsa darbeya, anak lanang kang mursid minangka wiji, (n) dawakkēn turunnira (Pupuh Dhandanggula, bait: 8)*

Translation:

The first is to ask for self-safety, to be kept away from all difficulties, and to be kept away from envy towards others. Second, to bag that his/her body is not infected with a disease. Third, don't be sad. Fourth, expect to have pious sons for good descendants.

The purpose of human life can be achieved if someone gets the right woman, who can be a friend in life, who is able to give children, and can earn a living.

It is mentioned in Pupuh Dhandanggula stanza 9 below.

*Mula nora gampang wong arabi, kudu milih wanodya kang kēna, ginawe rewang uripe, sarana ngudi tuwuh, myang ngupaya kang sandhang bukti, wiwilangane ana, catur upayeku, yogyane kawikannana, dhingin bobot pindho bēbēt katri bibit, kaping pat tatariman (Pupuh Dhandanggula, bait 9)*

Translation:

Therefore, getting married is not easy, because you have to be able to choose a woman who can be your friend in life, who is able to give birth, and can earn a living. There are four ways to choose a woman, you should understand. The first is *bobot* (personal ability), *bibit* (origin of offspring), *bebet* (family social status), and fourth, the woman is chosen because of a gift from the king.

The overall criteria for a partner according to Mangkunegara IV are summarized into three criteria, which are; *bobot* (personal ability) of the prospective partner, *bibit* (origin of the offspring) and *bebet* (social status of the family) of the prospective partner plus one criterion in the form of *tatariman* (a woman given by a king). In addition to these four criteria, there are additional criteria in choosing a life partner mentioned in Pupuh Dhandanggula, verse (10) below.

*Papat iku iya uga kanthi, dhingin warna kapindhone brana, kaping tri kawibawane, catur pambēkanipun, ēndi inggang sira sēnēngi, aja nganti angawag, manawa kēduwung karena milih wanodya, datan kēna den mupakatkēn sasami, wuruk neng karsanira (Pupuh Dhandanggula, bait: 10)*

Translation:

There are still four more to complement, the first, beauty. second wealth. Third, because of their social status. Fourth, because of the character. Of all, which one do you like, don't make the wrong choice. If you are wrong, you will be disappointed in the end. Therefore, choosing a woman cannot be discussed with others. You have the right to decide by yourself.

In addition to those aspects, in choosing a partner or mate, it is also necessary to add criteria regarding beauty, wealth, social status, and character. These four depend on the choice of the person who will marry. Therefore, in *Serat Warayagnya* it is stated that choosing a mate or life partner must be determined by

<sup>2</sup> Prayoginipun/pasokan/dipun pasoki, dipun bayar

the person who will marry himself, not by someone else.

### **3.6 Serat Warayagna and Mangkunegara IV's Reflection on the Meaning of Married Life**

The concept of *bibit*, *bobot*, and *bebet* was triggered by Mangkunegara IV in a manuscript entitled *Serat Warayagna*. From the story of Mangkunegara IV's marital life, it can be understood that the Javanese *priyayi* marriage procession which was exemplified through the life of Mangkunegara IV truly prioritizes aspects of *bobot*, *bibit*, and *bebet* for the continuation of a power. The second marriage of Mangkunegara IV succeeded in becoming a way of succession of the leadership of Praja Mangkunegaran from Sri Mangkunegara III to Sri Mangkunegara IV to avoid conflicts over power struggles. In addition, the selection of a Javanese king's life partner must indeed be equal (balanced) in order to support each other and succeed in the duties of a king as a leader. The criteria for female companions to the king at least are to have known the procedures and upholds the royal princess status. Mangkunegara IV's wives were Javanese women who had fulfilled the ideal requirements of a woman who had *bobot*, *bibit*, and *bebet*. The two wives of Mangkunegara IV were women of royal descent, beautiful, well-mannered and educated women from the palace.

Mangkunegara IV's married life with two wives from the palace proved to be long lasting, giving 32 children in total (including those who died when they were young). It is absolutely not easy to be a king, and a head of a family with a large number of family members. However, in fact, Mangkunegara IV managed to juxtapose his success as a *Kadipaten* leader and a family head. It is very possible if *Serat Warayagna* was written by Mangkunegara IV to educate his sons and daughters in choosing their respective mates.

## **4. CONCLUSION**

*Serat Warayagna* manuscript is part of *priyayi* literature because it was written by the ruler of the *Kadipaten* Mangkunegaran in the mid-19th century. It contains *piwulang* noble teachings and the concepts of *bobot*, *bibit* and *bebet*. This manuscript was probably as a result of Mangkunegara IV's reflection in living his married life and as part of a father's advice to his sons and daughters in choosing a mate/spouse.

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