

Queen Shima as Nusantara feminist pioneer: Feminist literary study on the novels *Putri Kalingga* and *Avatar Keadilan*

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Abstract: The public is more familiar with the figures of Kartini, Dewi Sartika, and Cut Nyak Dien as icons of Indonesian women emancipation fighters. For hundreds of years before Kartini was born the Kingdom of Kalingga has been led by a woman, Queen Shima. The research aims to understand the existence of Queen Shima as a pioneer of Nusantara feminism, using the feminist literary approach qualitatively. The data sources were two novels *Putri Kalingga* and *Avatar Keadilan: Pesona Kebajikan Maharatu Shima dari Negeri Kalingga*. Findings of the study show that Queen Shima, whose life story is told in the two novels *Putri Kalingga* and *Avatar Keadilan* is not only a fictitious character, but also a historical figure from the 7th century, who is hailed up as King of Kalingga Kingdom not because of inheriting the crown from her parents, but because of the intelligence, wisdom, and leadership capacities she has. In the perspectives of feminist literary criticism, Queen Shima represents Nusantara feminism that has been practiced in the era of the Kalingga kingdom.

Keywords: *feminist, Nusantara feminism, Kalingga, Queen Shima*



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ARTICLE HISTORY

- Received 2 October 2023
- Accepted 14 March 2024
- Published 17 March 2024

CITATION (APA STYLE)

Wiyatmi, W., Sudiati, S., & Artanti, Y. (2024). Queen Shima as Nusantara feminist pioneer: Feminist literary study on the novels *Putri Kalingga* and *Avatar Keadilan*. *Diksi*, 32(1), 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.21831/diksi.v32i1.66349>

INTRODUCTION

When discussing emancipation and female heroes in Indonesia, the first person who is generally remembered is Kartini (Pratidina, 2023; Wiranto, 2021). However, in Jepara, where Kartini was born, currently there are statues of three female heroes decorating the city, they are Kartini, Queen Kalinyamat, and Queen Shima (Yuliati et al., 2019). After fighting against the Portuguese colonialists in the 16th century, Queen Kalinyamat only received recognition as a national hero in 2014 (Alamsyah et al., 2023). So, who is Queen Shima?

Thirteen centuries before Kartini criticized gender inequality which marginalized women in Indonesia (Dutch East Indies) (Coté, 2022), in Kalingga Kingdom had reigned a woman king. She was Queen Shima, a woman who had received religious and military teachings from Abbott Janabadra (Coté, 2022). Her name was written in the Chinese documents during the Tang dynasty, stating that in 674, in Middle Java, there was Kalingga Kingdom (Kaling or Holing) ruled by a woman king by the name of Simo (Sukmono, 1981, p.37). Existence of the Holing kingdom was also found in the notes of a Buddhist priest, I-Tsing, who wrote that in the year 664 there came a priest by name of Hwi-ning to Holing, stayed in Holing for three years, and received help from Abbott Janabadra to translate a number of holy books of the Hinayana Buddhist religion (Sukmono, 1981, p.37).

Not many references and research findings explain the existence of Queen Shima. The dissertation by Titi Sari Nastiti (2009) entitled “The Roles and Standings of Women in the Ancient Javanese Society (VIII-XV Centuries)” does not reveal the existence of Queen Shima. Similarly, in Chapter III of “Standings and Roles of Gender in Inscriptions and Foreign Sources” (Nastiti, 2009, p. 92-93), no mention is found for Queen Shima, but it is stated that the king who reigned in 717–746 is Rakai Mataram, the Queen of Sanjaya. In Indonesia in the Course of History 2: Hindu and Buddha Kingdoms, Sedyawati & Djafar, ed. (2012, p. 175-179) quote the opinion of Poerbatjaraka that states that Queen Shima, who reigned Kalingga Kingdom, was mother of Sanjaya, of the Sanjaya Dynasty.

No historical books nor biographies have specifically discussed Kalingga Kingdom and Queen Shima. In a brief account, information about Kalingga Kingdom and Queen Shima can be found in History of Javanese Kings from Kalingga to Islam Mataram (Achmad, 2017) and Black and White of Javanese King Reigns (Achmad, 2019). In the midst of the scarcity of the history of Queen Shima, there have been published the novels *Avatar Keadilan: Pesona Kebajikan Maharatu Shima dari Negeri Kalingga* [Justice Avatar: Charms of the Chastities of Empress Shima from Kalingga Kingdom] (Nararosa, 2010) and *Putri Kalingga* [Kalingga Princess] (Wibidharma, 2022) that tell about the life of Queen Shima from childhood till she became King of Kalingga Kingdom. In the preface of the novel, the writer of *Avatar Keadilan: Pesona Kebajikan Maharatu Shima dari Negeri Kalingga* writes:

History has not much told about the Empress Shima. However, people from the Chinese country in the reign of the Tang Dynasty know her and call Kalingga as Holing. There are also folk stories about legends of the existence of Empress Shima. Should history not tell a lot, then the “unseen world” begins with its own story, a story that uncovers the legend of an Indonesian woman who was capable of becoming a great leader of a country. Shima was the only one “Nusantara Queen” who was able to become a ruler who was firm and just (Nararosa, 2010, p.15-16).

The statement in this preface indicates the aim of writing the novel as an effort to tell more about the leadership of a female king that has not been much told in the writing of history.

Based on the foregoing background discussion, the issue that becomes the focus of the present study is the existence of Queen Shima as a pioneer of Nusantara feminism by using the perspectives of the feminist literature approach. As a literary approach, the present study uses the novels *Putri Kalingga* and *Avatar Keadilan: Pesona Kebajikan Maharatu Shima dari Negeri Kalingga* as primary data sources backed up by secondary data sources from reference books and journal articles which discuss the existence of Queen Shima and Kalingga Kingdom.

The study is aimed at revealing and understanding the existence of Queen Shima as a pioneer of Nusantara feminism as can be analyzed from

the two novels *Putri Kalingga* and *Avatar Keadilan: Pesona Kebajikan Maharatu Shima dari Negeri Kalingga* by perspectives of the feminist literature approach. By focusing on the existence of Queen Shima as a pioneer of *Nusantara* feminism, the study is intended to follow up previous studies and, more specially, enrich the contents of the discussion about Queen Shima.

Nusantara feminism is one of the varieties of the feminist studies which have developed in Nusantara long before the United Country of the Republic of Indonesia was established (Sya'rani, 2023). Before feminism emerged and developed in Europe and America in the 18th and 19th centuries (Tong, 2006), in a number of regions and kingdoms in Nusantara, women have reigned as kings and involved in fights of struggles against colonialism. Queen Shima, Tribhuanatunggadewi, Dewi Suhita, Ratu Kalinyamat, Lak-sama Keumalahayati, Cut Nyak Dien, and Nyi Ageng Serang have preceded the struggles of Kartini, Dewi Sartika, Rahmah El Junusiah, Siti Walidah, and R.A. Sutartinah (Nyi Hajar Dewantara) (Wiyatmi, 2021).

In the map of feminism (Tong & Botts 2018), which distinguishes feminism into types of feminism (liberal, radical, marxist and socialist, psychoanalyst, existentialist, post structuralist and post-modernist, global, post colonialist and trans nationalist, and ecofeminist), Nusantara feminism can be categorized into the post colonialist feminism which understands women in relation to race, ethnic, class, gender identity, age, and others to repress women in a country. In this context, the figure Queen Shima, who historically reigned Kalingga Kingdom in the 7th century, was able to crush criminals who disturbed the safety of the people in some regions of Kalingga, and annihilated the robbers who killed her two foster parents (Nararosa, 2016), can be taken as one of the evidences of Nusantara feminism. Similarly, Queen Kalinyamat and Admiral Keumalahayati, two fighting women who struggled against the Portuguese, can be taken of evidences of Nusantara feminism of the post-colonial era in the 16th century.

Feminist literary research is one of the models of research studies that places its point of views on feminism (Aspinall et al., 2021; Barrow et al., 2022; Bell et al., 2020; Gonçalves et al., 2021; Haynes et al., 2020; Maseda et al., 2022; Pollack, 2021; Roald, 2021; Varghese & Kumar, 2022; Windels et al., 2020). In the contexts of literary research, a feminist literary study is often categorized as feminist literary criticism. The feminist literary criticism model emerges from previous feminist literary criticism which tends to be constructed by traditional voices which are patriarchal (Ruthven, 1985, p. 6). Through feminist literary criticism, identification will be given of injustice and repression on women that are found in literary work (Humm, 1986, p. 22). As one of the types of feminist research, feminist literary criticism will uncover information that is overlooked about specific women, or women in general, identifying the nullification and abolishment of women in the society (Reinharz, 2005, 220; Bell 2016, 1). Through feminist literary criticism, identification categories will be uprooted that are seen as universal

and belong to men and experiences of women will be raised to the surface that have been submerged (Reinharz, 2005, p. 220-221; Bell, 2016, p.1).

No studies have been found that specifically look at Queen Shima, either in the context of history or literature. The previous study on the novel *Avatar Keadilan: Pesona Kebajikan Maharatu Shima dari Negeri Kalingga* by Wiyatmi (2021) discussed Queen Shima, Tribhuana Tunggadewi, Dewi Suhita, Queen Kalinyamat, Admiral Keumalahayati, Calon Arang, and Nyi Ratu Kidul the Queen of the South Sea. The study points out at the trails of Nusantara feminism in the Indonesian literature.

Another researcher who mentions the existence of Queen Shima and Kalingga Kingdom is Sulistyanto (2019), in his study about Queen Kalinyamat, who writes that, in the region of Keling (Jepara), the people believe that, in the 7th century, Queen Shima became King of the region. Together with Queen Kalinyamat and Kartini, Queen Shima is regarded as one of the three great women of Jepara (Sulistyanto, 2019, p. 7). In their study entitled "Anticorruption Education based on Tri Kaya Parisudha", Widana, et al. (2020, p.3) state that the model of Ratu Shima's government, which educate the people to always be honest and take severe measures to theft crimes, is an embryonic root of anticorruption education.

Although not specifically discussing Queen Shima, the three foregoing studies give illumination to the existence of Queen Shima in the historical and literary discourses. With these background discussions, the present study is aimed at uncovering more information about the existence of Queen Shima, especially from the perspectives of literary research.

METHOD

The study is descriptive qualitative research using the feminist approach. The primary data source uses the novels *Putri Kalingga* by Wibowo Wibidharma (2022) and *Avatar Keadilan: Pesona Kebajikan Maharatu Shima dari Negeri Kalingga* by Nararosa (2010). Data are the narrative forms in the two novels which tell about the character and way of life of Queen Shima as King of the Kalingga kingdom. Besides, secondary data sources are used to support discussion to the primary sources in the forms of books and references that tell about Queen Shima and *Kalingga Kingdom*, such as *Mata Air Peradaban Dua Millinium Wonosobo* [Springs of Civilization Two Millenniums of Wonosobo] (Arif & CR, 2010), *Sejarah Raja-raja Jawa dari Kalingga hingga Mataram Islam* [Histories of Kings from Kalingga to Islam Mataram] (Achmad, 2017), and *Hitam Putih Kekuasaan Raja-raja Jawa* [Black White Powers of Javanese Kings] (Achmad, 2019).

Data were collected by the read and note technique. The researcher acted as a human instrument in the study conduct. Data analysis consisted of data condensation, data presentation (display), interpretation, and conclusion using the feminist literary perspectives. Data condensation refers to the processes of selecting, simplifying, and structuring data elicited from

the novels and books. In data presentation, data were displayed descriptively in the forms of verbal descriptions and tables. Conclusion was made and verified on the basis of the results of the data analyses.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

The research results show that the novels *Putri Kalingga* and *Avatar Keadilan* are two Indonesian novels that tell the history of Queen Shima's life, especially when she received an education and did work equal to men. With the story set in the 7th century, this shows that justice and gender equality in the Kalinga Kingdom, which is the setting for the novel, has been practiced in the social and state order. Therefore, Shima can be considered as one of Nusantara's feminist pioneers. The abstract of the research results appears in the following table.

Table 1. Shima's Feminist Characters in Princess *Kalingga* and *Avatar Keadilan*

No	Shima's Feminist Characters	<i>Putri Kalingga</i>	<i>Avatar Keadilan</i>
1	Education area	Nongga (Shima's childhood name) received a weaponry (military) education which is equal to boys from his adoptive mother and Pandita Janabadra Nongga received Buddhist education from Pandita Janabadra as a bhikshuni and lived at the Sutha Vihara	
2	Working area	Shima held the position of Minister of Trade of the Kalinga Kingdom Shima became King (Queen) in the Sambhara Earth Kingdom	- Shima became king in the Kalinga Kingdom

Discussion

Queen Shima as Pioneer of Nusantara Feminist

Results of the reading and interpretation of the two novels *Putri Kalingga* (Wibidharma, 2022) and *Avatar Keadilan: Pesona Kebajikan Maharatu Shima dari Negeri Kalingga* (Nararosa, 2010) by perspectives of feminist literary criticism show that, since the 7th century, in the kingdom of Kalingga, women have already had education and roles in the public sphere that are equal to those of men. Since childhood, Nonggaranya (maiden name of Queen Shima) has received lessons in archery from her foster mother (Mrs. Embu), who is an archery instructor for children of the nobility in Kalingga Kingdom (Wibidharma, 2022, p. 10), Buddhism religious teachings, martial arts, and religious internship by the Abbott Janabadra in the Sutha Monastery, place of learning of the princes and princesses of Kalingga Kingdom.

Education in the monastery becomes Shima's personal endowment for her future till she is appointed as Minister of Trade Affairs (Wibidharma, 2022, p. 121) and finally becomes King of Kalingga Kingdom (Nararosa, 2010: 91).

Although *Putri Kalingga* is published later (2022) than *Avatar Keadilan: Pesona Kebajikan Maharatu Shima dari Negeri Kalingga* (2010), readers will be able to understand more the figure Queen Shima by first reading *Putri Kalingga*. This novel tells about the childhood of Queen Shima (Nonggaranya), becoming student of the Abbott Janabadra, getting religious teaching and martial art training in the Suttha monastery, becoming Minister of Trade of Kalingga Kingdom, and wandering around to find the murderers of her foster parents. The story plot of *Putri Kalingga* is ended with the return of Queen Shima to Kalingga to join the contest of the selection of wife for Kalingga King. In *Avatar Keadilan: Pesona Kebajikan Maharatu Shima dari Negeri Kalingga*, the childhood and maiden age of Queen Shima is told quite shortly. The story is more focused on the narration of Queen Shima in going places to find the murderers of her foster parents, battling the criminals who disturb the peace in the society, becoming King of the Land of Shambara, returning to Kalingga, marrying Kartikeyasingha (King of Kalingga), and succeeding his reign after Kartikeyasingha decides to become an ascetic. In her old age, before her death, Queen Shima bequeaths her lands to her children. She hands down the Land of Shambara to Pradibaddha and Kalingga to Parwati. During her reign, Kalingga Kingdom is described as a prosperous country, safe, and peaceful as Queen Shima rules with discipline and wisdom.

Different from *Avatar Keadilan: Pesona Kebajikan Maharatu Shima dari Negeri Kalingga*, which tells about the leadership of Queen Shima as King of Kalingga, *Putri Kalingga* tells about the childhood and youth life of the Queen. Nonggaranya (maiden name of Queen Shima), learns archery from her foster mother, Mrs. Embu, and martial arts from Abbott Janabadra together with the Crown Prince of Kalingga Kingdom.

- (1) "You will become the best archer in all Kalingga," praised Janabadra stroking Nongga's head. Nongga was happy with the praise and promised to show off her skills in spear throwing when Father Janabadra came again (Wibidharma, 2022, p.23).
- (2) Almost were Prince Kartikeyan killed if he had not been saved by student Nonggaranya. At that time, the prince fell off in the battle and his head was about to be cut off with a sword. Suddenly the sword bounced down. The robber's hand was pricked by an arrow and before he knew it, another arrow pierced his chest. The robber fell down at once. His body almost hit Prince Kartikeyan had Janabadra not skilfully kicked the body. (Wibidharma, 2022, p.102-103).
- (3) On their arrival in Kalinggapura, Prince Kartekeyan and his troop were hailed warmly. The king was very satisfied with the success of his crown prince. Nonggaranya received the title of 'Kalingga Princess'; she was also hailed as daughter by Queen Wasundari. Raja Kirathasingha gave her a new name 'Daresa Shima', meaning star of the border (Wibidharma, 2022, p. 103).

- (4) The King made an announcement right away telling that student Shima be raised as Minister of the Trade Affairs. The court session was closed. // Shima pleaded that she was allowed to remain staying in Vihara Suttha. Her request was granted but during the day she must remain in the “work house” in the Palace vicinity.....// She was practicing the skills of body light and sword swing. In the milieu of the priests, only Janabadra had the high skill of body light weight. His sword skill was also not lower than that of a war lord. Only Shima and Prince Kartikeyan were under direct guidance of Janabadra (Wibidharma, 2022, p.121).

From the perspectives of feminist literary criticism, data (1) and (4) show that, as a girl, Nonggaranya (Shima) also received the lessons of weaponry (military) which are equal to boys. It is even told in the novel that the archery instructor is a woman, Mrs. Embu. Teaching women in military skills, especially archery, is also known in the Mahabharata. In the war between the Pandawa and Korawa (Bharatayudha), Srikandi, a female knight who has high skills in archery, is chosen as a war lord in the battle. Many researchers, therefore, state that the figure Srikandi in the Mahabharata is one of the characters that represents feminism in classical literature, especially the Mahabharata (Tusina, Widodo, and Hidayatulloh, 2021; Sholikhah & Masruroh, 2019).

Data (2) and (3) show the achievements of the military education of Queen Shima. With her archery skills, she was able to save the life of the Crown Prince who was being clobbered by robbers on his way to the kingdom of Tarumanegara. Because of the debt of gratitude of the Palace to Shima, she was cherished as child of the Queen of Kalingga Kingdom and was given a new name: Daresa Shima (Star of the Border), and subsequently a position as Minister of Trade Affairs.

As Minister of the Trade Affairs, Shima tied a cooperation with Zhu Wan of the Putong Hua country who was in Kalingga to buy spices. In order to fill in the needs for cloth that continually increased, Shima intended to import yarn from Putong Hua to be woven into cloth. Shima listed all the women in Kalingga who were able to weave cloth. She also asked the priests to give guidance to the people to plant cotton, the main material to make yarn. Meanwhile, the young priests gave guidance on how to weave well and repair weaving tools so that the production of cloth increased and the needs for cloth in Kalingga Kingdom could be satisfied by themselves (Wibidharma, 2022, p. 125).

In the midst of her duties to produce cloth in Kalingga, Shima still wanted to find the murderers of her foster parents. With the consent from Abbott Janabadra, Shima set out to travel to places. Along her saunter, she met people who were involved directly or indirectly with the murder of her foster parents. After she was successful in killing her foster parents' murderers, Shima stopped at a place called Sekar Pandan till she received a message from her teacher, Abbott Jababadra, to conduct development in that place.

- (5) There had been many young priests in Sekar Pandan. It seemed the messages for Father Abbott Janabadra had reached him. The young priests had started to teach the young women to plant cotton and weave cloth. Many forests had been opened for farming and gardening.....// When Shima arrived, the young priests and soldiers bowed down and paid homage to her. Everybody then bowed down and knelt, including Ki Gantang. They all addressed Shima by the title Your Highness Princess (Wibidharma, 2022, p. 263).
- (6) Shima received from a young priest a message from Father Abbott Janabadra. The message was written on palm leaves using Putong Hoa letters. The message stated that Sawer Giri was a robber leader. It also stated that King Kartikeyan allowed Shima to make use of the gold and silver pieces in the house of Sawer Giri....// So the money was then used to build Sekar Pandan to become an urban setting. Now, the money was going to be used to build a palace on Shambara hill (Wibidharma, 2022, p. 264).
- (7) Shima felt that she needed to have her own palace. The building of the palace in Shambara hill should be prioritized. She wanted to build a big kingdom in the South, conquering small kings in the South which had not become regencies under the reign of Kalingga. For the first time, Shima felt that she had a life goal. She felt more enthusiastic now that she felt she could completely conquer herself... (Wibidharma, 2022, p. 264-265).

These data show the prestige and leadership of Queen Shima as King of the Shambara Land, before she married the King of Kalingga and then continued the reign of her husband. It is this Shambara kingdom that she later gives down to her son while, to her daughter, she bequeaths Kalingga Kingdom (Nararosa, 2010).

Handing down a throne to a woman is not a simple matter, moreover in a patriarchal society. Therefore, the plan of the Kalingga king to give his authority to Queen Shima, and then all the sovereignty of the kingdom, is opposed by the priest Resi Bagaswara and his men, as can be seen in the following data quotes.

- (8) Resi Bagaswara sensed the plan of the king to appoint his wife as head of the government. This was to be a first step before the queen was hailed up to be King that reigned all Kalingga. He strongly disagreed that a country was ruled by a woman, it was not found in the history of the Hindhu, except for Durga, queen of the devils (Nararosa, 2010).
- (9) Resi was aware that he could not be imprudent because the position of Queen Shima was very powerful and strongly suspended by the people. Should the king resign because of blindness, Queen Shima could only represent the crown prince who was still a small child. Only temporary. And should the crown prince die, Queen Shima would not have the right to sit on the throne. Resi should therefore remain careful seeing that the queen was not an ordinary woman (Nararosa, 2010).

From these data, it is obvious that Resi Bagaswara represents patriarchal clans who are against the leadership of women. The statement that in the Hindhu history there has not been a kingdom ruled by a woman except for Durga from the kingdom of the devils represents the patriarchal per-

spectives that reject women leadership. This is different from the views of King Kertikeyan who acknowledges the capabilities of his wife to lead Kalingga Kingdom. He even does not mind the position of Queen Shima who is not a descendent of Kalingga kings.

- (10) The King was happy that his country had had a clear direction and plans, especially because this plan for big changes was directly managed by his potent wife. Although not a descendent of Kalingga kings, Shima was the right person to reign Kalingga. // People were happy. Queen Shima ruled Kalingga Kingdom, the people felt more peaceful, robbery and thefts depleted to a minimum. (Nararosa, 2010).
- (11) The King of Kalingga was very content with the progress of his country. Nothing of significance did he do as a king; everything had been thought of and done by the Queen. The Queen became more influential in front of the top officials of the Palace. // The King asked for the consent to his wife to follow the steps of Prince Siddharta, to go and refrain from all worldly attachments.... (Nararosa, 2019).

The transition of leadership from King Kertikeyan to Queen Shima is not done in an instant, but gradually. In the transition process, Queen Shima is first raised as head of the government. In this phase, it is seen that Queen Shima is able to carry out her duties well, and the Palace officials accept her well, so that King Kertikeyan is more convinced to fully hand over his authority to Queen Shima to rule all Kalingga. In order that the coronation of Queen Shima as King of Kalingga is known and acknowledged by other countries, King Kertikeyan ordered the Viceroy to invite the heads of all the countries which have diplomatic relations with Kalingga to attend and witness the coronation of Empress Shima. The kings of India, Kutai, China, Tarumanegara, Galuh, Sunda, Kendan, and other kings of small kingdoms in the peninsula are invited. All come to attend the coronation ceremony of the Empress Shima (Nararosa, 2010).

To re-inforce the legitimation of her coronation as King of Kalingga, in a dialogue with the Viceroy of Kalingga, Queen Shima states that she is Avatara Visnu born to the world to save Kalingga. God Visnu is the Hindu god whose responsibility is to take care of and protect the universe and all inside it. The appearance of Visnu when descending to Earth is an Avatara, who has the duties to save human beings and nature from destruction (Sena, 2018; Darma, 2019; Nastiti, 2020).

- (12) I am Empress Shima, have become King of Kalingga since I was born in the land of Kalingga. No one is to rule out that King of Kalingga must be a man, but I myself to have a say. Whoever dares to defy me, he shall perish because I am Nonggaranya, the God Visnu, an empress who comes to save Kalingga. Nonggaranya, daughter or Nyi Embu shouted loudly, looking up at the sky (Nararosa, 2010).

Several research studies state that one of the important pieces of information about Queen Shima is one that reveals a news item from China of the Tang Dynasty stating that the Holing (Kalingga) kingdom in the Island

of Java is ruled by Queen Shima, who is the first woman king in Java Island who reigns between the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. (Sukmono, 1981; Moe-hadi, et al., 1997; Sedyawati & Djafar, ed., 2012; Saraswati, 2016; Achmad, 2017; Syafrizal, 2015). Historians state that the Kalingga Kingdom (Holing) is centred in the North Coast of Central Java, around Grobogan and Jep-ara. Sedyawati & Djafar, ed. (2012, p.170) state that no exact location is known for Kalingga Kingdom, although several experts agree that it is on the North Coast of Java Island. It is Achmad (2017, p. 9) who writes that Kalingga Kingdom is situated in Jepara with Kartikeyasingha as King (648 – 674), succeeded by his wife, Queen Shima (674 – 695).

Evidence for the reign of Queen Shima is found in the Inscriptions of Upit, Tukmas, and Sojomerto (Achmad, 2017, p.20). Queen Shima also be-queaths Candi Angin [Wind Temple] in the village of Tempur, Keling, Jepara (Achmad, 2017, p.20). From the official portal of Jepara Regency, Pratiwi, et al. (2022) state that the village of Tempur has some historical heritages that have been validated by Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya (BPCB) [Body of Preservation of Cultural Heritage] as cultural-heritage objects such as Can-di Angin at the sea-level height of 1420 metres, Candi Bubrah [Broken Tem-ple], and Candi Asuh [Foster Temple] at the height of 1317 metres which have been prophesied of legacies of Kalingga Kingdom. These findings are supported by results of a geo-ecological study by Wiyono & Sunarto (2016) which has identified evidences for past civilization around the caldera of the Muria Volcano identified as Candi Asuh, Candi Bubrah, and Candi An-gin, which are thought to be places of worship during the time of Kalingga Kingdom. Other researchers, Arif & SR (2010, p. 3), who trace the trail of Queen Shima in the contexts of the history of Wonosobo Regency state that Javanese king dynasties firstly appear around Dieng (Wonosobo now), as continuation of the Kalingga Kingdom which brings about the existence of the legendary figure Queen Shima.

Two Feminist Novels in the Contestation of Patriarchal History

In the history of Indonesian literature, the two novels under study (*Pu-tri Kalingga* and *Avatar Keadilan*) have not been much discussed. The two writers of the novels have also not much been known. Information about Wibowo Wibidharma, printed at the back of the novel *Putri Kalingga* states that the writer is a law graduate and law management post-graduate who has an interest in history, philosophy, psychology, and astronomy and works as leadership consultant and philosophical therapist. *Putri Kalingga* (2022) is the second series of his serial *Jejak Tanah Leluhur* [Traces of the Land of the Ancestors]. The first series of *Jejak Tanah Leluhur* is Janabadra (2021). From these two books, it can be seen that Wibidharma who has just started to write literature prefers writing in the history novel genre. Janabadra, title of his first novel in the serial of *Jejak Tanah Leluhur*, is the name of the Buddha priest in Kalingga Kingdom who becomes foster father and teacher

of Queen Shima. Historical data about the Abbott Janabadra can be found in *Sejarah Pendidikan Daerah Jawa Tengah* [Educational History of Central Java Province] (Moehadi, dkk., 1997) which explains that, in the reign of the *Kalingga* Kingdom, I Tsing, a Buddhist priest from China states that, in the year 664, Priest Hwi-ning arrived at Ho-ling and stayed there for about three years (664-667) translating the holy books of Hinayana Buddhism with the assistance of an abbot by name of Janabadhra.

It is thought that Nararosa is the pen-name of Wibowo Wibidharma. From the brief bio data, it is told that Nararosa is a consultant in the field of human resource management with a formal educational background of law and human resource management, the same information as Wibidharma. After writing *Avatar Keadilan* (2010), he writes *Putri Kalingga* (2010). This is because the character and story plot of these two novels are related and continuing. *Avatar Keadilan* does not tell much about the educational processes, acquisition of knowledge, and leadership of Queen Shima, but more about the leadership of the Queen after becoming King of *Kalingga*. These story plots are then narrated in *Putri Kalingga*.

By raising the issues of women education and leadership, the novels *Putri Kalingga* and *Avatar Keadilan* can be categorized as feminist novels, one of the genres of Indonesian novels that develop fast in the 2000s (Suryaman, et al., 2013; Wiyatmi, 2015). The movement of feminist literature is first communicated by Showalter (1977) and Cixous (1976) who refer to the works of female writers in voicing women. However, in its development, literary works that voice women are not written only by female writers. In the history of Indonesian literature, feminist literature is not only written by women writers such as Hamidah (*Kehilangan Mestika* [Losing the Pearl], 1935), Soewarsih Djojopuspito (*Manusia Bebas* [Free Human Being], 1974), Nh. Dini (*Pada Sebuah Kapal* [On Board of a Ship](1973), and Ayu Utami (*Saman*, 1998; *Larung*, 2002; *Bilangan Fu*, 2008) but also by male writers such as Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana (*Layar Terkembang* [Raised Sail], 1936), Pramudya Ananta Toer (*Bumi Manusia* [World of Man], 1980), and Y.B. Mangunwijaya (*Burung-burung Manyar* [The Weaver Birds], 1981; the trilogy *Rara Mendut*, *Genduk Duku*, and *Lusi Lindri*, 1983-1986) (Wiyatmi, 2013).

As literary works that represent ideas of the spirits of gender justice and equality give room and voice to women figures, feminist literature springs from writers who understand, conscious, and pro-feminist. Researchers offer the term male feminist or man in feminism to refer to pro-feminist men (Smith & Jardine, 1987; Kleynjan, 2019; Subono, ed.; 2001). The novels *Putri Kalingga* and *Avatar Keadilan* are written in the motivation to represent historical accounts, especially those of the leadership of Queen Shima, that tend to have been ignored in the writing of history (Nararosa, 2010; Wibidharma, 2022). Results of the study by Nastiti (2009) which studies about the roles and standings of women in the Old Javanese society do not mention the name Queen Shima out of the 52 kings and queens of the

Ancient Mataram, Janggala-Pangjalu, Kadiri, Singhasāri, and Majapahit in the range of time from the 8th to the 15th centuries A.D. The starting point of Nastiti's study is the 8th century, and not the 7th. This is probably because Nastiti could not obtain archeological and historical data about the leadership of Queen Shima of Kalingga Kingdom. The first name of the kings of the Old Javanese era mentioned by Nastiti (2009) is Rakai Matarām, the King of Sañjaya, who is grandson of Queen Shima.

With the purpose of representing women history, specifically of Queen Shima, *Putri Kalingga* and *Avatar Keadilan* become feminist historical novels. The aim of writing the novel *Avatar Keadilan* is explicitly stated by the writer. "History has not told much about the existence of the Empress...// When history does not tell much, the "unseen world" will begin with its own story, a story that uncovers the legend of an Indonesian woman who is capable of becoming a great leader in a country" (Nararosa, 2010). In the preface of *Putri Kalingga*, it is stated that the writing of the pentalogy *Tanah Leluhur* (read: serial *Janabadra* and *Putri Kalingga*), is woven by the historical events of Pre-Ancient Mataram around the 4th to the 7th centuries A.D. // Besides logical conjectures, *Tanah Leluhur* also uses logical imaginastions, i.e. logical approaches to historical events and figures ...// For example, Shima becomes a king replacement because, according to historical notes, she is wife of King Kertikeyan who hands over his throne because he wants to retreat to become an ascetic... (Wibidharma, 2022).

From the writer's preface, it can be stated that the two novels are written as feminist historical novels which fill in the gaps of information about women leadership in the past time that is hardly noted in histories which are patriarchal. In this case, historical literature functions in filling out the lacks in the digging outs of social and mental facts that are not recorded in documental sources. Furthermore, information from literary works can even be used as a clue for historians to further trace "what really happens" through investigation in a further study (Fauzi & Santosa, 2020). Historical literature also helps members of the society to know and understand the past of their ancestors and, by so doing, plant the roots of their nation (Djokosujatno, 2002). In this relation, Kuntowijoyo (2004) states that historical novels are works of literature which use historical phenomena as the basic materials (historical figures and events). As a historian who writes literary works as well (novels, short stories, and poetry), Kuntowijoyo (2004) states that history and literature are both phenomena of human experiences. They have differences, however. In the structure of history, there are evidences, information, and facts which function to explain realities. In the structure of literature, there are structuralization of possibilities, expressions, and imaginations which function to judge realities. Meanwhile, historical substance is objectification of life since one needs to be aware of changes, while literature is subjectification of life and its reference is towards eternity (Kuntowijoyo, 2004).

Characteristics of the historical novels can be seen from the historical events that are narrated in the novel *Avatar Keadilan*. Names, places, and historical sites (archeology) told in the novel can still be traced in the historical realities and sites that can be found at the present time. By using the sub-title “Causes and Reasons” (Nararosa, 2010) that can be found at the end part of the novel *Avatar Keadilan*, it can be seen that the writer of the novel tries to structurize possibilities, expressions, and imaginations that will be useful to “justify historical realities”. The following quotation shows this claim.

(13)The Empress Shima handed over the Land Sabara to the descendents of Pradibaddha, and the northern region of Kalingga to Parwati. Pradibaddha was a devoted Buddhist. He married Kulakanya and had two children, a son by name of Dewasinga and daughter Sanaha. Dewasinga became Crown Prince of Land Sabara. He was ancestor of Syailendra who built the biggest Buddha temple in the world, the Temple of Land Sabara, which was later called Borobudur. Parwati lived in Galuh after marrying Mandiminyak, who was King of Galuh, replacing his father, King Wretidandayun.

These data show the genealogy of Queen Shima. From her son, Pradibaddha, were emanated the Syailendra and Sanjaya dynasties. The Syailendra Dynasty built Borobudur Temple, the biggest Māhāyana Buddha temple in Indonesia, in the 8th century (Nastiti, 2018). From Sahana (granddaughter of Queen Shima from Pradibaddha) was Sanjaya born who later became King of Kalingga. Sanjaya reigned Mataram Land in the northern part of Kalingga and established a new dynasty, the dynasty of Sanjaya who generated Javanese kings. The Temple of Roro Jonggrang or Prambanan was built by Sanjaya Dynasty, while the shrine on the Ungaran mountains became the burial place for kings of the Sanjaya Dynasty and was used as a worship temple called the Temple of Gedong Songo [Nine Halls] (Nararosa, 2010). The Dynasties Syailendra and Sanjaya are two dynasties in the historical development of the Ancient Mataram Kingdoms (Tuju & Herwindo, 2021; Damai, 2019; Posponegoro & Notosusanto, 2010).

CONCLUSION

From the feminist analyses of the novels *Putri Kalingga* and *Avatar Keadilan: Pesona Kebajikan Maharatu Shima dari Negeri Kalingga*, it can be concluded that the two novels narrated the existence of Queen Shima as a Nusantara feminist pioneer, not only a fictitious figure but also historical of the 7th century. Queen Shima was hailed to be King of Kalingga Kingdom not because inheriting the crown from her parents, but because of the intelligence, wisdom, and leadership competences that she has. In the perspectives of feminist literary criticism, Queen Shima represents Nusantara feminism that has been practiced in the time of Kalingga Kingdom. From the narratives that raise women education and leadership in the Ancient Javanese era, the two novels under study can be categorized as feminist his-

torical novels which are written to give evidence to the existence of Queen Shima, an ancestor of Ancient Javanese Kings who has not been much discussed in historical books which tend to be patriarchal and ignore the existence of women as historical subjects.

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