

***Inya*: Wet Nurse and Successful Regeneration of The Mataram Islamic Court Authorities in The Past**

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Abstract

The fame of Islamic Mataram, a kingdom that encompassed Java and its surroundings, is reflected in its strong Javanese culture. Since the Mataram era, Javanese culture has been an important part of Javanese life. One of the main characteristics of the culture that is inherent in the lives of Javanese people is *Inya*. *Inya* is the term for the nurse or mother of the king's baby who is considered a symbol of the fame of the Islamic Mataram kingdom. This study discusses the ins and outs of *Inya* and its contribution to the regeneration of the rulers of the Islamic Mataram palace. The method used in this study is the Historical method. Data search focused on literature studies related to the empowerment of *Inya* in the past. The results of this study indicate that *Inya* has a very important role in the regeneration of the rulers of the Islamic Mataram palace. *Inya* has the task of raising and caring for the king's baby. *Inya* also has an obligation to educate and train the king's baby according to the procedures and customs of the Islamic Mataram community.

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Introduction

The life of the Islamic Mataram Palace is very complex, starting from the initial period of its establishment until it was divided into several kingdoms including Kasunanan, Kasultanan, Mangkunegaran and Pakualaman. The dynamics of the kingdom from time to time make the events within the palace walls interesting to study more deeply. Every event related to life inside and outside the palace walls becomes interesting if studied in depth. One of the interesting sides of the life of the Islamic Mataram palace is the existence of ex-Blambangan people who also served the palace and the king. They served because they became prisoners of the Mataram Kingdom.

Blambangan was originally known as *Balambwangan*. The people of the region often refer to themselves as "*wong lamboeng*". Some researchers explain that Blambangan or Balambangan means "border land", which is inhabited by the *Pinggir* community. During the defeat against Mataram, Blambangan militants became prisoners of war. Gent explains that the derivation process of the name Blambangan comes from the word "*bëlambang*", which is a swamp full of thickets. This explanation

is also related to the discovery of the former Blambangan area which is an area of grassy swamps or full of thickets. The name Blambangan also comes from the derivation of the words *bala* (*bolo*/ friend in Javanese) and *mbang* (region, side or boundary), in this case affiliated with the eastern region (in Javanese, namely *mbang wètan* or more fully *manca negara mbang wètan*). Some researchers also argue that the word “Balamboang (han)” comes from the Using/ Osing dialect (Stoppelaar, 1927, p. 3).

Some literature explains that the Blambangan people who later defended the Islamic Mataram were called *Tiyang Pinggir* or *Wong Pinggir*. This group of people eventually became a separate community living in the Surakarta and Yogyakarta regions. After the split of the Islamic Mataram kingdom in 1755, the Blambangan Warriors were also divided into two. Some affiliated with the Kasunanan palace, some moved with the new sultan (Hamengkubuwana I) who occupied the land of Yogyakarta. In Surakarta, during the reign of Pakubuwana III, the existence of Prajurit Blambangan corps was disbanded because it was considered no longer powerful. However, the Blambangan people were recruited again during the reign of Pakubuwana IV (1788-1820). The new corps was awarded 400 *pangkon* or *lungguh* lands (cultivated land) covering an area of approximately 100 *Bahu*, located around the Kartasura and Ngadireja areas. During the reign of Pakubuwana IV, the Prajurit Blambangan corps was under the command of Pangeran Aria Mangkubumi II. The Prajurit Blambangan corps was then divided into two parts after the death of Mangkubumi II. The two corps were named Suratetana and Jayatetana, which later became known as Prajurit Kartasura. From then on, Prajurit Blambangan was fully under the authority of Surakarta (Lieberman, 1999).

The Blambangan people who defended the Islamic Mataram contributed a lot to the Palace. One of the interesting sides of the life of the Palace world is the contribution of women, especially from Blambangan, in an effort to help the kings or the Palace elite to care for their children. The role of women in the life of the palace world basically has a minor proportion. Despite having a role with a minor proportion, women, especially the nurses of the king's children, cannot be underestimated. They are willing to become milk mothers (wet nursing) to provide nutrition and nutrition for the growth and development of the king's children.

Based on the background that has been described, the main problem addressed in this study is how important is the role of *Inya* for the success of the regeneration of the ruler of the Islamic Mataram Palace? From the main problem, it is detailed into several questions to analyze the existing problems. The formulation of questions used to analyze include the following. What is the history of *Inya's* involvement in the growth and development of noble children? The question is then broken down into several questions to analyze more deeply, namely how is the history and background of *Inya*, the wet nurse behind the successful regeneration of the rulers of the Islamic Mataram Palace in the past? How did *Inya* contribute to the successful regeneration of the rulers of the Islamic Mataram Palace in the past? What strategies and techniques did *Inya* use to ensure the success of the regeneration of the past rulers of the Islamic

Mataram Kraton? What impact did *Inya's* efforts have on the royal family of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom? What can be learned from *Inya's* story and how can it be applied today?

The method used in this research is the historical method, a scientific process that allows us to find and analyze historical evidence. This method includes a number of steps such as collecting sources of information, conducting further research, analyzing facts, drawing conclusions, and creating an accurate reconstruction of the past. It also includes the use of various techniques such as analysis, comparison, interpretation and criticism. This process allows us to make responsible assumptions about the past and gives us the opportunity to understand the worldview and attitudes of people in the past. The spatial scope of this research focuses on the capital city of the Islamic Mataram kingdom, especially the Surakarta and Yogyakarta regions. The temporal scope that limits this research starts from the collapse of the Blambangan kingdom until the reign of His Majesty Sultan Hamengkubuwono III. The collapse of the Blambangan kingdom as the initial temporal scope in this research was motivated by the proximity between Islamic Mataram and the former Blambangan kingdom.

There are several references related to this research. One of them is the research conducted by Darsiti Soeratman, published under the title of aspects of the life of women in the Surakarta Palace, 20th century, the first part. The article reviews the lives of women, especially *Abdi dalem* in serving the king. One of the women who served the king (Soeratman, 1981). The article discusses the role of *Inya*, especially related to her duties in overseeing the growth and development of the king's children. However, Darsiti Soeratman did not explain much about the impact of infant care by *Inya*. Therefore, Darsiti Soeratman's article is a starting point to explore the impact of *Inya*.

Another writing that raised other social conditions in Java, especially in the XIV century, was written by Pigeaud with the title *Java in the 14th Century: A Study in Cultural History*. The book reviews the socio-cultural problems that existed in Java, and one of them alludes to the world of life around the Islamic Mataram palace. It also discusses the social, political, and economic changes that occurred in Java in the 14th century. Overall, *Java in the 14th Century: A Study in Cultural History* is a thorough and valuable book on the cultural history of Java in the 14th century (Pigeaud, 1962). There are only a few reviews of the *Inya*. However, it provides a platform to delve deeper into the culture of Javanese society, especially in relation to the upbringing of the *Inya*. Therefore, this research discusses more deeply the role of *Inya* as the nurse behind the successful regeneration of the rulers of the Islamic Mataram Palace in the past.

The Need for Wet Nursing in Some Past Civilizations

The practice of *Inya* in Java itself has existed since the time of the Hindu kingdom. This is evidenced by the depiction of the story of the birth of Lawa and Kusa in the reliefs of the Prambanan temple. The baby was born by Sita while in exile in the forest. *Inya* takes care of the baby until it grows up (Creese, 2015, p. 76). The relief found in Prambanan Temple does not provide a detailed story about breastfeeding for babies

who are being cared for (wet nursing) (Figure 1).



Figure 1: A temple relief that tells the story of the birth of Lawa and Kusa. Sita, exiled to the forest, gives birth to Rama's sons Lara and Kusa in a hermitage. A nanny holds one of the babies and becomes his nurse (breastfeeding mother).

Source: Brahma Temple, Prambanan, Central Java (Creese 2015, p. 76).

Kakawin manuscripts of Javanese Hindu kingdoms rarely describe the phase or childhood of the king's sons and daughters. The most complete Kakawin manuscript description of childhood is found in the fragment Princess Indumati's Death by Sumanasa Flower. Mpu Monaguna writes in twenty-one stanzas describing Indumati's passage through childhood and adolescence. Indumati is told to have a nanny (woman) who is a noble class and still has a lineage from the royal family. The nursemaid (*Inya*) has a position and dignity and good character. Mpu Monaguna was very careful in describing the character of the milk lady (*Inya*) in his literary work. *Inya* is described not as an ordinary citizen but has an important position. This also refers to *Inya's* duty and heavy burden in taking care of the king's child with care and affection. Mpu Monaguna does not explain in detail how *Inya's* relationship with the king's child in the next phase of growth and development. Only a few verses highlight the stages of the child's development, such as when the princess first learns to crawl and walk independently, and when she first utters words (Creese, 2015, pp. 76-77).

The existence of *Inya* in several Javanese literatures has been revealed, one of which is in Babad Majapahit (Irawan, Kriswanto, Noegraha, & National Library (Indonesia), 2013, p. 24). The excerpt of the poem is as follows.

*nuju pinarak dalem sang dēwi / jwala nglayung kasunaring pandam, melok gumawang cahyanē / emban Inya nēng ngayun, sang kusuma manamur wingit, nanging meksa kawentar / telenging jroning kung / ngandika mring babu Inya. waktu menghadap sang dewi terkena cahaya kelihatan jelas wajahnya. Abdi (perawat/*Inya*) berada di depannya. sang dewi menyembunyikannya namun tetap kelihatan dalam batinnya (dan) berkata kepada abdi/*Inya* (perawat/*Inya*).*

The need for local elites (especially kings) to provide adequate nutrition to their

children by hiring women to breastfeed the king's children is actually not only found in Java but in many parts of the world. Employing women to breastfeed children as in Java is also found in the colonial region of Lima (a royal territory in Peru). The similarity in the need for wet nursing (caring for and feeding babies) found between the region and Java lies in two purposes, namely physically and spiritually. Physically, breastfeeding children by employing women who have quality breast milk will maintain the child's endurance until adulthood, so that it is not susceptible to disease (Premo, 2006, p. 52). Breastfeeding has a positive physical and mental impact on a baby's development. Breastfed babies tend to have stronger immune systems, higher IQs, and better cognitive and motor skills than those who are formula-fed (non-breastfed). Breastfeeding also provides babies with essential nutrients, antibodies and other beneficial compounds that can help them grow and develop. In addition, studies show that breastfed babies may have fewer psychological and behavioral problems than those who are bottle-fed. Breastfeeding can also have a positive impact on mother-child bonding and help children develop attachment (Premo, 2006, p. 52).

Breastfeeding a baby usually creates a mystical resonance related to spirituality between the breastfeeding mother and the baby. The care taken by the mother gives rise to a spiritual intimacy between the two. In elite European societies, such as those found in Spain, breastfeeding offspring with breast milk is something that parents must do. Modern moralists and medical experts in Spain urged mothers to breastfeed their own offspring. Damiln in 1541 also issued an instruction titled *Libro del arse tie las comadres o madrinas* (book on the bond of foster mothers or godmothers), which aimed to provide guidance in choosing women to care for and raise babies. However, he also praised the benefits of breast milk, stating that it is the most instinctively preferred food for children. The same advice was given by the medical expert named Cabildo Jaen, don Juan Gutierrez de Godoy. In 1629, he wrote that breast milk, which is biologically closest to the baby, is the best food intake. Cabildo regrets that many upper-class mothers find breastfeeding their own children too hard and tend to neglect the task (Premo, 2006: 52).

Colonial elites in some parts of the world also needed wet nursing services for their infant offspring. They could afford to pay higher prices for pregnant female slaves because these women could care for their children (Premo, 2006, p. 52). A similar phenomenon in the archipelago is also found in the Maluku region (eastern Indonesia). The son of the Sultan of the Maluku kingdom is given the assistance of several women who are considered noble as nurses who breastfeed him. Each nurse breastfed the Sultan's son for one or two weeks. The woman personifies the relationship in a profound way. One manuscript found in Makassar (South Sulawesi) in the 16th century explains that the milk mother (like the *Inya* in Java) has a high position. The breast milk obtained from her becomes a debt that must later be repaid. The manuscript refers to milk mothers as *anrong tumappasusu*. A similar phenomenon in Southeast Asia can also be found in Burma. Milk mothers have an important position in overseeing the growth and development of noble children. In return, the aristocratic children must replace the breast milk they drink by making the milk mother (U Pon

San) happy and honored. Usually the milk mothers are compensated in the form of several plots of land, servant slaves and some livestock (cows) (Andaya, 2004).

The Background of The Emergence of *Inya* and Its Role in The Life of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom

Islamic Mataram sought to emulate Majapahit's cultural style in certain aspects. This was done by its predecessor kingdom (Demak), which had its capital on the coast of Java. They brought in artists and craftsmen from Majapahit to build facilities such as mosques, gardens and other royal buildings. Later, some of them also served Sultan Agung (ruled 1613-1646) as architects for his new palace in Karta, near the Opak river. Among these craftsmen and artists (architects) was a group of Balinese who specialized in woodworking and metalwork. They became known as the Kalang people, which later became a separate identity in the Kutha Gedhe region of Yogyakarta. They fell into a special category of royal bondholders who came from the Blambangan region. Although they were initially brought to the capital of Islamic Mataram as prisoners of war, they gradually contributed much to Islamic Mataram, becoming personal followers of the ruler. Kalang women were also often used as second wives (*selir, garwa ampeyan*). Some Kalang men worked as skilled architects in the construction of buildings in the palace (Lieberman, 1999, p. 273).

In 1639 Blambangan was successfully subdued by the Islamic Mataram. Prisoners of war from East Java and Blambangan were brought to Mataram to serve as workers or servants of the Islamic Mataram kingdom. They became known as *Orang Pinggir* or *Gajah Mati* (Indonesian Council of Ulama, 1991, p. 419). If we look at the history of Blambangan society, during the time of the establishment of the kingdom until the end of the kingdom's glory, there were two groups of people, namely the people of the former Majapahit kingdom and the *Pinggir* community. The classification of these community groups is the result of regional zoning, where Biluluk Majapahit is the former province as the center of the region which mostly consists of the Brantas river valley, while outside the province Lumajang, Pajang and others are called by their own names (including *Pinggir*). The *Pinggir* community is defined as the people who live in the Paraduhur temple area, namely the Border area (Pigeaud, 1962, p. 419).

Tiyang Pinggir is synonymous with people who come from the eastern tip of the island of Java or called *Tiyang Pinggir*. *Tiyang Pinggir* or Blambangan is famous for its power or immunity. Soehari revealed that the *Pinggir* people from Blambangan were offered to join a corps called Prajurit Balambangan. The Blambangan soldier corps was then divided into 2, namely Suratetana and Jayatetana (Lieberman, 1999). Tan Boen Swie also explained that in the early Islamic Mataram period, men from Blambangan were used as *coban* (experimental rabbits) for weapons used in battle. If the man died, the weapon was declared good and suitable for use. Blambangan women were used as nurses for noble children (*Inya*) (Lieberman, 1999).

The Islamic Mataram Kingdom then protected the settlements of the *Pinggir* people who were loyal to Islamic Mataram. The elite of the Islamic Mataram Palace still needed the services of the peripheral communities, especially to provide

breastfeeding women (later known as *Inya*) for the children of the Kingdom. The tradition of the Mataram Palace employing breastfeeding women from the former Blambangan Kingdom started from the need for breast milk for the king's children. Women who were hired as *Inya* (breastfeeding women) were initially captives from Blambangan, because they were considered capable of caring for and providing quality breast milk, the King of Mataram then entrusted the care and breastfeeding of his children to the ex-Blambangan people, who were located in an eastern district of the Islamic Mataram kingdom. This is as mentioned in the Piuluk charter which mentions the name Pinggir, which is identified as the collective name of a remote perdikan area.

The people of Pinggir were also called Paradapur. The differentiation refers to Majapahit's rank system that placed higher people near the center of civilization. In the book *Negara Kertagama*, it is mentioned that there were two Paradapur groups, namely Aputih and Sujanya (Pigeaud, 196, p. 419). The two groups then inhabited the Blambangan region and partly served the Islamic Mataram. The process of dedication of the Paradapur group to the Islamic Mataram kingdom was also influenced by several events. One of them was the Suropati rebellion. The rebellion led to the events of 1636, where the fifth prince of Mataram sent Paradapur Blambangan into exile as slaves in Mataram territory. They later had descendants who later lived in the area known as Gajahmati and Pinggir as remote areas (Van der Aa, 1875, p. 578).

The first opinion on the meaning of the word Pinggir simply indicates the place of origin of the people, namely in Blambangan which is located on the seafront. The story associated with this opinion comes from Surakarta, starting with Panembahan Senopati who conquered Blambangan. Since Senopati sympathized with the king who ruled the tip of East Java, he was not made his vassal, but his ally. The only kingdom that had been conquered, Senopati obliged the King of Blambangan to come to Mataram once a year. In the next period, after Senopati and the conquered King of Blambangan also died, Blambangan was led by Pangeran Cinde Amoh and his brother. Both leaders were not loyal to Mataram. As a result, Sultan Agung sent his army to destroy Blambangan. Sultan Agung's army won, then the two Princes of Blambangan were arrested and brought to Mataram.

Sultan Agung received a report on the persistence of the Blambangan people in their efforts to defend the independence of their country. The Sultan concluded that the Blambangan people were brave warriors and had war knowledge and magic. Furthermore, the Sultan was pleased to help a special line named *prajurit Blambangan*. Consisting of people who are placed under the leadership of their own kings. In addition, the Blambangan people were used as *coban*, meaning that they were used as experiments whether the newly made weapons were effective or not. If the person who was used as an experiment died because of the new weapon, then the weapon was meaningful enough to be taken to the battlefield. Their wives became *Inya* for the king's sons. In general, the Blambangan people who were in Mataram attracted the Sultan and were well received by the people of Mataram. After Sultan Agung died and subsequent kings did not pay much attention to the Blambangan people,

therefore, their residence was increasingly far from the position of the king, especially after the capital of Islamic Mataram moved to Surakarta. Actually, Sunan Pakubuwono III still paid attention to the Blambangan people, but they were still used as *coban*. Since they were no longer as devoted as their ancestors in the early Mataram era, hundreds of those who became *coban* died. The rest fled to the old capital of the Mataram kingdom.

Pangeran Mangkubumi, son of Sunan Pakubuwono III, called back the Blambangan people who had fled to Yogyakarta. They were no longer used as *Coban*, but as soldiers. The formation of the Blambangan army under the leadership of its chiefs, namely Jatasuro, Surowikoto, Surowilarso, and others. As in previous times, the wives of the Blambangan people were made *Inya* for the sons of the king. To be able to carry out their obligations regularly, one of these women became the leader (commonly called *Inya Bugel*) by the Pinggir people. The *Inya bugel* then passed on the experience to her *Inya* in the following period. Another story was given by Raden Ngabehi Mangunwiguno in Kartasura around 1929, containing information that since long ago the Pinggir people were often used as *Inya* for the king's sons. Raden Ngabehi Mangunwiguno explained that when Prince Puger was just born, the Islamic Mataram Palace had difficulty in getting an *Inya*. Finally, a suburban person was taken who turned out to be suitable for the prince. After the prince became the king of Mataram with the title Sunan Pakubuwono I, the recruitment of fringe people to be used as *Inya* for the king's children became a tradition. At the time of the Palihan Nagari incident, the Sultan of Yogyakarta asked for half of the number of Pinggir people, and the request was agreed upon by Sunan Pakubuwono III.

Patih Yogyakarta around 1929 explained that when Pangeran Mangkubumi, who later became the first Sultan of Yogyakarta, was still struggling on the slopes of Mount Sundoro. In the midst of the sultan's struggle, his wife gave birth to a son. This son was named Raden Mas Sundoro who would later replace his father as Sultan Hamengkubuwono II. At the time of the war, there were very few wives of soldiers who followed their husbands, and perhaps at that time there was only one who was breastfeeding a child, namely a woman from Blambangan, so Pangeran Mangkubumi asked the woman to be his *Inya* for his newborn son. After the war ended, Pangeran Mangkubumi was appointed Sultan, so the Blambangan woman who had contributed was given a piece of land. The land was located on the border of Kotabaru. The village where the woman who became her *Inya* lived is known as Minggir or Minggiran village (referring to the Minggir or Minggiran people who became her *Inya*) (Soeratman, 1981, pp. 13-21).

Pangeran Purbonegoro (from Surakarta) once said that during the time of Sunan Pakubuwono IV, a line of Blambangan soldiers was formed under the leadership of the king's son-in-law (pangeran Arya Mangkubumi II) husband Kanjeng Ratu Pembayun. As the eldest princess, Kanjeng Ratu Pembayun became the leader of the other princesses in the palace. The order from the King to find her *Inya* was also conveyed to her. The task was carried out easily because her husband was the head of the Blambangan army. Based on the narrative of Kyai Lurah Surocundoko, *ngInyani*

or *ngempengi* work makes women from minggir have a close relationship with the Palace family. They are called pinggir because they are people who are loved or chosen. Nyanyi Lurah also explains that these women came from Blambangan who were brought to Mataram after being conquered by Sultan Agung (Soeratman, 1981, pp. 13-21).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Kraton no longer recruited *Inya* from Kartasura, because the Pinggir women had mixed blood with other communities. Efforts were made by the kings to maintain the blood purity of the Pinggir people. These efforts included prohibiting the Blambangan people from marrying people in their group. Therefore, the Blambangan people had to live separately from the Javanese (Islamic Mataram). The king then isolated the place where the Blambangan people lived. The king also issued rules so that people did not enter the village where the Blambangan people lived. However, people who are members of the Blambangan group feel that these restrictions actually restrict their lives. People who live in the Blambangan group want a wider family relationship. Therefore, many people from the Blambangan group prefer to leave the village. They continue their lives by marrying people from outside the Blambangan group. So, there was a marriage that caused them to have mixed blood offspring. How to detect a woman born of mixed blood is seen through the breast milk that the woman produces. The purity of women of marginal descent has breast milk that is bluish in color. Javanese people often refer to breast milk with these criteria as half *wulung*. Regardless of whether an *Inya* is a genuine descendant of the pinggir community or not, her relationship with the Putra Raja she breastfed is very close. An *Inya* who has a husband, when her husband dies, will stay in the palace. An *Inya* will follow her breastfed baby faithfully, even if the breastfed baby is taken by the king out of Java (Soeratman, 1981, pp. 13-21).

The *Inya* (nurse) has a very important role, as important as the heroine. Some Javanese literary texts (*serat* and other manuscripts) depict the *Inya* character as clumsy and rude but funny. The success and failure of the *Inya*'s tasks are reflected through the appearance and development of the infants they care for or accompany (Scheltema, 1996). The description of *Inya* has been documented in Platen album Yogya 25 (Catalog LL 25) This album is a copy of the image description of Moens album no. 25 (KBGG 950), which was done by Pigeaud himself in 1935. It is one of 30 illustrated albums compiled on the initiative of Ir. Moens in Yogyakarta around 1929-1937. The album contains Kratonhuishouding, which describes the state of the servants in the keparak court, in terms of rank, name, occupation, clothing, inheritance, *nyai*, *amping*, *Inya*, *emban*; *ladosan pangantèn èstri*; apprentice bedhaya, *srimpi*, *manggung*; *Langenkusuma* (*kaprajuritan putri*), *garwa ratu*, *padmi*, *klangenan*, *pelara-lara* (Behrend and Feinstein, 1990).

There are actually several diversifications of nurses that existed in the life of the Islamic Mataram Palace and its royal successors. They include *Inya* or *wulucumbu*, *mbok emban*, and *ngenger*. *Inya* or *wulucumbu* (companion servant) was in charge of breastfeeding (Soekiman, 2000, p. 76). Meanwhile, women who had the specific task of taking care of the king's children were called *mbok emban*. Some people identify the

nurses who take care of the children of kings and nobles as *emban Inya*, because the *Inya* also act as *emban* after the child is weaned (no longer breastfeeds). Thus, there is a bias in the distinction between *Inya* and *mbok emban*. The boundary between *Inya* and *mbok emban* (*abdi pamomong*) is actually emphasized by the differentiation of tasks that the two *Abdi dalem* have. *Inya* has the task of caring for and nursing the king's children, especially those less than 2 years old, while *mbok emban* has the task of caring for the king's children, especially those more than 5 years old. *Ngenger* acts as a caretaker for the king's children when they are teenagers.

The Pinggir people did specialize as *Inya* who were loyal to the king (*Kawula raja*). Therefore, the kingdom or nobility gave appreciation to the *Inya*. The women from Blambangan were used as milk mothers (*Inya*) for noble children. Some stories explain that the breast milk of Blambangan women is bluish white and is often referred to as "satengah wulung" (semi-indigo). Apart from being milk mothers (*Inya*), the Blambangan women are also assigned to maintain the cleanliness of bathroom or toilet sanitation (Kumar, 2013, p. 178). In order to maintain the quality of breast milk, during pregnancy Blambangan women routinely drink herbal concoctions made from the extraction of Rajegwesi leaves. The herb causes their breast milk to become half-wulung (semi-indigo). The babies who consume the breast milk will grow up to be *digdaya* (invulnerable) (Lieberman, 1999).

The *Inya* has the rather important task of overseeing the growth and development of the King's or nobleman's baby. As long as the baby cannot walk properly, and cannot eat independently, respected and wealthy parents will entrust the baby to a nurse or "*emban*". Some people also refer to her as *Inya*. Generally, the nurse took care of the baby until it was three or four months old, sometimes even more. *Inya* is also in charge of changing the baby's diapers. The diapers used are used clothes (*lungsuran*) belonging to the parents. The clothes used are a piece of cloth pulled between her legs and tied to her stomach. The use of the cloth makes it easier for *Inya* so that she does not need to change diapers frequently, if the baby wets the bed. Javanese people often call the slip or diaper "*cawět*". The sons of kings or aristocrats who are cared for by *Inya* usually do not wear clothes or body coverings other than slips or diapers. The diaper is usually wide enough to cover the chest as well. The *Inya* also sometimes dressed the infant in an upper waistband, called an "octopus", consisting of a piece of white cotton or linen, which was to wrap around the child's upper body.

Her infant care also usually involves keeping the baby's fontanel (Quadrangulus fonticulus) hardened. This is done because the baby's skull bones in the fontanel are very vulnerable. Some people call the bones that have not formed completely, especially at the front of the head, "baby" or "baby". In order for the crown to harden, the baby is usually covered with a concoction of "*bôboq*" or "*popog*". "*Bôbog*" is made from finely ground natural ingredients such as *ndringo*, *banglé*, fennel, *pulasari*, and castor leaves. The concoction is applied for seven consecutive days (Mayer, 1894, pp. 161-162).

Protection of the baby is also done when the baby goes on a trip or is outdoors for a long time. Usually, the *Inya* or mother puts on a headgear or what is called

“hierpoes”. Head coverings are given to protect the baby from cold or heat. If no headgear is found, the *Inya* covers the baby with a piece of *slèndang* that is used to carry the baby. When the baby grows up and starts crawling (*mrangkang*), the use of *tjawèt* is replaced by shorts (*katok*). In addition, underwear (*jarit* or *sinjang*) can be used, but it is left loose and no longer pulled between the legs (Mayer, 1894, p. 163). *Inya* usually has a special role in the traditional *tedak siten* ceremony. *Inya* carries the child accompanied by *mbok emban*. The *Abdi dalem Putri* head to the *Wisma* inside the palace which marks the end of the *tedak siten* ceremony. *Inya* must also be required to attend several ceremonies conducted by the King. One of them is when the *ngabekten* ceremony is held. *Inya* comes during *ngabekten* for women, especially in the evening, afternoon, and before Isha, with the concubines, granddaughters, wives and widows of the Princes and Dukes (*Adipati*) (Margantoro & Nusantara, 1999, p. 208).

The Impact of *Inya* Parenting on the Growth and Development of Children of the King/ Nobles

The eighteenth-century Javanese Babad Kraton explains that Amangkurat II (1673-1703), who had only one male heir from his consort *Ratu Kulon*, attempted succession by trying to abort a pregnant concubine. Another figure involved in palace intrigue was the mother-in-law (*Inya*). Southeast Asian society, as elsewhere, usually had other women take care of the royal children even when they were new borns, due to the belief that the colostrum produced by the biological mother after childbirth was not so much and only slightly thick breast milk could ensure the baby’s health and growth. Some Chinese historians also point out that milk mothers (nurses as well as *Inya*) held an honorable position in the imperial court, where the milk mother was respected by the emperor because her child had been breastfed and well cared for. The existence of milk mothers (a kind of *Inya*) in the household life of Islamic empires in Asian regions such as the Mughal region of India was also highly respected. They created a kind of “nurturing community” formed by ties of blood, birth and marriage. Wet nurses in Southeast Asia became the center of a network of reciprocal relationships, turning unrelated individuals into “family” through breastfeeding. The resulting lineage can have a decisive effect on marriage patterns. The children of certain noblewomen would usually be candidates for a prince’s (crown prince’s) first wife. However, if they were breastfed by the same milk mother (*Inya*), they became “blood brothers”. Thus, they were not allowed to marry (Andaya, 2006, p. 186). Javanese people call breastfeeding siblings *sedulur suson*. Because he was breastfed by *Inya*, the king’s son had to be more careful in choosing a concubine when he grew up. The bond caused by several babies breastfed by *Inya* made other children breastfed by *Inya* and the king’s son become *sedulur suson* (Language Center of the Special Region of Yogyakarta Province, 2001, p. 683). In Islam, marrying a sibling is considered incompatible with Sharia law. This is because consanguinity cannot guarantee that the relationship will go well and will not cause problems in the future. In addition, consanguinity will also expose the children resulting from the relationship to long-term health problems. For this reason, Islam prohibits marriage to siblings (Rizvi, 2021).

The existence of *Inya* is actually still widely found until the 20th century. One of the famous figures in 20th century Java who is still cared for by an *Inya* is Suryopranoto. As is common among the nobility, from birth a child is usually immediately taken care of by a special caregiver, called *mbok emban*, and breastfed by an *Inya*. In the hands of the *mbok emban* the child is expected to quickly understand orderly, polite, and refined behavior. Meanwhile, the child is breastfed by the *Inya* in order to have a *mawateja* (bright shining) face thanks to adequate nutrition (Anak Bangsawan Bertukar Jalan, 2006, p. 30).

The shortcomings of infant care by *Inya* or wet nursing compared to biological mothers in the Islamic Mataram kingdom include that *Inya* or wet nursing can cause infants to experience a lack of immunity because they do not get antibodies from biological mothers. In addition, oxytocin produced by biological mothers can induce a state of calm, and reduce stress. This can increase feelings of affection between mother and child, and enhance bonding. Pleasant forms of touch stimulate the secretion of oxytocin, as well as prolactin, and skin-to-skin contact between mother and baby after delivery aids breastfeeding and emotional bonding (WHO, 2018). Therefore, the presence of *Inya* or wet nursing can cause the baby to experience a lack of love and affection from the biological mother. *Inya* or wet nursing can cause the baby to experience unpleasant environmental influences.

Conclusion

The *Inya* of Blambangan had important implications for the regeneration of the rulers of the Mataram Palace as she was the milk mother of the children of the nobility. She acted as a nurturer during the childhood of noble children, providing insight and teachings on how to behave as a noble. *Inya* also had very important implications for the regeneration of the rulers of the Mataram court due to the traditional belief that a nursing mother's milk had the power to pass on her good spiritual and physical traits to the child she nursed.

The history of *Inya's* involvement in the growth and development of aristocratic children dates back to the Hindu Buddhist era and this practice flourished until the Majapahit era. This was mainly because the *Inya* was not only responsible for providing nutrition to the baby but was also seen as a spiritual guardian. The historical involvement of *Inya* in the development of noble children began in the 17th century when troops from Blambangan surrendered to the Islamic King of Mataram and the kingdom hired Blambangan women as *Inya*. The King of Mataram trusted his *Inya* to care for and provide the best service to his children.

The task of the *Inya* was to take care and nurture the children of the nobles, keeping them properly nourished through breast milk. In addition, the *Inya* is also in charge of maintaining the physical, emotional, and spiritual health of the baby, providing nutrition, supervising the baby's health, and ensuring the baby's safety. The *Inya* must also ensure that noble children grow up to be good leaders, who can perform royal duties well. An *Inya* must also abide by the traditions, customs, and beliefs of the

Mataram palace as values that she must adhere to in caring for the sons and daughters of kings or nobles.

The *Inya* recruitment process was carefully conducted by the king. At first, they only accepted candidates from Blambangan, although in the 20th century, this began to change. The selection of an *Inya* is based on social status, physical appearance, and her ability to carry out her duties as an *Inya*. Women who can become milk mothers are usually between 18-50 years old with a respectable family background and experience in caring for children. She must have a high sense of affection and care, and be a good example for the children of the nobility.

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