

International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities
Vol. 4 No. 3, October 2026, pages: 1458-1467
e-ISSN: 2985-6469
https://ejournal.45mataram.ac.id/index.php/ijssh

Pamardi Putri School, 1927–1938: The History of Women's Education in the Modernisation of the Surakarta Royal Court

Naifah Ariqah Izdihar[1]*, Abrar [2], Nuraeni Marta[3]
Corresponding Author's e-mail : *izdiharnaifah@gmail.com*

Article History

Manuscript submitted:
01 Agustus 2026
Manuscript revised:
19 September 2026
Accepted for publication:
20 Oktober 2026

Keywords

Pamardi Putri,
Education for the woman,
Surakarta Palace

Abstract

The history of women's education in Java is often associated with domestic roles encapsulated in the Javanese concept of macak, masak, manak (grooming, cooking, and childbearing) which directly contradicts the true purpose of education. This research is particularly compelling as it aims to analyze the development of 1) Pamardi Putri School as a royal educational institution that initiated the modernization of 2) education for the women of the 3) Surakarta Palace. This study employs the critical historical method, comprising heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography, by utilizing primary archival sources such as official palace announcements like Wara-Wara and Narpawandawa alongside interviews with royal relatives who are descendants of Pakubuwono X. The findings indicate that Pamardi Putri School initially applied strict social stratification rules during student enrollment based on noble lineage and abdi dalem (palace servant) status.

Copyright © 2025, The Author(s).
This is an open access article under the BY-NC-ND license

Contents

Abstract 1458
Introduction 1458
Methods 1461
Results and Discussions 1462
Conclusion 1465
Reference 1466

Introduction

Education is a process that guides people in discovering their true selves. Ki Hajar Dewantara believed that education can shape all the innate potentials within every human being (Perdana & Pratama, 2022). Education is also key to shaping an individual's mindset, actions, and behavior.

[1] Program Studi S2 Pendidikan Sejarah, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Hukum, Universitas Negeri Jakarta, Indonesia
[2] Program Studi S2 Pendidikan Sejarah, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Hukum, Universitas Negeri Jakarta, Indonesia
[3] Program Studi S2 Pendidikan Sejarah, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Hukum, Universitas Negeri Jakarta, Indonesia

During the colonial era, education was already available in the Dutch East Indies; according to a history book on the Indonesian national movement, the colonial government's approach to education at that time was characterized by dualism, meaning that education for the European community and the indigenous community was kept separate (Perdana & Pratama, 2022). The disparity in the education provided to Europeans and indigenous peoples in Indonesia led to a knowledge gap. In the early 20th century, the Dutch East Indies underwent significant social transformation as a result of the implementation of the Ethical Policy. One of the sectors most affected was education. Education, which had originally been discriminatory and limited to male nobility, began to open up opportunities for women. This was largely due to the influence of R.A. Kartini's ideas, which emphasized that women are the first educators of the next generation (Sariyatun, 2013).

During that period of transformation, women were still often regarded as a second-class group, as they were frequently portrayed as weak beings. As a result, women were often seen as an obstacle in the workplace and in social life (Hidayati, 2020). The perception that women are a group that is often looked down upon has existed for a long time. During the early days of Dutch colonial rule, the status of Indonesian women was severely disadvantaged due to many factors, such as restrictive customs, a lack of education, arbitrary treatment in marriage, and so on. Examples include Dewi Sartika, Rohana Kudus, Nyai Dahlan, and Rahmah el Yunusiyah, who were pioneers in women's education (Takunas, 2018).

N the early 20th century, women's education in Indonesia was still limited. This was influenced by a strong patriarchal system, which confined women primarily to the domestic sphere rather than the public sphere. According to (Kartini, 1964), Javanese women at that time generally faced restrictions on access to formal education, primarily due to social norms that prioritized women's roles as wives and homemakers. This situation was also reflected within the royal court, although there were certain differences because the social status of the nobility afforded them access to better education. The arrival of Dutch colonial influence and the modernization of education brought about significant changes. Colonial education policies, such as the establishment of special schools for the priyayi and the nobility, opened up new opportunities for women to receive an education. According to Sutherland, the Javanese elite began to undergo a shift in mindset, including regarding women's education, which was no longer viewed entirely as unimportant (Sutherland, 1979).

The development of women's education began to emerge during the national awakening, coinciding with the founding of the Putri Mardika women's organization in 1912. The purpose of this organization was to provide assistance to women so they could attend school and continue their education. In 1913, Putri Mardika began publishing several articles in a weekly newspaper, indicating that women's education was beginning to receive attention (Vreede-de Stuers, 2017). Female figures such as Siti Soendari once wrote, "The Javanese people will never progress if their women are left uneducated." Siti Soendari's thinking demonstrates that, even in this era, women are already aware of their important role in social life (Soendari, 1914). According to the book *History of Indonesian Women*, in the 1930s, nearly all Indonesian women were unable to read and write in the Latin alphabet; therefore, in 1935, they decided to take action by organizing a Women's Congress aimed at combating illiteracy among Indonesian women. (Vreede-de Stuers, 2017). After the women's congress was held, there was an increase in the number of Indonesian women who overcame illiteracy because the Ministry of Education placed a strong emphasis on teaching reading, writing, and other subjects to train teachers.

Meanwhile, in Surakarta specifically at the Surakarta Hadiningrat Palace these changes began to emerge as early as the 1920s. The year 1927 marked a significant turning point, as it was during this

e-ISSN : 2985-6469

period that Pakubuwono established a school specifically for palace residents particularly for women of royal descent known as HIS Pamardi Putri. The princesses of the palace began to gain broader access to education, both through informal education within the palace and formal education outside the palace grounds.Pendidikan perempuan di keraton tidak hanya berorientasi pada kemampuan domestik seperti membatik, menari, dan etika Jawa 'unggah-ungguh', tetapi juga mulai mencakup pendidikan modern seperti membaca, menulis, dan bahasa asing. Hal ini menunjukkan adanya proses hibridisasi budaya antara tradisi lokal dan pengaruh Barat. Transformasi ini menjadi penting karena mencerminkan dinamika perubahan sosial dalam masyarakat Jawa, khususnya dalam lingkup elite budaya.

A study on the development of women's education in Java during the 19th century indicates that Javanese cultural upbringing patterns reveal differences between men and women. Boys were raised to earn a living and were given the opportunity to set high aspirations, thereby directing their focus outward from the home. For this reason, boys were exempt from household chores. Girls, on the other hand, were prepared from an early age to become mothers and wives devoted to their husbands. Consequently, girls were taught only practical skills for managing and running a household (Handayani & Novianto, 2004). In Javanese culture, as described by Mangunwijaya, Javanese women are expected to be submissive and a source of pleasure for men, in line with the notion that Javanese women are devoted to men. Several paternalistic concepts have developed within Javanese society, such as the idea that Javanese women, as wives, are *konco wingking*. The term *konco wingking* means that women stand behind men (Mangunwijaya, 1980).

Within the Surakarta Kasunanan Palace during the national movement era, it was evident that educated women were already aware of the importance of education, as marked by the establishment of schools specifically for women. The author is interested in the lives and education of palace women, which includes the descendants of the Surakarta Kasunanan Palace, the queens, and the palace servants. Historical research based on oral archives conducted by the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia reveals that in 1910, the Kasunanan Surakarta established schools specifically for the sons and daughters of the royal court. In the Kasunanan Surakarta, Pakubuwono X founded the Hollandsch Inlandsche School (HIS) Kasatriyan on November 1, 1910, the Frobelschool Pamardi Siwi on August 26, 1926, and the HIS Parmadi Putri on July 1, 1927. The presence of these schools led to greater education among women in the Surakarta Sultanate; in fact, the daughter of GRA Wuryaningrat initiated the formation of a women's organization for royal relatives called Putri Narpo Wandowo on July 5, 1931, with the aim of advancing the status of women in the royal court (Santoso, Tris, & Pratama, 2021).

Research findings from the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI) regarding the establishment of a school within the Surakarta Sultanate in 1927 indicate that access to education for women of royal descent including court servants had begun. The era of national awakening served as a gateway to education for the indigenous population, although access for women remained very limited. Nevertheless, this was at least a positive sign that Indonesia's future was beginning to look brighter. My interest in this research topic stems from the inequality in access to education for Javanese women, as well as the widespread practice of confining women to domestic roles during that period, particularly within the Surakarta Hadiningrat Palace. Moreover, with the establishment of a school exclusively for palace women, the palace came to be understood not only as a cultural center but also as a social space that shaped the identity, values, and roles of Javanese women over time. This interest grew even stronger upon realizing that women of the palace had unique educational

experiences, distinct from those of women in general, making it important to examine this topic more deeply through a historical approach.

The time frame of this study spans from 1927 to 1938. The year 1927 was chosen as the starting point because it marks the founding of the Pamardi Putri School by Pakubuwono X in Surakarta as an educational institution for women, particularly those within the royal court. Meanwhile, 1938 was chosen as the end date of the study because in that year the Pamardi Putri School stopped accepting new students due to a lack of space and uncertainty regarding the future of the royal school in the lead-up to independence. The researcher seeks to examine how the establishment of the Pamardi Putri School (1927–1938) as an educational institution for women of the Surakarta Palace, how the institutional dynamics, curriculum, and student body of the Pamardi Putri School reflected the social stratification of women in the Surakarta Palace during the period 1927–1938, and the researchers wish to investigate how the Pamardi Putri School played a role in the process of change regarding access to education, social mobility, and the status of women within the Surakarta Hadiningrat Palace during the years 1927–1938.

Methods

The method used in this study is the historical research method, which consists of four stages: first, the selection of the topic, which was "The Development of Women's Education at the Surakarta Palace, 1927–1983"; the second stage is the heuristic phase, or the collection of sources, which will be carried out in several locations, including both documentary and oral sources; this is followed by the verification or critical evaluation of the sources collected during the heuristic phase; the fourth stage is interpretation, which involves analyzing the sources verified in the previous stage; and the final stage is historiography, or the writing of history, following the completion of the previous four stages (Kuntowijoyo, 2005). The data for this study were obtained from several primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include the royal palace's official archives, the Javanese Narpawandawa manuscript, the Biwaddha Nata manuscript of the Kasunanan Surakarta Hadiningrat Palace, institutional documents from the Pamardi Putri School, educational reports, photographs, and contemporary newspapers containing information about women's educational activities within the Surakarta Hadiningrat Palace. In addition, data was also obtained through interviews with informants who had direct or indirect connections to the school, such as alumni, royal family members, and community leaders. Secondary sources included books, academic journals, and previous studies discussing the history of education, gender studies, and Javanese sociocultural dynamics.

The techniques and procedures for data collection in this study were conducted through a literature review, documentary analysis, and in-depth interviews. The literature review was used to examine theoretical works, historical texts, and previous research that served as the foundation for interpreting information regarding the development of women's education at the Surakarta Palace. The sources used include works by Amartya Sen, Yuniarti, R. Tong, and others, covering the development of women's education in Java, including education at the Kasunanan Surakarta Palace. The documentary study involved examining archives and official documents from the Kasunanan Surakarta Palace, the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia, and the official cultural development portal of the Kasunanan Surakarta Palace. The documentary research for this study was conducted by visiting Sasana Pustaka, a library and archive located within the grounds of the Surakarta Hadiningrat Palace. In-depth interviews were conducted in a formal, structured manner with selected informants, including academics, historians, cultural figures, and descendants of the Surakarta Palace.

e-ISSN : 2985-6469

Results and Discussions

1. The Founding of the Pamardi Putri School (1927–1938) as an Educational Institution for Women of the Surakarta Palace

The founding of Pamardi Putri School is closely tied to the role of Sultan Pakubuwono X, the ruler of the Surakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate from 1893 to 1939. Sultan Pakubuwono X's interest in education, as cited from the archives of the Surakarta Sultanate specifically the manuscript *Biwaddha Nata Surakarta stemmed from the fact that, at that time, many descendants of the Surakarta Sultanate were attending schools owned by the Dutch East Indies government. Consequently, he initiated the establishment of an H.I.S. (Hollandsch-Inlandsche School) to educate the sons of the royal family and the children of court officials ranked mantri and above, named the Kasatriyan School. He also established a Froebel School (kindergarten) for boys, named Pamardi Siwi, and an H.I.S. school for the royal descendants of the female line, named Pamardi Putri (Wangsaleksana, 1936). The establishment of the Pamardi Putri School by Sunan Pakubuwono X demonstrates that access to modern education, such as at the HIS, was strictly filtered based on criteria of lineage and the palace bureaucratic hierarchy. Only abdi dalem with a rank of at least mantri were permitted to receive an education. People with a social status below that of a mantri were systematically excluded from this educational program. (Bourdieu, 1986).

In Javanese tradition at that time, women's education from a young age was governed by very strict rules regarding character development. Women were required to be mindful of their speech, dress, social interactions, the way they sat, the way they ate, and even how they served their husbands both physically and emotionally (Azis, 2017). In addition, the strict rules imposed on women in the royal court—from childhood through adulthood and into marriage reflect a unique system of maintaining very strong social control. Javanese women especially those in the royal court are raised under very strict and rigorous discipline, yet their roles are rarely acknowledged in social life. The Javanese term for this is "konco wingking," which means "a friend who stays in the background" implied to be a driving force behind a man's success rather than a result of the woman's own merits. This situation has subsequently fueled discrimination against women's roles in social life. Based on an interview with Kanjeng Nuky Hendranata, a descendant of the Kasunanan Surakarta Hadiningrat, the establishment of educational institutions within the Surakarta Palace during the reign of Pakubuwono X was part of the palace's efforts to modernize education in the early 20th century. According to the source, prior to the founding of the Pamardi Putri School, the Surakarta Palace had already established the Kasatriyan School in 1910, which was intended for male children of royal descent.

According to the Narpawandawa manuscript, Susuhunan Sunan Pakubuwono X officially opened the Pamardi Putri School on Thursday Legi, the 2nd of Sapar in the year Wawu, which corresponds to the year 1857 in the Javanese calendar. Or August 12, 1926, in the Gregorian calendar (Padmawinata, 1926). The establishment of the Pamardi Putri School serves as evidence that Pakubuwono X viewed education not only as a necessity for men, but also as a right that should be granted to women. From the perspective of social stratification theory, this educational policy illustrates the mechanisms by which social and cultural capital is reproduced mechanisms that were limited to the elite. This text by Narpawandawa explicitly states that the establishment of these institutions was intended to improve the quality of human resources within the Surakarta Palace.

Pamardi Putri School was officially inaugurated and began operations on the first day of classes. The Raden Tumenggung Arjadipura Committee, together with the teachers, assigned the students to rooms on the south side of the Surakarta Palace complex. The arrangement was as follows: first-grade

students were placed in Room 3, while fourth-grade students occupied Room 2. On that same day, the Committee of Kangjeng Pangeran Arya Kusumabrata and Pangeran Arya Adikusuma, accompanied by Raden Mas Arya Wuryaningrat and Raden Mas Arya Bratadipura who served as assistants responsible for carrying out the duties outlined in the regulations and orders from the leadership, They gathered the guests and the students' parents to announce the opening and the purpose of the establishment of the Pamardi Putri School.

Pamardi Putri School enrolled about 50 students in its first and second years of operation. However, in subsequent years, it was only able to accommodate and enroll 30 students each July at the start of the new school year. The teachers at Pamardi Putri School were Mrs. W.F. Hiling Harnung, the principal, and Ms. Rara Subini, the vice principal. In the early years, they both taught all the classes. However, as the years went by, Pamardi Putri School came to have enough teachers, with one teacher for each class (Padmawinata, 1926). The principal of Pamardi Putri School was a Dutchwoman, Mrs. W.F. Hiling Harnung, with Mas Rara Subini serving as her deputy. This arrangement reflected the social hierarchy of 20th-century Dutch East Indies society. The European and Indo-European groups occupied the top of the racial and bureaucratic hierarchy, thus holding the highest leadership position that of principal while the indigenous nobility (priyayi) occupied the layer below them as vice principal.

The position held by Mrs. W.F. Hiling Harnung reflects the racial hierarchy in leadership positions within the field of education (Bourdieu, 1986). This fact demonstrates that the establishment of a school exclusively for girls within the Surakarta Palace complex was well received by the royal family, relatives, and the palace servants of the Kasunanan Surakarta Palace. Student enrollment during the admissions period was strictly limited to only 50 students in the first and second years; subsequently, in the third year, it was further restricted to 20 students per year. Admission was limited to students from royal families, government officials, and court servants. Based on Max Weber's concept of "social closure," in which elite groups use exclusive educational institutions to maintain class boundaries, formal education during this era leading up to independence became a form of symbolic capital accessible only to the aristocratic inner circle of the Kasunanan Surakarta palace.

2. School Institutional Dynamics, Curriculum, and Students at Pamardi Putri School Reflect the Social Stratification of Women in the Surakarta Palace During the Period 1927–1938

In the early days of the Pamardi Putri School's founding, based on an interview with Kanjeng Nuky Hendranata, it was also revealed that the school had a relatively exclusive character. According to the interviewee, the school was initially intended for a specific group within the Surakarta Palace community primarily descendants of the royal family and the children of palace servants who held high social status. This policy was inextricably linked to the school's original purpose as an educational institution designed to meet the educational needs of women within the palace community. Since it was founded by and for the Surakarta Sultanate, access to the school in its early stages was still limited to groups with direct ties to the palace's social structure. The history of Pamardi Putri School is documented in the Javanese manuscript *Narpawandawa*, which chronicles the activities of the kingdom. The 1934 Association report explains that in 1934, the schools within the Surakarta Palace complex namely H.I.S. Pamardi Putri, H.I.S. Kasatriyan, and Frobelschool Pamardi Siwi faced challenges regarding classroom space for their students. These three schools announced

e-ISSN : 2985-6469

that they would shorten the school year because their classrooms were full and they could not accept new students for the 1934 school year.

The procedure for admitting new students to the Surakarta Palace in 1934 revealed a highly rigid mechanism of bureaucratic feudalism. According to the Narpawandawa manuscript, the registration schedule was arranged hierarchically based on the closeness of blood ties to the king: June 8, 1934, for the king's sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons; June 9, 1934, for the canggah dalem (fourth-generation descendants); and June 11, 1934, for the children of abdi dalem (Purwasastra, 1934). In addition, prospective students were required to bring a serat pikekah (certificate of genealogy) as proof of their cultural heritage (Bourdieu, 1986). Specifically, for the canggah and abdi dalem classes, the school committee imposes an additional administrative requirement in the form of a supporting letter from the village head. This requirement serves as a form of bureaucratic control designed to socially exclude non-elite groups (Parkin, 1979) to maintain the social boundaries of the highest aristocracy (Weber, 1946).

This strict stratification leads to double marginalization of prospective female students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Crenshaw, 1991; Handayani & Sugiarti, 2008). Their status was limited by patriarchal biases in the realm of formal education, and they were placed at the bottom of the palace registration hierarchy. This discrimination was made even more evident by rules prohibiting fifth-generation descendants (wareng) and children living outside the palace walls (the Gubernemen area) from attending school at Pamardi Putri. (Purwasastra, 1938). In response to the palace elite's passivity in addressing this crisis in access to education, the Narpawandawa association of palace servants stepped in to leverage their social capital (Coleman, 1988). In 1935, Narpawandawa proposed the establishment of Griya Pamondhokan (a dormitory) to house students from distant royal families and the children of court servants so that they could continue to have equal educational opportunities (Purwasastra, 1935).

On the other hand, the establishment of separate educational institutions—HIS Pamardi Putri (for girls) and HIS Kasatriyan (for boys) reflects traditional feudal gender roles. (Butler, 1990). Male students at Kasatriyan were groomed for roles in public leadership and the bureaucracy, while female students at Pamardi Putri were trained to become matriarchs of aristocratic households and guardians of Javanese cultural morality (njero beteng) (Blackburn, 2004). This disparity in enrollment is reflected in the graduation records for the MULO/HBS preparatory class exam on June 22, 1935: of the 14 graduates, 11 were male students from Kasatriyan and only 3 were female students from Pamardi Putri (Purwasastra, 1935). This data confirms that higher-level formal education during the colonial era still prioritized men (Blackwood, 2000), meanwhile the education of women in the royal court focused on domestic duties and reinforcing aristocratic values (Locher-Scholten, 2000; Ricklefs, 2001).

3. The Role of the Pamardi Putri School in Shaping Changes in Access to Education, Social Mobility, and the Status of Women in the Surakarta Hadiningrat Royal Court from 1927 to 1938

Pamardi Putri School was designed not only to impart formal education but also to shape the character of Javanese women to be polite, virtuous, and upholding the value of "mendem jero mikul dhuwur"—which means being able to uphold the family's good name and honor their ancestors. The responsibilities and pressures borne by Javanese women are immense. Although the school was led by a Dutch figure and although it operated under the authority of the Surakarta Palace and was

located within the palace grounds the educational system at Pamardi Putri adopted the Dutch model. In fact, the principal and vice principal during the school's early years were Dutch women: Juffrouw Domis and Juffrouw Reuneker. Meanwhile, the majority of the teaching staff consisted of abdi dalem who taught formal Javanese, dance, etiquette, and traditional Javanese arts. After three years at Pamardi Putri School, the students were able to write in Javanese script, use the krama language properly, and perform various traditional dances in school performances specifically intended for the Surakarta Palace. Pamardi Putri School was indeed designed to teach skills such as dancing, sewing, and other activities that were considered feminine and reflected the typical image of Javanese women.

Kanjeng Nuky Hendranata emphasized that the schools established by the Surakarta Palace have characteristics that distinguish them from other educational institutions. One of the main features of these schools is their emphasis on the preservation of Javanese culture as an integral part of the educational process. According to the source, since their inception, the palace's educational institutions have served not only as places for the transfer of general knowledge but also as a means of passing down Javanese cultural values to the younger generation. The education provided to students is designed to shape individuals who possess academic abilities while also understanding their cultural identity. In practice, Javanese cultural values are taught through various aspects of school life. Students are introduced to etiquette, proper conduct, social norms, and various forms of traditional art that are part of the cultural heritage of the Surakarta Palace. Through this education, the school serves as a medium for transmitting culture from one generation to the next.

Pamardi Putri School, in particular, played a vital role in preserving Javanese women's culture. The students not only received a formal education but also learned about Javanese feminine values, which were considered essential in the social life of the community at that time. This education encompassed ethics, etiquette, household skills, and an understanding of the cultural traditions of the royal court. Furthermore, the cultural education implemented within the royal school environment aimed to shape the students' character so that they would develop a sense of responsibility toward the preservation of the nation's culture. The Surakarta Palace believed that the modernization of education should not erase local cultural identity. Therefore, elements of modern education were integrated with Javanese cultural values, resulting in a unique educational model. The existence of royal schools demonstrates that education can serve as an instrument for cultural preservation. In an ever-changing social and political landscape, educational institutions have become one of the most effective means of ensuring the continuity of traditions and cultural values passed down by previous generations.

Conclusion

This study concludes that the establishment of Pamardi Putri School in 1926/1927 under Sunan Pakubuwono X represented a significant development in women's education within the Kasunanan Surakarta Hadiningrat. Established in response to colonial educational reforms and the National Awakening movement, the school integrated Western formal education with Javanese cultural values, including language, etiquette, traditional arts, and character formation. Although initially shaped by aristocratic exclusivity and patriarchal expectations that emphasised women's domestic roles, Pamardi Putri gradually contributed to expanding women's educational opportunities and participation in public life. Its development was marked by challenges involving limited educational access, social stratification, and tensions between tradition and modernity. Nevertheless, the school's subsequent transformation into a more inclusive institution following Indonesian independence, alongside the contributions of its graduates in education, culture, and public affairs,

e-ISSN : 2985-6469

demonstrates its historical significance in advancing women's education while preserving Javanese cultural identity.

Future research should further examine the institutional development of Pamardi Putri School through archival investigations, oral histories, and comparative studies with other educational institutions established during the colonial period, particularly concerning gender, social mobility, and educational accessibility. For educators and cultural practitioners, the findings highlight the relevance of integrating local cultural heritage, character education, and equitable learning opportunities into contemporary educational practices. At the policy level, educational authorities and cultural institutions should strengthen the preservation and digitisation of historical school archives, promote public access to educational heritage, and encourage gender-inclusive curricula that recognise women's contributions to Indonesian intellectual and cultural history. These measures may support a more comprehensive understanding of historical educational transformations while informing culturally grounded and inclusive educational development.

Acknowledgments

Acknowledgements the author wishes to express her deepest gratitude to all individuals and institutions who contributed to the completion of this research. Special appreciation is extended to the archivists and staff at the Surakarta Sunanate Palace (Keraton Surakarta) and relevant historical archive centers for granting access to the invaluable primary sources regarding Sekolah Pamardi Putri (1927–1938). The author also highly appreciates the insightful guidance and constructive feedback provided by the anonymous reviewers and the editorial board of this journal, which significantly improved the quality of this manuscript. Finally, endless thanks go to family and colleagues for their continuous academic and moral support throughout this study.

References

Azis, S. (2017). P*endidikan Perempuan Dalam Tradisi Jawa*. Intishar Publishing.

Blackburn, S. (2004). *Women and the State in Modern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blackwood, E. (2000). *Webs of Power: Women, Family, and Gender in Everyday Indonesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). *The Forms of Capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education (pp. 241–258).* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York & London: Routledge.

Coleman, J. S. (1988). *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital*. American Journal of Sociology, 94, S95–S120. https://doi.org/10.1086/228943

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299. https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039

Handayani, C. S., & Novianto, A. (2004). *Kuasa Wanita Jawa*. Yogyakarta: LKiS.

Handayani, C. S., & Sugiarti, A. (2008). *Subordinasi Perempuan Jawa*. Yogyakarta: LKiS.

Hidayati, H. (2020). Pemberdayaan Perempuan pada Masa Rasulullah: Suatu Kajian Historis. Jurnal Ilmu Hadis Dirayah. Retrieved from http://e-jurnal.stiqarrahman.ac.id/index.php/dirayah/article/view/19

Kartini, R. A. (1964). *Habis Gelap Terbitlah Terang*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.

Kuntowijoyo. (2005). *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah.* Yogyakarta: Bentang Pustaka.

Locher-Scholten, E. (2000). *Women and the Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. https://doi.org/10.5117/9789053564035

Mangunwijaya, Y. B. (1980). *Paradigma Baru Bagi Pendidikan Rakyat.* Prisma.

Padmawinata, W. G. (1926). *Narpawandawa, Budi Utama, 1926.* Narpawandawa, 134–141.

Parkin, F. (1979). *Marxism and Class Theory: A Bourgeois Critique.* London: Tavistock Publications.

Perdana, Y., & Pratama, A. R. (2022). *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional Indonesia.* Penerbit Lakeisha.

Purwasastra, R. M. N. (1935). *Narpawandawa Persatuan 1935.* Narpawandawa, 41–42.

Purwasastra, R. M. N. (1938). *Narpawandawa Persatuan 1938.* Narpawandawa. Retrieved from https://www.sastra.org/koran-majalah-dan-jurnal/narpawandawa/530-narpawandawa-persatuan-1938-05-408

Ricklefs, M. C. (2001). *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200 (3rd ed.).* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Santoso, A., Tris, M., & Pratama, H. (2021). Perempuan Pelestari Budaya: Warisan Ingatan Perempuan Keraton dalam Koleksi Arsip Lisan ANRI. *Jurnal Sejarah,* 4(1), 83–96. https://doi.org/10.26639/js.v4i1.317

Sariyatun. (2013). Perempuan dan Pendidikan dalam Perspektif Sejarah. *Jurnal Sejarah Dan Budaya*, 7.

Soendari, S. (1914). *'t Javaansche volk kan niet spoedig vooruitkomen als de Javaansche vrouw onwetend blijft.* In Onderzoek Naar de Mindere Welvaart.

Sutherland, H. (1979). *The Making of a Bureaucratic Elite: The Colonial Transformation of the Javanese Priyayi.* Singapore: Heinemann.

Takunas, R. (2018). Dinamika Pendidikan Perempuan dalam Sejarah Islam. *Musawa: Journal for Gender Studies,* 10. https://doi.org/10.24239/msw.v10i1.386

Vreede-de Stuers, C. (2017). *Sejarah Perempuan Indonesia (2nd ed.).* Depok: Komunitas Bambu.

Wangsaleksana. (1936). *Biwaddha Nata Surakarta. Surakarta: N.V. Sie Dhian Ho / Yayasan Sastra Lestari.* Retrieved from https://www.sastra.org/katalog/judul?ti_id=93

Weber, M. (1946). Class, Status, Party. In H. H. Gerth & C. W. Mills (Eds.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (pp. 180–195). New York: Oxford University Press.