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The Panther's Fang

In search of Indonesian television archives

ELS BOGAERTS

ABSTRACT

The television serial *Siung Macan Kumbang* (The Panther's Fang), produced and broadcast by TVRI Stasiun Yogyakarta in 1992, has lived on in the collective memory of Javanese television audiences. Likewise, Indosiar's Javanese drama programmes, broadcast in the mid-1990s, retrieve reminiscences of past times, when private broadcasters served specific ethnic and linguistic audiences with local entertainment linked to tradition. However, since most Indonesian television stations have not archived their audio-visual collections, the public no longer has access to audio-visual content from a deeper past. Hence these cultural resources have become intangible heritage; when the programmes cease to be recollected in tales and blogs, they vanish from Indonesian media history and fall into oblivion. This lack of archives affects historical research significantly. As I demonstrate in the main part of this article, resources like scripts and the print press could assist television scholars to approximate historical broadcasts and broadcasting history as closely as possible. Nevertheless, however useful they are, they do not disclose the performative and televisual aspects of the programmes. To demonstrate the value and riches of audio-visual archives, in the final part I show how a small collection of Javanese-language television programmes in a Dutch university library could reveal a wealth of information concerning performance on Indonesian television and about television itself.

KEYWORDS

Javanese-language television; lacking archives; audio-visual media; print press; media research.

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INTRODUCTION¹

In April 2018 I obtained a copy of a script, containing three of the four episodes of the Javanese *Siung Macan Kumbang* (The Panther's Fang).² The regional television station TVRI Stasiun Yogyakarta had produced a serial, based on this script, in 1992.³ Unfortunately, at the time of writing, the actual serial has proved inaccessible. Although it had been preserved on tapes in the Betacam format, as I was told, due to circumstances, the station has so far been unable to digitize it.⁴ In short, the primary resources – the media products themselves – are lacking. This brings me to the paradoxical conclusion that the serial has become intangible heritage.

In 2007, representatives of the recording company EMI (representing Gramophone), the National Library of France (La Bibliothèque Nationale de France, representing La Bibliothèque de l'Opéra de Paris, the Paris Opera Library) and the Paris Opera opened a series of “urns”, cylinders containing recordings on wax discs of opera music performed by singers famous at the beginning of the twentieth century. The twenty-four discs were the gift of Alfred Clark, then director of the French company Gramophone, whose purpose was to preserve this newly developed recording technique and to use the exercise as a PR tool. In 1907 (and again in 1912), the discs were safely deposited (hermetically sealed in cylinders) in the cellar of the opera building, provided with playback equipment and instructions. They were only to be opened one hundred years later. Because of these recordings, we know what lyric and dramatic repertoire was programmed at the Paris opera, how opera was interpreted more than a hundred years ago, how the singers' voices sounded. The recordings give us a close feel of contemporary cultural and, in particular, (specific) musical life in Paris, simultaneously enabling us to have a glimpse of the history of phonography.⁵ Projects like this “Museum of Voices”, however rare, demonstrate the importance of media preservation to the study of contemporary society. This is even more conspicuous nowadays when electronic media are omnipresent and play such a dominant role in our everyday lives, as they both reflect on and contribute to society. They are important educational, historical and cultural resources, as the Fédération Internationale des Archives de Télévision – International Federation of Television Archives (FIAT/IFTA) has pointed out with reference to television.⁶

Nowadays, the archiving of media is a matter of the national government, not of a private party as happened in Paris at the beginning of the twentieth century. In fact, in Indonesia, archiving procedures for the electronic media have been regulated by the Indonesian government. Hence, the 32/2002

¹ I am very grateful to Rosemary Robson for the English editing.

² I would like to thank Landung Simatupang for the copy of the script, a valuable typescript he has preserved for more than 25 years.

³ TVRI Stasiun Yogyakarta: hereafter TVRI Yogyakarta.

⁴ Written communication RM Kristiadi, July 2018.

⁵ See Giuliani 2009.

⁶ FIAT/IFTA Statutes Article 2 Point 5, <http://fiatifta.org/index.php/about/statutes/>; accessed on 8-7-2018.

Broadcasting Law does require broadcasting institutions to keep their programmes for at least one year after the broadcast. Those broadcasts with a high historical, informative or broadcasting value, should be transferred to the institution appointed to preserving the materials under the current legislation.⁷ The Broadcasting Law does not specify this clause in any greater detail. The “institution” referred to in the clause is the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia). However, in contrast to countries like Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines which do have “formal archiving facilities” (Henchy 2007: 190), most radio and television productions in Indonesia are not archived in collections (Henchy 2007: 190; Masduki and Darmanto 2014: 16).⁸

There are various reasons why TVRI Yogyakarta – and almost all the other television stations in Indonesia – have not succeeded in archiving their programmes. Among them a lack of funding, technical equipment, and knowledge of the latest documenting and digitizing technologies certainly figure prominently. Besides, complicated copyright and intellectual property rights issues prevent the parties involved from even beginning to contemplate setting up an archive. Lastly, any sense of urgency seems fairly remote. However, lately TVRI Yogyakarta has begun disseminating older *kethoprak* programmes and new productions via YouTube, making them available to a wider audience, but evading the complex processes of documentation and preservation.⁹ As Henchy (2007: 190) signals,

Even those countries with archiving facilities rarely document some of the most important cultural elements of television broadcasting: news segments, game shows, and advertising – those productions which are the most direct, unmediated reflection of societies’ transitions.

However, news bulletins, game shows and commercials are not the only programme genres to represent and reflect on developments in society, as I have argued in my study of the production of the local by and on Indonesian television (Bogaerts 2017: 4). Television genres like drama, talk shows and infotainment are at least as relevant. My point is therefore that these need to be researched, documented, and preserved as well; soon, before the materials are lost for ever.

But how does one proceed when media archives are lacking, as in the case of the *Siung Macan Kombang* serial, with which I opened the introduction? Unable to study the actual media product, I was pushed to search for other resources with which I would be able to approximate at least the context of the serial – the production, cultural, and other aspects which would place it

⁷ Undang-Undang 32/2002, Bab IV Pasal 45 (1) and (2). A new Broadcasting Law has been “under construction”.

⁸ Studying Indonesian comics in print, Bonneff encountered a similar problem arising from the lack of and lacunae in the resources (1976: 17).

⁹ *Beteng Rotterdam*, a TVRI Yogyakarta production of 2018, is an example of a recent *kethoprak* serial which can also be watched on YouTube.

in its political, economic, and social context, reveal the agents involved, and perhaps the contents and some audio-visual characteristics. These resources consist of (part of) the serial's script and of newspaper articles reporting and reflecting on the serial, the former preserved in a private archive in a copy of the typescript, the latter on microfilm in the library of the KITLV (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, now Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies).

In this article I demonstrate how the two types of sources have opened a path for me towards solving at least part of the dilemma with which students of Indonesian electronic media are usually confronted: wishing to analyse Indonesian television culture from the past but denied access to the actual audio-visual materials. The sources do, however, not disclose the performative and televisual aspects of the programmes. To exemplify my point, I concentrate on how the daily *Jawa Pos* featured the 1992 Javanese-language serial *Siung Macan Kombang*. In the final part of the article, I show how a small collection of Javanese-language television programmes of the second half of the 1990s in a Dutch university library might hold the key to a wealth of information about performance on Indonesian television and about television itself. Two broadcasters, TVRI Yogyakarta and the Jakarta-based Indosiar, and their Javanese-language *kethoprak* programmes will be the focal point of this article. *Kethoprak* is a Javanese urban popular drama genre which originated in Yogyakarta, Central Java.

SIUNG MACAN KOMBANG

THE CONTEXT

The Panther's Fang is an example of a serialized form of *kethoprak* specifically designed for television, which existed only on television and was presented within the framework of a prize-winning quiz: the *kethoprak sayembara - sayembara* meaning 'contest'.¹⁰ In 1988 the regional television station TVRI Yogyakarta broadcast *Prahara*, a serial of four episodes, based on a script by Singgih Hadi Mintardja.¹¹ Performed by Sapta Mandala Kodam IV Diponegoro under the direction of Bagong Kussudiardja, the broadcast of this serial marked the debut of television *kethoprak*, a new television genre (Nusantara 1990: 44). Four years later, in 1992, the serial *Siung Macan Kombang* appeared on the television screen. This production by TVRI Yogyakarta proved a great success, attracting a wide audience and having an overall positive reception. Audiences from all layers of Javanese society eagerly anticipated watching the show. The fact that the regional, Yogyakarta-based government station continued to present programmes with local content in a period when the first private Indonesian television stations were established, certainly played an important role in the favourable result. Also from the entrepreneurial point of view it was a success. Over the course of time, the *kethoprak sayembara*

¹⁰ On the gestation of *kethoprak sayembara* see Bogaerts 2017: 99-110.

¹¹ A copy of three of *Prahara*'s four episodes is kept at the Leiden University Libraries.

serial has nestled in the collective memory of Javanese television audiences. Contemporary blogs present the serial in the context of a nostalgic recollection of television viewing in Yogyakarta, south-central Java, in the early 1990s.¹²

THE SCRIPT

The first precious document I want to explore, however cursorily, is the script of *Siung Macan Kombang*.

Siung Macan Kombang is a creation of Harya Suryaminata alias Hasmi. Hasmi (1946-2016) was born in Yogyakarta ((Mg-24) 2016). He won fame in Indonesia both for his comic strips and for his scripts for film and soap series (Agnesia 2013; (fds) 2016), for his acting with Teater Stemka Yogyakarta and in a *sinetron* (soap) production of TVRI Yogyakarta ((fds) 2016), as well as his work as a director (Agnesia 2013). He joined the theatre troupe Gandrik when it performed the story of *Gundala Putra Petir*, Hasmi's most famous creation. On stage, he often played comic roles (*Interview with Hasmi*).¹³ Interviews with the script-writer by newspaper *Jawa Pos* give us more insight into Hasmi and his work.

Hasmi's script of *Siung Macan Kombang* begins with an overview of the characters. The following data are given in Indonesian for each scene: Whether the scene is taking place outside (exterior) or inside (interior), the location (a small forest, a river, the side of a village road), the time of the day (evening, noon), and the personages (*pelaku*). It also contains a description of the scene, with camera movements and points-of-view, scopes and angles added. The dialogues are written out in full in Javanese. So visually and aurally oriented it is, reading the scenario gives us the feeling of watching the actual television serial.

The introduction to the first scene of the first episode and to the first scene itself serve as an example:

Intro

Ext. [exterior] A small forest – at night

Characters: (hermit) Resi Danajati, walk-ons

FS [full shot] A quiet forest with clumps of bushes scattered among the not very dense trees. Resi Danajati appears, severely wounded, covered with blood. He walks unsteadily, staggering slowly. Approaching some rather dense bushes, his body sways and plunges headfirst onto the ground. With great difficulty he tries to crawl. He succeeds in clinging onto a bush and attempts to pull himself up. Just at this moment a person comes in frame, walking in the direction of Resi Danajati who is on the point of losing his balance. As Resi Danajati's body is about to collapse a second time, this person hurries to seize hold of him. Resi Danajati falls into his arms. The angle is such that the face of the person who comes to his

¹² Blogs about past television experiences, referring to the programme as a *serial sayembara* (prize-winning serial) [<https://chuin5.wordpress.com/2011/11/05/serial-sayembara/>; accessed on 7-7-2018] and a *sinetron laga* (batte drama) [<https://www.facebook.com/KartunTahun90an/posts/668687076480281>; accessed on 7-7-2018].

¹³ For an interview of Hasmi with Dhimas Tedjo, see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7gJ9nvqzKuU>.

rescue remains invisible. Resi Danajati's eyes close, his lips move slowly.

Resi Danajati: I would like to ask ... tell ... that Kanjeng Adipati must be ... cautious ... Take care ... the fang ... of the panther [Siung ... Macan Kumbang ...] ...

Resi Danajati's face droops in the hands of his helper. Dead. Camera freezes, the image simultaneously becoming the background for the Main Title and the Credit Title.

Fade out.

Scene 1. Ext. A small river – during the day

Characters: Anggarsasi, Nyi Jagabaya, walk-ons, Suwanda

The camera shows the river itself and then pans to the river bank, catching several women who are washing their clothes there. Among them is the girl named Anggarsasi, daughter of the Demang (district head) of Banjarsari. Nyi Jagabaya, the wife of the village policeman, is also visible.

Follows a short dialogue among the women introducing one of the storylines. From the script we learn how the story will evolve and by the end we know the outcome: Who has stolen the panther fang amulet to acquire supernatural power. Nevertheless, however detailed the descriptions and vivid the dialogues, we are not privy to the appearance of Resi Danajati, the sound which heightens the tension in the introductory scene, the voices of the women as they wash their clothes on the river bank, the Javanese speech styles they use and the sounds of the washing activity itself. Nor shall we ever know the text of the credits, be able to see what the panther's fang looks like or perceive how the serial is edited. The script also does not provide any information on aspects related to the broadcasting of the programme and the prize-winning format of the serial. Coverage of the programme in the print press does, however, offer ample details which do not feature in the script.

THE PRESS: *JAWA POS*

Broadcasting *kethoprak sayembara* simultaneously from Yogyakarta and Surabaya for the first time extended the reach (*daerah jangkauan*) of the genre; not only were the Special Region of Yogyakarta and Central Java covered, East Java was now also welcomed into the fold. Seizing the opportunity, producer TVRI Yogyakarta and co-broadcaster TVRI Surabaya set up a co-operation with three local newspapers, each one active in one of the three Javanese provinces: the Yogyakarta-based *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, *Suara Merdeka* from Semarang, and the *Jawa Pos* from Surabaya. The goal of this co-operation was to fund the production and broadcasting of the *kethoprak sayembara* serial, and to advertise it in the regions covered by the television stations. Whereas the Yogyakarta newspaper *Kedaulatan Rakyat* offered an inside – Yogyakarta – perspective on the programme and *Suara Merdeka* a Central Javanese gaze, the articles in the

Jawa Pos presented an East Javanese point of view. Since *kethoprak sayembara* had originated in Yogyakarta and *Siung Macan Kombang* was a Yogyakarta production, it is interesting to offer an East Javanese outlook on the matter. Therefore, below, I focus on the articles published in the daily *Jawa Pos*.

About four weeks before the broadcast of the first episode at the end of October 1992, the *Jawa Pos* began publishing articles on *Siung Macan Kombang* and topics related to the serial. This occurred on an almost daily basis, often presenting two articles on the same page.¹⁴ Its purpose was to inform and lure potential audiences, so as to persuade them to watch the serial and participate as contestants in the prize-winning contest. The articles contain previews, tantalizing hints about who had stolen the amulet, news about the co-operation between the two television stations, comments on the music composed for the serial, information on how to participate in the quiz, the prizes to be won, interviews with the actors and guest stars, and so on. The information was dished up in portions, so as to heighten the suspense and to stir up excitement among the viewers. From 21 October, the newspaper features were presented under the headline "Tentang ketoprak sayembara TVRI, 'Siung macan kombang'", the title enclosed in a special frame.¹⁵

What can we find out about the serial from these publications in the *Jawa Pos*? To give an idea of the kind of knowledge we might acquire from reading the articles, I shall now discuss some of the topics they tackled and the points of view they presented.

Mystery and suspense: The contents

The first episode sets out the main story lines of the plot and introduces the main characters. It sketches the settings in which the action takes place and the intricacies, which are all revealed in the *Jawa Pos*.¹⁶ King Tejakusuma of Brantapura wishes to own the amulet called *Siung Macan Kombang*, the Panther's Fang. He orders Regent Dipayuda and Prince Pekik to search for it. Rumours purporting that the amulet has supernatural forces (*daya linuwih*) spread. Dipayuda chooses the district Banjarsari as his base-camp as he sets out on his quest. While in Banjarsari, Prince Pekik develops a strong affection for Anggarsasi, the daughter of the district head Ki Demang. Anggarsasi is also the girl of whom a young local man, Suwanda, is dreaming.

The news of the power of the panther's fang arouses the interest of various people. One of them plans to murder Dipayuda. Nyi Demang, wife of the district head, tells her husband to go in search of the amulet and contacts blacksmith Jungkung. It seems Dipayuda has realized Tejakusuma's wish. He returns from hunting with Prince Pekik carrying a necklace. In the meantime,

¹⁴ The contributors were: (adib lazwar), (dib), (dib/rif), (dm), (erwan w. budiwianto/arif afandi), Jauhari, (ita), (rif), (rif/dib), (soe) and Tranggono. For an overview of their contributions, see the references to this article.

¹⁵ About *kethoprak sayembara* TVRI, the Panther's Fang.

¹⁶ For the names of the characters and the geographical places I follow the spelling as used by Hasmi in his script. In the *Jawa Pos* articles, the spelling is not very consistent. Hence, we find Tejakusuma next to Tejokusumo, for instance.

Ki Ageng Pasang, Tejakusuma's older brother, has arrived in Banjarsari. Just at that moment, Panut, from the village Kemiri, happens to be wandering around there, looking for a job. One night, when it is raining heavily, a peasant, Benggol, accidentally witnesses a fight between the bandit Klabang Alun and Suwanda in the garden of the *pendhapa*, the traditional-style house of the district head. A secret weapon hits Benggol's neck. He disappears, seriously wounded. That same night *Siung Macan Kombang* vanishes from the house of the Banjarsari district head. The article concludes with the question: "*Lalu siapa pencuri Siung Macan Kombang itu?*" – 'So, who is the thief of the Panther's Fang?' – meant to draw the attention of the audiences to the quiz.

The article provides us with another interesting topic. Apparently, audiences had been complaining about the criminal inclinations of former *kethoprak sayembara* riddles, always asking about the perpetrator of the murder. The producer Heruwati informed the *Jawa Pos* that the new riddle was better suited to the different content of the serial ((rif) 1992d).

Hours before the broadcast of the first episode, the *Jawa Pos* pointed out which characters the viewers should bear in mind, as they all wished to possess the amulet and therefore could have stolen it. Nevertheless, it admitted that it was still difficult to hazard a guess, and hence it would be necessary to have watched the entire serial to understand the course of events fully. Actually, the list of possible suspects reads as the credits we would usually see roll by at the end of a television programme, as the article mentions both the names of the personages and the actors who perform the roles ((rif) 1992h).¹⁷

The day after the broadcast of the second episode, *Jawa Pos* examined the atmosphere of mutual suspicion prevailing among the characters. It sketched the commotion in Banjarsari after the disappearance of the Panther's Fang so desired by Adipati Tejakusumo. District head Ki Demang, village policeman Jagabaya, Regent Dipayuda, Prince Pekik and Ki Ageng Pasang discuss the matter at Ki Demang Banjarsari's house. The journalist analyses the behaviour of the characters and their whereabouts one by one and argues why they should be suspected of the theft. He indicates that a weapon which was found in Ki Demang's garden was recognized as belonging to the blacksmith. Or was Suwanda, prepared to do anything to win Anggarsasi's heart, the thief? Nyi Demang is upset when blacksmith Jungkung becomes the next suspect ((rif) 1992p).

This approach towards the serial is continued in the article presenting the third episode. Stirring up the *kethoprak sayembara* fever, the *Jawa Pos* analysed the mystery surrounding several of the personages and presented arguments about why they should be distrusted. The article of 9 November focuses on Panut, the young man looking for a job. But we also read why Dipayuda

¹⁷ Main characters: Ki Demang (Marjio), Nyi Demang (Etyk S.), Anggarsasi (Okky S.), Lasiyem (Yuningsih), Ki Ageng Pasang (Sardjono), Raden Pekik (Bagong Sutrisno), and Dipoyudo (Drs Totok). Others making their appearance are: Jogoboyo (Sofyan H.W.), Nyi Jogoboyo (Damayanti), Pak Blungkang (Dirjo Wiyono), Mbok Blungkang (Susilowati), Suwanda (Supriyono), Pethak (M. Sugiarto), Pande besi Jungkung (Suparwoto), Klabang Alun (Suyatman), Panut (Bayu Sugati), and Danajati (Sugati).

and Ki Jagabaya should be added to the list. The last sentence of the article summarizes the quest: "*Mana di antara ketiga orang tersebut yang pasti menjadi pencuri?*" – 'Who among those three persons is the actual thief?' ((rif) 1992x).

Convincing the readers

To shed some light on how the *Jawa Pos* tried to convince its readers to follow the programme closely and make sure they participated in the contest, I give one example focusing on the character Panut, just mentioned. The other personages in the serial received a similar treatment in other articles published in October and November 1992.

The *Jawa Pos* presented Panut as a suspect, emphasizing his character was shrouded in mystery. Assuming the mantle of a detective and adding to the mysteries rather than solving them, the *Jawa Pos* heightened the suspense. It addressed its readers in a specific way, involving them in the puzzling story and the quest for its solution. Why is Panut hanging around in Banjarsari in the midst of the fuss about the *Siung Macan Kombang*? In the first two episodes he is presented as a young man looking for a job in Banjarsari. When asked where he comes from, he does not reply. In the first episode he visits blacksmith Ki Jungkung who is having a secretive meeting with Nyi Demang. Ki Jungkung refuses to give him a job and chases him away. In the third episode, he visits the family of Pak Blungkung. They are worried about their son Suwanda who has left after Anggarsasi repudiated his love. Panut asks them for a job, but the family is poor and cannot help him. In this episode, he turns up in the midst of a group of people accusing each other of having killed Si Benggol, the only person who would have been able to uncover the mystery surrounding *Siung Macan Kombang*. Panut was the person who had brought the wounded Benggol to the house of Pak Blungkung. Benggol was then beyond speech, but when Panut mentioned some names, he managed to nod his head just before dying. Hence, in this episode Panut is the person who can disclose the answer to the riddle. But strangely, wrote the newspaper, he did not want to reveal the answer to Jagabaya. We learn that Panut is actually Tejakusuma's secret intelligence agent – the reason he wants to talk the secret over with Tejakusuma only. Taking account of all these facts, the paper concluded Panut should be regarded as guilty of the theft ((rif) 1992x).

The daily continuously emphasized that none of the actors of the serial nor the director of TVRI Yogya knew the answer to the puzzle, not even after the production of the third episode. Among those who were in the know was of course Hasmi, the script-writer. The two producers said they had made an educated guess, deducing it from the development of the plot. However, they did not want to communicate their guess, as this disclosure would temper the suspense for the audiences, as they admitted to the *Jawa Pos* ((rif) 1992f). At the beginning of the fourth episode, Hasmi himself would discuss the potential thieves, but without disclosing the answer to the riddle ((rif) 1992G).

Prior to the final episode, the *Jawa Pos* published details of how the raffle would be run to the readers. Directly after the fourth episode, broadcast

by TVRI Yogyakarta and Surabaya, the winners of the contest would be announced. The script-writer of the serial would make his appearance with the head of TVRI Yogyakarta, Drs Suryanto, to reveal the answer to the riddle officially. In the presence of several *Siung Macan Kombang* actors and journalists, TVRI Yogyakarta's head would open Hasmi's envelope containing the answer. The final winners would be determined in two rounds, a fair crack of the whip according to producer Heruwati: the first raffle would produce the thirty winners from among those who gave the correct answer to the riddle; the second one the order of the winners.

The article also gave an introduction to the last episode. It told the readers that the origin of the hunt for the amulet would be shown in a flashback. Those who had watched the first episode carefully, would remember the opening sequence, showing the murder of Resi Danajati. This final episode disclosed the background to the murder. The flashback would reveal why people had fought over the amulet. The mystery surrounding Nyi Demang, blacksmith Jungkung, the youngster Panut and other personages would also be resolved. Panut, Tejakusuma's spy, would be the person who was able to lift the veil on the mystery surrounding the theft. Finally, we learn why Tejakusuma invented the story of the supernatural power of *Siung Macan Kombang*: to check on whoever among those around him wanted to eject him from his position, hence a political motif ((rif) 1992H).

Linking the descriptions of the contents and the photographs taken during the recordings and published in the *Jawa Pos* with the data we obtain from the script and the dialogues, gives us a better understanding of the essence of the serial, however still without the moving images and sound.

The script-writer

Between 17 and 21 November, the newspaper published an interview with the script-writer of *Siung Macan Kombang* in five episodes, entitled "Hasmi on Hasmi". The articles reported in detail about Hasmi, acronym of Harya Suryaminata, his family and childhood, and his work as an artist, and they disclose the genesis of the *Siung Macan Kombang* story.¹⁸ Growing up in Kemetiran, an area in Yogyakarta, he found inspiration in the games he used to play with his friends; in particular the *gambar umbul* games – using cards depicting images of *wayang* and *silat* characters or of famous artists – introduced him to the world of *silat* comics – *silat* being a martial art after which literary and cinematographic genres have been called (Bonneff 1976: 20, 158).¹⁹ He tried to imitate the *silat* drawings, not as a serious artist but just sketching them playfully. The world of role-playing also fascinated him. When enacting shooting or other scenes with his friends, he joined in fully either immersing himself in the play or in the role of director. He was the one who

¹⁸ Harya SuryaMinata.

¹⁹ The images were produced by cigarette and cigar companies, both international and local (British American Tobacco, The Kim Pek and others). On *gambar umbul*, see: Heru CN 2010; and Kang Tejo's *Interview with Hasmi*.

assigned the roles to his friends and enlivened the plays with his jokes ((adib lazwar) 1992a). At high school, first in Tulungagung, later in Yogyakarta, he learned about the world of art: painting and drawing, literature, theatre. He became a regular contributor to the school's wall magazine (*majalah dinding*), first by sending in his creations, later as the editor-in-chief. Ever since, he had been making drawings and writing short stories or poetry on a daily basis. His taste for illustrative drawings, acquired in childhood, determined his choice of drawing pictures of *silat* and cowboy films ((adib lazwar) 1992b).

Two artists were very influential in his growth as a writer and designer of comics: the famous cartoonists Yan Mintaraga and Wid N.S. The latter was known for his creation of the *Godam* series. They recognized his talents, despite his youth; they opened his views and mind and contributed to his knowledge in the world of art. They also supported his ambitions to become a professional designer of comic strips. He discovered their particular styles and, although at first under their influence, he later developed his own style ((adib lazwar) 1992b, c).

Still contributing drawings and writings to the school wall magazine, he joined the theatre workshop *Sanggar Stemka* (*Studi Teater Mantep Karep*), led by Landung Simatupang. Stemka offered him a place in which to channel his talent in the field of theatre and to learn from others. Almost all the roles he played with Stemka were comic ones. Hasmi became a successful actor and was often invited to perform with other theatre troupes.

After failing to register at the engineering department of the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, he entered the Fine Arts Academy (ASRI, Akademi Seni Rupa Indonesia) as a graphic design student. However, determined to make a living from drawing and very active in the theatre, he neglected his studies and left. In 1968 Cahaya Kumala, a publisher of comics in Jakarta, published Hasmi's *Merayapi telapak hitam*, a comic with a *silat* theme in two volumes ((adib lazwar) 1992d). At the request of the Jakarta publisher Kencana Agung, Hasmi created a comic with a superhero, *Gundala*. *Gundala Putra Petir* (Gundala, Son of the Lightning Bolt) became his most famous and popular comic series. It was published between 1969 and 1982 and used Yogyakarta as its background setting (Streit and Susanto 2012: 10-11). In Javanese *Gundala* means a very dangerous sort of lightning resembling a *naga*, a mythical snake. The comics feature Gundala as a hero with supernatural powers who is always willing to help positive causes. Hasmi was well paid for this, he said, as the comic immediately sold well and went through several print runs. Encouraged by his success, he created many more series revolving around Gundala. A film based on the Gundala series, launched in 1981, for several reasons failed to attract much attention, the script-writer explained to the *Jawa Pos* ((adib lazwar) 1992e).

In the *Jawa Pos* of 21 October, Hasmi related how a foreign comic movie had inspired him to create the story and write the script of *Siung Macan Kumbang* ((dib/rif) 1992). He acknowledged he could not explain how this inspirational process had worked and how a Western comedy actually

resulted in a *kethoprak sayembara* script. Hasmi did not want to disclose the title of the film which inspired him as this might give a clue to the answer to the riddle – the culprit who has stolen the amulet *Siung Macan Kombang*. To the audiences who watched the programme and followed the development of the plot, the answer would not be hard to find, he encouraged the *Jawa Pos* readers. Hasmi wrote the script in 1989 in two weeks. *Siung Macan Kombang* was his first *kethoprak* script, and his first script in Javanese. Several of his Indonesian-language scripts had already been filmed,²⁰ as well as several scripts for soap series produced by TVRI Jakarta and TVRI Yogyakarta. As a Javanese and with Javanese as his mother tongue, the author said he had no difficulty in writing the Javanese-language dialogues for *Siung Macan Kombang*.

Language use

If the truth be told, to study the language use in the serial, we really need to be able to watch it. Since the script provides the dialogues (including the speech styles fitting the characters), it is a good source, presuming that the actors did use these dialogues as they were written down and did not improvise, a characteristic of more traditional forms of *kethoprak*. The script, however, does not give any clues to the oral aspects of the performance, like the style of delivery, the prosody, the ways the characters interact with each other in the dialogues and the corresponding body language.

Several times the *Jawa Pos* explicitly referred to the use of the Javanese language in the serial. In the interview with Hasmi, it is briefly touched upon (*Jawa Pos* 21 October). Comments on the language tended to come preponderantly from East Java. They covered the multilingual context in Indonesia, the multiplicity of Javanese dialects and the mastering of “Javanese”. The *kethoprak sayembara* broadcast was well received by the East Javanese audiences. Nevertheless, some of them thought that the Javanese spoken in the dialogues had a too strong Yogyakarta accent, which they found hard to follow. Some even suggested the serial should be subtitled in Indonesian, making it equally accessible to non-Javanese speakers ((ita) 1992d). Viewers from Yogyakarta and Central Java who voiced a preference for Indonesian subtitling possibly did so because they did not have a sufficient mastery of the Javanese language to understand the dialogues. TVRI Jakarta, planning to broadcast *kethoprak* programmes Indonesia-wide, also requested subtitling in the national language. In reply, TVRI Yogyakarta explained that Indonesian subtitling would be difficult to produce, as it was hamstrung by a lack of time, staff, and equipment. A good translation into Indonesian was very time consuming and expensive as it should be much more than a literal translation ((rif) 1992q).

One of the articles featured guest star Okky Ervina Savitri from Solo, playing the role of Anggarsasi. A well-known film actress, she was neither used to acting for the television screen, nor experienced in performing *kethoprak*.

²⁰ Among others *Banteng Mataram* (1982), *Kelabang Seribu* (directed by Imam Tantowi), *Lorong Sesat*.

Most problematic was the fact that she was not fluent in Javanese which made it difficult for her to follow a story and script in that language and to get a grip on the role she was playing ((rif) 1992e).

Interviews with the actors

To make the audiences feel involved in the production process and to pass on first-hand information, *Jawa Pos* featured interviews with several of the actors. Most of them were already popular and these interviews would be alluring to their fans. Just a few examples, to demonstrate how the articles shed light on the actors and actresses, on the world of traditional performance genres with which they were familiar, and on the relationship between these genres and Indonesian politics.

Among the actresses and actors interviewed were Yuningsih, Ety Suparman (in full Endang Purwo Kustianingsih) and Basuki Supriyatman. Yuningsih was cast as Lasiyem, the nursemaid (*biyung emban*) of Anggarsasi, the daughter of Ki Demang. She admitted to being very proud of playing the nursemaid, a part very familiar to her and an important role in every *kethoprak* performance. At the time of the interview Yuningsih was a member of the Kethoprak RRI Yogyakarta troupe, affiliated with the local radio station RRI (Radio Republik Indonesia). She grew up in a family of *kethoprak* actors, and began performing at the age of twelve. In 1967 she married Yusuf Agil, the leader of the *kethoprak* troupe Darmo Muda. Together they travelled through Java performing this Javanese genre, live on stage, on the radio and on television. She stressed that she greatly appreciated the co-operation with famous movie star Okky Savitri ((dib) 1992a).

Ety Suparman, playing the role of Nyi Demang, was also a well-known actress, especially in Surabaya, where she was born and raised. Her acting talent was apparent from childhood. She used to accompany her father, a member of the Wayang Orang Sri Wandowo troupe which performed at the People's Amusement Park THR (Taman Hiburan Rakyat) in Surabaya. The role of Nyi Demang in *Siung Macan Kombang* really suited her, she acknowledged, as she was used to playing the bad antagonist. Nyi Demang was an ambitious woman craving power, bitchy and flirtatious, and anything she could do to further the position of regent for her husband was permissible. In two previous *kethoprak sayembara* serials, Ety Suparman's presence had been equally strong. At the time a member of the *kethoprak* troupe Agung Budiaji, she was invited to perform as a guest star with Kethoprak Mustika Surya to celebrate the anniversary of Golkar (the New Order civil servant party) in Surabaya on 26 October ((rif) 1992g).

Finding the answer to the riddle – who had stolen the supernatural amulet – was difficult and all the characters who made their appearance in the first episode should be distrusted, repeated the *Jawa Pos*. In his interview with the *Jawa Pos*, Basuki Supriyatman (33 years old, civil servant at RRI Nusantara II Yogyakarta), playing the role of the rascal Klabang Alun, tried to convince readers that his character was not the culprit, as he had no ambitions to

attain supernatural power. He suggested that the script-writer might let a clue slip and advised the audiences to watch the next episodes meticulously. Basuki Supriyatman enjoyed enacting the role of Klabang Alun, a fighter and a seducer of women. The actor was the eldest son of Sugati, one the leaders of the *kethoprak* troupe PS Bayu from Sleman. After a negative experience on stage during childhood, he quit the world of *kethoprak* and only returned after realizing he wanted to make a living from it. He also became a *wayang kulit* puppeteer (*dhalang*). Being a *kethoprak* artist was not always satisfying, Supriyatman claimed. When you were playing a good role, the audiences would praise you; when playing a bad character, quite often they considered you an enemy. Once they pelted him with anything they could throw as his performance did not come up to their expectations. In the light of these experiences, he did his utmost to improve himself, by practising and watching *kethoprak* performances and attending discussions about traditional artistic genres ((rif/dib) 1992a).

The production process

The *Jawa Pos* published several interviews with the head of TVRI Yogyakarta and the producers of the programme. The interview with Heruwati, co-producer of the serial, offered the *Jawa Pos* readers some insights into the serial's production process and the history of TVRI Yogyakarta's *kethoprak sayembara* broadcasts. Commencing her work at TVRI in 1982, she was involved in almost all TVRI Yogyakarta's *kethoprak* and *kethoprak sayembara* productions. This assertion is followed by a list of titles of TVRI *kethoprak sayembara* productions,²¹ but she refused to commit herself to a favourite one, because, as she said laughingly, she was critical of the result. Her eye for detail was very well suited to the character of the small television screen, while her comic talent kept the crew's enthusiasm buoyed up during the long recording days ((rif) 1992i).

Technological aspects of the broadcasting

To emphasize the unique character of the co-operation between two TVRI stations and the newness of the technological aspects of the undertaking, several issues of the *Jawa Pos* paid particular attention to these matters. Technical novelties could add value to the serial and help to capture the interest of the audiences more fully. The newspaper promoted this broadcasting of the traditional art form *kethoprak* as teeming with break-throughs. It stressed that, to co-ordinate the broadcast relay from TVRI Yogyakarta, a team from Surabaya was sent to Yogyakarta. The newspaper also made a point of all the special technical equipment both stations were about to use ((rif) 1992b).

Prior to each broadcast, both television stations would enter into a pre-recorded dialogue, inviting the audiences to get ready to watch the show-with-

²¹ *Ampak-Ampak Kaligawe, Ompak-Ompak, Sirnaning Satru Bebuyutan, Pangeran Pati, Telik Sandi, and Kembang Temelung, Kembang Kecubung.*

prizes worth millions of rupiah. Their purpose was to bring the audiences of East Java and Yogyakarta closer to each other, hoping they would watch the show more intently. The serial was also to serve the purpose of improving the co-broadcasting between the two stations. At the time of the interview with Sudjadi, the head of broadcasting, tryouts had already taken place, but the technical aspects of the joint dialogue still had to be improved ((rif) 1992c).

Demonstrating TVRI Yogyakarta's efforts to present a top-notch show, Sudjadi explained to the *Jawa Pos* what measures had been taken to achieve this. One of the aims was to make the TVRI *kethoprak* as realistic as possible, in terms of the setting and scenery, properties and costumes. Despite their best efforts, some of the costumes still looked too new to fit the setting of the story, some people commented ((rif) 1992c).

The music

Another innovative aspect of the serial is to be found in the music, in the articles referred to as musical illustration. The *Jawa Pos* paid attention to the composer, the composition and its technical aspects, and the reception of the music. The newspaper recognized the vital position of the music in *kethoprak* and its close connection to the structure of the genre. Sapta Raharjo, presented as a young, experimental musician, composed the score, producing it electronically on a series of computers and applying the MIDI technique (Musical Instrument Digital Interface). He had done this in response to technological developments in contemporary music, he admitted. In the world of traditional arts, the use of such music was still in an experimental stage. Therefore, TVRI was eager to hear viewers' feedback, it announced to the *Jawa Pos* reporter.

These reactions ran a real gamut and the criticism was sometimes harsh. The standard of reference for the comments was the traditional-style Javanese gamelan music, the usual accompaniment to *kethoprak* performances. At the serial's preview, one of the commentators thought Sapta's music resembled Balinese rather than Javanese music. A more extreme criticism, from *kethoprak* actors, was that Sapta had destroyed the identity of *kethoprak*. They felt the diatonic music was not suited to the genre; it was not *ngethopraki*, did not have the power to enliven the atmosphere, express nuances or accentuate tension (in fight scenes). They admitted they were not yet accustomed to this kind of music as it was so new. Some suggested Sapta's music should be combined with conventional gamelan.

Art critics, on the other hand, praised TVRI Yogyakarta for having invited Sapta to compose the music. They perceived it as a revolutionary innovation full of future potential. Butet Kertarajasa, a member of the Yogyakarta theatre group Gandrik, put his finger on the risks and controversies which innovation tended to elicit. In the present case, the composition might have been turned down by those who, used to traditional musical accompaniment, could have been shocked. However, Butet also reminded *Jawa Pos* readers that, in the early stages of *kethoprak*, no gamelan had been used to accompany the genre.

Therefore, he urged TVRI to continue along the new path ((rif) 1992b, l; (dib) 1992f).

Several articles feature a fierce discussion on the absence of the *keprak*, a small wooden slit-drum, in the serial. The discussion represented a far larger ideological issue: that of keeping strictly to the constraints (called *pakem*) of traditional *kethoprak*, including the *keprak*, or allowing *kethoprak* to accommodate contemporary elements. Proponents of the latter stated the soul of *kethoprak* was enshrined in the dialogues, the acting, the correct use of Javanese etiquette and the costumes, not just in the *thok thok* sound of the *keprak* ((ita) 1992g; (rif) 1992u; (dm) 1992b).


Kethoprak sayembara: A prize-winning contest

The most important topic to be discussed in the *Jawa Pos* from the daily's point of view was the prize-winning format of the serial. Luring potential audiences with tantalizing prizes was among the main PR missions of the newspapers which co-operated with TVRI. For what was the largest *kethoprak sayembara* event so far, the "millions of prizes" included motorbikes, refrigerators, colour TV sets, and bicycles ((ita) 1992c).²² The names of the sponsoring companies, of which Honda, Gold Star, and paint manufacturer Emco were the most prominent, were mentioned in the advertisement which the *Jawa Pos* and TVRI Yogyakarta regularly jointly published. This advertisement, designed as a movie poster, prominently featured the serial's title, the name of the script-writer, the broadcasting schedule, and information on where and when to buy a coupon (*kupon*) (*Iklan* 1992) (see Image 1). All the audiences needed to do to participate in the quiz was to send their answer on a postcard with this coupon, which would be published in the *Jawa Pos* as of 27 October ((rif) 1992a). The *Jawa Pos* assiduously prompted television viewers to watch all the episodes in order to discover the answer to the puzzle, to fill in a coupon, and send it to either television station. Every morning when the daily came out, people flocked the selling points to buy a copy. TVRI Surabaya was thrown into utter confusion, not having expected to be swamped by so many postcards – some families were reported to have sent five or more coupons-annex-postcards ((ita) 1992e).

Prior to the broadcasting of *Siung Macan Kumbang*, the *Jawa Pos* began to fan the *kethoprak sayembara* fever by displaying billboards and banners in the streets of Surabaya. It denied that was a purely commercial campaign and claimed it was also a token of gratitude to the people who had been subscribers of the newspaper for such a long time (Noeng Hn 1993).

²² The advertisements in *Jawa Pos* list: 3 Astrea Grand motorbikes, 5 three-door refrigerators, 5 20-inch colour TV sets, 5 one-door refrigerators, 5 14-inch colour TV sets, all of the trademark Gold Star, and 7 Federal Allycat FMG 525 bicycles.

TVRI Surabaya Jawa Pos TVRI Yogyakarta



KETHOPRAK SAYEMBARA
"SIUNG MACAN KOMBANG"

Dengan mengikuti tayangan kethoprak Siung Macan Kombang yang telah muncul tadi malam Senin tanggal 26 Oktober 1992 Pukul 19.30 - 20.30, atau hanya dengan membaca sinopsis yang ada di *Jawa Pos* pembaca akan bisa menebak pertanyaan dibawah ini :

"SIAPAKAH PENCURI SIUNG MACAN KOMBANG ?"

CARA DAN SYARAT

1. Setiap pembaca *Jawa Pos*, baik yang dapat mengikuti tayangan kethoprak ini dari TVRI stasiun Yogyakarta, Surabaya maupun yang hanya membaca Sinopsis certanya yang dimuat di *Jawa Pos*, dapat menebak.
2. Tuliskan Jawaban pada sehelai kartu pos dengan ditempel kupon Kethoprak Sayembara Siung Macan Kombang, yang dimuat di *Jawa Pos* setiap hari mulai tgl. 27 Oktober s/d 15 Nopember 1992.
3. Tuliskan, nama, alamat lengkap dengan kode Pos
4. Tiap kupon hanya berlaku untuk satu jawaban.
5. Pembaca boleh mengirimkan kupon sebanyak-banyaknya asal memenuhi syarat.
6. Batas akhir Pengiriman jawaban pada tanggal 15 Nopember 1992 jam 24.00
7. 1. Pemirsa TVRI Stasiun Yogyakarta, jawaban dikirim ke :
TVRI Stasiun Yogyakarta, Jl. Magelang Yogyakarta 55264
2. Pemirsa TVRI Stasiun Surabaya, jawaban dikirim ke :
TVRI Stasiun Surabaya, Jl. Mayjend Sungkono 124 Surabaya
8. Jawaban dianggap sah bila ada stempel pos
9. Kirim jawaban secepatnya, sebab sebelum seri ke II ditayangkan akan dibagi 500 hadiah hiburan untuk pengirim Pertama, baik dari Jawa Tengah, maupun Jawa Timur. Sedangkan Sebelum Penayangan Seri III akan dibagikan 500 hadiah hiburan untuk Pengirim Pertama.
10. Jawaban yang benar, akan diundi di TVRI stasiun Yogyakarta pada tanggal 30 Nopember 1992
11. Sayembara ini tertutup untuk keluarga TVRI, *Jawa Pos* maupun pendukung cerita Siung Macan Kombang.


PEMENANG

1. Pemenang Pengirim Pertama akan diumumkan di *Jawa Pos* tiap minggu.
2. Pemenang jawaban Undian akan diumumkan lewat TVRI Stasiun Yogyakarta Tanggal 30 Nopember 1992 dan akan diumumkan lewat *Jawa Pos* tanggal 2 Desember 1992

HADIAH

- 3 Honda Astrea
- 5 Lemari Es Goldstar 3 pintu
- 5 TV Warna Goldstar 20 Inchi
- 5 TV Warna Goldstar 14 Inchi
- 5 Lemari Es Goldstar satu pintu
- 7 Sepeda Federal Alycat FMG 52S dan 250 Jam dinding, 250 Payung serta 500 kaos untuk pengirim pertama.

KUPON
KETHOPRAK SAYEMBARA
"SIUNG MACAN KOMBANG"
TVRI Sta. Yogyakarta dan Surabaya



EMCO
MENCAT LEBIH BAIK

NAMA :

ALAMAT :

JAWABAN :

Image 1. Kupon/coupon. *Jawa Pos* (28 October 1992): 13.

Reading between the lines, we can extract some more information about other contextual aspects. The large sponsorship campaign, for instance, casts light on how the regional TVRI stations circumvented the government ban on advertising, in force since 1981. A programme like *kethoprak sayembara* gave the stations the opportunity to present their sponsors in the framework of the serial's quiz – a most important aspect of the programme – rather than in the form of actual advertisements. Importantly, we learn that the print media, the largest sponsors of the serial, reaped the largest profit. The *Jawa Pos*' circulation increased significantly and it expanded its area of reach and readership.

Audience response

Surabayan audiences gave the first *kethoprak sayembara* serial broadcast by “their” television station TVRI Surabaya a warm reception. As I have mentioned earlier, some of them did comment on the language use, which they said was not easily accessible, and on the music. Most comments reflect the importance of ethnicity, of origin and geographical location, intimating that a person is not just Javanese but an East Javanese from Surabaya, for instance, and of the pride in one's own culture. Some East Javanese artists regretted that actors from “far away” Yogyakarta (*jauh-jauh dari Yogya*) had been invited to perform rather than an East Javanese *kethoprak* troupe, arguing there were plenty of qualitatively high-standing troupes there. Another pertinent question was why TVRI Surabaya did not try to revive *ludruk*, the popular dramatic genre characteristic of that area. They feared that *ludruk* would die a lingering death. Others acknowledged that the positive audience response showed that people still liked to watch art forms typical of various regions in Indonesia. It could be a way to stir society into action to preserve Indonesian performing arts genres. It could also be an incentive to “our *ludruk* actors” to revive their artistic genre and to perform *ludruk* elsewhere in Java, as “we need to know about each other's art forms”, said one commentator ((ita) 1992d).

The flow of information was not one way. Audiences vented their opinions, comments and suggestions in the *Jawa Pos* and the Surabayan television station used the opportunity to address its fans through the newspaper. It said it was using the *kethoprak* serial to verify whether the East Javanese audiences still appreciated the station and the art of *kethoprak* which had been absent so long from the Surabayan screen. The appreciation would be evaluated on the basis of the number of postcards with an answer to the quiz received. The station would also check its reach in the remotest villages ((ita) 1992a). If successful, TVRI Surabaya was planning to create its own prize-winning production ((ita) 1992b). It admitted that, as part of its cultural policy, it used to broadcast *kethoprak* performances of the Siswobudoyo troupe. However, *kethoprak* should not be foregrounded too much, so as not to forget about “our own East Javanese artistic genre”, the *ludruk* ((ita) 1992f, i, j).

Finally, the attention should be drawn to the way national politics entered the picture. The Minister of Information (Menpen, Menteri Penerangan) Harmoko had personally visited TVRI Yogyakarta the previous year and

requested the station broadcast *kethoprak sayembara* more frequently than twice a year, as its popularity was rising steadily. In response to Harmoko's request, the head of the station, Suryanto, explained that TVRI Yogyakarta was still having difficulties preparing more than two *kethoprak sayembara* productions per year, the biggest stumbling block being its limited staff. It stated that therefore in the years to come the production would still be restricted. Putting it in the hands of an external production house would be the only solution, as long as it complied with the standard constraints and requirements of TVRI. The budget was not a problem because of the co-operation with other institutions, he remarked, while the production costs of *kethoprak sayembara* were much lower than those of TVRI Jakarta's soap series. The article gives some data about these monetary constraints. Harmoko's effort to intervene in the production of the genre demonstrates how at the time the Department of Information was keeping a finger in the television-pie – traditional dramatic genres were an excellent means to disseminate government information and propaganda. As he was of East Javanese descent, his personal preference for Javanese-language entertainment might have played a role as well ((rif) 1992o).

Critical reflections on Siung Macan Kombang

At the end of the serial, the *Jawa Pos* featured three short essays giving critical reflections on the serial (Tranggono 1992; (erwan/afandi) 1992; Jauhari 1992). They give the readers a look inside the cauldron of the production process and encompass the gestation and history of *kethoprak* and its development from a rural to an urban popular genre; the correspondences and differences between *kethoprak sayembara* and conventional *kethoprak*, on the basis of an analysis of the constraints; the question of whether *kethoprak sayembara* could still be called *kethoprak*; the prize-winning quiz format of *kethoprak sayembara*; the role of television in the preservation of the genre and in countering the potential loss of traditional drama and dance; and the idea that the broadcast had succeeded in uniting the three Javanese provinces.

Visuals

Most articles in *Jawa Pos* have a picture of one of the characters, of a specific scene, often featuring the guest stars, in one of the sequences (Image 2). These pictures give us an idea of the visual aspects of the serial. However, deprived of moving images, sound, and dialogue, we just have to guess ... *Kethoprak* and *kethoprak sayembara* fans, given their own experience and personal history of watching live performances and television shows and listening to radio broadcasts, might have been able to imagine how their favourite actors would enact a role, how the story is shaped on the screen. But still ...

Tentang Ketoprak Sayembara TVRI, "Siung Macan Kumbang"

Pemain pun Belum Tahu Jawabannya

Yogyakarta, JP.

Bagi orang kebanyakan, ini mungkin hal yang aneh. Tapi, begitulah yang namanya ketoprak sayembara. Meski episode ketiga *Siung Macan Kumbang* (SMK) selesai diproduksi, ternyata jawaban sayembara tersebut belum diketahui mereka yang terlibat dalam proses produksi, seperti sutradara, pemain, maupun kru TVRI lainnya.

Satu-satunya orang yang sudah tahu jawabannya, tentu saja, sang penulis naskah, Hasni Bahkan, kepala Stasiun TVRI Yogyakarta, penguasa lembaga siaran yang memproduksi dan menyiarkan acara itu, tak boleh tahu.

"Episode keempat memang belum kami produksi. Skenario kami pun belum di tangan kami. Episode keempat, sebagai jawaban sayembara ini, kami garap nanti setelah pengiriman kartu pos sayembara ditutup. Jadi, tidak satu pun di antara kami yang mengetahui siapa pencuri siung macan kumbang itu," kata Kepala Seksi Siaran TVRI Yogyakarta Sujadi.

Sutradara ketoprak sayembara ini, Supranyoto dan Heruwati, baru menduga-duga. Itu pun belum tentu benar. Dugaan siapa pencuri siung macan kumbang yang disayembarakan dalam ketoprak sayembara ini dia peroleh dengan melihat alur cerita yang dia garap.

Siapakah yang diduga sebagai pencuri oleh kedua sutradara ini? "Ikuti saja setiap episode



Satu syut adegan SMK.

ketoprak ini. Kalau saya menunjukkan, nanti penonton kurang *deg-degan*, akhirnya jalinan cerita menjadi kurang menarik. Lebih baik penonton menjawab sendiri berdasarkan intuisi dan kepekaan," ujar Heruwati diplomatis.

Seperti ketoprak sayembara TVRI yang lalu, produksi episode terakhir memang baru dilakukan

paat-saat akhir penayangan. Karena itulah, penayangan episode terakhir selalu bersenjagat lebih lama ketimbang episode-episode sebelumnya. Untuk ketoprak SMK ini, episode terakhir ditayangkan tiga minggu setelah episode ketiga diputar.

Mungkin juga, pemain yang memerankan pencuri senjata yang dianggap memiliki kasiat ampuh

itu tidak mengetahui bahwa dirinya adalah yang sebenarnya menjadi pencuri siung macan kumbang. Kalaupun *ngerti*, mereka juga tak boleh ikut sayembara. Dalam ketoprak sayembara SMK ini, mereka yang terlibat dalam proses produksi dan keluarganya memang tidak diperbolehkan ikut sayembara. (rif)

Etty: Saya Biasa Berperan Antagonis

Yogyakarta, JP.

Etty Suparman, pemeran Nyi Demang dalam ketoprak sayembara *Siung Macan Kumbang* (SMK), sesungguhnya bukan nama asing bagi masyarakat, khususnya masyarakat Surabaya.

Meski kini menetap di Yogyakarta dan cukup masyhur di wilayah Jawa Tengah dan DIY sebagai seniwati ketoprak, ia mengukir proses keseniwatannya lahir berkembang di Kota Pahlawan.

Etty yang punya nama lengkap Endang Purwo Kusnining-

sih ini memang lahir dan dibesarkan di Surabaya. Putri sulung empat bersaudara pasangan Supripto-Sunini ini sejak TK sudah mulai menunjukkan bakatnya sebagai orang panggung. Saat itu ia sudah sering diajak bapaknya *manggung* di tempat-tempat hiburan.

Bapakinya anggota WO (Wayang Orang) Sri Wandowo yang mengisi acara di THR Surabaya.

Tentu saja peran tokoh yang diberikan kepadanya khusus, yakni tokoh anak-anak, misalnya Abimanyu dalam *Abimanyu Kerem*. Wisanggeni dalam *Wisanger-*

ni Lahir, dan lain-lain.

Itu sebabnya, kalau kini ia cukup dikenal secara luas sebagai pemain ketoprak, bukan hal istimewa. Kalau peran Nyi Demang dalam SMK diberikan kepadanya, itu juga memang sudah sepatutnya. Apalagi, dalam dua ketoprak sayembara sebelumnya peran yang dibawakan Etty sangat kuat dan membikin penasaran pemerisa TVRI Stasiun Yogin.

Dalam serial *Telik Sandi* karya Kho Ping Ho, Etty *didipuk* sebagai Nyai Lurah Jogoboyo yang judes dan jahat. Di ketoprak sayembara *Kumbang Kecubung Kumbang Tumelung* naskah S.H. Mintarja, ia diberi peran sebagai Nyi Tumenggung Joyotaruno, istri yang amat setia kepada suaminya. Kini, dalam SMK, ia harus memerankan Nyi Demang yang digambarkan sebagai seorang wanita ambisius pada kekuasaan sehingga mengkhajalkan segala cara untuk meraih jabatan adidaya bagi suaminya, Ki Demang.

"Untuk peran ini, saya hampir tak mengalami kesulitan berarti. Peran tokoh antagonis dengan sifat-sifat jahatnya itu sudah langganian saya.

Memang, saya harus dapat menunjukkan kemampuan saya berakting sekaligus berkarakter wanita ambisius, judes, dan genit. Karena sudah terbiasa, saya jadi lebih gampang menghayatnya."

dalang terkenal Yogya, ini kepada *Jawa Pos*.

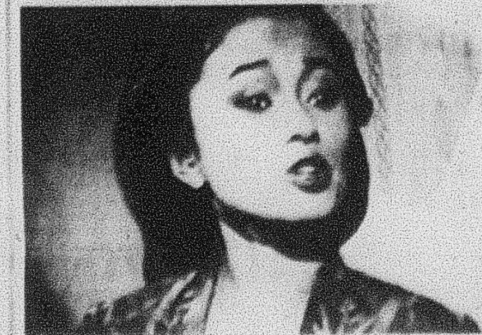
Menurut dia, meski peran Nyi Demang cukup menantang, ia merasa belum puas. Sebenarnya ibu dua putra ini ingin mendapat peran yang lain, misalnya tokoh wanita biasa yang karakternya sesuai sifat-sifat asli yang dimilikinya.

"Saya ini gampang senyum dan tidak suka marah. Kalau gampang marah, saya bisa cepat tua. Kalau begitu, *aku us gak panten mianeh* memerankan wanita genit.

Jadi, sesungguhnya watak tokoh Nyi Demang itu bertolak belakang dengan sifat-sifat asli saya," kata anggota grup Ketoprak Agung Budiaji yang juga membuka usaha konveksi dan rias pengantin ini.

Profesi seniman memang tidak bisa diharapkan. Meski begitu, Etty akan terus berketoprak sampai masyarakat tidak menyukainya.

Karena itu, ia akan mencoba selalu setia menghibur masyarakat semampunya. "Job main tidak pernah saya tolak, asal kan saya punya waktu senggang. Pada 26 Oktober ini saya diundang jadi bintang tamu bersama grup Ketoprak Mustika Surya pada HUT Golkar di Surabaya. Terus terang, Surabaya juga langganan *manggung*



THE KITLV COLLECTION OF INDONESIAN NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

The *Jawa Pos* articles I consulted for this article are part of a large collection of Indonesian newspapers and magazines, acquired in Indonesia and preserved on microfiches and microfilms. The KITLV Office in Jakarta has contributed significantly to this.

“[A]cquiring books and other materials and collecting scientifically relevant information for the Institute in the Netherlands” was one of the main tasks the newly to be established KITLV branch in Jakarta had to perform, as the then KITLV director, Hans Teeuw, formulated in his plans for the institute in 1967 (Kuitenbrouwer 2014: 229).²³ The first Dutch representatives in Jakarta were soon appointed. Joining forces with LIPI (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences), in 1969 the Javanist J.J. Ras began the scientific co-operation between Indonesia and the Netherlands, assisted by A.C.M. Peeters who focused on the acquisition and documentation of Indonesian materials (Erkelens 2000: 2). That the current KITLV collection of Indonesian newspapers and periodicals is possibly the largest in the world – as Kuitenbrouwer claims (2014: 255) – is mainly a tribute to the efforts of the historian Jaap Erkelens, active at the KITLV branch in Jakarta between 1974 and 2003, from 1978 as its head. Erkelens succeeded in saving a large number of pre-war newspapers and magazines, owned by the National Library, part of which was seriously damaged. As they were scheduled to be moved from the former offices of the KBG (Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences) to the new National Library premises in Salemba Raya Street, Erkelens suggested they should be preserved. On his initiative, the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia) filmed the entire collection; one microfilm copy was sent to the KITLV in Leiden, the other remained at the National Library in Jakarta, together with the original materials.²⁴ Post-war newspapers and periodicals have also been collected and filmed by the KITLV branch in exchange with the National Library in Jakarta.

At present, the microfilm and microfiches newspaper and magazine collection can only be accessed in the Special Collections Room of the Leiden University Libraries. As the reading equipment is slow and some of the newspapers are hard to decipher, studying the collection does require quite a bit of perseverance.

THE KITLV COLLECTION OF JAVANESE-LANGUAGE TELEVISION PROGRAMMES

The newspaper articles which I have just discussed offered the *Jawa Pos* readers detailed accounts of the *Siung Macan Kumbang* serial and its background, luring them to watch the programme and participate in the contest in 1992. As I have said, lacking from these accounts are the actual performative and

²³ Kuitenbrouwer quotes from Teeuw's "Development Plan" (*Ontwikkelingsplan van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*), KITLV 520, NB 18-11-1967.

²⁴ Written communication Jaap Erkelens, September 2018.

televisual aspects which are essential to present-day researchers of the media. Only when turning our attention to audio-visual sources are we able to find answers to questions about these aspects. But, as I have pointed out earlier, for various reasons the TVRI Yogyakarta tapes of the *Siung Macan Kombang* serial have remained inaccessible.

The fact that there are indeed a few collections of Indonesian television programmes is not widely known. Mark Hobart initiated an Indonesian television archiving project at the School of Oriental and African Studies. His project consists of recordings of cultural and political productions (Henchy 2007: 190). Likewise unique is the KITLV collection of audio-visual tapes of Javanese-language programmes, now kept in the Leiden University Libraries. The collection came into being in the framework of the Verbal Art in the Audio-visual Media of Indonesia (VA/AVMI) pioneer research programme of Ben Arps, then professor of Javanese linguistics and literature at Leiden University.

Between 1996 and 1999, the night watchman of the KITLV/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies branch in Jakarta recorded broadcasts of Indonesian performing arts genres, produced and broadcast by television station Indosiar, possibly while enjoying the shows himself.²⁵ He did so at the behest of the VA/AVMI research programme. Television was received by means of an antenna on the roof of the office building and the shows were recorded on VHS tapes, both these circumstances affecting the quality of the results.

The collection consists of more than 360 audio-visual tapes kept in the KITLV collection at the Leiden University Libraries. They are listed in the catalogue under the entry “Indosiar”. They include the following Javanese genres: *wayang kulit* (shadow puppetry); *kethoprak*; *Srimulat* (Javanese-Indonesian comedy); *dhagelan* (humorous skits); *ludruk* (East Javanese popular drama); and *wayang orang* (danced *wayang* drama). Sundanese *wayang golek* (rod-puppetry) and *lenong* (Jakartan popular drama) likewise form part of the collection. Besides, it includes some Indonesian films, feature documentaries in Indonesian, Islamic features, a serial based on the life of General Soedirman (*Palagan Ambarawa*) and so on.

These recordings offered the VA/AVMI programme participants a wealth of information and are invaluable to people studying the Indonesian televisionscape of the 1990s.

INDOSIAR

Each separate programme in the collection is an unknown gem in itself waiting to be discovered. It gives us a sense of specific Javanese (and other) performing arts genres produced and broadcast by Indosiar in the second half of the 1990s: encompassing the stories, the performers and the performance styles.

The programmes provide us with information on the television station Indosiar, the (then) last private station granted a broadcasting licence by the

²⁵ The KITLV branch in Jakarta began recording Indonesian-language news programmes of TVRI and RCTI in 1994 (e-mail communication Jaap Erkelens November 2018).

New Order government under President Soeharto. They offer a glimpse of the period in which Indosiar was trying to create a unique branding and suddenly discovered the Javanese as the largest ethnic group in Indonesia and hence the most interesting target group for its commercial goals. The station hoped to address these potential consumers of the advertised products by broadcasting Javanese-language programmes thereby arousing their interest, filling a niche in the commercial broadcasting market.²⁶

From the collection we learn how Indosiar explicitly presented itself as the station which was making an effort to preserve the culture of the nation (*melestarikan budaya bangsa*), broadcasting genres affiliated with specific linguistic and ethnic groups and with traditional drama. Analysing the collection reveals how restricted Indosiar's view on "the culture of the nation" actually was; it concentrated heavily on disseminating Javanese and Sundanese-language programmes (besides the majority of Indonesian-spoken broadcasts), for commercial goals, setting its sights on the largest consumer markets in Indonesia. We learn how pragmatic Indosiar was in the choices it made – recording and broadcasting already available live performances by popular artists, cutting effort and costs. The recordings give us a pretty good impression of what audiences attended the performances and how they did so. The shows give insight into how New Order propaganda was disseminated through these genres. We also see and hear how the station created a distinct personal profile within the programmes, advertising itself in the dialogues or visually. The Indonesian-language commercials of products promoting a contemporary urban lifestyle demonstrate that Indosiar was targeting a range of audiences from various social and economic backgrounds. Commercials featuring analgesics and traditional medicine advertised in Javanese targeted rural audiences and workers. These, however popular, were rare.

Most importantly, the collection gives us the kind of information we shall never be able to obtain if we confine ourselves to studying newspaper articles about television shows. The recordings allow us to perceive what a genre like *kethoprak* as broadcast by Indosiar actually looked like, to listen to the dialogues and the Javanese dialects, to watch the characters interact with each other, observing their body language and costumes, to understand the camera work, and much more. They are a direct revelation of the performance and televisual aspects of the programmes.

Just like the "Museum of Voices" of the French opera, this collection demonstrates the importance of media preservation. These audio-visual tapes have proven to be important educational, historical and cultural resources. They show how researchers can play a role in initiating the construction of new digital archive projects.²⁷ The collection is relevant because of each individual programme and is of great importance to historical media research. Although not yet made easily accessible to a wider public and only to be

²⁶ See Bogaerts 2017: 131-166 for the coming into being of Indosiar, its position within the Indonesian mediascape, its ideology and programming.

²⁷ On this topic, see Fickers and Johnson 2010: 5; Turnock 2010.

consulted in the Leiden University Libraries, we can watch, enjoy and study it. It presents us with information about (part of) the broadcasting context of the 1990s in Indonesia: private television industry, government policies, the world of the commercials, the way the public's cultural taste was imagined by the broadcaster for its own profit, views on tradition, and the culture of the nation. But, most importantly, however unique this collection is, if not digitized soon, the tapes will deteriorate and the information perish.

CONCLUSIONS

As I have demonstrated in this article, historical newspapers are precious research materials. It is always amazing to realize how studying newspaper articles enables a researcher to approximate a past event, a person's life, a cultural phenomenon very closely. In the case I have presented, be this the development of Hasmi into a professional cartoonist, theatre actor and script-writer; the contents of a popular television serial, its production process and audience reception; the *kethoprak sayembara* as a (at the time new) television genre; the history of the Indonesian televisionscape. But, as my short introduction to the Leiden collection of Javanese-language television programmes has shown, the information obtained from newspaper articles alone, even when combined with the programme scripts, does not replace the information with which we are rewarded when we are able to study the actual shows. On the contrary, as researchers of audio-visual media we need audio-visual resources. Confining ourselves to print text – since audio-visual media are lacking –, however valuable and detailed in content, we lose the richness of the broadcasts: the performative and televisual aspects, the drama, the music and sound effects, the colours, movement, the sound of the language and the verbal interaction, the commercials, the emotion.

It is regrettable that the Indonesian Broadcasting Law has so far not succeeded in constraining television (and radio) stations to preserve and document their programmes, let alone digitize them and make them available to the public, and to make them collect and preserve scripts, newspaper clippings, letters of audiences, and so on. This cultural heritage should be made tangible, not just for the benefit of academics, but, more importantly, for the public. The *kethoprak sayembara* serial *Siung Macan Kombang* is just one example of the many (Javanese-language) television programmes which have become part and parcel of the (Javanese) public's culture and history. Importantly, these shows are proof that television plays a dual role in cultural processes, both observing and contributing to culture, and therefore they deserve to be documented, preserved and digitized. Academics should definitely take their responsibility in both hands and contribute to the preservation processes by studying media to save the data from extinction.

SIUNG MACAN KOMBANG IN THE *JAWA POS* (1 OCTOBER - 4 DECEMBER 1992)

This chronological list demonstrates the extensive coverage of the *Siung Macan Kombang* serial in the *Jawa Pos*, one of three newspapers co-operating with the TVRI Yogyakarta and TVRI Surabaya stations. It also gives an idea of the value of this print media collection. I have used the entire corpus of *Jawa Pos* articles to write my article; the titles I referred to have an asterisk.

- *(ita). 1992a. "Siung macan kombang jadi alat ukur TVRI", *Jawa Pos* (1 October): 9.
- (dm). 1992a. "Mahkota Mayangkara (4)", *Jawa Pos* (7 October): 9.
- *(ita). 1992b. "Stasiun Surabaya kirim tim ke Yogya; Soal penayangan ketoprak sayembara", *Jawa Pos* (14 October): 9.
- *(ita). 1992c. "Ketoprak sayembara dengan jutaan hadiah", *Jawa Pos* (16 October): 9.
- *(rif). 1992a. "Dua episode SMK selesai", *Jawa Pos* (20 October): 9.
- *(rif). 1992b. "Ketoprak dengan banyak terobosan", *Jawa Pos* (21 October): 9.
- *(dib/rif). 1992. "Idenya muncul setelah melihat film Barat", *Jawa Pos* (21 October): 9.
- *(rif). 1992c. "Dialog antarpemirsa awali setiap tayangan", *Jawa Pos* (22 October): 9.
- *(rif). 1992d. "Diubah karena muncul kritik", *Jawa Pos* (23 October): 9.
- *(rif). 1992e. "Bila bintang film ke layar TV", *Jawa Pos* (24 October): 9.
- *(dib). 1992a. "Selalu dapat peran 'Emban'", *Jawa Pos* (24 October): 9.
- *(rif). 1992f. "Pemain pun belum tahu jawabannya", *Jawa Pos* (25 October): 9.
- *(rif). 1992g. "Etty: 'Saya biasa berperan antagonis'", *Jawa Pos* (25 October): 9.
- *(rif). 1992h. "Beberapa tokoh patut dicurigai dalam tayangan episode pertama nanti malam", *Jawa Pos* (26 October): 9.
- *(rif). 1992i. "Heru: 'Saya belum pernah puas'", *Jawa Pos* (26 October): 9.
- (rif). 1992j. "Mungkinkah Dipoyudo menjadi pencuri?" *Jawa Pos* (27 October): 9.
- (rif). 1992k. "'Saya suka peran srogol-srogol'", *Jawa Pos* (27 October): 9.
- (dib). 1992b. "Hasmi si Gundala Putra Petir", *Jawa Pos* (28 October): 8.
- *(rif). 1992l. "Sapto terpaksa garap musik dua kali", *Jawa Pos* (29 October): 9.
- (dib). 1992c. "Panut: 'Pasti ada yang mencurigai saya'", *Jawa Pos* (29 October): 9.
- *(ita). 1992d. "Sebaiknya pakai teks bahasa Indonesia", *Jawa Pos* (30 October): 9.
- (rif). 1992m. "Dirjo, seniman yang kontroversial", *Jawa Pos* (30 October): 9.
- (dib). 1992d. "'Ini cerita silat murni'", *Jawa Pos* (31 October): 9.
- (rif). 1992n. "Nyoto, itu hasil kerja kolektif", *Jawa Pos* (31 October): 9.
- *(rif). 1992o. "Menpen pernah minta tiga kali", *Jawa Pos* (1 November): 9.
- *(ita). 1992e. "Jatim pun banjir kartu pos", *Jawa Pos* (1 November): 9.
- *(rif/dib). 1992a. "Supriyatman pernah dilempari penonton", *Jawa Pos* (2 November): 9.
- *(ita). 1992f. "TVRI Surabaya rangsang kebangkitan seni ludruk", *Jawa Pos* (2 November): 9.

- (dib). 1992e. "Kiat khusus menebak sayembara SMK: Bocoran dari penulis naskah dan sutradara", *Jawa Pos* (3 November): 9.
- *(rif). 1992p. "Saling curiga warnai episode dua", *Jawa Pos* (3 November): 9.
- *(rif). 1992q. "Sulit beri teks bahasa Indonesia", *Jawa Pos* (4 November): 9.
- (rif). 1992r. "Mungkinkah Pethak jadi pencuri?" *Jawa Pos* (4 November): 9.
- (rif). 1992s. "Dari Dipoyudo hingga Ki Ageng Pasang", *Jawa Pos* (5 November): 9.
- *(dib). 1992f. "'Saya sampai risih diuber-uber calon penebak'", *Jawa Pos* (5 November): 9.
- *(ita). 1992g. "Tanpa thok-thok, apa ya ketoprak?" *Jawa Pos* (6 November): 9.
- (rif). 1992t. "Jogoboyo mencuri, mengapa tidak?" *Jawa Pos* (6 November): 9.
- *(rif). 1992u. "Bukan masalah, ketoprak tanpa thok-thok. Bagong: Rohnya ada pada dialog dan unggah-ungguh", *Jawa Pos* (7 November): 9.
- (dib). 1992g. "Memakai musik program MIDI", *Jawa Pos* (7 November): 9.
- (rif). 1992v. "Ada cuplikan adegan sebagai penuntun tebakan", *Jawa Pos* (8 November): 9.
- (rif). 1992w. "Suparwoto: 'Saya sungguh tak tahu'", *Jawa Pos* (8 November): 9.
- *(rif). 1992x. "Panut layak sebagai tertuduh mencuri SMK?" *Jawa Pos* (9 November): 9.
- *(dm). 1992b. "Herry Koko: 'Ketoprak harus ada tok ... tok'. Siswondo H.S. punya penilaian sama", *Jawa Pos* (9 November): 9.
- (rif). 1992y. "Empat tokoh jadi tuduhan utama", *Jawa Pos* (10 November): 9.
- (dib). 1992h. "Jogoboyo paling pantas dituduh?" *Jawa Pos* (10 November): 9.
- (rif). 1992z. "Episode keempat diproduksi minggu depan", *Jawa Pos* (11 November): 9.
- (ita). 1992h. "TVRI Surabaya kewalahan terima kartu pos", *Jawa Pos* (11 November): 9.
- (rif/dib). 1992b. "Kini, siapa pencuri kupon Siung macan kombang?" *Jawa Pos* (12 November): 9.
- (dib). 1992i. "'Bukan maksud saya membuat bingung pemirsa'", *Jawa Pos* (12 November): 9.
- (rif). 1992A. "Mengapa Raden Pekik tidak muncul?" *Jawa Pos* (13 November): 9.
- (dib). 1992j. "Tambah pertanyaan, tambah bingung?" *Jawa Pos* (14 November): 9.
- *(ita). 1992i. "Banyak saran masyarakat untuk TVRI. 'Tayangan ketoprak hendaknya bukan hanya SMK'", *Jawa Pos* (14 November): 9.
- (rif). 1992B. "Episode keempat gunakan banyak lokasi", *Jawa Pos* (15 November): 9.
- (rif). 1992C. "TVRI Yogyakarta dibanjiri telepon", *Jawa Pos* (15 November): 9.
- *(adib lazwar). 1992a. "Hasmi tentang Hasmi (1): 'Saya anak desa Kemetiran'", *Jawa Pos* (17 November): 9.
- (rif). 1992D. "Tumenggung Dipoyudo atau Ki Jogoboyo?" *Jawa Pos* (17 November): 9.
- *(adib lazwar). 1992b. "Hasmi tentang Hasmi (2): 'Di Tulungagung saya mulai mengenal seni'", *Jawa Pos* (18 November): 9.

- *(adib lazwar). 1992c. "Hasmi tentang Hasmi (3): 'Karena bisa ndagel, saya sering dibon'", *Jawa Pos* (19 November): 9.
- *(adib lazwar). 1992d. "Hasmi tentang Hasmi (4): 'Saya gagal jadi insinyur arsitektur'", *Jawa Pos* (20 November): 9.
- *(ita). 1992j. "Pak Dahlan ... Kapan bikin ketoprak sayembara lagi?" *Jawa Pos* (20 November): 9.
- (ita). 1992k. "TVRI masih terima kartu pos berisi jawaban siapa pencuri SMK", *Jawa Pos* (20 November): 9.
- *(adib lazwar). 1992e. "Hasmi tentang Hasmi (5): 'Gundala jadi trade mark saya'", *Jawa Pos* (21 November): 9.
- Iklan. 1992. "TVRI Stasiun Yogyakarta dan harian *Jawa Pos* mempersembahkan", *Jawa Pos* (22 November): 10.
- (rif). 1992E. "Sudah mengadopsi teater modern: Tentang berbagai kritik terhadap ketoprak sayembara TVRI", *Jawa Pos* (24 November): 9.
- (soe). 1992. "Ketoprak TVRI paling digemari menurut data Survey Research Indonesia", *Jawa Pos* (24 November): 9.
- (ita). 1992l. "Sudah terkumpul 500 ribu kartu pos penebak pembunuh Benggol", *Jawa Pos* (25 November): 9.
- (rif). 1992F. "Jatim gagal raih juara dalam lomba penulisan naskah ketoprak", *Jawa Pos* (25 November): 9.
- (ita). 1992m. "'Kalau TVRI ngajak, oke!'", *Jawa Pos* (26 November): 9.
- (ita). 1992n. "TVRI Surabaya sedang cari alternatif setelah masyarakat Jatim gandrung ketoprak", *Jawa Pos* (26 November): 9.
- *(rif). 1992G. "Hasmi tampil dalam SMK episode empat. Ditayangkan Senin malam", *Jawa Pos* (28 November): 9.
- (ita). 1992o. "Pembunuh Benggol diundi Selasa siang di *Jawa Pos*", *Jawa Pos* (29 November): 9.
- *(rif). 1992H. "Nanti malam, tayangan terakhir SMK. Juga pengumuman pemenang sayembara", *Jawa Pos* (30 November): 9.
- *Jauhari, Tri. 1992. "Kesan tentang penayangan serial ketoprak; Siung macan kombang, pemersatu 3 Jawa", *Jawa Pos* (1 December): 4.
- (rif). 1992J. "Para pemenang sayembara SMK", *Jawa Pos* (1 December): 9.
- (rif). 1992I. "Pemirsa TVRI Surabaya rebut separo hadiah", *Jawa Pos* (1 December): 9.
- *Tranggono, Indra. 1992. "Kontroversi ketoprak televisi", *Jawa Pos* (2 December): 10.
- *(erwan w. budiwianto/arif afandi). 1992. "'Ciri ketoprak itu kerakyatan'", *Jawa Pos* (2 December): 10.
- (ita). 1992p. "Hari ini, jawaban 'Siapa pembunuh Benggol' diundi", *Jawa Pos* (3 December): 9.
- (ita). 1992q. "Pemenang kuis pembunuh Benggol terpilih", *Jawa Pos* (4 December): 9.

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- (adib lazwar). 1992c. "Hasmi tentang Hasmi (3): Karena bisa ndagel, saya sering dibon", *Jawa Pos* (19 November): 9.
- (adib lazwar). 1992d. "Hasmi tentang Hasmi (4): Saya gagal jadi insinyur arsitektur", *Jawa Pos* (20 November): 9.
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- (dib/rif). 1992. "Idenya muncul setelah melihat film Barat." *Jawa Pos* (21 October): 9.
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- (ita). 1992a. "Siung macan kumbang jadi alat ukur TVRI", *Jawa Pos* (1 October): 9.
- (ita). 1992b. "Stasiun Surabaya kirim tim ke Yogya; Soal penayangan ketoprak sayembara", *Jawa Pos* (14 October): 9.
- (ita). 1992c. "Ketoprak sayembara dengan jutaan hadiah", *Jawa Pos* (16 October): 9.
- (ita). 1992d. "Sebaiknya pakai teks bahasa Indonesia", *Jawa Pos* (30 October): 9.
- (ita). 1992e. "Jatim pun kebanjiran kartu pos", *Jawa Pos* (1 November): 9.
- (ita). 1992f. "TVRI Surabaya rangsang kebangkitan seni ludruk", *Jawa Pos* (2 November): 9.
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