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# Masked Panji plays in nineteenth-century Java

## The story of *Kuda Narawangsa*

CLARA BRAKEL-PAPENHUYZEN

### ABSTRACT

This article discusses the Javanese Panji-story *Kuda Narawangsa*, which I first watched as a masked performance in a village south of Yogyakarta in 1977. The play featured Galuh Candra Kirana, spouse of Prince Panji of Jenggala, in the masculine form of “Kuda Narawangsa”. Historical information on this play in archival manuscript sources, found mainly in the collections of Leiden University Libraries, proves that it was well-known in Java during the nineteenth century. In this article, descriptions of performances in manuscripts or printed publications are combined with historical play-scripts (*pakem*) from Surakarta and Yogyakarta, which have not been investigated so far. Special attention is paid to the script of a masked performance of the *Kuda Narawangsa* story in a manuscript from the Mangkunegaran palace, investigating what this historical *pakem* can tell us about the meaning and context of a masked performance of this story in nineteenth century Java. A story which according to recent publications remains relevant in Indonesian society to this day.<sup>1</sup>

### KEYWORDS

Javanese Panji stories; *Kuda Narawangsa*; Javanese masked drama (*topeng dhalang*); Javanese play-scripts (*pakem*).

<sup>1</sup> See among others, Dwi Yulianti 2017.

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## INTRODUCTION

My first encounter with the Javanese Panji-story *Kuda Narawangsa* was in 1977, when I saw a masked play entitled: “The disappearance of Princess Candra Kirana” (*Galuh Candra Kirana murca*) in a village in the Gunung Kidul district south of Yogyakarta (Illustration 1). This performance was part of the annual village purification (*bersih desa*) ritual, which also featured a procession with decorated food-offerings.<sup>2</sup> The actors were a local group led by the professional mask-player (*dalang topeng*) Somawarsito in the role of Panji’s opponent Klana Jaka.<sup>3</sup>

The performance of the group, directed by a gentleman named Raden Kartodiwiryo, followed to a great extent the conventions of the traditional shadow play (*wayang kulit*). The main characters, their costumes, make-up, and movements were all based on wayang typology – although not all actors looked experienced in executing their roles! The performance was accompanied by a complete gamelan orchestra, playing the customary music for each scene, complemented by the appropriate mood-songs, while keeping silent when dialogues were spoken.



Illustration 1. Scene from “Galuh Candra Kirana murca”, masked play in Ngebrak Semanu, Gunung Kidul, 1977. (Photograph by Clara Brakel).

<sup>2</sup> For a description of the ritual offerings, see Clara Brakel (1995: 19-20).

<sup>3</sup> Soedarsono’s survey of folk-dances in the Yogyakarta district describes a similar masked performance of *Panji Asmarabangun kromo* in this village. The director, here called Somawasito, is said to have descended from a line of well-known mask-experts (Soedarsono 1976: 157).

### OUTLINE OF "GALUH CANDRA KIRANA MURCA"

When I asked for more information about this fascinating performance, the village headman kindly presented me with an outline in Indonesian, according to which the masked play was entitled: "Galuh Candra Kirana murca" or 'The disappearance of Princess Candra Kirana'. In this outline, the play was composed of seven acts in various locations:

- I Ngurawan, the court of Candra Kirana's father.
- II Bantar Angin, the court of King Klana Jaka.
- III Tambakbaya, residence of Prince Gunungsari.
- IV Battle on the road.
- V Panji Asmarabangun's garden in Jenggala Manik.
- VI The village of Dhadhapan.
- VII Jenggala Manik garden, final battle.

During the play, a problem that arose in the first act led to a series of battles in following acts until it was finally solved in a complex last scene with an exorcistic "play within a play", as can be seen from the following summary:<sup>4</sup>

I.a. Audience scene at the court of Ngurawan by Prabu Lembu Amijaya, faced by his chancellor, Patih Deksanegara, and his court officials, during which the king receives two messengers: the first one is Brajanata, elder brother of Raden Panji Asmarabangun of Jenggala Manik, who tells the king that his daughter Galuh Candra Kirana, who is married to Raden Panji, is seriously ill, she has lost her beauty and her memory. The second messenger is Surapermuja, sent by King Klana Jaka, ruler of the overseas kingdom of Bantar Angin, who is asking for the hand of Princess Candra Kirana. This request is not granted, as the princess is already married to Panji.

I.b. A clash follows between Brajanata, Panji's elder brother, and the messenger and soldiers from Bantar Angin, in which the foreign army is defeated.

II. The next scene is set at the court of Bantar Angin, where King Klana Jaka receives his messenger Surapermuja. He reports that his mission has failed: Princess Candra Kirana is no longer living in Ngurawan, but is married to Prince Panji Asmara Bangun who lives in Jenggala Manik. Infuriated, King Klana Jaka declares that he will attack Jenggala Manik and kill Prince Panji.

III. Clowning scene at Tambakbaya, the residence of Prince Gunungsari, who is the brother of Candra Kirana. Gunungsari tells his two clown-servants that he wants to go to Panji's residence in Jenggala Manik and find out what is wrong with his sister.

IV. Battle on the road, where soldiers of Ngurawan clash with the demonic soldiers of Bantar Angin. After a series of battles between lower ranking soldiers, Panji's elder brother Brajanata defeats King Klana Jaka.

V. In the garden of Jenggala Manik, Raden Panji Asmarabangun discusses

<sup>4</sup> The summary is based on the Indonesian outline combined with the author's own notes made after witnessing the performance.

the illness of the pseudo-Candra Kirana (also called Sarag Galuhan) with her and his servants Bancak and Doyok. When Candra Kirana's father, King Lembu Amijaya enters, Panji asks his father-in-law to find out how she may be cured. The pseudo-Candra Kirana says that she can be cured if *dalang*<sup>5</sup> Kuda Narawangsa from the village of Dhadhapan performs a *ruwatan* (exorcistic play) for her. Bancak and Doyok are told to find and bring this *dalang* to Jenggala Manik.

VI. In the village of Dhadhapan, *dalang* Kuda Narawangsa and his musician Panjak Asemsore are disturbed by the arrival of Bancak and Doyok, who invite them to come to Jenggala Manik to perform the *ruwatan*. The *dalang* and his musician leave, followed by Bancak and Doyok.

VII. In Jenggala Manik *dalang* Kuda Narawangsa is told to perform the *ruwatan*. During the performance, the pseudo-Candra Kirana feels so offended by the *dalang* that she wants to kill him and his musician, asking her husband to kill them. First Panjak Asemsore is hit by an arrow, she gets back her own form of Panji's younger sister Ragil Kuning. When *dalang* Kuda Narawangsa is hit by an arrow, she resumes her real form of Candra Kirana. Then the pseudo-Candra Kirana is hit by Panji's arrow, and, resuming his original form of Klana's messenger Digya Jim Sudarga, he lands in front of his king. In a final battle King Klana Jaka and his soldiers are defeated by Panji and his followers. Then Panji Asmara Bangun, Galuh Candra Kirana, and Ragil Kuning enter the garden of Jenggala Manik.

#### THE KUDA NARAWANGSA PLAY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY JAVA

Later research in the collections of Leiden University Libraries showed that masked performances of the *Kuda Narawangsa* story are not a recent phenomenon, and not restricted to the area south of Yogyakarta either; they are frequently mentioned in nineteenth-century publications, of which I present three examples here.

##### 1. THE HISTORY OF JAVA

In his well-known work *The history of Java*, first published in 1817, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (1830 I: 439) mentions a *Panji Narawangsa* story as part of a larger historical work entitled "Angrene" starting with the reign of Panji's grandfather Jaya Lengcara of the realm of Medang Kamulan, and ending with Panji's death. Raffles writes that the story of *Panji Narawangsa* treats "the period of his life when the princess of Daha transforms herself into a man".<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> For the sake of consistency, the Javanese word *dhalang* is spelled in its modern form *dalang*.

<sup>6</sup> Raffles (1830 I: 439): "Angrene is an historical work, which commences with the reign of Sri Jaya Langcara sovereign of Medang Kamulan, the grandfather of the celebrated Panji, and concludes with the death of Panji. This is the largest work to be found in the modern literature of Java, and contains the most interesting and important part of Javan history immediately antecedent to the establishment of Mahomedanism [...] subdivided into several smaller works [...] the last one Panji Narawangsa includes the period of his life when the Princess of Daha transforms herself into a man".

On the subject of “National Drama”, Raffles (1830, I: 374) writes that: “The dramatic entertainments are of two kinds: the *topeng*, wherein the characters are represented by men, who except when performing before the Sovereign wear masks, and the *wayang*, in which they are represented by shadows. [...] The subject of the *topeng* is invariably taken from the adventures of Panji, the favourite hero of Javan story”.<sup>7</sup> And indeed, the story of *Narawangsa* that Raffles knew as a literary work was also performed as a masked play, as is described in other nineteenth century texts.

## 2. *SERAT CENTHINI*

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, a masked performance of the *Kuda Narawangsa* story was vividly described in the encyclopaedic Javanese literary work *Serat Centhini*, composed by the Surakarta court poets Yasadipura II and Rangga Sutrasna, in the service of Prince Amengkunagara III, later Sunan Paku Buwana V.<sup>8</sup> The play is said to have been organized by the headman of Trenggalek, a place south of Kediri, as an entertainment for his guests. These are two young men named Jayengwesthi and Jayengraga, sons of a religious leader (*kyai*) from Wanamarta, who are wandering around together with their uncle Kulawirya, looking for their brother-in-law Amongraga. Now Amongraga is also wandering around trying to find his own brother and sister. The three of them are the children of the unfortunate last Sunan of Giri who have fled from Giri (near present-day Surabaya), then “the spiritual centre of Islam in East Java”, after their town was destroyed by the ruler of Mataram (Pigeaud 1967 I: 229, 1933: 5-7).

Before the performance takes place, a remark is made that some people raise objections against the performance of masked plays. In response, the host Kidang Wiracapa, leader of this devout Muslim community, gives an esoteric interpretation of the mask play (*Serat Centhini* 9: 597). This interpretation explicitly functions as an ideological defence for the performance, using Islamic speculations to make a Javanese play acceptable to orthodox Muslims.

Consequently, the guests Jayengraga and his uncle Kulawirya accept the invitation to enact the roles of the main characters: the young Jayengraga is eager to perform the role of Klana, Panji’s main opponent, at which he is said to be quite an expert. But before that character appears, he will first perform the role of Panji Amongbrangta. The daughter of the host offers nice costumes to Jayengraga and Kulawirya, she also gets them from the *dalang* a *keris* and special headdresses (*tekes*), decorated with strings of flowers. As she helps

<sup>7</sup> Raffles (1830 I: 374) writes that “The dramatic entertainments are of two kinds: the *topeng*, wherein the characters are represented by men, who except when performing before the Sovereign wear masks, and the *wayang*, in which they are represented by shadows. [...] The subject of the *topeng* is invariably taken from the adventures of Panji, the favourite hero of Javan story. In the performances before the Sovereign, where masks are not used, the several characters themselves rehearse [speak] their parts; but, in general, the *Dalang*, or manager of the entertainment, recites their speeches, while the performers have only to suit the action to the word”.

<sup>8</sup> See the Introduction of *De Serat Tjabolang en de Serat Tjentini, inhoudsopgaven*, Pigeaud 1933.

Jayengraga to apply make-up (*boreh*), it is clear that she has fallen in love with him. The host then requests *dalang* Nayakenthi to perform the play (*lakon*) of [Kuda] Narawangsa, starting with the audience-scene (*jejer*) of the king of Jenggala (*Serat Centhini* 10, 603: 4-12).

According to the description in the *Serat Centhini*, this performance of the *Kuda Narawangsa* story consisted of six acts: I. Audience scene at the court of Jenggala with Prabu Dewakusuma, Patih Kudanawarsa, Adipanji Ino or Amongbrangta, and all the other princes. II. Panji's meeting with Sarag, his new bride. III. Dance of Gunungsari, prince of Kediri, and clowning by his servants. IV. Roaming around in the jungle, Candra Kirana is transformed into a religious student named Kuda Narawangsa. V. Meeting of Kuda Narawangsa and Panji in his residence, where Kuda Narawangsa gives a wayang performance. VI. Audience scene at the court of Kalidhawung, where Panji's opponent Klana Sewandana performs a lively dance – this scene ends abruptly.

Being led by an experienced *dalang*, the performance clearly follows the structure of a *wayang*-play, complete with narratives and mood-songs, a gamelan orchestra playing the appropriate music for each scene, and local mask players sometimes joining in singing a mood-song – all this apparently performed without a previous rehearsal. The graceful dancing and singing of Jayengraga as Panji Amongbrangta is discussed by the audience with the comment that “they are said to be religious students (*ajar wawasi*) who are expert actors (*baut angringgit*)”, which apparently was not unusual (*Serat Centhini* 10, 603: 35-36).

### 3. KAWRUH TOPENG

A later nineteenth century text mentioning the *Kuda Narawangsa* story is the *Kawruh Topeng*, a Javanese treatise on mask-making and masked performances in Surakarta, written by two Surakarta noblemen, R.M.P. Koesoemawardaja, grandson of Sunan Paku Buwana IV, and R.Ng. Reksapradja, to accompany a set of Javanese masks sent to the colonial exhibition in Amsterdam in 1883 by chancellor (*patih*) R.Ad. Sasranegara (Pigeaud 1938: 39). The authors of the *Kawruh Topeng* attribute the origin of mask making and -dancing to the Islamic saint (*wali*) Sunan Kalijaga living in the vicinity of the northern coastal town of Demak, as is still popularly believed in Java (see Brakel 1993). Sunan Kalijaga is said to have taught two men, originally puppeteers (*dalang*) from the village of Palar in the Sela region, the art of dancing with various masks in a way that suited each mask. They were also instructed in the ‘main points of the stories’ (*ancer-ancering cariyosipun*) of the East Javanese realms of Janggala, Kadhiri, Ngurawan and Singasari, the Klana of Bali, etcetera following the *wayang gedhog*, that is a performance of Panji tales with puppets by a puppeteer. The two men, named Widiguna and Widiyana, were much in demand because they could perform the mask-dances very well, [with] an eloquent *dalang* (*Kawruh Topeng* 1985: 5).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See Pigeaud 1938: 41-42 for a Dutch translation of *Kawruh Topeng* Chapters II-III, of which

The *Kawruh Topeng* also tells that for masked performances by roaming artists (*tiyang mbarang bagor*) the *dalang* would only bring along the masks and headdresses, while other parts of the costume had to be provided by the person who invited them. The acts of these roaming groups would consist mainly of dancing with five or nine masks, dependent on the reward. Such performances took place during the day for the enjoyment of common people, small tradesmen and the like. In a more elaborate form, the *dalang* would sing a mood-song together with the mask-dancers after the dancing and tell a story about the masks. This again could be followed by an act of two clowns who would sing, dance and crack jokes - before going to visit their master (*Kawruh Topeng* 1985: 5).

In another passage, the *Kawruh Topeng* discusses the development of large-scale masked performances organized by the nobility, "*topeng ageng-agengan*", which lasted an entire day. Starting with the reign of Sunan Paku Buwana II (1727-1749), these long performances became very popular during the reign of Sunan Paku Bawana VII (1830-1858): "*kala samanten wiwit kathah para luhur karsa nanggap topeng*" (*Kawruh Topeng* 1985: 12).

In this connection, the *Kawruh Topeng* (1985: 10) again refers to the influence of *wayang gedhog* on masked plays, stating that, for the first masked performance of the *Kuda Narawangsa*, the story-line was taken from a *wayang gedhog* play (*mendhet gancaring lampahan ringgit gedhog*). The Javanese expression 'story-line of the play' (*gancaring lampahan*) could refer to a *pakem* or outline of a play. In a *pakem*, the story told in prose is divided into different scenes specifying the location, the names of the actors and what happens in that scene. While most of these *pakem* were written as memory aids for a *dalang*'s personal use, manuscripts with collections of *pakem* may also be found in library collections in and outside Java.

#### A YOGYAKARTA PAKEM GEDHOG OF THE KUDA NARAWANGSA IN LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

Among the manuscripts with collections of *pakem* for *wayang* plays in the Leiden University Libraries, manuscript *Serat pakem ringgit gedhog* Or. 6428, contains a script for the play of "Kuda Narawangsa" (Illustration 2). This manuscript was written by Mas Ngabehi Wangsadipoera in the service of the chancellor (*patih*) of Yogyakarta and presented to Dr G.A.J. Hazeu in 1931 (Pigeaud 1968: 375). It contains 51 outlines in prose of plays for the *wayang gedhog*, no. 14, on pages 88-95 is entitled: *Lampahan Kuda Narawangsa*.

Consisting of twenty acts, this lengthy play opens with an audience-scene by the king of Jenggala, who discusses the re-wedding of his son Panji Asmarabangun and Sekartaji with his chancellor, Patih Kuda Nawarsa. They also discuss the arrival of an enemy king from Maguwa [in South Sulawesi],

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apparently various versions exist. My references to the Javanese text is from a transcription of the manuscript kept in Sasana Pustaka Library of the Surakarta *kraton* by Sri Sulistyawati, 1985.



whose proposal to marry Princess Retna Jinoli has been refused. In two sub-scenes the king visits the queen and her daughters, while Panji's elder brother Brajanata prepares the army of Jenggala for a confrontation with the enemy from Maguwa.

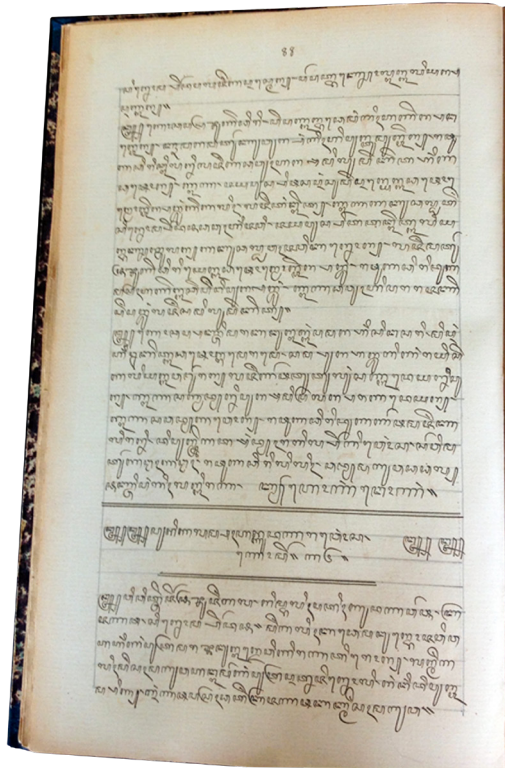


Illustration 2. *Serat pakem ringgit gedhog*, beginning of *Lampahan Kuda Narawangsa*, written by Mas Ngabehi Wangsadipura of Yogyakarta, presented to Dr G.A.J. Hazeu in 1931. MS Or. 6428: 88, Leiden University Libraries. (Courtesy of Leiden University Libraries).

The next two acts at the residences of Prince Sinom Perdapa and Panji Asmarabangun are introduced by clown-servants:

1. Sebul and Nglenglet go to visit their master (*sowan ing Gustinipun*), Sinom Perdapa, who is overcome by his love for Princess Retna Mindaka.
2. Bancak and Dhoyok, servants of Panji Asmarabangun, prepare to visit their master, who tells them they should find a bridal page for his wedding with [pseudo-] Sekartaji.

During the following act in the forest, the crucial event takes place of Sekartaji being changed into a male religious student (*wasi*) named Kuda Narawangsa by Batara Narada, who advises him to go into service in the princely residence, Kasatriyan of Jenggala, where Panji is living. On the way

Kuda Narawangsa comes across Panji's servants Bancak and Dhoyok, who ask him to become a bridal page for Panji's wedding-ceremony. On the way to Panji's residence Kuda Narawangsa is confronted by Buginese soldiers, whom he defeats.

Having arrived at Panji's residence in Jenggala, Kuda Narawangsa joins Panji in preparing for the bridal procession. When invited to give a wayang performance, Kuda Narawangsa selects a play about "The king of Jenggala arranges the wedding ceremony of his son, Putra [As]Marabangun with the pseudo-Candra Kirana", with the well-known result of Kuda Narawangsa's departure and flight into the forest. When Panji finds out the truth he goes after her and meets a wild banteng in the forest who advises him to visit his father's hermitage. The hermit instructs Panji to go to the country of Maguwa, where Candra Kirana has been abducted by King Klana. Finding Candra Kirana there, Panji and his brothers take her back with them to Jenggala. When King Klana gets the news, he storms to attack Jenggala with all his followers. A big battle follows, all the rulers of Maguwa are defeated, King Klana flees and Panji and Candra Kirana are united again.

This *wayang gedhog* script shows that the *Kuda Narawangsa* play was also known in Yogyakarta, although not necessarily as a masked play. Yet, masked Panji plays must have been performed at the court and residences of noblemen in Yogyakarta, as is evident from the photographs of masked actors of Panji plays by the famous nineteenth century photographer Kassian Cephas (Illustration 3).



Illustration 3. A masked Klana audience-scene in the palace of Yogyakarta, 1888, photographer Kassian Cephas. (KITLV 3931, courtesy of Leiden University Libraries).



Illustration 4. Picture of Panji with his servants Bancak and Daya [Doyok] for Hendrik Kraemer's article "Een wajang topeng" (*Djâwâ* 1923: 192).



Illustration 5. Klana Sewandana in front of his followers, to his left *dalang* Gandasana. (Copied from RMV fotoarchief nr 553 - Ld 31 a Panji, 553-Ld 30 Klana groep).

Moreover, in an article in the Dutch journal *Djâwâ* entitled "Een wajang topeng", Hendrik Kraemer describes a masked performance of the *Kuda Narawangsa* story which he saw performed in Yogyakarta in 1923 at a celebration

for the beginning of the September-holidays in the Taman Siswa foundation (Illustrations 4 and 5). Kraemer remarks that the content of this play differed in some respects from the story in Vreede's catalogue (1892: 161-163), for instance, Candra Kirana was not a Princess of Kediri, but of Ngurawan.<sup>10</sup>

#### A SURAKARTA *PAKEM TOPENG* OF THE KUDA NARAWANGSA IN THE MANGKUNEGARAN LIBRARY

While *wayang gedhog* play-scripts may not have been written specifically for masked Panji performances, during my research in Java I found a *Buku Pakem Topeng* in the Mangkunegaran Palace Library, Reksa Pustaka, in Solo, with scripts of masked-plays.<sup>11</sup> This manuscript is dated: the first of Mulud, of the year Jimakir, 1802/1873,<sup>12</sup> and contains the outlines of three mask-plays, entitled: 1. "Wulan Tumanggal", 2. "Kuda Narawangsa", 3. "Kudo Rerangin", the second play being a continuation (*sambetipun*) of the first.<sup>13</sup> As usual, the *pakem* just gives the content of the different acts of the play, without dialogues, songs and jokes or description of the dances, as these were not usually written down,<sup>14</sup> but improvised.

The "Kuda Narawangsa" play in this *Pakem Topeng* starts with an audience-scene at the court of Kediri by the father of Candra Kirana, King Lembu Amisena. The description of the acts reads as follows [in my English translation]:

1. Audience-scene of the king of Kediri. Prabu Lembu Amisena has a discussion with his chancellor, Patih Jayabadra. They speak about the king's daughter named Dewi Galuh Candra Kirana, who has returned to Kediri in a changed and very ugly shape. One thinks of marrying her again to Panji Kasatriyan, and likewise Panji Kasatriyan has also asked to be married [to her] again. This is immediately followed by the arrival in Kediri of an enemy from the country of Maguwa, named Prabu Klana Mandradpati, who also asks for the hand of Galuh Candra Kirana. Finally, the Patih is told to go to the guesthouse (*pasanggrahan*) of Maguwa, to order a suitor's contest (*sayembara*), and to find a boy and a girl with a beautiful appearance as bride's page and bridesmaid (*patah*).
2. The Patih retreats from the royal presence, takes leave from all the ministers of Kediri and leaves.
3. This is finished, [now follows] the scene in the palace (*kraton*) of Kediri. The

<sup>10</sup> This was also the case in the above-mentioned masked performance in Gunung Kidul in 1977.

<sup>11</sup> For this article I have used a transliterated copy (*tedhakan*) with the number G 21, made in 1973 by Hatmosambojo, which I obtained from the Reksa Pustaka librarian in the 1970's. [The Javanese manuscript, described in Florida's (2000) catalogue of Manuscripts of the Mangkunegaran Palace, is illegible on the microfilm held in Leiden University Libraries.]

<sup>12</sup> The Javanese text reads: *Punika pakem, lelampahan ingkang tumrap wonten ing topeng, kaserat tanggal kaping: 1 wulan Mulud, ing tahun Jimakir, ongko: 1802.*

<sup>13</sup> *Punika lampahan, Kudo Narawangsa, dumugenipun (sambetipun) lampahan ing nginggil wau.*

<sup>14</sup> Except in some relatively recent publications see Pigeaud (1938: 69), *Pakem gedhog with suluk*. The *Tuntunan pedalangan ringgit gedog* gives the complete text of the first scene of a play.

- young princess, Dewi Retna Mindaka, is amusing herself learning *bedhaya* and *srimpi* dance. She is interrupted by the return of her father into the kraton.
4. This is finished, let us talk about the chancellor's residence (*Kadipaten*) of Kediri, which is on Mount (Gunung) Kawi, where Raden Gunungsari is amusing himself executing warrior's exercises and dances. He is disturbed by the arrival of Klana Sindupati, younger brother of Klana Mandradpati, who asks Gunungsari to help in arranging the wedding of his elder brother to Galuh Candra Kirana. It ends in a fight and Klana Sindupati is chased away. Raden Gunungsari then goes to visit Tambakbaya to order the suitor's contest and to find a bride's page and bridesmaid.
  5. This is finished, let us talk about the guesthouse (*pasanggrahan*) of Maguwa. Prabu Klana Mandradpati, who is all the time yearning for Dewi Galuh Candra Kirana, is disturbed by the arrival of Patih Jayabadra, who orders a suitor's contest. It ends in a fight, the Patih flees.
  6. This is finished, [now follows] the scene of Tembem and Pentul enjoying themselves in Tambakbaya, then they dress to visit their lord. The scene of Panji Kasatriyan, all his brothers and relatives are sitting respectfully in front of him. They are disturbed by the arrival of Raden Gunungsari. He tells about the *sayembara* and the bride's page and bridesmaid. Panji Kasatriyan orders him to get these, then (he) leaves.
  7. Let us talk about the middle of the forest, where Dewi Candra Kirana is ardently practising ascetism (*samadi*), asking God the Creator to be willing and accept her request. *Resi* Narada who descends grants her a favour. Galuh Candrakirana wishes to become a man, she is given the name of Raden Kuda Narawangsa, or *wasi* Jayengresmi, then is told to go to Kediri. On the road he/she meets Tembem and Pentul and is asked to become a page (*patah*). Kuda Narawangsa agrees but has many conditions for Tembem and Pentul. When Tembem and Pentul promise to keep the agreement, he/she goes with them to visit Panji Kasatriyan. As they arrive in front of him, there are quarrels about the agreement, so there are problems for a while. When they have finally agreed about the conditions, they leave to meet the bride, making jokes on the way. To make a long story short, let us tell what happens when they arrive in Kediri.
  8. Let us speak about something else. Inside the palace (*kraton*) of Kediri, the pseudo Dewi Candra Kirana is eagerly waiting for the bride's page (*patah*). Immediately after Raden Gunungsari has brought the message that the *patah* is willing, the pseudo-Dewi Candra Kirana suddenly runs and shakes the bride's page. When [she] is sitting down in an orderly manner, Panji Kasatriyan speaks to Raden Kuda Narawangsa and to all his relatives (*kadang kadeyan*). At this point Raden Kuda Narawangsa utters a lot of criticism at the pseudo-Candra Kirana. Raden Panji Kasatriyan and Raden Gunungsari shed many tears, because Raden Kuda Narawangsa resembles the former Galuh Candrakirana, therefore they speak a lot about this and think sadly about the past.
- To make a long story short, Panji and his wife [go to] sleep, and the relatives play *gamelan* to accompany the *wayang* performance, Tembem proposes that the young[est] Panji will be *dalang*, but before it happens, he is replaced by Kuda Narawangsa, the story is symbolic of the actions of Panji Kasatriyan. When Panji Kasatriyan hears this symbolic story, he suddenly emerges from the bedroom and sits with Kuda Narawangsa. Then the *wayang* play is finished.

Panji sleeps with his wife again, and Kuda Narawangsa sleeps with Ragil Kuning [Panji's youngest sister].

Well, at the moment when Kuda Narawangsa hears the love-words whispered by Panji Ino Kartapati, she feels so tired and exhausted that she loses her virility and becomes a woman again with the appearance of Galuh Candra Kirana, that is Sekartaji. By way of precaution she quickly leaves the bedroom in order to escape in the night. Passing by a *nagasari* tree she hangs the cloth (*kampung*) from the time she had a male form over it, with a fragrant *pandan* leaf hidden inside. On this is written a secret message, explaining that Narawangsa in reality is Galuh Candra Kirana. As for the pseudo-Candra Kirana, she is a woman from Pajagalan, daughter of a widow in Dadapan, whose request was fulfilled to get the appearance of Candra Kirana.

9. Let's speak about Dewi Ragil Kuning. When she wakes up and Kuda Narawangsa is not there, she screams and tells her elder brother [Panji]. At that point Tambakboyo gets into a commotion and all run around confusedly looking for Kuda Narawangsa. Ki Lurah Tembem finds the cloth hanging over the *nagasari* tree and tells Panji Kasatriyan that there is a fragrant *pandan* leaf, with the writing as explained above. Then Panji calms down as he remembers and seeks in all directions.
10. Let us be silent about all those who are searching and talk about Dewi Galuh Candra Kirana, who comes upon the guesthouse (*pasanggrahan*) of Maguwa where she meets Prabu Klana Mandradpati, then is molested [by him] wanting to make love [to her]. But Prabu Mandradpati cannot carry this out because he suddenly swoons, struck by Dewi Candra Kirana's punishment. Finally, Galuh Candra Kirana has an amulet (*jimat*) made, the great leader (*wong agung*) Klana clashes in battle with Panji Kasatriyan. Klana loses and is killed, then there is a final battle (*prang sampak*).

#### THE LAKON WULAN TUMANGGAL AS A PRELUDE TO THE KUDA NARAWANGSA

According to the Mangkunegaran *Pakem Topeng*, the play of "Kuda Narawangsa" is a continuation of the preceding play, entitled *Lampahan Wulan Tumanggal*, which means that the happenings in the first play are a prelude to what happens in the second play. Especially in the first parts, the two scripts have a parallel structure, with similar scenes as well as actors in the main roles.

Both plays start with a court scene of the king of Kediri, Sekartaji's father. This is followed by three scenes featuring dance: first a young Kediri princess practising a female court-dance (*srimpi*), then the Kediri prince Gunungsari practising a male warrior's dance (*wireng*), then a love-dance by the foreign King Klana. The fifth scene in Tambakbaya, the residence of Panji Kasatriyan, is introduced by clowning of Panji's two servants.

At this point, the play of "Wulan Tumanggal" gives the reason for Sekartaji's being in the forest in the following play of "Kuda Narawangsa": Sekartaji is tortured by Panji's new wife, a Ngurawan Princess named Dewi Retna Cindaga. Lying half-dead, she is found by Panji's servants and carried into the garden. From there she flees into the forest. In the *Pakem Topeng*, this scene is described as follows [my English translation]:

The scene of Panji Kasatriyan, that is Raden Ino Kartopati Kadara Wisrengga, or Asmarabangun, who is embracing his new wife, a princess from Ngurawan named Dewi Retna Cindaga. While she is embraced by her husband, she hears Ki Lurah Tembem and Pentul coming to visit. They are saying that the new wife has a bad shape, [and] does not take care of her servants, unlike the elder wife who has fallen into disgrace, who is beautiful and caring, knows to serve and respect her husband, and to take care of his relatives. When Dewi Retna Cindaga hears this, she starts whining, asking her husband that the rejected wife should come. Raden Panji agrees, but he looks annoyed at Tembem and Pentul. Finally, Tembem and Pentul are sent to fetch her.

As soon as she [Candra Kirana] arrives before Panji Kasatriyan, Retna Cindaga asks to be [left] alone [with her], Panji and his relatives are told to move out of the way, Tembem and Pentul are told to go and eat in the kitchen. As for Candra Kirana, that is Wulan Tumanggal, she is tortured by Retna Cindaga, who leaves her half-dead.

Let us talk about the arrival of Ki Lurah Tembem and Pentul. While eating in the kitchen, they notice that their mistress is half-dead, and bring her together to the garden. On the way they meet one of Panji's concubines (*selir*), a lady (*putri*) from Cemara named Dewi Surengrana. When Dewi Surengrana hears what Tembem and Pentul tell her, she runs to Retna Cindaga, they wrestle, and Retna Cindaga flees.

Now let's speak no more about those who are fighting. Dewi Candra Kirana is laid down in the garden and left by Tembem and Pentul who are going to Kediri to report [what's happened].

Let us talk about Dewi Candra Kirana. After the departure of Tembem and Pentul she regains consciousness, as a gentle breeze caresses her she remembers [what has happened]. Ashamed she disappears from the garden to leave for the middle of the forest.

The following scene of the play deals with the fetching of a bride's page and maid by a female servant of the king of Kediri. Having arrived in the hermitage of Bagawan Riyomurti, he sends his two adopted children with her to Kediri to be bridal pages for Panji's wedding with his new wife.

At the court of Kediri, Gunungsari presents the two bride's-children to the king. Then Tembem and Pentul arrive and report what has happened to Sekartaji in Tambakbaya. They are followed by Panji Kasatriyan, who wants to know why he has not been informed about the arrival of King Klana of Ternate. The king of Kediri answers that he feels ashamed he will soon have a king from abroad as a son-in-law. Panji Kasatriyan immediately goes to fight King Klana and his army. Thus, the end of these two plays is also quite similar, the last scene featuring the inevitable confrontation between the foreign King Klana and Panji Kasatriyan. In the final battle, Klana and his army are destroyed by Panji and his followers.

#### CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION IN *BUKU PAKEM TOPENG*

Besides the plots of three mask-plays, the Mangkunegaran *Buku Pakem Topeng* contains additional information on performances for an elaborate [wedding]

ceremony at Gondoseputra, the residence of a son of Mangku Negara IV,<sup>15</sup> in Surakarta, 1873. The performances start on Monday with gamelan being played continuously from four o'clock in the afternoon and throughout the evening. Again, gamelan playing on Wednesday from morning until evening, followed by a wayang [kulit] performance with a dancing-woman (*tledhek*). On Thursday evening gamelan music (*klenengan*) with two dancing-women, and again with one dancer on Friday evening. A *topeng* performance with one dancing-woman on Saturday morning, followed by a wayang play with a dancing-woman on Saturday evening. Again, a wayang performance is scheduled for Sunday evening, the Carabalen gamelan playing on Monday from eight o'clock in the morning, and finally another wayang performance on Monday evening.

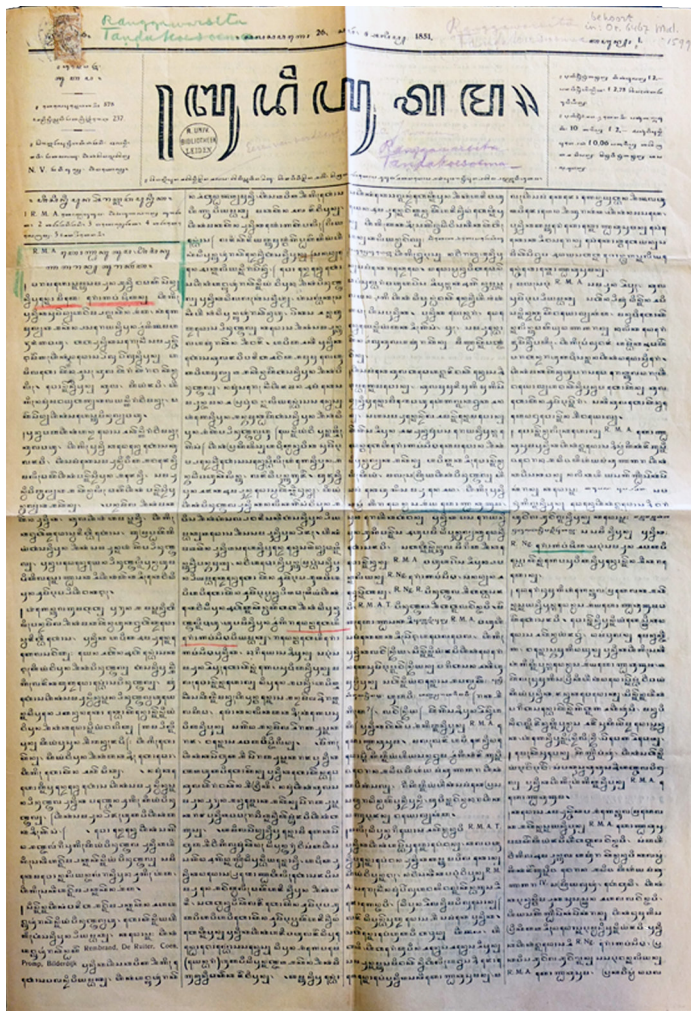


Illustration 6. An article on Rongga Warsita and R.M.A. Tondhakusuma in *Budi Utama* 1851 AJ. Or. 6467. (Courtesy of Leiden University Libraries).

<sup>15</sup> Gondoseputra, a Mangkunegaran general, fought with the Dutch army in Aceh, 1873.



In addition, the *Buku Pakem Topeng* holds lists with names of the actors in a masked play [Kuda Rerangin], the necessary costumes, as well as lists of musical pieces for two wayang plays, “Brojonoto Kromo”, “Jayengsari Krama”, and for the mask play “Kuda Rerangin”. The first name on the list of performers is Raden Mas Arya Tondhokusumo,<sup>16</sup> who played three different roles: Gunungsari, Klana, and Pentul, a clown-servant of Panji. Now Tondhokusumo, a son-in-law of Mangku Negara IV, was a famous mask-dancer in Surakarta in the second part of the nineteenth century: according to an article dedicated to Rongga Warsita and R.M.A. Tondhokusuma in the Javanese newspaper *Budi Utama*, 26 Sapar 1851 [1920 AD] (Illustration 6), many people would come to watch when Tondhokusuma performed mask-dances.

According to the *Kawruh Topeng*, Tondhokusumo received instruction in the art of mask dancing from K.G.P. Adipati Angabehi, later Sunan Paku Buwana VII (1830-1858), together with P.A. Adiwijaya III, when they were young. He became famous for his performance of Klana and Gunungsari dances and served as an example for those who loved mask-dancing (see Illustration 7; *Kawruh Topeng* 1985: 18-19).<sup>17</sup>



Figure 7. Left: R.M.A. Tondhokusuma posing with Gunungsari mask (KITLV 3944); Right: R.M.A. Tondhokusuma posing with Klana mask (KITLV 3945). (Courtesy of Leiden University Libraries).

<sup>16</sup> The name of this artist is variously spelled as Tondokusumo, Tandhakoeseoma or Tondhokusuma.

<sup>17</sup> *Kawruh Topeng* 1985: 19, “Kadosta Raden Mas Harya Tandhokusuma. Punika manawi Nglana utawi Nggunungsari kalampahan misuwur malah dados tuladaning para remen nopeng”.

Second on the list of performers is Raden Mas Atmowinoto, who is mentioned both as the *dalang* of wayang [*kulit*] and of masked plays. Besides these two noblemen, the other actors and dancers apparently were commoners, as no titles are mentioned with their names. The female dancers mentioned on the list were professional dancing women or *t(a)ledheh*, who performed in mask- and puppet plays, and also danced to the accompaniment of gamelan music.

#### VARIOUS VIEWS ON THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF PANJI STORIES

In the course of time, scholars have expressed different opinions about the historical value of Panji-stories, regarding them either as (legendary) history, myth, literature, or popular tales. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, Raffles considered the Panji story of “Angrene” [Jav. Angreni] as an important literary work, as well as an historical work, containing “the most interesting and important part of Javan history immediately antecedent to the establishment of Mahomedanism” (Raffles 1830 I: 439).

On the other hand, the twentieth century scholar W.H. Rassers considered the Panji stories as myths (Rassers 1922, 1959), a point of view that was not shared unanimously. The Javanese scholar Poerbatjaraka, who published a comparative study on Panji stories, considered Rassers’ “mythological exposition” as “too far-fetched”.<sup>18</sup>

With regard to the historical value of the Panji stories, Stuart Robson carefully pointed out in his Introduction to the *Wangbang Wideya*, a Middle Javanese Panji *kidung* in *tengahan* metres, that: “it is not impossible that we shall be forced to conclude that a certain historical period at least lent the inspiration for the adventures of the prince of Kuripan. [...] there does exist, for example, a period in which Janggala and Kadhiri existed simultaneously, and when the former was the senior in rank”. He also points out that some of the earliest literary versions of Panji stories may well have been composed at the East Javanese court of Majapahit [fourteenth-fifteenth centuries] and reflected the circumstances at that court (Robson 1971: 14-15).<sup>19</sup>

In the first volume of his great catalogue *Literature of Java*, Th. Pigeaud (1967: 140) explains that “Universal histories” produced by the Pasisir Culture of Central Java, called *Serat Kandha*, Books of Tales, were connected with the plays of wayang theatre, and that: “Parts of the contents of Pasisir Serat Kandhas and wayang theatre plays are identical or at least comparable”. In another passage, Pigeaud (1967: 233) attributes the continued popularity of Panji as a noble hero to the performance of Panji stories as *wayang gedhog* plays.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Poerbatjaraka 1940: 348, footnote.

<sup>19</sup> This Introduction also states that “if we are justified in tracing this spread from Java to the Majapahit period, the Panji theme can be regarded as reflecting the conditions prevailing at that time and place, both in language and in literary matters, as well as in social institutions” (Robson 1971: 15).

<sup>20</sup> “[...] The presentation of Panji tales as plays of a special kind of puppet theatre, the *wayang gedhog*, and the identification of Panji with the folk-tale prince, Raden Mantri, warranted the

Following in Pigeaud's footsteps, J.J. Ras (1973: 436) in an article discussing Rasser's views on the meaning of the Panji stories, writes that:

Meanwhile we may observe that, in spite of Rasser's argument to the contrary, the Panji story in its most prevalent form functions as an episode in the legendary history of Java. We find it in the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, in the so-called "great" *Serat Kandha*, in the story of *Jayalengkara* and in several other texts, all of them pretending to be relating, in one form or another, events believed to have happened in the remote past.<sup>21</sup>

Remarkably, in this article Ras (1973: 430) writes about "the Panji theme" as "the Javanese ancestral myth" which "by means of the wayang theatre would have gained and preserved its influence and power of expansion".

#### WAYANG GEDHOG PERFORMANCES OF PANJI STORIES AS JAVANESE CULTURAL HERITAGE

A Javanese source providing an insiders' view on the "historical value" of *wayang gedhog* performances of Panji stories in Surakarta was published in the form of a [stencilled] guide for performers of *wayang gedhog* plays, *Tuntunan pedalangan ringgit gedog*, by R. Soemardi Madyopradonggo, assistant teacher at the Surakarta Music Academy, Akademi Seni Karawitan Indonesia (ASKI), in 1970. In his preface (*purwoko*), Soemardi emphasizes that this type of wayang is rarely performed in Java, because the puppets are only to be found in the Surakarta kraton and the Mangkunegaran palace. Therefore, he maintains, most people do not know the history of *wayang gedhog*, let alone how to perform the plays. In the first acts, until the preliminary battle (*prang sekar*), performances do not differ much, (*cakipun sami kemawon*), as the theme of the play is only developed from there on. The author says that he will offer basic information about the origin of *wayang gedhog*, which a performer needs to know because it is part of the heritage of the Javanese people that should not get lost.

The first part of this publication deals with the origin (*asalsilah*) of *wayang gedhog* according to the Surakarta tradition: *wayang gedhog* tells the [dynastic] history (*babad*) from the time of Prabu Jayalengkara, king of Mendangkamulan, until [the reign of] Prabu Surya Hamiluhur of the country of Jenggalamanik. Most plays (*lampahan*) about the country of Mendangkamulan are stated to deal with weddings, or with foreign kings waging war. Finally, the country is destroyed (*risak*), king Jayalengkara with his wives and soldiers are killed. The only survivors are his eldest daughter Dewi Sarpini and his four sons: Raden Harya Parijaka, R.H. Jakawida, R.H. Suwida, and the youngest son R.H. Subrata, who is looked after by his two beloved servants Kretabasa and Nitiswara. It is from this youngest son that the kings of Jenggala, Kediri, Ngurawan, and Singasari descend.

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continuous presence of the mythic hero in Javanese literature since the seventeenth century" (Pigeaud 1967: 233).

Raden Subrata (Prabu Lembu Subrata)			
^	^	^	^
Jenggala	Kediri	Ngurawan	Singasari
Harya Jayengrana	Harya Jayanegara	Harya Jayasasana	Harya Jayantaka
Pr Lembu Hamiluhur	Pr Lembu Mijaya	Pr L Hamisena	Pr L Hamisani
^	^	^	^
Panji Hinu Kartapati	Raden Gunungsari	R Sinjanglaga	R Banyakwulan
Prabu Suryamisena	Pr Kusumawinata	Pr Suryadilaga	Pr Suryawinata
^	^	^	^
Raden Kuda Laweyan	R Kuda Suwarna	R Kuda Konda	R K Suwangsa
Prabu Surya Hamiluhur lajeng pindah Pajajaran jejuluk Sang Pr Mahesa Tandremam	Pr Surya Hamijaya	Pr S Hamiluhung	Pr S Hadiluwih

Figure 1. The names of the descendants as rulers of the four regions are arranged in *Tuntunan pedalangan ringgit gedog* page 13. Among these, the name of Panji Inu Kartapati is found as the grandson of Prabu Lembu Subrata, the founder of Jenggala.

Then the author tells how this destruction came about: the king's eldest daughter insists on becoming his successor to the throne, even though the king does not agree, therefore she is punished by being turned into a snake. This snake grows larger every day and keeps following the king wherever he goes. Annoyed by this, the *patih* advises the king to kill the snake. But when attacked, the snake swallows the weapons and angered, causes a tremendous upheaval (*gara-gara*) of storms and floods, darkness and earthquakes for seven days. The king with his wives and children flees to a high place, a flood sweeps away all of them but the four brothers, who cling to the tail of the snake, taking it for a log of wood. Then they are swept far away as if hurled off by a storm. After the destruction of the country, the snake goes to practise asceticism in the wood of Purwacarita, where she gets divine instruction to overcome the disaster in the future and is told to invite the divine Hyang Kesawa to incarnate into the offspring of the king of Jenggala.

Together with the two servants, the four swept-away brothers are received by the lord (Adipati) of Panataran, who then sends them to serve at the court of Majapura, ruled by King Tejolengkara. This king gives his eldest daughter Dewi Tejowati to Raden Subrata, the youngest of the brothers. After the death of the king, he is succeeded by his son-in-law, now entitled Prabu Lembu

Subrata, who moves the *kraton* to the east and changes the name of the country into Jenggalamanik.

Not wishing to become independent rulers, the other brothers become vassals of Jenggala: R. Parijaka in Kediri, Jakawida in Ngurawan, and Suwida in Singasari. Later, the offspring of these elder brothers become high officials (*punggawa*) at the court of Jenggala, while the sons of Prabu Lembu Subrata of Jenggala become the rulers of Kediri, Ngurawan, and Singasari.

Following the schedule (Figure 1), the *Tuntunan pedalangan ringgit gedog* gives the first part of a play-script, complete with instructions for handling the puppets, the text of the narrations, dialogues, and mood-songs, as well as explanations and notations of the musical pieces accompanying the first act at the court of Singasari.

## CONCLUSION

The above discussion of play-scripts shows how different the interpretation, or perception, of the *Kuda Narawangsa* story can be. While in the first volume of his *history of Java*, Raffles considers the story to be part of a larger historical work, he also writes about the “adventures of Panji” as “polite literature”, and as “dramatic exhibitions”, reflecting a common nineteenth century viewpoint that literary versions of a story are “polite”, while its theatrical forms are “popular amusement”.<sup>22</sup>

Remarkably, neither in its literary nor in its theatrical forms, the story of *Kuda Narawangsa* has a fixed form; it is more a string of characteristic events. As such it may vary in details of content, even the countries of origin of the main characters may differ, as Kraemer remarked in his article in *Djâwâ*: in the play he watched in 1923, Sekartaji was a princess from Ngurawan, rather than from Kediri. And the foreign enemy Klana is not one specific person, he is typically a ruler of an overseas country, such as Bali, Malayu, or Maguwa.

According to the authors of the *Kawruh Topeng*, from the end of the eighteenth century the *Kuda Narawangsa* story was performed in Surakarta as a mask-play and apparently became well-known in this dramatic form. These masked plays of Panji stories tended to follow the rules of *wayang gedhog* theatre, as is clearly the case in the *Serat Centhini*'s description of a masked performance of [Kuda] Narawangsa. That the mask play may have a mystical aura is suggested by the esoteric interpretation preceding the mask play in the *Serat Centhini*.

The author of the *Tuntunan pedalangan ringgit gedog*, R. Soemardi, presents a Surakarta (court) *dalang*'s view of Panji stories performed as *wayang gedhog* plays. Considering them as Javanese cultural heritage, Soemardi may well have regarded these Panji stories as Javanese dynastic history. In this case, a distinction between so-called “fact” and “fiction” is irrelevant: the plays provide examples of the relationships between rulers of [ancient] Javanese

<sup>22</sup> Sir T.S. Raffles (1830 II: 94), “The adventures of Panji are described in numerous romances which form the subject of still more numerous dramatic exhibitions, and constitute a principal portion of the polite literature, as well as the popular amusement of Java”.

states, which are confirmed by shared interests of these rulers. Vassals and neighbours of the state of Jenggala, ruled by the father of Panji, are tied to this kingdom through marriages, while battles against foreign intruders are fought together. For a performer of *wayang gedhog* it is important to know the origin of an ancestral realm named Medangkemulan, the reason for its splitting into four different realms, and how these remain connected through the marriage alliances between their rulers: names of spouses and offspring are all given.

Information in the Mangkunegaran *Pakem Topeng* suggests that the “Kuda Narawangsa” *lakon* was composed as a mask-play for members of the Mangkunegaran family, to be performed during a ceremony marking an important family event. Remarkably, and unlike many other versions of the story,<sup>23</sup> this play-script gives the reason why Sekartaji is roaming around in the forest. An entire extra play is added, in which Sekartaji’s wish to be a man becomes perfectly understandable: it is the new wife’s maltreatment of her that causes her to leave Panji’s residence, a problem that must have been familiar to most people in the audience who were members of Javanese noble families. The play also provides a solution that would satisfy these spectators.

Returning to the masked performance of the *Kuda Narawangsa* story in the Gunung Kidul region, a special feature of that play was the exorcistic play within a play, during which Panji’s new wife, the pseudo-Candra Kirana, was “cured” by being returned to her original demonic form. Moreover, all the other persons who had changed shape were restored to their original forms after being hit by Panji’s arrow. A comment at the end of the play-script states that the real problem is not so much the disappearance or “disease” of Panji’s wife, but rather the fact that foreign spies have been able to enter the court. Panji is being put to the test, because he is not sufficiently alert, he does not notice the infiltration of these foreign spies.

Now the masked performance in Gunung Kidul was part of an annual *Bersih desa* ritual celebrated by rice-farmers to ensure a good crop in the new season, as is also described in Soedarsono’s survey of folk-dances in the Yogyakarta area.<sup>24</sup> Thus, a procession with decorated rice-offerings (*sajen*) escorted by hobby-horse players (*jathilan*) passed through the village on the day after the performance, followed by a happy crowd. Understandably, this play must end in harmony, as the aim of the ritual is to bring prosperity to all the participants.

The play-scripts discussed above show that the “Kuda Narawangsa” play does not have a single, fixed form. Its characteristic events are strung together differently for each performance, adapting to varying circumstances. Based on the various dramatic versions of this story, which were created independently and for different occasions, it is possible to sum up a number of characteristic events:

<sup>23</sup> A different version of this *lakon* which is summarized in *Javaanse volksvertoningen* (Pigeaud 1938: 491-492), is said to be based on “a Mangkunegaran version of the *lakon*”.

<sup>24</sup> For a description of a similar performance in the same village, see Soedarsono 1995: 153-157.

1. the “disease”, or disappearance, of Sekartaji/Candra Kirana co-inciding with the arrival of a foreigner who desires to be married to Panji’s spouse,
2. the [re-]wedding of Panji with an ugly woman pretending to be Sekartaji,
3. transformation of Sekartaji in the jungle into a male named Kuda Narawangsa,
4. return of Kuda Narawangsa to Panji’s residence, where he is asked to give a wayang performance during which the pseudo-Sekartaji is ridiculed, often followed by the return of Sekartaji to her true form and flight to the jungle,
5. confrontation between foreign forces and the warriors of Jenggala, ending with the battle between Panji and the foreign enemy Klana, who is defeated.

Finally, as I indicated in an earlier article about Javanese masked Panji performances,<sup>25</sup> these different play-scripts of the *Kuda Narawangsa* story show that the disappearance of Panji’s spouse is more than just a crisis in the relationship between two lovers. Co-inciding with the arrival of a foreign intruder, it signals a severe threat for the realm of Jenggala. In my opinion, the real theme of these Javanese masked performances is an exposition of the trials a young nobleman has to face in order to prove that he is worthy of becoming his father’s successor. As such he needs to re-gain a princess who is his equal in [supernatural] charm, while her presence at his side guarantees the support of a strong ally helping him to defend his father’s kingdom. Until these days, masked Panji performances serve to strengthen a feeling of Javanese identity: through their union the problems Panji and Sekartaji – and those who regard themselves as their descendants – are facing can be successfully overcome.

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<sup>25</sup> Brakel 1985: 69: “Het eigenlijke doel en meest essentiële thema van de theatervoorstellingen op Java is naar mijn mening dan ook niet zozeer de vereniging van twee jonge gelieven, maar het overwinnen van bedreigende machten”.

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#### TYPE-SCRIPT

- Data-data masalah Topeng di Ngebrak Semanu pada Bersih Desa tanggal 18/19 Juni 1977, Lakon Galuh Candra Kirana Murca.



## APPENDIX 1

(ORIGINAL TEXT)

Mangkunegaran Library Reksa Pustaka

*Buku Pakem Topeng*

Punika pakem, lelampahan ingkang tumrap wonten ing topeng, kaserat tanggal kaping: 1 wulan Mulud, ing tahun Jimakir, ongko: 1802 [1873]

Punika lampahan Kudo Narawangsa, dumugnipun (sambetipun) lampahan ing nginggil wau:

Jejer Ratu ing Kadiri Prabu Lembu Hamisena, imbal wacana kaliyan Patih Jayabadra, ginunem putrindra ingkang kakasih Dewi Galuh Candrakirana kondur dhateng Kadiri santun warninipun sakalangkung awon, saweg kagalih sagedipun kagarwa Panji Kasatriyan malih, makaten ugi Panji Kasatriyan inggih kasuwun wangsulipun anggarwa wau. Ananging katungka ing Kadiri kedhatengan parang muka saking nagari Maguwo, jujuluk Prabu Klana Mandradpati, ugi ngebun-ebun enjing dhateng Galuh Candrakirana. Wusana Patih kinen dhumateng pasanggrahan Maguwo, kinen andhawuhake sayembara, sarta mundut patah jaler lan estri ingkang bagus tuwin ingkang ayu warnenipun. Patih mundur saking ngarsaning Nata, pamit dhateng para Nayaka Kadiri lajeng bidal.

Sigeg adeging kadhaton Kadiri, putrining Narendra ingkang anem, Dewi Retnomindoko ingkang kasengsem angajar bedhaya sarimpi, kasarung ingkang rama kondur angadhaton.

Sinigeg kocapa kadipaten Kadhiri, iya ing wukir Kawi, Raden Gunungsari ingkang saweg kasengsem ulah kaprajuritan, lalangen beksan, kasarung dhatengipun Kalana Sindupati, adinipun Kalana Mandradpati, ambebujuk dhateng Raden Gunungsari, supados tumunten kalampahana daupipun ingkang raka lan Galuh Candrakirana. Wusana lajeng perang Kalana Sindupati kapalajeng. Raden Gunungsari lajeng sowan dhateng Tambakboyo andhawuhaken sayembara sarta mundhut patah jaler estri.

Sinigeg kocapa pasanggrahan ing Maguwo, Prabu Klana Mandradpati, ingkang tansah gandrung lawan Dewi Galuh Candrakirana, kasarung dhatenge Patih Jayabadro, andhawuhaken sayembara, wasana prang, Patih kaplajeng.

Sinigeg adeging Tembem Pentul ingkang sami suka-suka wonten ing Tambakboyo, wasana lajeng sowan bandaranipun.

Adeging Panji Kasatriyan, ingadep para kadang-kadeyan, kasarung dhatenge Raden Gunungsari, andhawuhaken sayembara sarta patah jaler estri, Panji Kasatriyan kinen angupaya patah lajeng bidal.

Nengna kang lumampah, kocapa satengahing wana, Dewi Candrakirana ingkang samadi maladi ening, aneges karsaning Hyang Kang Murbeng Jagad katrima panedhane, Reksi Narada ingkang tumurun paring nugraha. Galuh Candrakirana pinuja dados jaler, pinaringan nama Raden Kudo Norowongso undakan wasi Jayengresmi. Lajeng pinurih dhateng Kadiri, wonten ing margi kapethuk Tembem Pentul, dipunpurih dados patah, Norowongso mituruti, nanging kathah prajanjeyanipun kaliyan Tembem Pentul. Tembem Pentul anyagahi janji, lajeng kairid sowan ing Panji Kasatriyan. Sapraptaning ngarsanipun Panji Kasatriyan kathah sulayaning janji, dados mawi rewel sawatawis, wasana sareng sampun nocogi ing prajajani, lajeng bidhal amapag panganten estri, ing samargi-margi tansah asuka-suka, rupaking carita kocapa sampun prapta ing Kadiri.

Ganti kocapa, ingkang ana sajroning kraton Kadiri Dewi Galuh Candrakirana tiron, ingkang datansah angajeng-ajeng pangaraking temanten jaler. Datan antara Raden Gunungsari ingkang angaturi uninga yen temanten jaler sampun angarak, Dewi Galuh Candrakirana tiron enggal anggenipun malajeng angocok-ocok temanten kakung, sasampunnya tata pinarak, Panji Kasatriyan lajeng dhawuh dhateng Raden Kudo Norowongso, utawi dhateng para kadang kadeyan, teka mangkana Raden Kudo Norowongso kathah pamada utawi panacadipun dhateng Galuh Candrakirana tiron, mila Raden Panji Kasatriyan tuwin Raden Gunungsari waspanya dres mijil, labet Raden Kudo Norowongso wonten iribipun lawan Galuh Candrakirana ingkang rumiyin, mila ing ngriku kathah ginemipun, sarta panggagas panalangsa.

Rupaking carita, Panji sare sakaliyan, kadang kadeyan sami nabuh ringgitan, Tembem amucuki, Panji nem ingkang badhe andhalang, dereng ngantos dumugi, kagentosan dening Kudo Norowongso, caritanipun pasemon lelampahanipun Panji Kasatriyan. Sareng Panji Kasatriyan mireng carita pasemon wau, enggal medal saking pagulingan, unggil pinarakanipun Kudo Norowongso, ringgit lajeng kasuwuk. Panji sare kaliyan ingkang garwa malih, Kudo Norowongso sare kaliyan Ragil Kuning.

Lah ing kono ta wau, Kudo Norowongso sareng mireng pangrungruming Panji Ino Kertopati, sariro lesu margupa racut kaprawirane, temahan badhar[?] dados estri warni Galuh Candrakirana, iya Sekartaji, prayitneng driya enggal medal saking pagulingan, nedyo lolos ing dalu mampir sangisoring nagasari, anyampiraken kampuhe nalika warni jaler, katlesepan pandan wangi, kaserat suraosipun, mratelakaken, yen Norowongso wau sajatine Galuh Candrakirana. Dene kang pipindha Galuh Candrakirana, estri saking Pajagalan, sutane mbok randa Dadapan katrima panedhane bisa rupa Galuh Candrakirana.

Kocapa Dewi Ragilkuning sareng wungu sare, Kudo Norowongso mboten wonten, anjrit umatur dhateng ingkang raka, teka mangkana ing Tambakboyo geger papuyengan, sami ngupadosi Kudo Norowongso. Ki Lurah Tembem manggih sinjang sumampir pang nagasari, sareng katur dateng Panji Kasatriyan, wonten pandanipun wangi, kaserat kados ingkang sampun kapratelakaken ing nginggil. Panji lajeng kalempir, saengetipun, lajeng hangungsir sapurugipun.

Nengna ingkang sami ngupadosi, kocapa Dewi Galuh Candrakirana, narajang pesanggrahan Maguwo, kapanggih kalawan Prabu Klana Mandradpati, lajeng kapeta-peta nedya ngrabaseng asmara. Nanging Prabu Mandradpati boten kalampahan labet enggal-enggal kantaka, kening balatipun Dewi Candrakirana. Wusana Galuh Candrakirana kinarya jimat, wong agung Klana methuk yudane Panji Kasatriyan, Klana kawon pejah, lajeng prang sampak.

## APPENDIX 2

(TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH)

Mangkunegaran Library Reksa Pustaka

*Buku Pakem Topeng*, play-script of *Wulan Tumanggal*. [My English translation]Below is the play of *Wulan Tumanggal*

1. In the audience-scene (*jinejer*) is the king of Kediri, Prabu Lembu Amisena, having a discussion with the chancellor (*patih*) Jayabadra. They speak about the arrival of an enemy from overseas, from the island of Ternate, king (*prabu*) Kalana Maesa Jelanprang, who asks for the hand of the princess of Kediri named Retna Mindaka. Finally, His Majesty the king sends the Patih to the guesthouse (*pasanggrahan*) of Ternate to order a suitor's contest (*sayembara*).
2. The Patih quickly leaves and arrives outside at the meeting-place (*paseban jawi*) to take leave from the Ministers (*Nayaka*), who wish him a safe journey.
3. Change of scene. Let us speak about those who are in the court (*kraton*) of Kediri. The youngest princess named Patma Mindaka practising a (*bedhaya*)<sup>26</sup> *srimpi* dance is interrupted by her father who returns to the *kraton*.
4. Let us speak about the scene of the residence of the Patih of (*Kadipaten*) Kediri, Prince (*Raden*) Gunungsari, that is Malaya Kusuma, amuses himself practising martial arts and dances. He sends for the female servant (*emban*) Citrowati, asking her to fetch a bride's page and a bridesmaid (*patah*) who are beautiful. Then *emban* Citrowati departs.
5. Let us talk about the *pasanggrahan* of Ternate, where Prabu Kalana Maesa Jalamprang, who is passionately yearning for Retna Mindaka, is disturbed by the arrival of Patih Jayabadra. When he receives the letter with the invitation for the suitor's contest this results in a fight and the Patih flees.
6. Change of scene, let us speak about Tambakbaya,<sup>27</sup> where Ki Lurah Tembem and Pentul are enjoying themselves. Then they dress up and go to visit their master.

The scene of Panji Kasatriyan, that is Raden Ino Kartopati Kadara Wisrengga, or Asmarabangun, who is embracing his new wife, a princess from Ngurawan named Dewi Retna Cindaga. While she is embraced by her husband, she hears Ki Lurah Tembem and Pentul coming to visit. They are saying that the new wife has a bad shape, [and] does not take care of her servants, unlike the elder wife who has fallen in disgrace, she is beautiful and caring, knows to serve and respect her husband, and to take care of his relatives. When Dewi Retna Cindaga hears this she starts whining, asking her husband that the rejected wife should come. Raden Panji agrees but looks annoyed at Tembem and Pentul. Finally, Tembem and Pentul are sent to fetch her. As soon as she (Candra Kirana) arrives before Panji Kasatriyan, Retna Cindaga asks to be [left] alone [with her], Panji and his relatives are told to move out of the way, Tembem and Pentul are told to go and eat in the kitchen. As for Candra Kirana, that is Wulan Tumanggal, she is tortured by Retna Cindaga, who leaves her half-dead.

<sup>26</sup> In Javanese manuscripts of the nineteenth century, the female court-dances performed by groups of nine dancers are called *bedhaya*, dances performed by four dancers are often called *bedhaya srimpi* – nowadays these dances are simply called *srimpi*.

<sup>27</sup> Residence of Panji Kasatriyan, or a *pasanggrahan* of Kediri.

7. Let us talk about the arrival of Ki Lurah Tembem and Pentul. While eating in the kitchen, they notice that their mistress is half dead, and bring her together to the garden. On the way they meet one of Panji's concubines (*selir*), a lady (*putri*) from Cemara named Dewi Surengrana. When Dewi Surengrana hears what Tembem and Pentul tell her, she runs to Retna Cindaga, they wrestle, and Retna Cindaga flees.

Now let's speak no more about those who are fighting. Dewi Candra Kirana is laid down in the garden and left by Tembem and Pentul who are going to Kediri to report [what's happened].

Let us talk about Dewi Candra Kirana. After the departure of Tembem and Pentul she regains consciousness as a gentle breeze caresses her and she remembers [what has happened]. Ashamed she disappears from the garden to leave for the middle of the forest.

8. Change of scene, let us talk next about a small settlement, the hermitage of Gambirsaketi, where Bagawan Riyomurti is discussing with his adopted children, a boy named Gantang Kusuma and a girl named Endang Gantangsari. They are disturbed by the arrival of emban Citrowati, who is looking for a bride's page and a bride's maid. So Bagawan Riyomurti gives the two adopted children to emban Citrowati, who takes them with her.
9. The scene of Gunungsari. Taking along the bride's page and bridesmaid, Gunungsari feels so attracted to Endang Gantangsari, that his younger sister Retna Mindaka who will be the bride, is made to sit sulking. Then suddenly he makes a terrible upheaval, pretending that a tiger has escaped, or someone runs wild (*amok*) etcetera, which causes a stir among the people, with the intention to get Endang Gantangsari by surprise, but he does not get [her]. Finally, it is Retna Cindaga who gets Raden Gantang Kusuma, and in the end the two bride's-children are presented to the King of Kediri.
10. The scene of the King (*Sinuwun*) of Kediri, where Gunungsari presents the two bride's-children. They are interrupted by the arrival of Tembem and Pentul, who report about the situation in Tambakbaya, followed by the arrival of Panji Kasatriyan who wants to know the reason why he has not been informed. The king of Kediri says friendly that he did not inform the (lower-ranking) family-members because he feels ashamed that he may have a king from abroad for in-law. Panji Kasatriyan is clever, he immediately goes to destroy King Klana and his army, then they fight (*prang sampak*).