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## Transformation of Candra Kirana as a beautiful princess into Panji Semirang; An invincible hero

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# Transformation of Candra Kirana as a beautiful princess into Panji Semirang An invincible hero

MU'JIZAH AND ACHADIATI IKRAM

## ABSTRACT

The Malay Panji romance comes in many versions, one of which is the *Hikayat Panji Semirang* whose principal character is Candra Kirana, Panji's betrothed. The story describes Candra Kirana as a woman in the guise of a man doing a man's job. It has produced a number of new creations in the form of popular stories, novels, films, and comics. This article aims to present a description of a woman possessed of superlative qualities, once supposedly possessed only by men. The method used in the analysis is the gender approach. This research focuses on the text of *Hikayat Panji Semirang* Br. 126 in the collection of the National Library, Jakarta. The research shows a story which diverges from other versions, namely: the murder by black magic of the queen by the concubine, causing Candra Kirana to leave the palace and establish a kingdom of her own, Mataun. During her wanderings she becomes a gambuh player.

## KEYWORDS:

Malay Panji romance; gender approach; popular story; superlative qualities.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

The story of Panji originated in Java where it has always been very well known and popular. One proof of its popularity is the great number of Panji manuscripts existing in various Indonesian languages. The Panji story has been passed down not only in written traditions, but also in other art forms including dance, drama, the puppet theatre (*wayang gedog*), and the picture-scroll theatre (*wayang beber*). From its origins in Java, the Panji story spread to other language traditions in other parts of Indonesia: Sundanese, Balinese, Sasak, and Malay; and in Southeast Asia the story is also known in Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Thailand, Cambodia, and Myanmar.

The story – it is said – owes its popularity to the many love-scenes which enliven its texts. At its heart, the Panji story tells of the adventures of Panji Inu Kertapati, crown prince of Kuripan, who leaves his country in search of his betrothed, Candra Kirana, princess of Daha, who has disappeared (Illustration 1). Both of them wander in search of each other and finally meet, marry, and live happily ever after. During their wanderings they often disguise themselves and take other names and meet without being aware of each other's true identity.



Illustration 1. Figure of Panji Inu Kertapati in *wayang gedog*. (Photograph by Mu'jizah).

Proof of the popularity of the Panji stories is the host of written and oral stories circulating among the people, which will be briefly discussed. This introduction is followed by a study of several sides of the story and their variations. Berg (1954) has claimed that the story of Panji appeared in 1277,

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on the paper presented at Ninth EuroSEAS Conference, University of Oxford, on 17 August 2017 (Mu'jizah 2017).

about the time of the Pamalayu expedition.<sup>2</sup> During the era of the kingdom of Majapahit, the story became popular and spread widely all over the country. Poerbatjaraka (1968) sees matters differently. He argues that this popular story was born of the need for new reading materials, at a time when the possibilities of the old Indian material had been exhausted and Sanskrit had been almost forgotten, but Javanese society was not yet ready for Islamic reading materials composed in the Malay language. Whatever the cause, to the present day, Panji stories have retained their popularity in a number of various new transformations.

In his dissertation, another researcher, Rassers (1922), proposes that the Panji story had its origin in an ancient Javanese origin myth, comparable to the Minahasa myth of Kalangi and Manimporok. He argues that the Panji story was originally a myth of initiation into marriage in an exogamic society. Fifty years later, the origin of the many versions of the Panji stories was investigated by Ras (1973), who comments on some of the different Malay manuscripts of the Panji story, describing them as occasional works produced to mark the marriages of Malay royal couples in Southeast Asia during a certain period.<sup>3</sup> He also argues that the Panji story retells the history of Javanese society, which is why it is found in a number of Javanese historical works like the *Babad Tanah Djawi*, *Serat Kanda*, *Jaya Lenggara*, and *Babad Kediri-Daha*. Its ubiquity shows it has an important social function in Javanese society.

Another piece of research conducted by Baried, Darusuprpta, and Sutrisno (1987) focuses on the role of Panji as the culture hero of the Nusantara area. A number of Panji stories are included in the study: *Panji Jayakusuma* (Java), *Malat* (Bali), *Geguritan Pakang Raras* (Bali), and *Hikayat Galuh Digantung* (Malay). Besides these studies, a few pieces of research have focused on the Panji tales in Malay. Among these are those by Teeuw (1968), in a comparative study on *Syair Ken Tambuhan*, and Kaeh (1976), consisting of an inventory of Malay Panji stories, detailing them one by one and describing how from their origins in Java they spread not only to the Malay countries, but to many other regions. Kaeh's study, a text edition, focuses on *Hikayat Misa Jayeng Taman Kesuma*. Hasjim (1984), who studies one of the Malay Panji stories entitled *Hikayat Galuh Digantung*, concentrates on the literary devices used in the story. Other studies have been made by Ali and Hutagalung (1985), Betawi versions by Insana (2006) and Syahrial (2007), and Yulianti (2017) who explores one version of the Panji story entitled *Hikayat Kuda Narawangsa*. In her study, she says that the separation of Candra Kirana and Inu Kertapati was caused by the kidnapping of the former by Betari Durga.

The Panji story also appears in many Malay versions, among them *Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati*, *Hikayat Panji Semirang*, *Syair Undakan Agung Udayana*, various versions of *Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang*, *Hikayat Panji Angraeni*, *Syair*

<sup>2</sup> Pamalayu campaign is a military expeditionary force sent by Javanese King Kertanegara of Singhasari to conquer the Sumatran Melayu Kingdom (see Anthony Reid 2001).

<sup>3</sup> For Malay versions of Panji stories, see Harun Mat Piah 1980; for the classical literature, see Liaw Yock Fang 1978.

*Wangkang Kunandang*, and *Syair Ken Tambuhan*. One of these, the *Hikayat Panji Semirang* (afterwards HPS), is particularly attractive. In the story Inu Kertapati is not the only one who goes wandering in disguise; Candra Kirana does the same. Inu's betrothed disguises herself as Panji Semirang, who is as handsome as Panji and has no trouble demonstrating that she too is possessed of heroic qualities. In the guise of Panji Semirang, Candra Kirana succeeds in establishing a kingdom named Mataun and under her guidance the country and its people prosper.

All Panji stories mention the same background of the four kingdoms of Kuripan, Daha, Singasari, and Gagelang, ruled by four brothers, the eldest of whom is the king of Kuripan, the father of Panji, Inu Kertapati, crown prince of Kuripan, who is betrothed to Candra Kirana, princess of Daha. After the betrothal, Candra Kirana is found to be missing and Panji goes in search of her. After many wanderings, meetings, separations, and disguises, they finally meet, marry, and live happily ever after.

We have already mentioned the HPS in connection with the special treatment of its main character. The reason is that this *hikayat* portrays the rebellion of one woman battling against the powerlessness of a woman when she has to fight injustice. In this story we detect the idea of the equality of men and women. In the beginning, Candra Kirana is presented as a defenceless woman, but in adversity she does her best to shake off the shackles of defencelessness which bind her by summoning up her internal strength. These are the key ideas, which frame our vision of the character of Candra Kirana and her characterization, which is rounded and dynamic. As a woman, Galuh Candra Kirana is able to show innate her strength but only in her disguise as a man who founds her own kingdom.

The HPS presents the tale of the rivalry between two women, Galuh Candra Kirana and Galuh Ajeng. Another important female character in the story is Paduka Liku, a concubine of the king who seizes power by resorting to poison and black magic. To achieve our aim and analyse the role of women in the story properly, we must embark on an investigation of the representations of the female characters in HPS.

Initially Candra Kirana is stereotypically presented as a beautiful, passive woman but, after suffering humiliation and despair, she manages to transform herself and become an active, courageous woman, perfectly able to defend her rank and uphold her self-esteem. This transformation of character becomes her driving force. Her strength as a woman is still appreciated right up to the present day, as can be seen in the re-creation of her story in a number of modern forms, one of which is *Hikayat Pandji Semirang* (Balai Poestaka 1962 and Pustaka Antara 1970). Appreciation has also been shown by a number of writers of comics who have transferred the story into pictures, the best-known being by R.A. Kosasih (1966), and more recently her appearance in an animated film (2009).

The core issue in this paper is to discover how Candra Kirana is presented as a strong woman of unsurpassed virtue in HPS and why this character has

become the embodiment of the ideal woman. In this story, most of the female characters, among them Ratu Daha, Paduka Liku, Galuh Ajeng, and especially Candra Kirana, are presented as interesting people. The descriptions are of characters displaying various mental and spiritual attitudes dictated by the concept of gender. Fakhri (1996: 8-20) has proposed that, constricted by the concept of gender, woman is considered sweet, beautiful, emotional, and motherly. In contrast, a man is strong and rational. These qualities can be interchanged (should the need arise).

The gender approach posits that the position of a woman is often linked to (negative) subjects closely associated with the stereotype of woman: injustice, marginalization, subordination, and violence. In the literary world, it is unquestionably connected with patriarchal values derived from and maintained by masculine experiences (Showalter 1985: 69; Culler 1982). This view deprives a woman of the opportunity to play an active role, even though a woman might possess precisely the right qualities to assume it. It can even hinder a woman from showing her abilities. This is why, according to Gilbert and Gubar (1970: 24), a woman is always presented as passive, making a woman the object of men; it is her task and her duty to please them. This sort of woman is always portrayed as submissive, modest and selfless; she is beautiful and slender.

These principles are certainly obvious at the beginning of HPS, but begin to change as the story unfolds. This seemingly contradictory development is made acceptable by the motif of disguise. The motif behind her transformation into a man is inescapable because, as a woman, it would be impossible for her to play a role in the public domain.

## 2. *HIKAYAT PANJI SEMIRANG* MANUSCRIPTS

HPS in Malay is preserved in more than 100 manuscripts, and has been popular in many places, for example, Betawi, Palembang, and Banjarmasin. The Malay authors acknowledge its origins in Java without ever mentioning any translators or scribes. HPS opens the story as follows:

*Alkisah bahwa cerita daripada bahasa Jawa maka dipindahkan ke dalam bahasa Melayu, Hikayat Panji Semirang namanya. Maka ada Raja Kuripan empat bersaudara yang tua kerajaan di Kuripan yang tengah di Daha, yang muda di Kerajaan Gagelang. Adapun yang perempuan naik bertapa di Gunung Wilis maka bergelar Biku Gendasari terlalu baik rupanya, tiada mau bersuami. (HPS: 1).*

This story, entitled *Hikayat Panji Semirang*, has been translated into Malay from the Javanese language. Once there lived in Kuripan four siblings, the eldest brother reigned in Kuripan, the middle in Daha, and the youngest in Gagelang. Their one sister lived as an ascetic on Mount Wilis under the name of Biku Gandasari; she was very beautiful but she did not want to marry. [Our English translation.]

People liked the stories because of their heroic content: Panji is portrayed as an invincible hero who forgives his enemies and is loyal to his friends. Another

quality which has made the stories popular are their romantic and erotic content, describing Panji's encounters with many princesses and ultimately with his betrothed, Candra Kirana.

Not only has the story spread to many countries, today the manuscripts are preserved in many collections. Seventy-six manuscripts of Panji stories are stored in the collection of the National Library, Jakarta, in the following languages: Javanese, Balinese, Sasak, and Malay. Berg 's catalogue (1998) lists among other stories *Syair Ken Tambuhan* (Ml. 247), *Hikayat Cekelwanengpati* (Br. 303), *Hikayat Djaran Kinanti Asmarandana* (Br. 158), *Hikayat Panji Semirang I* (Ml. 177a), *Hikayat Pandji Semirang III* (Ml. 177b), and *Hikayat Pandji Semirang II* (Br. 126; see Illustration 2).



Illustration 2. Manuscript *Hikayat Panji Semirang* Br. 126. (Courtesy of Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia).

In the Leiden University Libraries, the Netherlands, the collection is even larger, numbering about 250 manuscripts. Among them are Or. 3721 A – written in 1725, Or. 1825 A – written in Surakarta in Javanese in 1808, and Or. 1709 A – a story of *Cekel Wanengpati* written in 1821 in Malay. In the National Library of Malaysia are five manuscripts, and the National Library of Cambodia has one manuscript. Panji manuscripts are also found in Paris, one of them being Mal.-Pol. 230 bearing the title *Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang*. In the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, there are also two manuscripts of Panji stories, Schoemann V23 and Schoemann V26, and another manuscript of HPS, Cohen Stuart no. 123 dated 1832 as mentioned by Poerbatjaraka (1968: XVIII).

This article will restrict itself to one manuscript of the Panji story, entitled *Hikayat Panji Semirang* (Br. 126), which is kept in the National Library in Jakarta. The colophon of HPS Br. 126 contains the statement:

*Tamat surat Hikayat Pandji Semirang Lelakon Raden Galu. Tamat Hikayat ini kepada lima likur hari bulan Rabiulawal jam puku [...] Disebut yang menyurat dia orang Bugis miskin piatu. Jadilah hurufnya tiada tentu, sebab menyenangkan anak buahnya sekalian itu. Tamatlah Hikayat Panji Semirang.* (HPS: 160).

The story of *Hikayat Pandji Semirang*, the story of Raden Galu has drawn to a close. This *hikayat* was completed on the twenty-fifth of the Rabiulawal at [...] It was written down by an orphan Buginese. Therefore, the letters are rather shaky, but [his real purpose] was to please all his people. This is the end of *Hikayat Panji Semirang*. [Our English translation.]

There is no mention in the colophon of the year of transcription. The scribe only mentions the date and the month as the 25th of the Rabi'-ul-Awwal. It is very common for Malay manuscripts to include a closing verse composed by the scribe to illustrate the romantic moments during the copying of HPS as a closure.

In this opening verse, the scribe expresses his despair and confesses that his feelings were like tangled threads. He prays to God and the Prophet for help in inspiring his writing. In this part, he humbly admits that the composition had almost nothing in value. The following three stanzas are on the last part of HPS.

<i>Inilah kisah permulaan madah mengarang dia tunduk tengadah daripada sangat berhati gundah ditamsilkan kepada barang yang adah</i>	Here I am at the beginning of this story looking around trying to think of a word, while tearfully mourning putting down the words in a parable
<i>Ini nasib untung celaka tiada sekali berhati suka juga kukenang hati belaka mungkin bertambah hatiku duka</i>	I am destined to despair never once have I found happiness the more I try to gasp at straws the more intense my sadness grows
<i>sudahlah nasib untungku seorang tiada perna merasai senang dilupurkan tiada kalanya hulubalang bertamba kusut seperti benang</i>	no use lamenting my fate never shall I know contentment. no matter what consolation people offer the more baffled my heart in the end
	[Our English translation.]

Even though his confession sounds humble, the writer of HPS does succeed in completing the whole story, one whose popularity has never waned down the centuries. In its time this manuscript of HPS could be borrowed for a ten cent a day.



### 3. THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN HPS

*Hikayat Panji Semirang* tells the story of a number of interesting women seen from their position as a woman in the story, namely: the king of Daha's sister Paduka Biku Gandasari; the queen of Daha; Paduka Liku, concubine of the king of Daha; Maha Dewi; Galuh Candra Kirana, daughter of the king and queen of Daha; Galu Ajeng, daughter of Paduka Liku; Ken Bayan, Ken Sanggit, Galuh Candra Kirana's attendants; and a number of Inu Kertapati's wives, Puspa Laksmi and Raden Nilawati.

Of the women mentioned above, the central character is Raden Galuh Candra Kirana, the title figure in the story of Panji Semirang. Other notable female protagonists are Paduka Liku and her daughter, Galu Ajeng, who begin the conflict.

Another important supporting character is Biku Gandasari who, although of royal birth, chooses not to live in the palace but to live the life of a hermit in solitude on Mount Wilis. When she is visited by her niece Galuh Candra Kirana, she welcomes her warmly, tinged with pity and sadness when she hears what has befallen her. The latter's hair had been cut off and she looks like a boy.

Kind-hearted and loyal in their love for Galuh Candra Kirana, Maha Dewi, Ken Sanggit, and Ken Bayan have important supporting roles. Wherever she goes, they are constantly by her side. Maha Dewi, one of the king of Daha's concubines, is sent back to the palace when Galuh Candra Kirana begins her wanderings to Mount Wilis and later emerges as a virtuoso *gambuh* player.

The loyalty of the three women who stand by Galuh Candra Kirana is exemplary. Ken Sanggit and Ken Bayan dedicate their lives to the service of their mistress, Candra Kirana, never wavering in their unfailing support. Wherever she goes they go, disguised as Panji Semirang's fighting men. Both are skilled in the art of warfare and defeat various people, acquiring booty to enrich Mataun, the kingdom founded by Panji Semirang. Disguised as fighting men, they even accompany her when she takes on the role of a *gambuh* player.

The representation of women in HPS is very interesting: in this article we shall mainly restrict ourselves to the representation of women in their roles as concubines of the king of Daha and Inu Kertapati. However, we shall also spend some time looking at Galuh Candra Kirana as an independent woman, shrugging off the norms of her times because the only way to accomplish the task she has been given to do is to disguise herself as a man.

#### 3.1 THE KING'S CONCUBINES

The representation of women in HPS as a tale conceived in pre-modern times is an interesting subject for analysis. Apart from the women in supporting roles to the figure of Galuh Candra Kirana, there are those connected with the persons of the king of Daha and Inu Kertapati. The king of Daha has three women in his life: his consort (the queen) and two concubines, Paduka Liku and Maha Dewi. Inu Kertapati has four women in his life: Galuh Candra Kirana, who is betrothed to him and eventually becomes his consort, and the three women

whom he weds during his wanderings: Galu Ajeng, Puspa Laksmi, and Raden Nilawati. From the pre-modern perspective of HPS, in the context of a monarchy, it was not unusual for a king who had a queen as a consort also to have a number of concubines. Read in the context of modern times and from a gendered perspective, these women are depicted as powerless. Sometimes it was a political and diplomatic necessity.

Fundamentally no woman wants to be in second or third position in the line of wives or concubines. In HPS, this sentiment is embodied in the obnoxious person of Paduka Liku, the concubine of the king of Daha, who behaves differently from Maha Dewi, the other concubine. Paduka Liku is driven by her ambition to raise her status from concubine to consort. Her ambition also extends to her daughter, Galu Ajeng, for whom she wants the same position as Galuh Candra Kirana, the queen's daughter. Galu Ajeng is invariably jealous of everything to do with Galuh Candra Kirana.

The queen, who is Paduka Liku's antagonist, is not sharply defined and appears rather passive. In the beginning, she is described as the king's consort who lives happily in the palace with her beautiful daughter Galuh Candra Kirana. They often play together in the gardens in the palace grounds. Then the harmonious life of the king of Daha with his consort and their daughter is disturbed by the jealousy and ambition of Paduka Liku, the king's concubine. The queen is the principal target of Paduka Liku's jealousy. In a number of Panji stories, the concubines are aware of their positions in the palace world and behave accordingly. However, in this story, for the sake of her daughter, Paduka Liku all-consuming ambition is to be raised to a higher position. She is so driven she actually kills the queen. Paduka Liku is depicted as a wicked, uncouth character. These character traits have been inherited by Galu Ajeng, who fails to conceal them when Paduka Liku punishes one of her attendants. This attendant is chastised and struck on the mouth. Paduka Liku also harbours ambitions to replace the queen and eventually poisons her with a dish of relish.

*Maka Paduka Liku pun berbuat tapai. Setelah keesokan harinya, maka diambilnya tapai itu. Maka diisinya pada suatu beras. Maka dibubuhinya racun yang sangat berbisa. Maka disuruh hantarkan kepada Permaisuri [...] Maka tapai pengantar daripada Paduka Liku itupun dibawa ke hadapannya permaisuri [...] Maka permaisuri santaplah tapai itu. Seketika lagi makan, maka berasa permaisuri pening kepalanya lalu muntah. (HPS: 8).*

Paduka Liku prepared a relish. The next morning, she laced the relish with strong poison. Then she sent it to the queen. The queen ate the dish. Even as she was eating, the queen felt her head spin and then she vomited. [Our English translation.]

The queen's death gives Paduka Liku an opportunity to raise herself to the position of queen consort of Daha. Nevertheless, before she achieves his ambition, she has to commit another crime: resorting to black magic, she makes the king fall in love with her and forget the queen and Princess Galuh Candra Kirana. The magic is so strong that, when the king wants to punish the latter, he suddenly takes the former's side.

This artificially induced love of the king for his concubine is Galuh Candra Kirana's misfortune. Paduka Liku not only harboured a desire to dominate the king, she now also wants Inu Kertapati, Galuh Candra Kirana's betrothed, for her daughter Galu Ajeng. However, Paduka Liku's predominance does not last long. Her crime is revealed and the king of Daha is eventually made aware of her guilt in murdering the former queen and casting him under a spell. This wicked woman had also been the cause of Galuh Candra Kirana's suffering. The king of Daha realizes her role in the tragedy which has befallen his daughter. His love for her turns to hate and eventually Paduka Liku falls sick and dies.

[...] *Maka Ratu Daha pun bermohon kepada anakanda Baginda lalu kembali ke Daha. Maka Paduka Maha Dewi dijadikan permaisuri. Maka Paduka Liku pun dibencilah oleh Sang Nata karena sepi dan ajar-ajar (guna-guna) itupun tawarlah olehnya. Maka Paduka Liku pun terlalu sakit hatinya malah kurus dirinya jatuh sakit lalu mati.* (HPS: 157).

[...] Thus, the king of Daha returns to Daha and Paduka Maha Dewi becomes his consort. Once the black magic has lost its power, Paduka Liku is hated by the king. Paduka Liku overcome by grief, grows thin, falls ill, and eventually dies. [Our English translation.]

On the death of Paduka Liku, the position of queen is bestowed upon Maha Dewi, the king's concubine who loves Candra Kirana. The death of Paduka Liku and the elevation of Maha Dewi as consort of the king allows the social structure of the realm to return to harmonious normality. The conflict around the person of Paduka Liku has been a mere ripple in the life of the kingdom which settles back into its proper course.

Inu Kertapati, crown prince of Kahuripan, is in a different position. Inu Kertapati has three women who accompany him during his lifetime. The first is Galuh Candra Kirana, his betrothed ever since childhood, and they love each other. The second is Galu Ajeng, Candra Kirana's stepsister and daughter of Paduka Liku, who has inherited her mother's wicked character and is habitually consumed by jealousy of Candra Kirana. She becomes Inu Kertapati's wife when Galuh Candra Kirana disappears from the palace. Inu who basically does not want to marry her cannot refuse. The third woman is Raden Nilawati, princess of Jagaraga, who is given to him in a diplomatic arrangement and with whom he has a happy marriage. The scene below shows their happiness.

[...] *Maka Sira Panji pun datang lalu dipegangnya tangannya istrinya, dibawanya masuk keperaduan seraya katanya, "Jikalau pun Kakang tuan mati esok hari oleh Ayahanda Ratu Puduk Sategal dan Ratu Lasem, tuan tangislah Kakang dan tuan selimuti dengan kain bekas tubuh Tuan dan mandikan dengan air mata" [...] Maka Raden Nilawati pun belas hatinya mendengar kata Sira Panji itu [...] Maka dipeluknya dan diciumnya oleh Raden Panji.* (HPS: 118-119).

[...] And Sira Panji comes and takes his wife's hand, leading her to the bed-chamber, saying: "If your elder brother should die tomorrow at the hands of the king of Puduk Sategal and the king of Lasem weep for me and deck me with a cloth which once decked your body and bathe me with your tears" [...]. And Raden Nilawati's heart flooded with compassion on hearing Sira Panji words [...]. Then Sira Panji embraces and kisses her. [Our English translation.]

From the reference above we know that Inu Kertapati and Raden Nilawati love each other. Raden Nilawati grieves to see her husband depart to do battle. In another war, Inu Kertapati had been victorious and won a fourth wife, Puspa Laksmi, with whom he also has a happy marriage. The three women who became Inu Kertapati's wives all enjoy happy marriages.

The person of Inu Kertapati is described as a man who knows how to show his love to each of his wives. This is made perfectly clear in the love scenes we read in the pages of the story (HPS: 89, 118, 130, 139). His skills are like those of Arjuna; he knows how to make them happy and contented with his love. In a nutshell, he makes them feel special, as if they are the only person in his life. It is this amatory skill of Inu Kertapati which has made the stories so popular.

### 3.2 CANDRA KIRANA AS AN INDEPENDENT WOMAN

In the story *Candra Kirana*, whose full name is Raden Puspaningrat Candra Kirana, emerges from the story as a rounded character. Neither her physical or her mental strengths is neglected. The character develops into a rounded person, a worthwhile member of her family and of society. Candra Kirana is born as the daughter of the king of Daha and his consort. As a princess, Candra Kirana is described as a stereotypical woman of perfect beauty. Her physical qualities are compared to those of a heavenly nymph.

*Sebermula Raden Galu makin besar makin baik rupanya dan budinya pun baik. Akan inang pengasuhnya pun baik, kasih akan dirinya dan gemar memandang rupanya [...] Maka Raden Inu pun tersenyum di dalam hatinya, "Sekali ini bolehlah aku melihat rupanya Yayi Galu karena dikabarkan orang terlalu cantik parasnya seperti bidadari".* (HPS: 3 and 52).

As Raden Galuh matured, she became more and more charming and kind-hearted. She was treated affectionately by her nanny [...] Thus, Raden Inu smiled as he made a decision, "This time I should see with my own eyes how beautiful Princess Galuh is, whether she is indeed as people say - as charming as a heavenly nymph". [Our English translation.]

In the version of *Hikayat Panji Semirang* published by Balai Poestaka (1938), the beauty of Candra Kirana is described in more detail: her nose, cheeks, and chin are perfect, her slender body is gracefulness personified. Her beauty enchants all the people around her, including her family and the people close to her. Her physical beauty is very much emphasized, as described below:

[...] *sulung bernama Tuan Putri Galuh Candra Kirana; ialah anak dari permaisuri; rupanya sangat gilang-gemilang, tiada dapat dikatakan lagi, hidungnya seperti dasun tunggal, matanya seperti bintang timur, bulu matanya lentik, jari tangannya seperti bulu landak. Betisnya seperti perut padi, tumitnya seperti telur burung, pipinya seperti pauh dilayang, alisnya seperti bentuk taji, bibirnya seperti limau seulas. Sukar akan menceritakan lebih panjang karena tiada satupun yang boleh dicela.* (Balai Poestaka 1938: 5).

[...] the eldest daughter, whose name is Princess Galuh Candra Kirana, is the daughter of the queen of the king of Daha; her beauty is incomparable, her nose is like a clove of garlic, her eyes resemble the Eastern Star, she has beautiful eye lashes, too, her fingers are like quills of porcupine. Her calves are like ears of paddy, her heels are like bird's eggs, she has delicate cheeks, crescent-shaped eyebrows and full lips. Because it is so falwless, it is difficult to find words to describe such a delicate countenance. [Our English translation.]

This depiction of perfection underlines the fact that Candra Kirana's charm matched that of a heavenly nymph. The beautiful princess also liked to groom herself so that people would adore her even more. She had learned these skills from a number of women around her, Queen Maha Dewi, and her loyal maids, Ken Sanggit and Ken Bayan. They did all in their power to make Princess Candra Kirana more charming.

These descriptions show the value of a woman was measured in terms of natural beauty and her skill at adorning herself. Word of the princess's charm and noble status had reached the king of Kuripan who decides to propose a marriage between her and his royal son, Prince Inu Kertapati. The beautiful princess is considered a perfect match for the handsome prince. Inu Kertapati is also described as the ideal type of a handsome, courageous young man. The engagement would also mean the unification of the two kingdoms, Daha and Kuripan, and their offspring would be expected to be exceptional people.

Candra Kirana's comfortable life is turned upside-down by the machinations of her stepsister, Galu Ajeng, who has always envied her. She is jealous because Candra Kirana is more beautiful than she, and the jealousy has become more bitter because the latter is betrothed to the handsome prince, Inu Kertapati. Jealousy elicited by physical attributes, such as beauty, is a very common theme in stories and has become a stereotypical female trait. The repressed feelings of jealousy are exposed in a conflict as both of them fight for the possession of gold and silver dolls, a gift given by Inu Kertapati. Candra Kirana and Galu Ajeng have to make a choice, and Candra Kirana chooses the gold doll, leaving Galu Ajeng to be content with the silver one. She cannot swallow this and, urged on by Paduka Liku, her mother, an open conflict erupts.

Having been urged on by Galu Ajeng and Paduka Liku, the king of Daha becomes angry with Candra Kirana. The king orders her long, black, and beautiful hair to be cut. Hair is a symbol of woman's status and dignity; therefore, she is deeply humiliated by her father's punishment.

*Maka titah Sang Nata, "Jangan engkau berbanyak lagi, tukari anak-anakan ini dengan anak-anakanmu itu". Maka Raden Galu pun diamlah. Maja sahut Paduka Maha Dewi, "Adapun anak-anakan itu mulanya itu juga mengambil dia karena anak Galu tiada mau oleh karena sudah dipilihnya, patutlah ia tiada mau mengambil pilihan orang ia gunanya hendak ditukari pula anak-anakan". Maka sahut Sang Nata, "Janganlah banyak katamu lagi. Jika engkau tiada mau niscaya rambut di kepalamu itu kugunting". Maka sembah Raden Galu, "Jagankan hendak digunting, jikalau tuanku bunuh sekali pun patik [...] anak-anakan patik ini tiada patik berikan. Jikalau mati pun bersama-sama juga dengan anak-anakan patik". Maka Titah Sang Nata, "Jikalau demikian katamu, marilah kugunting rambutmu itu yang di kepalamu". Maka Sang Nata pun menitahkan seorang gunti di dalam pergi mengambil gunting. Maka Raden Galu diguntinglah rambutnya itu [...] Maka ketika rambut Raden Galu digunting maka guruhpun berbunyi sayup-sayup basahi antara ada dengan tiada turut belas akan Raden Galu rupanya. (HPS: 20).*

And said the king, "No more talk, I order you to exchange this doll for that." Raden Galu kept silent. Then Lady Maha Dewi said, "My daughter Galu refuses to exchange the doll because it is her first choice". The king replied, "I don't want to hear any more excuses. If you do not want to exchange the doll, I will have your hair cut". Raden Galu said gently, "I will not give it up, even if Your Majesty were to kill me. I will die with this doll". Finally, the king summoned someone to fetch a pair of scissors and cut her hair [...]. At that moment the thunder grumbles as if mourning Raden Galu's unjust fate. [Our English translation.]

Candra Kirana feels powerless to do anything about the conspiracy forged between her stepsister, stepmother, and the king of Daha. Suffering under this injustice, she begins to rebel against her fate as a weak woman. She decides to defend her dignity as an honorable woman and she proves to others that she is not to be bullied. Her escape from the palace is the definitive sign of her rebellion.

Candra Kirana takes her fate into her own hands to escape injustice and powerlessness. She rebels against the unjust treatment meted out by her father. Her confidence and courage grow. She decides to flee those people who hate her and chooses to renounce her aristocratic circle.

However, another problem arises. Her beauty is both her strength and her weakness. Communities at that time still considered it unseemly for women to venture outside their homes alone because their lives might be put in danger. This concept assumes that women are subordinate to men, who are entitled to this outside world but, as a woman, Candra Kirana will have to contend with troubles and violence in the outside world. Fortunately, this astute woman finds a way out by disguising herself as a male figure named Panji Semirang. This masculine disguise will be her protection her from any potential violence by evil men.

*Setelah sudah makan Raden Galu pun memakai cara lelaki-lelaki baik rupanya seperti Dewa menurun. Maka Raden Galu pun keluar di penghadapan, patut ia memakai cara lelaki sungguh seperti kelana. Setelah datang ke penghadapan maka semua pun heran tercengang-cengang disangkanya Indra baru turun dari kayangan rupanya. Maka titah Raden Galu pada patih, demang, tumenggung, "Apa bicaramu karena beta hendak*

*berganti nama supaya jangan dikenalnya oleh orang [...]". Maka kata Raden Galu, jikalau demikian sebutlah namaku Panji Semirang Asmaranta dan Ken Bayan dan Ken Sanggit pun hendak kuberi nama [...]. Ken Bayan dan Ken Sanggit pun disuruh gunting oleh Panji Semirang. Setelah sudah digunting, keduanya memakai cara lelaki. Maka Panji Semirang pun menamakan Ken Bayan Kuda Prapanca dan Ken Sanggit bernama Kuda Perwira. (HPS: 24-25).*

Having finished her meal, Raden Galuh changed into men's clothes, and she looked like a god. She disguised herself as a true knight. Everyone was astonished to see her, thinking that she was the God Indra who had descended to earth. Raden Galuh to her confidants, "What would you think if I were to change my name so that people will no longer recognize me [...] thus, call me Panji Semirang Asmaranta", and Panji Semirang ordered Ken Bayan and Ken Sanggit her to cut their hair, altering their appearance and Panji Semirang changed their names to Kuda Prapanca and Kuda Perwira. [Our English translation.]

Candra Kirana had anticipated the worst thing that might befall her would be that her beauty might attract men to assault her. She disguises her delicate body as a young handsome man with fine carriage and turns herself into a hero. This way, her character allows her to be more enterprising than she could have been as a woman. The disguise of a handsome young man is necessary when Candra Kirana establishes Metaun because, at that time women, could not travel alone or have the freedom to do what men do.

Along with her physical appearance, she also changes her character and personality. Candra Kirana is no longer a tender, weak woman, but a tough man. She metamorphoses into a completely different character.

As Panji Semirang, she successfully builds herself a new settlement in which she can reside. She also sets out to expand her territory by attacking and overcoming other regions. Her new name Panji Semirang becomes famous and is feared by her opponents. Those who had been sent to attack Panji Semirang's new kingdom never return alive.

*Maka sembah Juredeh. "Sri Batara, adapun segala harta yang dititahkan sangulun patik bawa ke Daha itu sudah sampai pada tengah jalan. Maka ada kelana duduk di sana. Dia berkawan dengan segala rakyatnya dan segala harta yang patik bawa itu habis disamunnya oleh punggawanya". Maka patik minta baik-baik tiada diberinya. Maka patik lawan bertikam seketika bertikam itu. Maka Kelana yang bernama Panji Semirang itu pun datang keluar. Maka punggawanya kedua itu pun undurlah. Maka patik dipanggilnya oleh Panji Semirang itu. Demikianlah katanya, "Lanun Ratu Kuripan itu berkehendak kepada hartanya itu, suruhlah Raden Inu itu kemari berperang dengan aku. Adapun kelana itu terlalu baik rupanya dengan mudanya budak-budak juga rupanya". (HPS: 38).*

Juredeh paid homage and said, "Your Majesty, the treasure you ordered me to bring to Daha was robbed [from me] along the way by a wandering knight. He and his followers seized all the valuables". I begged him to return them, but he and his people ignored me. We fought and eventually the warrior, whose name is Panji Semirang, emerged as his two guards retreated. Panji Semirang called out to me and said, "If the king of Kuripan wants to get his treasure back, Raden

Inu should come and fight me. If he can defeat me, he can retrieve the treasure. The warrior is incredibly young and handsome". [Our English translation.]

Jurudeh, one of Panji Inu Kertapati' attendants, was robbed as he passed through Mataun, and now he was conveying the message that Panji Semirang had challenged Inu Kertapati to a duel. Safe in her disguise, Panji Semirang alias Candra Kirana orders her two personal guards to rob whoever passes through his dwelling place. He was also forcibly recruiting some people into the army in his efforts to strengthen his kingdom. When it is well set up, he sets his sights on other countries.

*Jikalau orang Kuripan atau orang Gagelang atau orang negeri lain hendak ke Daha, maka disuruhnya itu rampas segala hartanya yang dibawahnya itu. Orangnya disuruh lepaskan barang ke mana mana perginya. Demikianlah pekerjaan Panji Semirang itu di luar kota bawah pohon beringin dengan segala orangnya. Maka masyhurlah pada suatu masa dan pagi-pagi itu pun keluarlah Kuda Prapanca dan Kuda Perwira menghadang orang lalu dari sana di bawah pohon beringin itulah tempatnya duduk dengan orang-orangnya. Jikalau ada orang lalu dirampas segala hartanya [...] Maka namanya Panji Semirang pun masyhurlah kepada segala negeri yang lain-lain mengatakan ada kelana duduk. (HPS: 24).*

When the people of Kuripan or the people of Gagelang or of other countries go to Daha, he orders them to leave behind the belongings they have with them. This is how Panji Semirang and his followers go about their business, waiting under a banyan tree outside the town. It is well known that every morning at a stated time the famous Kuda Prapanca and Kuda Perwira and their soldiers come to this spot reserved for them to wait for passers-by so as to rob their property [...]. This is how Panji Semirang has become famous and feared throughout the lands; other people refer to him as a warrior who found a place to settle down. [Our English translation.]

In her new role, Candra Kirana is no longer merely an object, but an active wielder of power. Her previous character as a tender, delicate woman vanishes and she turns into a brave young man who is active, aggressive and powerful. Even Inu Kertapati, her fiancé, considers Candra Kirana (in her new role as Panji Semirang) a tough young man. In *Hikayat Panji Semirang* (Balai Poestaka 1938: 110), Panji Semirang is described as a brave warrior, upright of posture, and whose behaviour is irreproachable.

Her aunt, Biku Gandasari, had been afraid that as a woman Candra Kirana would be in danger and, therefore, she had suggested that Candra Kirana disguise herself as a man. This transformation also extended to both her physical appearance and her behaviour. Now she looks like a young man with short hair and a very handsome countenance, rivalling in her appearance a god from the Upper World.

Candra Kirana also changes her name to Gambuh Wiraka Asmara. Several maids help her to play the *gambuh*, so that she can perform this role successfully. Her fame spreads all over the country, as far even as Gagelang. In her disguised form, she finally meets Inu Kertapati, who does recognize



her eventually. In the end, Candra Kirana is taken home to Kuripan, and they marry.

This description clearly reveals the storyteller's attitude to women. Some important descriptions are essential to the depiction of a stereotypical woman initially epitomized by Candra Kirana; she has a beautiful figure and is tender, powerless, and passive.

Another important recurring theme in the story is that women often fall victim to the injustice of men, as case in point being the king's punishment of Candra Kirana. She is also powerless against the machinations of some of the other women in the story, such as Paduka Liku and Galu Ajeng, who have the support of the king of Daha.

The power of the Panji Semirang tale lies in sustaining a concept which it is still applicable in the current context. Female weaknesses are abused and elicit a counter-reaction. The contrast to this feminine stereotype emerges when Candra Kirana's decides to escape from the shackles of her weak position as a woman. She is fortunate because, not only does she have the advantage of being of the nobility, she has also been blessed with a strong character. This strength is her mainstay in her struggle to become an independent woman.

Her independence is shown by her determination to leave the palace in search of freedom and happiness in life, at a time when it was very unusual for women not to live at home and seek to become an independent person. The only option the author has is to present the character of a smart and tough woman as a male figure. The fact that this disguise was needed is proof that people still considered women unequal to men; that men were supposed to be much stronger, in every sense, than women.

This concept is argued in a subtle way through the motif of disguise. The leading figure, Candra Kirana, has proved that it is not enough for a woman to be physically beautiful, she must also be endowed with the qualities of strength and bravery. Candra Kirana is the absolute epitome of an independent woman. She is not only beautiful and tender, her active mind teems with ingenious ideas. Moreover, Candra Kirana is blessed with emotional stability, and this lends her personality strength, helping her to overcome her inner conflict. Her decision to leave the palace is appropriate because she has been badly hurt by her father's rejection of her love, her personal pride has been tested, and her self-esteem has taken a body blow. Of course, she carries these qualities with her when she disguises herself as a perfect man no less than twice during her adventures.

The description of her physical traits and her character reveals that Candra Kirana is able to be a perfect woman, her emotions stable and controlled. This ability to control her emotions embellish her characterization as an epitome of womanly virtues. Given all those inherent traits and her innate personality, she can survive and eventually be reunited with her future husband, Inu Kertapati.

From a gender perspective, Candra Kirana can be considered a perfect woman because she can play two prominent roles both in her own domestic world and in the public world of men. Galuh Candra Kirana is a past-mistress

of both worlds. In her disguise as Panji Semirang, she is the equal of Inu Kertapati. She actively sets out to conquer the world, namely: the world of men; she fights successfully and is able to bring peace and prosperity to her people.

#### 4. TRANSFORMATION OF *HIKAYAT PANJI SEMIRANG*

The popularity of the Panji story is also demonstrated by its wide acceptance in modern forms of communication. In recent times, HPS has been transposed into a form more attractive to young readers. This has necessitated certain changes and produced different forms of the story. HPS was first published by Balai Poestaka in 1917 and the preface includes the information that the original manuscript was kept in the Lembaga Kebudayaan Nasional. The *Hikayat* was republished in 1938 and again in 1962. For younger readers, in 1996 Balai Poestaka made an adaptation of the story arranged by S. Sastrawinata (see Illustration 3). This edition also added some illustrations. This has not been the only of the story prepared for children. There is a comic version of Panji Semirang by R.A. Kosasih, 1966 (see Illustrations 4 and 5). Film versions have followed including an animated film, which has been completely adapted to suit today's tastes. Another cinematic adaptation is a film entitled "Panji Semirang" produced by Center for Film Development, Ministry of Education and Culture (see Illustration 6).



Illustration 3. Rewriting of *Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang* by Sastrawinata (1996). (Photograph by Mu'jizah).



Illustrations 4 and 5. Comic strip from *Panji Semirang* by Kosasih (1966). (Photographs by Mu'jizah).



Illustration 6. From the animated film *Panji Semirang*. (Courtesy of Pusat Pengembangan Perfilman, Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI).

The various forms of HPS in oral literature, comics, film, and dance have acquired special qualities, whether through their specific form or because of the different spirit prevailing in their media. For instance, the dance Panji Semirang depends heavily on the movements of the dancer, the position of the body, the costumes, and the rhythm of the musical accompaniment; reading a *hikayat* or novel or an adolescent adaptation of tale does not have to be done at a specific time, unlike a film which does require a special time and a special place. The form a transformation takes is an interesting study. According to Damono (2014: iii)

*Kajian alih wahana tetap dapat menjadi sebuah ajang kritis untuk memperbincangkan bagaimana ideologi-ideologi merasuk ke dalam bentuk-bentuk khususnya dalam situasi intermedial ketika suatu bentuk mengalami transformasi ke dalam bentuk lain, atau pun ketika suatu bentuk secara internal terbangun oleh multimedialitas. (Damono 2014: iii).*

The study of transformation can become a critical forum about the insinuation of ideology into several forms, especially into an intermedial situation, when one form transforms into another or when one form changes completely through multimediality. [Our English translation.]

At present and in the future, culture will become more complex because it cannot be isolated from non-cultural factors like industry, the economy, politics, and technology. He also argues that, in various instances, different ideologies become involved, especially when one form of culture is transposed to another media.

In an adaptation for younger readers, the language, style, and subject have to be changed to suit the reading public. The language has to be made more accessible. The plot also has to be made more to the point, but some motifs of the Panji story are retained, for instance, the concubine Paduka Liku and her daughter Galu Ajeng. The jealousy of Paduka Liku of the position of the queen and consort, which leads her to commit murder by poison, is also retained. There is also the conflict between Candra Kirana and Galu Ajeng, both children of the king but by different wives. The conflict is heightened by the use of black magic by Paduka Liku, causing the king to transfer his affection to Galu Ajeng and hate Galuh Candra Kirana, resulting in her having to cut off her hair, the flash-point which makes Galuh Candra Kirana decide to leave the palace and assume the disguise of Panji Semirang.

In the disguise of Panji Semirang, Candra Kirana is no longer restrained by convention and even though woman. The reason she has had to go to such lengths is that, at that time, barring unforeseen circumstances, only men had the opportunity to show their superiority. No women were ever allowed to go to war or to deal with problems involving matters of statesmanship. She also fights successfully to defend the new kingdom she has established. In this version (HPS Br. 126), Panji Semirang in the disguise of a *gambuh*-player eventually meets Inu Kertapati who unmasks her and takes her to his kingdom, where he marries her and eventually they become king and queen of Kuripan.

The transposing of the HPS to the comic strip of Panji Semirang by R.A. Kosasih was a venture into a new medium, a format different to that of the *hikayat* or the novel. In a comic, pictures are used as a visual aid to telling a story. The text in a comic must be short because the room in a balloon is limited. The plot is kept moving by the text in the balloon supplemented by the pictures. The picture is the essential part of the comic and can be interpreted directly by the reader, while the words in the balloon used in the *hikayat* and novel require more thought as they are multi-interpretable.

In HPS, Candra Kirana is like a golden doll and as sweet as palmsugar. She matures into be a woman whose beauty never changes and, intrinsically, she is good and kindhearted.

*Sebermula Ratu Gagelang beranak seorang laki-laki, maka dinamai Raden Sariakan dan dipeliharakan dengan sepertinya oleh Ratu Gagelang. Sebermula maka Ratu Daha pun berputra seorang perempuan dengan permaisuri terlalu baik rupanya seperti anak-anakan kencana, manisnya seperti madu juruh. Raden Galu makin besar makin baik rupanya dan budinya pun baik [...] Maka adalah pada suatu hari Raden Galu dihias dan anak rambutnya [...] terlalu baik parasnya gemar yang memandang dia. (HPS: 1).*

The king of Gagelang has a son named Raden Sariakan who has been raised to fit his station in life by the king of Gagelang. The king of Daha has a daughter by the queen, who is very beautiful, resembling a golden doll, sweet as honey. Raden Galuh's beauty grows by the day and she is incredibly sweet natured [...] One day when Raden Galuh is being adorned and her hair and fringe dressed, [...] she looks incredibly beautiful, delighting all who see her. [Our English translation.]

In HPS the beauty of Candra Kirana is described in words; in the comic it is conveyed in pictures. In the R.A. Kosasih comic, the beauty of Galuh Candra Kirana is visualized in the pictures of an attractive girl wearing head and ear ornaments and a necklace. The sweetness of her character can also be seen in her face. The text in the balloon reveals her goodness of heart as she gives her own shawl to her half-sister Galu Ajeng. An even clearer picture emerges in the animated film of Panji Semirang, a-3d movie trailer produced by Centre for Film Development, Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009. In the film, Galuh Candra Kirana's beauty is made patently obvious as is the handsomeness of her appearance when she is disguised as Panji Semirang. This story has also become a theme for paintings, dance and other kinds of performing arts. This theme has also been examined by Manuaba, Setijowati, and Karyanto (2013: 62) in *Litera*. Many people still learn about the Panji story from the *wayang kulit* and *wayang beber*, two forms of traditional Javanese puppet theatre.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The Panji story is well known and very popular in Indonesia. The story originated in Java and spread throughout Indonesia and Southeast Asia and manuscripts of Panji stories are preserved in many collections in many countries. The manuscripts of Panji stories, especially HPS the theme of this article, are teeming with interesting features which have stood the test of time.

However, HPS deals with various specific issues like the romance and adventures of Panji Semirang. Perhaps the most interesting of all its characteristics is its characterization of women, such as Paduka Liku, Galu Ajeng, and several other concubines, and last but not the least, Candra Kirana, the main character in this story (see also Mu'jizah, Soenardjo, and Yetti 2003). The most prominent concubine is Paduka Liku, a woman who is married to Raja Daha. Inu Kertapati also takes some concubines during his search for his betrothed Candra Kirana. These concubines are not two-dimensional figures, all are endowed with their own temperaments and characters.

Paduka Liku is described as an ambitious woman who is greedy for power; so much so she murders the Royal Consort and assumes her position. She also claims her daughter far surpasses Candra Kirana, the crown princess. In contrast, some other women were apparently satisfied to become Inu Kertapati's concubines.

Candra Kirana in HPS is a princess with a sweet personality, perfectly willing to do what she is told, but who changes into an independent woman seizes her freedom and the chance to determine her own life. In the face of adversity, she finds her inner strength. Candra Kirana is presented as a contradictory figure. Initially she is depicted as a beautiful, elegant woman, a heavenly nymph come to earth – a woman of perfect beauty and exemplary tenderness. Most of her life is spent in the palace beautifying herself. Following faithfully in the steps of tradition, she is betrothed to Inu Kertapati; conforming to the stereotype of the feminine gender.

In the episodes which follow, this stereotype is completely overturned. Her life of luxury and comfort in the palace is shattered by her unjust treatment, initially leaving Candra Kirana in a state of powerlessness. However, this conflict is deliberately created to give Candra Kirana the opportunity to turn herself into a stronger woman. She is transfigured and assumes the character of a strong and powerful knight, free to do pretty much as she wants in a world unrestricted by convention. She changes from being an object into an active subject. At this moment, Candra Kirana reveals her power as a woman; nevertheless, because most people at that time would not have accepted that a woman could be strong and brave, she disguises herself as a young man named Panji Semirang and becomes a hero. Once she has adopted the guise of Panji Semirang, Candra Kirana is no longer an inferior figure, but emerges as a man of superlative prowess and virtues. She can travel wherever she wants, visiting various countries, in the guise of a handsome, invincible knight.

The popularity of the Panji story has been transposed into modern forms, among others by Ajip Rosidi who rewrote HPS as a novel, R.A. Kosasih's recreation of it as a comic strip, and the Centre for Film Development, Ministry of Education and Culture, making the story into animated film entitled "Panji Semirang". These transformations are revitalizations which will ensure that the Panji Semirang story lives on in the community.

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