

## Conference Paper

# Polarization of *Panji* Tradition in the Visualization of Archipelago Puppet: A Comparison of *Panji*-themed Puppet Characters in Indonesia and Malaysia

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**ORCID:**Rudi Irawanto: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4639-0131>**Abstract**

*Panji*-themed puppets are puppets that enact a story from the *panji* chronicle. These puppets are found across the island of Java and several other areas in the archipelago. *Panji*-themed puppets can be found in *krucil* puppetry in Java and in Siamese puppetry in Kelantan, Malaysia. While a *krucil* puppet uses a *panji* story as the main story, in Siamese puppetry, a *panji* story is the branch of the story. The difference in the characters of a *krucil* puppet and a Siamese puppet is related to the interaction of *panji* tradition with local traditions.

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## 1. Introduction

*Panji* tradition has developed in the archipelago since the 14th century. In general, *Panji* tradition is a term used to describe the influence of the *Panji* story, from performance art to visual arts. *Panji* tradition began to develop in the province of East Java, during the Majapahit era, which later expanded beyond the island of Java following the diplomatic route of the Majapahit kingdom. *Panji* tradition departs from *Panji* stories that are conveyed orally and in the form of the books like *babad*, *kidung* or *kakawin* (Zoedmulder, 1985: 532). *Panji* tradition has become a sparring cultural icon in the Majapahit era, as well as a symbol of royal political unification during the reign of King Hayam Wuruk (Kieven, 2017: 2). *Panji* stories in various versions eventually developed from Malaysia, Thailand to Cambodia (Nurcahyo, 2017).

The birth of *Panji* tradition influenced physical cultures in the archipelago. In its development, *Panji*'s stories are represented in various forms, including in temple reliefs, puppet paintings on palm leaves and also in puppet figures. In puppet, the *Panji* story or the Circle of *Panji* stories has become a new story and icon for puppet characters in

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the archipelago. *Panji* figures in the archipelago appear in *beber* puppet, *klitik* puppet and *gedog* puppet in Java, *Gung* puppet in Kalimantan, to *Siam* puppet or *Kelantan* puppet in Malaysian peninsula.

Puppet is an art performance of shadows that probably developed in the archipelago since the 4th century or the era of the arrival of Hinduism on the island of Java. At first the art of puppet took a story with a Hindu or Indian background. In the later era the art of puppet was influenced by new beliefs that developed in the archipelago. The cultural products of the archipelago eventually acculturate with newcomer cultures, thus giving birth to new generations of puppets that adapt to new beliefs.

The new generation of puppets was born in the 10th to 17th centuries, with people puppet (*wayang orang*), *beber* puppet, *golek* puppet, and *krucil* puppet. The new generation of puppet art began to take different forms and stories from *purwa* shadow puppet that had existed since the 3rd century. The stories of the *Panji* chronicles, the Majapahit chronicles to the *Ambiya* chronicles (*babad Menak*) became alternative stories or branch stories of the new generation of puppets.

## 2. Findings and Discussion

*Panji* tradition is a sign of the initial resistance of Indonesian culture to the hegemony of Indianization in the archipelago. The process of Indianization itself has created kingdoms with Indian style in East and Southeast Asia (Codes, 2010: 21). The people of the archipelago, especially the Javanese, began to develop a new story system, taking the icons of local figures. These stories then become the main stories in the performance of *beber* puppet, *krucil* puppet, and also in masks puppet, changing stories with Mahabharata or *Ramayana* backgrounds. *Panji* character then replaced the *Arjuna* character in puppet performance. *Panji*'s story eventually became the main menu of *Panji* tradition in the archipelago which then spread to several countries in the Southeast Asia region. Indonesia *krucil* Puppet and Siam puppet or Malaysian *Kelantan*, are two genres of puppet that take *Panji* story as a story concept.

*Krucil* puppet is a third generation puppet that takes non-Mahabharata stories with the *Panji* chronicle story as the main story of the show. On the other hands, in the Siamese puppet or Malaysian *Kelantan* puppet, the *Panji* story is developed as a branch story or an alternative story. *Panji* figures in the two puppets are displayed in different forms and story characters. The difference in the visualization of the characters and the characters of *Panji* stories in the two puppet genres is thought to be due to the polarization of the *Panji* tradition in their respective regions, as a consequence of the dialogue process

with the local culture. *Panji* Puppet in Java is influenced by Javanese culture which is characterized by India, while in peninsular Malaysia it is likely that it has been influenced by the Malay and *Patani* culture of Thailand, as the main culture of the Siamese puppet.

This study aims to look at the polarization of *Panji* tradition in Indonesia and Malaysia in puppet figures, namely *Krucil* puppet and *Kelantan* Siam puppets. This polarization is thought to be related to the process of acculturation of *Panji* culture with local culture. *Krucil* Puppet is thought to be an acculturative product of *Panji* culture with Hindu / Buddhist culture and Javanese culture, while the Siamese puppet is an acculturative product of *Panji* culture with Malay and *Patani* culture.

*Panji* tradition originates from the *Panji* stories which are told in the form of *mentrum kidung* and several oral folklore that developed in Java. The early *Panji* stories were written in Middle Javanese, then rewritten in the new Javanese in the form of the *macapat* song. These *Panji* songs then spread outside Java (Zoedmulder, 1983: 533). *Panji's* story has the background of the *Kadhiri* kingdom in East Java Province which was founded in the 11th century (Achmad, 2017: 112). In *Kakawin Smaradahana*, it is mentioned that King *Kameswara* of the *Kadhiri* kingdom becomes the queen of *Sri Kiranaratu*, the daughter of the Jenggala kingdom. King *Kameswara* is also known as *Hinu Kertapati* or *Raden Panji*, while *Sri Kiranaratu* is called *Dewi Galuh Candra Kirana* in *Panji* stories (Arismunandar, 2014).

*Panji* stories after being presented in the form of *kakawin* and *kidung*, then transformed into other forms. *Panji* stories began to be manifested in visual arts and performance arts. In the visual art of *Panji* tradition, it is carved on temple reliefs, including at the Penataran temple, Mirigambar temple and at *Kendalisodo* temple. In the performing arts, *Panji* tradition develops in the art of *beber* puppet, *gedhog* puppet, *krucil* puppet, masks puppet, *ketoprak* and in *pranasmara* (Saputra, 2107: 3). The transformation of the *Panji* stories did not only occur in Java, but also spread beyond the island of Java. The diplomatic relationship of Majapahit kingdom with other regions in Southeast Asia, as written in *Negarakertagama* book by *Empu Prapanca*, is thought to have cultural missions. The Majapahit region covers the entire Dutch East Indies region and the Malay peninsula (Codes, 2010: 321). The *Panji* tradition is also spread through the cultural connections of several countries in Southeast Asia, so that the *Panji* story cycle is also found in Thailand and Cambodia.

The archipelago is a geopolitical area of the Majapahit kingdom (Nugroho, 2010: 19). Geopolitical areas will indirectly interact with each other from one region to another. The *Panji* stories will be translated into the local cultural context. *Panji* stories is transformed into various forms of art, in Malaysia, Thailand and Cambodia.

*Panji* Puppet is a term for referring to a puppet show with *Panji* stories. *Panji* Puppet in Java developed in the province of East Java, which is spread along the Brantas delta. *Panji* puppet in the case of East Java Province is called *Krucil* puppet. This puppet is made of wood on the body and shadow on the hands. *Panji*'s story becomes the main story in each of his performances.

Puppet with *Panji* story is also found outside Java. In Kalimantan, there are *Gung* puppets. *Gung* Puppet is an adaptation of the *Banjar* puppet people who have developed earlier. The *Panji* story is one of the branch stories of the main story which takes *Mahabharata* story and stories on Islamic themes. The adaptation of *Panji* story with Islamic themed stories is also found in the Siamese puppet in Malaysia.

Siam Puppet is a development of the *Pathani* puppet in Thailand which had developed earlier. The main story of the Siamese puppet still comes from the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* stories. Siam Puppet, is one of several types of puppet developed in Malaysia which is presented with a typical *Kelantanese* dialogue, so Siamese puppet is often referred to as the *Kelantan* puppet. The other two types of puppet, namely the Malay puppet and the Javanese puppet, which developed in Malaysia are closer to Javanese shadow puppets because some of them were brought by some Javanese immigrants in Malaysia (Pundentia, 2015: 308).

Siam Puppet or *Kelantan* puppet takes the *Panji* story as a branch story, a condition thought to have been influenced by the spread of *Panji* culture in Peninsular Malaysia. *Kelantan* puppets are scattered in the northern area of *Kelantan*, Kedah and Perlis which are descended from the Nang Talung Thailand (Lee 1996: 48). Nang Talung is a puppet art related to Hindu beliefs. In its development, Puppet Siam has several genres, namely the *Kelantan* puppet which developed in *Kelantan*, and Gedeg Puppet which developed in Kedah and Perlis.

The Javanese puppet in Malaysia which developed in Malaysia has similarities with *purwashadowpuppet* in Java, which has two arms for most of the characters, while the Malay puppet only has one arm. The Javanese puppet, the Malay puppet and the Siamese puppet use 3 main stories, namely those from the *Mahabharata*, those from the *Panji* stories, and those from Islamic stories (Hikayat Amir Hamzah), and several local stories. The visual expression of the *Panji* story in Siamese or *Kelantan* puppet is represented differently from the Javanese *krucil* puppet or *gedog* puppet.

## 2.1. Purpose

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## 2.2. Javanese puppet

Puppet art is spread throughout almost all regions in Indonesia, such as Sumatra, Java, Bali, Lombok, Kalimantan and others. These puppets of course have certain specialty and uniqueness that are adapted to the local culture. There are more than 100 different types of puppets found throughout Indonesia. Along with the development of the times, both the forms of variation and the puppet performance itself have changed little by little so that they are attractive and can be enjoyed by all groups, especially the islands of Java and Bali (Rifan Ali, 2010: 9).

Puppet is the most important element in Javanese culture, namely as Compelling religious mythology, which means that the stories in puppet are able to unite Javanese society as a whole, covering the geographic area of Java and all social groups of Javanese society. Puppet is also considered as a means of preserving and spreading Javanese culture. Not many arts in the world have the same duration as puppet performances in Java, taking all night long. The *niyaga* (gamelan musicians) and *warangga* (miners in the puppet *pargelaran*) who support puppet performance from *talū* (starting from the puppet performance) to *tancepkayon* (the completion of the performance before dawn, which is marked by the puppeteer sticking up an upright *gunungan* in the middle of the *kelir*).

The history and development of *purwa* shadow puppet or better known as shadow puppet - both form and story - are not accurately recorded in historical sources. This inaccuracy has generated mixed speculations. Regarding the origins of puppet, for example, some experts firmly state that puppet is an original Indonesian art. The most popular theory states that before Hinduism came, the Indonesian people were familiar

with shadow performances. Initially the show was a ritual performance for the worship of ancestral spirits. The puppeteer who functions as a shaman has the responsibility to describe the greatness of the ancestors which is then displayed in a shadow show. When Hinduism arrived, there was a mixture of Javanese-Hinduism, so that the Javanese puppet was filled with Hindu stories, namely the epics of *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*.

### 2.2.1. The characteristics of Panjipuppet in Java

Javanese people see puppet art as a representation of characters that represent their cosmological world. The world of cosmology for Javanese people is divided into two parts, namely *jagadgedhe* (macro cosmos) and *jagad cilik* (micro cosmos). The macro cosmos is an arrangement of the entire nature of the universe which operates according to the laws of nature and tends to be physical, while the micro cosmos is the inner arrangement of the human being. Both *jagadgedhe* (macro cosmos) and *jagad cilik* (micro cosmos) have their respective concentric circles, which are associated with certain levels of consciousness. These levels of consciousness are related to the Javanese view of themselves and their relationship with God. The concepts of the macro cosmos and micro cosmos are concepts of self-awareness derived from pre-Islamic beliefs. The concepts of *jagadgedhe* (macro cosmos) and *jagad cilik* (micro cosmos) as cosmological teachings, are expressed in teachings and symbols of physical culture.

This view of *jagadgedhe* (macro cosmos) and *jagad cilik* (micro cosmos) is at the core of Javanese cosmological teachings. In puppet art, *jagadgedhe* (macro cosmos) and *jagad cilik* (micro cosmos) are represented through certain forms. The form of the figures, the form of the *gunungan* and the overall appearance of the performance are cosmological representations, so that they are bound by one particular rule (*pakem*).

Since puppet serves as representations of cosmology, the appearance of puppet is connected with the rules in the cosmological system that affect the appearance and the performance model. The appearance of puppet characters, both in shadow puppet and *Krucil* puppet, is a representation of the micro cosmos because each character becomes a symbol of human nature or character, while the whole performance becomes a symbol of macro cosmos. In the view of Javanese cosmology, the meeting between *jagadgedhe* (macro cosmos) and *jagad cilik* (micro cosmos) is passed through the mediator of the *dalang*. Puppet figures as a representation of *jagadgedhe* (macro cosmos) and *jagad cilik* (micro cosmos) relate to the inner characteristics of the characters depicted. The colour of the face, the shape of the eyes, the shape of the nose, the shape of the mouth and the proportions of the body describe certain characters.

The existence of puppets can be seen from various aspects, namely aspects of form, function and meaning. The form aspect is the physical form of the puppet, which is visible to the naked eye. Puppet is seen as one of the physical cultural artifacts of the archipelago, which depicts human character and nature. *Krucil* Puppet as shadow puppet also functions to depict certain character characters through face colour eye shape, mouth shape and also in body posture.

Physically, *Krucil* puppets resemble shadow puppets, both from the shape and character (*wanda*) depicted. The *Wanda* of *Krucil* puppets can be divided into several parts, namely *sumpingan* and *dudahan*. *Sumpingan* is a puppet that is displayed in *pakeliran*, which consists of *sumpingan tengen* and *sumpingan kiwo*. *Sumpingan* also describes the right or left position in the story line. The right position describes the characters who are considered good, while the left position describes the characters who are considered bad.

*Dudahan* puppet is a puppet that does not have *sumpingan* and remains in the box. The puppets consist of the sons and daughters of the king, the *patih* and *punggawa*, the *tapa* and *pandhita* or the sages, the *denawas* or the giants, the *Jawata*, the wanara or the monkeys and the animals, the slapstick or the *Punokawan*, the *Ratu Sabrang* or kings from opposite kingdoms, *Ratu Sambrahan* or figures outside the main character, and *dedamel* or weapons.

In the *Krucil* puppet show, *dudahan* puppet is used as a medium for performance, as is the case of shadow puppet. *Dudahan* puppet is used as a *dalang*'s property to strengthen the story. One *wanda* can be a different character, depending on the type of story being presented.

The difference between *sumpingan kiwo* and *sumpingan tengen* is determined by the colour of the face on each character. The face colour in *Krucil* puppet has similarities to the shadow puppet or mask puppet. The colour of the facial expression in the puppet is a symbol of a certain character, whose form and function are agreed upon, so that each puppet's handle has a different symbol system. *G agrak* puppet of East Java and *G agrak* puppet of Central Java have different symbol systems.

The colour of the facial expressions in the puppets also has a correlation with the symbol system on market day (*pasar*an), the numerology system or the cosmological system. In puppet art, colour and facial expression also indicate the position of a character, as a right character or a left character. The red, white or yellow, black and green colour variants have the same pattern as the colour symbols on market day (*hari pasar*an).

The system of dividing the day in Javanese society is divided into 5 parts, namely *pon*, *wage*, *kliwon*, *legi* and *pahing*. Each name of the day correlates with certain colours. Colour symbols on market days, have to do with the colours in the divine system (bathara). Each bathara occupies a certain direction and each direction has connotations of different colours. The concept of colour is also found in the spell (*mantras*) regarding the direction of direction as a differentiator in ritual ceremonies. Colour is one of the most important elements in the Javanese cosmological system.

The red colour is found in the figures of king *Klono*, the duke of *Minakjinggo* and the queen of *Sabrang*. Red represents anger. Anger is an element in Muslim terminology about human lust. These four passions are visualized in red, black, yellow and white. These colours then developed into a symbol system for characters or *wanda* in puppetry. The use of these colours symbolizes character in the main puppetry in Java.

### 2.2.2. Panjiculture in puppet

The term *Panji* cycle is used to describe the repetition pattern in the *Panji* stories. *Panji* stories always have the same pattern, even though they have different storylines. *Panji*'s story begins with Raden *Panji*'s separation from Dewi Sekartaji, then the search phase and ends with a meeting. In each of these phases it develops into minor *Panji* stories, including the stories of *PanjiLaras*, *Ande-ande Lumut*, *Enthit* or *Klething Kuning*. In the case of *krucil* puppet, *Panji*'s stories develop into *carangan* or *srambahan*. *Carangan* plays are local puppet stories.

*Panji* stories in literary form have more than 10 versions spread across the archipelago. This literary variant with the *Panji* theme spreads from Java, Bali, to the Malay peninsula, with various stories and using local names as the main characters. The spread of this banner cycle is probably related to cultural diplomacy during Majapahit era, which reached the Malaysian peninsula to Thailand. The *Panji* story in *Krucil* puppet performance has a different character from *Panji* story in the literary form. *Panji* themed puppets are only found in East Java and Central Java.

The *Panji* story in *Krucil* puppet has become the main story in several areas, besides Majapahit story and the Menak story. *Panji* stories that are commonly performed include, the story of *Panji Semirang*, *Panji Reni* (Anggraeni), to *Panji Jayakesuma*. *Panji*'s story in *Krucil* puppet performance is divided into several main scenes as well as the division of the scenes in shadow puppet performance. These scenes are the *Jejer* scene, the *kedhatonan* scene, *PasebanNjawi* scene, *Budhalan* scene, failed war scene, and the closing scene.

*Jejer* scene is the meeting scene after *kayon* or *gunungan* is shifted to the edge of the screen. *Jejer in krucil* puppet has several stages, namely the first line, the second line, to the third line depending on the situation. *Jejer* scene contains several royal families meeting up to discuss something. This scene becomes the background of the story, which is usually filled with a problem or conflict. Depending on the type of story being presented, *Jejer* scene can take place in several parts. The sign of *jejer* scene can be in the form of a song (*gendhing*), *gamelan* tunes, or a punch in the box of puppet. The song (*gendhing*) that is common as a marker of a line is *gendhing Patalan*. *Gendhing Patalan* is a song that symbolizes the concept of the seven dignity. The concept of the seven dignity in *gendhing Patalan* symbolizes the world tree, light (*nur*), mirror, life (*spirit*, *dian* (*qandil*), jewels (*blood*) and *jalal wall* (*incarnation of insan kamil nature*) (Sudarso, 2007: 202).

Conflicts that appear in *jejer* scene must be resolved in *kedhatonan* room or meeting room at the palace. The *kedhatonan* scene is a scene where the royal courtiers meet to report the situation of the kingdom to the king. It is in this scene that important decisions are made. A king will give orders to his subordinates to take certain actions. The sacred scene is also marked by the appearance of faithful servants or *Punokawan* as the companions for the knights.

*Paseban Njawi* scene is a scene to carry out the king's orders that take place outside the palace. In the *Panji* stories, the *Paseban njawi* scene occurs when *Panji* has a problem that must be resolved outside the palace. At this stage Raden *Panji* is depicted as getting ready to travel. On his journey Raden *Panji* will encounter many obstacles or face battles.

The *Budhalan* scene is a scene after *jejer paseban njawi* which contains scenes of knights' departure to a place. *Budhalan* scene also shows the puppeteer's skill in playing the puppet at high speed. This scene shows the preparation for the journey of the main character, usually Raden *Panji*, to carry out the king's orders.

The next scene is the second line or directly on the scene of the failed war. The scene of failed war is a scene of a battle between good against evil. The failed war scene is also filled with war scenes between the characters in the first line and the characters in the second line. The failed war scene is also the key to understand the position of the protagonist and antagonist. In this scene, there are no winners or losers, either the protagonist or antagonist. The warring parties will find their own way, including kings and soldiers. The failed war is not an arena for killing each other, but an arena for exploring the strengths of each

In some areas, the failed war scene is followed by other war scenes, namely flower war or *brubuh* war. The flower war is a war of knights accompanied by his faithful servants or *punokawan*. *Panji's Punokawan* will accompany Raden *Panji* wherever he goes, including helping him on the battlefield. Another war that is present in puppet performances is *brubuh* war. *Brubuh* war scene is a war scene between the main knights.

In *Panji* story, *Panji's* existence as a knight is always accompanied by his faithful servants. The servant's position is the same as that of the *punokawan* in shadow puppet show. There are 2 *Punokawans* in the *Krucil* puppet show, namely the *bancak* and *doyok* for the right character and *Kedrah* or *Precet* for the left character. This *Punokawan* figure becomes an important figure before *tancep kayon*. The scenes of the *Punokawan* are used as the climax scene in the puppet show. This scene usually contains advice to the knight from *punokawan*. This scene usually contains the process of resolving conflicts that have occurred. In the final scene, the reuniting process of Raden *Panji* Asmorobagun and Dewi Sekartaji is always shown. The last scene is the closing scene or *tancep kayon*. The *tancep kayon* scene is the end of the *Krucil* wayan performance, which is marked by the sticking of *kayon* or *gunungan* in the middle of the screen. The whole puppet performance is considered complete when the puppeteer (*dalang*) plays two puppets (*golekan*) at the end of the stage.

### 2.3. Kelantan puppet

*Kelantan* shadow puppet is one of four forms of shadow puppet in Malaysia. *Kelantan* shadow puppet is known and enjoyed by Malaysians who live in rural areas. Both the dramatic and musical aspects, in the oral tradition, are transmitted to the young performers, the next generation (Mastusky, 1997). However, in the urban area of Malaysia's West Coast, traditional shadow puppets have very little meaning as a form of entertainment. In addition, since 1957, there has been no serious effort done by the Malaysian government to develop traditional arts from rural areas (Osman 1974). *Kelantan* shadow puppet currently reflects Malaysian traditional culture, both in terms of linguistics and the elements displayed. Currently, *Kelantan* shadow puppet in Malaysia is threatened by extinction. The state of *Kelantan* has banned *Kelantan* shadow puppet because it is against Islamic teachings.

Puppet in Malaysia has similarities with puppet in Indonesia (Java). The history and development of the Southeast Asian region has influenced the form of Malaysian puppet. These influences are from Java, which can be seen in almost all forms of shadow puppets throughout Malaysia, especially in performance, puppet forms, stories, and

music. The existence of shadow Puppetin Malaysia cannot be separated from the arrival of Javanese people to Malaysia in the 17th century. Malaysian Puppet is closely related to Javanese style, even the name of puppet is a word that comes from Javanese. The Malaysian Puppet was originally functioned as entertainment for the aristocracy. The Javanese puppetstylization of the Malaysian Puppet is influenced by the Cambodian and Thai puppet. For example, *Gedek* puppet, the Malaysian puppet that has developed in the northwest of Peninsular Malaysia near the Thai border, shows the influence of Thai and Cambodian styles, both in puppet figure appearances, headdresses and hand positions. The same applies to Siam, Puppet which is found mainly in the northeast of Malaysia Peninsula.

On several occasions Javanese puppet is considered as the ideal type of shadow art in Asia, although it is not the only puppet that has developed in Asia. In the regions of China and India there are also several types of puppets, with beautiful and varied sizes. It is not certain where or when the Asian shadow puppets first appeared. Some scholars argue that from the Indian region, shadow puppets were first introduced to China via Central Asia, via a trade route known as the Silk Road

Shadowpuppetperformances are only available inMalaysia Peninsula, especially *Kelantan*, Terengganu, Kedah, Perlis and Johor. There are no definite records of puppet in the states of Sabah and Sarawak in East Malaysia. The four main forms ofshadowpuppetperformances in Malaysia Peninsula are *Kelantan* shadow puppet, *Gedek* puppet, *purwashadowpuppet*,and the Malayshadowpuppet.

This show uses puppets with small characters manipulated from a single puppet. According to Yousof (1997: 5-8), the Malayshadowpuppetwas heavily influenced by the thought of Javaneseshadowpuppetbased on the romance of *Panji* which was very popular in medieval times, *Gedek* shadow puppet is a derivative of nang talung southern Thailand; and *purwashadowpuppetis* based on the classical Javanese shadow theatre puppetof the same name.

Today,Malaysian *purwashadowpuppets* and Malayshadowpuppets are nearing extinction. Although Malaysian shadow puppets are derived from the Thai *nang talung*, they have undergone a process of localization and modernization. Apart from the existence of new types of puppets and modifications made to *Punokawan* figures, theshadowpuppetthat exists today still uses the local *Ramayana* story as a repertoire of performances. The existence of the *Kelantan* shadow puppets stems from the existence of a Thai community living in Kedah and Perlis, two states on the northern peninsula of Malaysia.

This Puppet uses similar puppets, musical instruments and a common repertoire from the Thai shadow puppet theatre, *nang talung*, but has abandoned its Buddhist ritual elements (Yusof, 2004: 97-99). The first puppeteer to develop shadow puppets was a Malay Dalang named Mohd. Noh bin Mahmud, or commonly known as Pak Noh, in Kedah (Yahya, 1994: 11-14). Pak Noh (1924-2002) learned the art of shadow puppet from Den Choon, the Siamese puppeteer, in southern Thailand at the age of 16. Pak Noh has spent 10 years studying the art of shadow puppets from his own from a Thai Mentor who taught him solely the art of Siamese puppets, including prayers, *mantras (the spell)*, taboos, music, and songs before he becomes a qualified puppeteer.

Initially he uses Thai in his shadow puppet performances for 20 years before he began localizing his repertoire to suit the demands of a Malay audience. According to Osnes (1992: 112-113), Pak Noh has modernized the protagonist doll Sita Dewi with modern hairstyles and modern clothing in a *gedek* shadow puppet performance in the 1990s. Several modern attributes have been shown in the show, such as the use of traditional songs with rock music accompaniment and English expressions such as “no problem” (Osnes, 1992: 112). Pak Noh replaced all Thai dialogues with local Malay dialogues except for prayers and a few accompanying songs (Yahya, 1994: 13). This change in genre, Pak Noh’s shadow puppet received a new name, *gedek* shadow puppet, which was given by officials of the Ministry of Culture and Arts in Kedah in 1986. Shadow puppet performances in Malaysia have been very responsive to cultural changes in the local Malay community. Puppet becomes eclectic from modernity between tradition and modern. This show also served as a medium for social outreach in villages in Malaysia at that time. The traditional repertoire of Malaysia shadow puppets takes the story. The Thai version of the *Ramayana* known as Ramakien is no longer used in shows today. At this time, only modern repertoire with local dialects and humour is found in *gedek* shadow puppet performances. Today, the most famous *gedek* shadow puppet troupe in Malaysia is the Asun or Kedah shadow Puppet led by Abdul Majid bin Mohd. Noh or commonly known as Pak Majid. His group mostly uses comedy, popular music, and past stories in their appearance keep him alive. The modern version of the *Gedek* shadow puppet show has been well received, especially by young audiences and has been performed all over Malaysia as well as in many cities around the world such as Munich, Frankfurt, Bremen, Berlin, Milan, Sicily, Rome and Paris. Apart from earning a living through actual *gedek* shadow puppet shows, Pak Majid also produces and sells recordings of his performances in VCD and DVD formats which, according to him, are very popular and also very helpful in promoting his actual performances.

On the other hand, *Kelantan* shadow puppets are a local product of traditional Malay villages and the characteristics of the theatre style seem very clear (Matusky, 1997: 11-12). This is the first and foremost puppet theatre performed almost invariably in Malay villages or outskirt areas. Scholars and locals alike agree that the ethnic Malays and the *Kelantanese* shadow puppet have been linked throughout the centuries. *Kelantan* Puppet attains a certain status and is considered a form of “high culture” or even “high ethnic culture” because it has been accepted by local residents, tourists, and social scientists (van den Nature Road, 2006: 9).

According to Naziree (2003: 7), shadow puppet in Malaysia has a valuable and aesthetic unit. Norliza Rofli, the former director of ASWARA, also believes that shadow puppet is deeply embedded in Malaysian culture and traditions and Malaysians must keep this good tradition alive if they do not wish to have a society without soul, moral values and dignity. He further stated that Malaysians need to have the decency and responsibility to preserve this unique local theatre art. Matusky (1997: 11-12) points out that the distribution and popularity of *Kelantan* shadow puppet in 1900 covers Terengganu, Kedah and once, Perak and Pahang in Malaysia as well as the *Patani* province in southern Thailand. The *Kelantanese* sometimes refer to the shadow puppet game genre as the Siamese shadow puppet or the Siamese puppet while in other southern Thai states it is referred to as the *Kelantan* puppet or the Siam *Kelantan* puppet. Regional differences exist in certain styles such as language, repertoire, orchestration and music, but it is still possible to identify the basic *Kelantanese* puppet style in certain locations (Matusky, 1997: 12). The shape of the *Kelantan* shadow puppet is made of cow skin and mounted on a bamboo stick and played by a single puppeteer. As a solo player, the puppeteer must represent all the characters in the story presented. The puppeteer is a key figure in the show, as well as the main producer, conductor, historian, comedian and storyteller.

*Kelantan* shadow puppet is often performed as entertainment in small towns and villages and for some people as a means of relating to the routine of daily life (Matusky, 1997: 13). Apart from the entertainment-oriented *Kelantan* shadow puppet show, there is another very important show known as *berjamu* shadow puppet in *Kelantan*. This is a ritual event that is only done for special occasions such as wedding celebrations, circumcision, moving old houses, and also for stage initiation (shadow puppet show room) or as a means of *nadzar* (fulfilling promise). In contrast to the entertainment-oriented performance of the *Kelantan* shadow puppet show, the ritual of *berjamu* shadow puppet is a very important element in the overall performance (Yusof, 1992: 10).

Several attempts have been made to make the *Kelantan* shadow puppet represent Malaysian art. In the end, this puppet had been appointed as together with Menora and mak yong, the *Kelantan* shadow puppet was brought and performed in Paris during the 11 week Festival De L'Imaginaire (Festival of Imagination) in March 2007. During the festival, *Kelantan* shadow puppet was staged by children Shadow Puppet Collection entitled "Sri Baju Merah" from Machang, *Kelantan*.

According to al-Almadi (1985: 109-111), shadow puppet from Indonesia existed in *Kelantan* during the reign of *Long Senik Mulut Merah*, or better known as Sultan Muhamad II, from 1837 to 1886. During this period, there was a puppeteer named Saman, who performed shadow puppets based on the *Ramayana* epic using bamboo leaves. Then he spread the shadow puppet art to two of his students from the *Patani* area, namely Pak Erot and Mak Erot. In the 1970s, *gedek* puppet (nang talung) came from Thailand which was localized and called Siam puppet or *Kelantan* shadow puppet (Sweeney, 1972: 47). This theory is supported by Sheppard, suggesting that this puppet art form may have developed in *Kelantan* some 200 years ago (during Long Yunos' reign). The explanation of the puppeteers who are still active in *Kelantan*, who are seven to eight years old, the descendants of the Mak Erok generation confirm this prediction.

The *Kelantanese* traditional shadow puppet originates from the pre-Islamic Javanese era with its early spread to the northern part of the Malay peninsula. The meaning and function of the banyan tree in the *Kelantan* shadow puppet is the same as *kayon / gunungan* puppet in the Javanese puppet. This phenomenon shows another strong relationship between the *Kelantan* shadow puppets and the Javanese *purwa* shadow puppets. Furthermore, the role and origin of the character god *Punokawan* in the *Kelantan* shadow puppet, Pak Dogol, is parallel to the character of the *purwa* shadow puppet *Punokawan* named Semar. The character of this god *punokawan* does not exist in the epics of *Ramayana* or the *Mahabharata* of India, and the existence of these *Punokawan* is also not related to the character of *Punokawan* in the *Vidushaka* show which is from the classical *Sanskrit* era or other *Punokawan* characters in the Indian shadow puppet show. On the other hand, there are many similarities in ritual performances between the *Kelantan* shadow puppets and Balinese shadow puppets which further strengthen the relationship. Finally, the story of Bentara Kala which is used in the *Kelantanese* shadow puppet ritual is an adaptation of Javanese story of *Murwakala*, provides another important piece of evidence of the link that binds Javanese, Balinese and *Kelantan* shadow puppet theatres.

The *Kelantan* shadow puppets in this study refer to traditional shadow puppets also called the Siamese puppet or Siamese shadow puppets with limited distribution

and popularity in the states of *Kelantan*, Terengganu, Kedah, Perak and Pahang as well as *Patani* in Thailand. However, the name used to refer to this type of shadow puppet changes from one place to another. For example, *Kelantan* is used to refer to this type of shadow puppet as the *Kelantan shadow puppet* or the Siamese puppet but was referred to as the *Kelantan* puppet or the Siamese puppet by residents of the southern Thai state (Matusky, 1997: 11-12). Differences in style exist across provinces and one of the most obvious distinguishing features is the identity of the main punocawan characters. For example, Pak Dogol and *Wak Long*, the main clown characters in *Kelantan* but in *Patani*, the main clown characters are Wak Soh and Samad (Sweeney, 1972: 6). The main repertoire of the traditional *Kelantan* shadow Puppet is the most prominent shadow puppet theater in Malaysian Indonesia. Today, however, this ancient show is in rapid decline (Osnes, 1992: 7). Puppet began to fade from public memory as a result of the introduction of alternative media and modern entertainment (Lim, 2011: 2).

A set of basic *Kelantan* shadow puppets consists of 65 and 120 puppets consisting of the main character. The main categories of *Kelantan* puppets include princes and sulingan princesses, warriors, sages, commoners, clowns, giants and gods. There are also sight dolls such as weapons, a palace receiving room (hall) and a banyan tree. *Kelantan* shadow puppet is the premier shadow puppet performance in Malaysia. Today, however, this ancient theatre is experiencing a decline in interest

Traditional *Kelantan* shadow puppet is shown on stage. The roof of the traditional theatre tilts forward slightly so that the screen will face downwards towards the audience who would normally sit on the grass or ground during the performance. The traditional *Kelantan* shadow puppet theatre is supported by four main pillars called *tiang sari*. The pillar symbolizes the spirits house. The four main pillars are important components in the show which are divided into three levels. The first level is the bottom, located underground. This level is believed to have the most powerful energy because it symbolically belongs to the spirit. The second level of *tiang sari* is the covered wooden floor area in the theatre where musical instruments and puppets are placed on it. This musical instrument must be cleaned through a special ritual. On the third level is the area above to the roof of the theatre which symbolizes the sky. In this section there is an offering plate containing boiled chicken eggs, betel leaves, 25 Malaysian cents coins, a small container of sweet water, tobacco, leaf rolled cigarettes and raw cotton. The function of this craft is as a medium of protection from spirits and to prevent harmful distractions. These three levels represent and symbolize the concept of the underworld, earth and sky which are united by the four main pillars.

Two important items for theatre are banana stalks and a lamp. Traditionally, a pair of banana stalks of varying thickness were placed upright on the theatre floor behind the scenes. These stems of varying thickness allow a puppeteer to arrange the puppet by stabbing the handle into a banana stem. Selection of banana stems must follow and meet certain criteria. The preferred stem variation is plantain. After the show has ended, these banana stems must be removed.

The shadow of the puppet is produced by the lamp which is placed above and approximately in the centre of the screen behind the screen. The lamp represents the sun and its light represents the superior knowledge and revelation or truth received by prophets and saints through the revealed scriptures. Traditionally, only the puppeteer can turn it on or delay it (Yusof, 1997: 62). In the earliest *Kelantanese* shadow puppet shows, light was produced by the axis of the lamp. The axis (about six to seven inches long) are made of raw cotton and soaked in a row of bowls filled with fuel from animal fat or coconut oil. The axes are then stored in a bowl with metal or stone materials which are made hollow wooden frames formed in a traditional pattern, or in the form of strange figures of Jin Putrakala with long fangs, carved and painted gold, red, black, white, yellow, blue, and chocolate (Yub, 1974: 98-100). There are various holes design such as circle, oval, diamond, square and heart-shaped in the wooden frame, which allows the puppeteer to see when he moves the puppet. The wooden frame of the lamp handle also serves as a shield to prevent the light from shining directly on the dalang's face. The lamp is hung using a string and attached to a metal hook attached to the top of seating. The ropes at both ends were tied to the third and fifth rafters of the platform at about four feet apart and hung in a "V" shape between two and three feet from the floor. The height and position of the wood frame holes should be adjusted to the puppeteer's eye level and at a comfortable distance.

The use of traditional chandeliers has been gradually replaced by kerosene lamps or light bulbs. Today, electric light bulbs have completely replaced the oil or paraffin lamps used in the *Kelantan* shadow puppet show, although some puppeteers and experts agree that the dim light and flickering wick effects have a more dramatic effect on shadow images on screens.

Puppet performances are accompanied by an orchestra consisting of musicians playing on a four-reed aerophone known as *serunai*; three pairs of drums are called *gedumbak*, *geduk* and *drums*; two sets of gongs called *canang* and *tetawak*; and two pairs of tiny hand cymbals known as *kesi*. The traditional *Kelantanese* shadow puppet group consists exclusively of seven to eleven male group members (including the puppeteers) that do not have women in their performances. There are about 35

songs in traditional *Kelantanese shadow puppets*. The puppeteer uses a vocal signal or wooden clapper that guides members of his party about changes in music and song during performances. Puppet movements depend on orchestral music. Apart from that, he also made the first contact with the intended audience before the show started. Before the start of the repertoire, a musical opening is started to remind the audience that the show is about to begin and to arouse readiness for the experience as well as to generate excitement for the performance that follows.

### 2.3.1. Panji story in Kelantan puppet

The traditional Kelantanese shadow puppet tells the story of the ancient epic of the classical Hindu epic Ramayana. The main repertoire (main story) comes from King Wana ballad (*Hikayat Maharaja Wana*) which is an adapted version of the Malay version of Ramayana Valmiki. The entire story of *Hikayat Maharaja Wana* took about 45 nights to complete. In the past, *Hikayat Maharaja Wana* was the fundamental ability of a puppeteer to memorize the story. However, most of today's puppeteers do not fully understand because only a few popular episodes have been passed on by their teachers orally during their training. Currently, none of the Kelantan shadow puppeteers have had experience in carrying out a full episode of King Wana ballad (*Hikayat Maharaja Wana*).

Since the 1980s, there has been no complete episode record of the *Hikayat Maharaja Wana* episode, due to the lack of parties willing to pay for the full 45 nights of the show and also there are not many viewers who are willing to watch the full episode. Therefore, only selected episodes of *Hikayat Maharaja Wana* were staged. Several local puppeteers have developed many branch stories from the *Ramayana*, each of which is an independent story set in the aftermath of the death of Maharaja Wana. This story takes the main characters of *Hikayat Maharaja Wana* (The ballad of Wana King) such as Seri Rama, Laksamana, Siti Dewi, Hanuman Kera Putih and also their descendants. The events that are said to have occurred after the main repertoire of *Hikayat Maharaja Wana* and Stories of Kusi Serawi. The main influence and source of the story of this branch is the *Panji* story.

The *Panji* stories are pre-Islamic Javanese tales about *Panji* prince which were probably adopted from the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* epics, a blend of Hindu and Muslim. Some examples of the stories of this branch are *Kerak Nasi* (Rice Crust) and *Kera Mas* (golden Ape). In addition, several branch stories also make use of traditional Malay folk tales. There is also the story of the traditional *Kelantanese shadow puppet* of



Photo by Rudi Irawanto 2019

**Figure 1:** A picture of Pok Dogol and *Wak Long* performing *Kelantan* puppetry.

*Punokawan*, *Pak Dogol* and *Wak Long*, which have also been developed and appear as central characters in this branch story plot. For example, the twig story entitled “*Wak Long* becomes a King” is one of the popular repertoires used by *Wak Long* as the main character and has been widely used by puppeteers in *Kelantan* in the 1970s and 1980s (Matusky, 1997: 18). In this story, *Wak Long* is the main character and the main connection to the roots of the other tale’s dramatic repertoire.

### 3. Conclusion

*Kelantan* puppet is a representation of *Panji* culture in Malaysia. The *Panji* stories that develop in the *Kelantan* puppet are only branch stories that emerge from the main story patterns. The main story of puppet in Malaysia is mainly derived from the *Ramayana* story, in contrast to the puppet in Java which focuses more on the *Mahabharata* story.

The existence of *Panji* culture in Indonesia and Malaysia experiences significant differences. *Panji* culture in Indonesia in the art of puppet is a follow-up to the existence of *purwa* puppet and is developing among farmers. Meanwhile, *Panji* culture in Malaysia is a branch story that was developed by Malaysian puppeteers after gaining influence from the *Patani* puppet in Thailand.

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