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THE PANJI ROMANCE AND W. H. RASSERS' ANALYSIS OF ITS THEME

Rassers' work. Some early and more recent judgements.

In June 1972 it was exactly 50 years since W. H. Rassers (deceased recently, on 16th May, 1973) presented his book '*De Pandji-roman*' to the Senate Committee of the University of Leiden, which Committee, after the traditional discussion on the merits of this study and of the theses accompanying it, conferred on the author the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

After the completion of his dissertation Rassers proceeded with his research and wrote a number of further studies, the most important of which were later collected and republished in English translation under the title *Pañji, the Culture Hero*.¹ It is through this latter collection of essays that Rassers' views have become most widely known outside the Netherlands. The title of this book is not altogether fortunate, in the first place because some of the essays contained in it do not touch on the Panji theme at all, while in the second place it has caused the book to be mistaken for Rassers' dissertation of 1922, which it definitely is not. The dissertation was never made accessible to the English-reading public. This is all the more regrettable since the study of the Panji theme contained in this first publication forms the basis of much of Rassers' later work.

Rassers' views as expounded in his dissertation have met with both praise and contempt. They were well received by several of his fellow anthropologists, especially the late professor J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong of Leiden and his pupils. Later anthropologists, however, were not always unreservedly enthusiastic about Rassers' studies, as appears from the diatribe launched against him and what was termed 'the Leiden ethnological tradition' as late as 1964 by the American anthropologist

¹ The Hague, 1959.

Hildred Geertz.² Mrs. Geertz reproaches Rassers with leaning heavily on Durkheim and Mauss' essay on 'Primitive Classification' and looking in every piece of data from the available Javanese literature, myths and rites for some reference to a hypothetical primordial division of ancient Javanese society into moieties, a division also reflected by a series of latent oppositions between male - female, sky - earth, livestock-raising - agriculture, boats - houses, weapons - fabrics, etc.

Many philologists specializing in the literatures and history of Indonesia were from the outset rather sceptical about Rassers' study, which they considered of little use to them. This is not surprising since Rassers, as an anthropologist, made a study of what had so far generally been considered basically *a literary theme*, appearing in various forms in a large number of texts of either a purely literary or a historical or semi-historical nature, and *therefore of concern in the first place to students of Indonesian languages and literatures* much more so than to anthropologists with often insufficient linguistic training, and working with the rather specialized conceptual tools of their own 'trade'. The general attitude among philologists is perhaps best reflected by Poerbatjaraka's terse formulation: 'We shall deliberately refrain from touching upon Rassers' mythological exposition because it seems to us too far-fetched. Cf. *The Wayang in Java and in Bali* . . . by B. M. Goslings (1939), pp. 34 ff.'³ Goslings, to whose book Poerbatjaraka is here referring, offered an anything but far-fetched alternative to Rassers' formulation of what he considers essential in the Panji stories, declaring: 'Accordingly I only regard the Panji romance primarily as a variety of intensely erotic romantic stories with a vaguely historical background, stories in which all sorts of grotesquely miraculous and supernatural events take place around both the central and the more subordinate figures, who are repeatedly changing form, and in which time and again the principal female figure disappears and has to be searched for, thus furnishing all

² Hildred Geertz, Comment on P. E. de Josselin de Jong, An Interpretation of Agricultural Rites in Southeast Asia, with a Demonstration of its Use of Data from both Continental and Insular Areas, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. XXIV, no. 1, Nov. 1964, pp. 284-298. The Indonesian anthropologist Koentjaraningrat, on the other hand, shows a more moderate attitude in *Tari dan Kesusasteraan di Djawa*, Yogyakarta, 1959, pp. 36-42. Besides giving an objective summary of Rassers' theory he mentions criticism levelled against it especially by Pigeaud and Poerbatjaraka.

³ R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, *9 Pandji-verhalen Onderling Vergeleken*, Bandung, 1940, p. 348 footnote. Cf. T. J. Bezemer in: Over Oorsprong en Beteekenis van de Wajang, *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, 17e jrg. (1928), pp. 353-371, who concluded: 'Ich hör' die Botschaft wohl, allein mir fehlt der Glauben.'

the traits necessary to explain why they are so popular and so widespread among the peoples of the Indian Archipelago.' ⁴ Poerbatjaraka himself made a more lasting contribution to our knowledge of the Panji stories by preparing synopses of nine of these stories and mutually comparing what he considered 'the main points' of their contents. This comparative treatment, however, is a testimony to the utter ineffectualness of any effort to dig into the unwieldy mass of epic motifs provided by the often quite prolix Panji stories, unless one views these within the framework of the general structure of the plots of the stories concerned and is guided by a clear-cut theoretical starting-point. Another defect of Poerbatjaraka's approach is perhaps his chrono-centric attitude, which caused him to lose sight of the fact that in the Majapahit period literature functioned in a different way socially from today. Thus he states, for example, (p. 367) that the emergence of the Panji story may be regarded as a kind of literary revolution against the old tradition. Consequently — so he goes on — the work rapidly became known and very soon pictorial representations were being made of some of its themes. Earlier on (p. 363) he had tried to explain the growing popularity of the Panji theme by suggesting that up to and throughout the heyday of Majapahit the Javanese had been reading (!) Old Javanese texts dealing with more or less Indian themes. Subsequently, for want of fresh material from India owing to a declining knowledge of Sanskrit, they began — so Poerbatjaraka assumes — to look for a new and easily understandable form of literature and so their choice 'happened' to fall on the adventures of Panji, thus resulting in the creation of the original Panji tales. But how are we to imagine all this to have happened in a society without printing presses and with a population of which 99 % or more was illiterate and was living far from the princely courts ?

In contrast to Poerbatjaraka, the Australian-born — but Leiden trained — philologist S. O. Robson shows a sharp awareness of the necessity of posing preliminary questions before engaging in literary research. Thus, in his edition of the Middle Javanese text *Wangbang Wideya*, published in 1971, he says: '*Wangbang Wideya* has been called a Panji story. But what does this mean ?' ⁵ He observes that there exists a large number of works designated '*Panji story*', and that these works do not constitute a 'cycle' or series of stories each one of which is complete but at the same time links up with the next, but that — on the

⁴ B. M. Goslings, *De Wajang op Java en op Bali*, Amsterdam, 1938, p. 40.

⁵ S. O. Robson, *Wangbang Wideya*, The Hague, 1971, pp. 11 ff.

contrary — each Panji story represents an independent treatment of a fixed theme. They all deal with a crown prince of Koripan who is destined to marry a princess of Daha. Complications arise, which obstruct the marriage, and the prince of Koripan has to overcome a number of difficulties before he is finally united with his bride. Even though they all have this minimal core of the over-all structure of the plot in common, the works belonging to this class of story are often 'bewilderingly diverse in their content', as Robson says. And he goes on: 'If it were possible to indicate one example as a prototype, we should then be able to classify the rest as being more or less deviant from that, but no-one has yet postulated that one story in particular is the original, and it may never be possible'.

Having established the general criterion for determining membership to the 'rather amorphous mass' conveniently labelled as 'Panji stories', the difficulty of indicating what is essential and what peripheral to the theme remains. Various Panji stories contain the so-called Angreni motif. This is the story about Raden Panji's first love affair with a girl of non-princely status, who has to be put to death because she is not the proper spouse for him and, in fact, because of Panji's infatuation with her, obstructs his union with the princess of Daha, who is the only right bride for him in his position. Does this 'prelude', as Robson calls it, form part of the basic structure of the story? But the Middle Javanese Panji stories, the oldest texts preserved, so the author observes, do not contain the Angreni motif.

Robson further remarks: 'The most famous work on the Pañji story is the doctoral thesis of W. H. Rassers, entitled *De Pandji-roman* (1922). Rassers aimed to investigate the origin and nature of the Pañji story. Basing himself on a Malay *hikayat*, he rejected an origin in history and proposed instead that the Pañji story is basically a moon myth reflecting an exogamous tribal division into two phratries.' Robson considers it one of the merits of Rassers that he laid stress on considerations other than the connection with Javanese history which previously Brandes and Poerbatjaraka, and later also Berg, had tried to establish.⁶ On the other hand he considers it not impossible that the accumulating evidence

⁶ J. L. A. Brandes, *Pararaton (Ken Arok)*, 2nd ed., V.B.G. vol. 62, The Hague/Batavia, 1920, pp. 119, 120, 147, 152, 186. R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, *Historische Gegevens uit de Smaradahana*, T.B.G. vol. 58 (1919), pp. 461-489. C. C. Berg, *Bijdragen tot de Kennis der Pandji-verhalen*, B.K.I. vol. 110 (1954), pp. 198-216 and 305-334. Idem, *Het Rijk van de Vijfvoudige Buddha*, Amsterdam, 1962, p. 266 ff. Idem, *Māyā's Hemelvaart in het Javaanse Buddhisme*, Amsterdam, 1969, vide Index in vol. 1b s.v. Panji.

that is being brought to light by archeologists will force us to conclude after all that a certain historical period at least provided the inspiration for the adventures of the prince of Koripan which were later to be developed further and further. Quoting Buchari⁷ he points in a footnote to the period dominated by the East Javanese king Erlangga, or more precisely, the time immediately following the latter's death, or, consequently, the 11th century A.D. In view of the obvious vitality and wide geographical spread of the Panji story in the past, which had also struck Rassers, Robson looks for a period in which a Hinduistic kingdom in Java may have been strong enough to have had cultural and possibly even political contacts abroad to explain this. He indicates as such the Majapahit period and concludes that if it was indeed at this time that the Panji theme was carried abroad, it must have been 'one of the most popular subjects for entertainment then'.

Having thus discussed the ethnological and historical views in respect of the Panji story, Robson dismisses them both, choosing for himself a literary approach. "The works called 'Panji story'," he observes, "are in the form in which they lie before us today plainly intended as *belles-lettres* and can therefore validly be examined from this angle." Forgoing a 'detailed investigation into the nature and origin of the Panji story', which can only be made when a sufficient number of texts are available for scrutiny, as he says, he announces the discussion of the Wangbang Wideya as a literary work in a subsequent section of his book, which discussion is followed by the complete original text with English translation of the Middle Javanese Panji story Wangbang Wideya.

Accepting Robson's valuable text edition and preliminary discussion in gratitude, we nevertheless find ourselves brought to a standstill as far as literary theory is concerned. As early as 1817 Sir Thomas S. Raffles wrote in his *History of Java*: "The adventures of *Panji* are described in numerous romances, which form the subject of still more numerous dramatic exhibitions, and constitute a principal portion of the polite literature, as well as of the popular amusement of Java."⁸ It was more than a century later that the anthropologist Rassers published his much denounced 'mythological exposition', in which he attempted to solve the literary problems of *structure, function and relevance* of the Panji stories, or in other words, tried:

⁷ Buchari, Sri Maharaja Mapanji Garasakan, *Madjallah Ilmu-ilmu Sastra Indonesia*, Djilid IV no. 1/2, Maret/Djuni 1968, pp. 1-26.

⁸ Sir T. S. Raffles, *The History of Java*, 2nd ed., London, 1830, vol. II, p. 94.

1. to indicate the essential elements of the story, which we need to know before we can begin to make a survey of all the extant versions and try to determine which one might come closest to the original prototype;
 2. to determine in what relation the Panji story stands to ancient Javanese history;
 3. to account for the apparent popularity proposed by many scholars as the explanation for the large number of stories of this type found to be in existence and the widespread occurrence of the genre (Java, Bali, Lombok, Celebes, Borneo, Sumatra, Cambodia, Thailand and Birma).
- Whether or not we choose to consider his attempt a failure, or deem his book antiquated from a theoretical anthropological viewpoint, a more successful investigation into the nature and origin of the Panji myth has to date, fifty years after the publication of Rassers' dissertation, not been presented. Since a sufficient number of text editions necessary for the ultimate 'scrutiny' may not become available for some time to come, there seems to be every justification for once more evaluating Rassers' theory on the basis of the available material in order to see how much of it can be retained and how much should be rejected in the light of the present state of our knowledge. I shall begin this process by giving below a detailed summary of Rassers' book, followed by such observations of my own as I am able to add.⁹

W. H. Rassers, De Pandji-roman. Summary.

Rassers begins his study with a detailed synopsis of the Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati, a Malay Panji story which in manuscript form covers about 800 pages.

In heaven the god Naya-kusuma has two children, twins, one of each sex, by the nymph Nila Utama (= Skt. Tilottamā). The boy is named Indra Kamajaya, and the girl receives the name Dewi Nila Kencana. *The children are like the sun and moon.* They grow up separately, but when they meet one day they immediately fall so deeply in love with each other as to become inseparable. Since a marriage is of course out of the question, the father decides that they must incarnate themselves on earth.

On earth there are four kingdoms, which are closely united by family ties: Koripan (ruled by king Lēmbu Amiluhur), Daha (ruled by Amiluhur's brother

⁹ Remembering that: '... it is unacceptable to treat myths as mere fantasies or literary motifs, a procedure still not uncommon among philologists.' (F. B. J. Kuiper, *Cosmogony and Conception, History of Religions*, vol 10, no. 2, Univ. of Chicago, Nov. 1970, p. 124).

Lĕmbu Amarapadu), Gagĕlang (ruled by the still younger brother Lĕmbu Pĕngarang), and Singasari (ruled by the husband of a younger sister called Kinnara Gila Pĕnggiwangsa). An elder sister has remained unmarried and is living as a hermit on Mount Pucangan, i.e. 'the mountain wooded with areca palms'.

The young god is born on earth as the crown prince of Koripan and is named Raden Inu Kĕrtapati. His pet name, however, is Undakan Rawisrangga. His sister is born on earth as a princess of Daha and receives the name Candra Kirana.¹⁰ *It is prophesied to the children that they will later become rulers of the whole of Java.*

When he grows up Raden Inu vows that he will touch no other woman before he is united with the princess of Daha. When, however, on his reaching a marriageable age, his father proposes that he go to Daha for a formal exchange of engagement presents, he refuses and abruptly leaves the audience hall.

Because the kings of Koripan and Daha fail to make certain offerings which they had promised the deities, the god Kala decides to punish them. The young prince of Koripan is kidnapped by the king of Soca Windu, who desires him as a husband for his daughter. The princess of Daha is abducted by a demon who keeps her prisoner in the cave Sela Mangleng not far from the city. This sets in train an almost endless series of events and complications, causing the young prince of Koripan to wander from one princely court to the next, finding himself confronted with some difficult task each time. So, for instance, when he arrives in Daha under the alias Cekel Wanengpati, Raden Inu defeats the demon and takes princess Candra Kirana back to her father's court. The king of Daha, however, who had previously promised his daughter in marriage to anyone who could save her from the demon, now shows himself reluctant to keep his promise because the powerful king of Manggada has meanwhile arrived and is suing for Candra's Kirana's hand. And so, each time Raden Inu is almost in a position to marry the princess of Daha, a new obstacle arises. Finally, during a stay at his uncle's court in Gagĕlang, he meets Candra Kirana, who also happens to be there, disguised under the name of Ken Sela Brangti. They recognize each other and pass the night together. This way the prince of Koripan is united with the lady of Daha in a kind of de facto marriage. After he has defeated a powerful *kĕlana* (roaming warrior) from overseas who threatened to overrun Gagĕlang and Singasari, the king of Gagĕlang gives Raden Inu his daughter in marriage. The Raden Galuh of Gagĕlang, however, is jealous of Sela Brangti, who is the first wife of 'Pangeran Adipati' (Raden Inu). On a false charge of misconduct she contrives to have Sela Brangti banished to the cremation grounds in the forest. This means that formally Candra Kirana is dead now. Batara Kala punishes Raden Inu for rashly repudiating his wife, and he becomes dangerously ill. In the spirit world Sela Brangti gives birth to a son. It is this son, Mesa Tandraman, who obtains in heaven the medicine needed to cure his father. Sela Brangti meanwhile returns to Daha, but gets into fresh difficulties because the king of Manggada reappears to claim her as his bride. Raden Inu also reaches Daha (in disguise). They become reconciled. Inu defeats all his rivals and in doing so captures most of Java. Finally, when all difficulties have been overcome, the old rulers decide to abdicate. The marriage of Raden Inu and Candra Kirana

¹⁰ *Undakan* is a word for 'horse', in Indian mythology a solar symbol associated with universal rulership (the horse sacrifice). *Rawisrangga* may derive from the Sanskrit *rawi-śṛṅga*, 'cusp' or 'horn' of the sun, or *rawi-śāṁga*, 'having the sun for a bow' (n.b. *Śāṁga-dhanus*, 'armed with the bow śāṁga', occurs as a name for Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa). *Candra-kirana* means 'moonbeam'.

is now solemnly celebrated. Great festivities are organized on the beach of the South Sea, lasting 40 days and nights. During these festivities the adventures of Raden Inu and Candra Kirana, culminating in their ultimate union in marriage, are enacted as a play.¹¹

Finally, as a kind of appendix, follows the story of a war waged against the king of Kĕling who has attacked Java, which war ends in a peaceful settlement and an exchange of princesses as brides for young princes on either side.

Comment: These are, very briefly, the contents of the Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati, condensed from Rassers' 110 page summary. I wish to observe that Raden Inu's refusal to go to Daha to meet Candra Kirana is motivated here by his timidity and not by his having fallen in love with another girl, who is of non-princely status. This means that the so-called '*Angreni prelude*' is lacking in the Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati. In this respect Rassers' *hikayat* seems to correspond with the Middle Javanese Panji stories mentioned by Robson. However, although the *person* of Angreni is absent from the story, the *motif* is not. It is definitely present, though in a different place and form. Raden Inu and Candra Kirana are, prior to their formal marriage at the end of the story, united with each other under the aliases of Pangeran Adipati and Ken Sela Brangti. Sela Brangti has to pay with her life for this premature union: she is banished to the cremation grounds and thus symbolically put to death. Consequently it is Candra Kirana herself who plays the role of Angreni. Because of this earlier union with 'the lady of Daha', Raden Inu was able to accept his niece of Gagĕlang without violating his vow that he would touch no other woman before being united with Candra Kirana.

This somewhat peculiar construction may not provide an argument in favour of the originality of the Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati, but it definitely does show the importance attached by the author to the marriage of Raden Inu with his niece of Gagĕlang and the latter's jealousy of his earlier love Sela Brangti, who is identical with Candra Kirana. This is worth noting because other Panji stories stress the fact that Angreni and Candra Kirana are also essentially identical.¹² Another point worth noting is the importance apparently attached by the author to the fact that Raden Inu's marriage to his niece of Gagĕlang should *precede* that with Candra Kirana.

What is further remarkable is that in the sham fighting on the occa-

¹¹ N.b.: We see here how the Panji story *functions* as a play enacted at the royal wedding ceremony of the hero and heroine themselves.

¹² See, e.g., the Javanese romance *Pandji gandrung Angreni*, Balé Poestaka, Serie no. 846, Batavia, 1936.

sion of his wedding and coronation feasts, Inu flies the black banner with the white monkey (Hanuman) which we know to be Rāma's banner. This way the author compares Panji to the well-known incarnation of Wiṣṇu.

It is also worth noting that the adventures of Raden Inu and Candra Kirana are enacted in *theatrical performances* in the course of the story itself, not only at the final wedding-feast, but also on earlier occasions, almost as an opportunity for the persons involved to recognize each other. These persons wander about as playwrights and enact their own adventures on the stage.

The long appendix about the war with the king of Kēling following Inu's marriage and coronation is obviously not part of the original Panji story. But this does not mean that it is an interpolation in this particular *hikayat*.

In view of these special features there is reason to suspect that the Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati does not quite represent the prototype of the Panji story. Nevertheless, it is useful to note that the author obviously considered them necessary elements within the total structure of his *hikayat*.

We shall now return to Rassers.

Historical background.

After his lengthy summary of the Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati, Rassers turns his attention to the possible historical background of the Panji story. Brandes had earlier remarked that the Panji stories should be considered as historical novels.¹³ Rassers, however, is of the opinion that no regular parallel can be drawn between any particular historical period and the contents of the various Panji stories in their present redactions. According to Rassers the presence of a coherent historical background is also unlikely. The gist of the Panji story is *the motif of the young prince of Koripan being separated from his beloved, to be united with her only after a long search full of adventures and struggles with enemies and rivals*. It is this theme which we find repeated, with several variations, over and over again. Apart from this there is the picture of four or five coexisting kingdoms: Koripan, Daha, Gagēlang or Urawan and

¹³ J. L. A. Brandes, *Iets over een Ouderen Dipanegara in Verband met een Prototype van de Voorspellingen van Jayabaya*, *T.B.G.* vol. 32 (1889), p. 377.

Singasari, which we find in one story to be contemporaries of Mēṅḍang Kamulan, and in the other of Majapahit. Historical and geographical names are no more than mere names here, and mutually incompatible features are combined with the greatest of ease. Identification of persons and events in the Panji stories with known persons and events in Javanese history is indeed possible, but we should not demand detailed evidence here. Rassers sees a possibility for the following identifications:

1. Raden Inu's aunt, the nun Rara Suci = king Erlangga's daughter, Nyahi Gēḍe Pucangan. This would make Panji a grandson of the famous king Erlangga. Van der Tuuk was the first to identify the hermitage on Mount Pucangan in the Panji story with the hermitage founded by Erlangga on Mount Pūgawat in A.D. 1041. Rouffaer confirmed this and identified this Mount Pūgawat/Pucangan as Mount Pēnanggungan, just north of Mount Arjuna in East Java.¹⁴

2. Raden Inu = Kāmeśwara, king of Daha. In the Old Javanese text Smaradahana a king of Daha, Śri Kāmeśwara, and his spouse Kirānaratu of Janggala are called incarnations of the god of love Kāma and his wife Uma (Rati). Poerbatjaraka identified this Kāmeśwara with a king Kāmeśwara I of Kēḍiri (Daha) living in the 12th century A.D., and with Raden Inu of the Panji story.¹⁵ Identification of Raden Inu with the god of love is indeed a common feature of various Panji stories.

To these identifications Rassers adds a few others which he deems likely, such as the identification of Raden Inu with Ken Angrok, who in A.D. 1222 founded the kingdom of Tumapel-Singasari, and with Raden Wijaya, son-in-law of king Kērtanagara of Singasari, and founder of the famous kingdom of Majapahit, who died in A.D. 1309.

The circumstance that the main character of the Panji story is identifiable not with just one but with several historical figures leads Rassers to draw the conclusion that the link of the Panji story with Javanese history is constituted by the *theme* rather than by the persons figuring in the story and the events described. The vitality of this theme, however, is explained by reasons other than mere historical background.

¹⁴ According to W. F. Stutterheim, *Oudheidkundige Aantekeningen*, B.K.I. vol. 95 (1937), pp. 397-424, however, the real Mount Pucangan is most probably the 167 m. high peak of that name in the Kēṅḍēng massif in the district of Plasa near Surabaya.

¹⁵ R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, 1919. However, according to L. C. Damais we should read Bāmeśwara instead of Kāmeśwara (*Etudes d'épigraphie indonésienne*, III Liste des principales inscriptions datées de l'Indonésie, B.E.F.E.O. vol. XLVI, 1952, Paris).

Mythical elements in the Panji story.

On carefully reading the Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati one gains the impression, so Rassers says, that this story contains a myth concerning nature: a sun or moon myth. The leading figures are born when the moon is full. They irradiate light. They are handsome as the sun and the moon. Raden Panji receives the name Kuda Rawi-srangga (Horse Sunlight) and the princess of Daha is called Candra Kirana (Moon-beam). The central character of the story is depicted in a rather ambiguous way. On the one hand there is an obvious relation between him and the sun, but on the other hand he is repeatedly compared to or associated with the moon. We find this same feature occurring still more explicitly in the Javanese novel *Jayalengkara*,¹⁶ which is also a Panji story. The contents of this story are briefly as follows.

The ancient Javanese state of Měndang Kamulan is ruled by king Jayalengkara. This king is married to Candra Lata (*candra* = moon; *lata* = tendril of a creeper, also a poetic form for 'snake'), but is at the same time carrying on an incestuous relationship with his sister Candra Swara (*swara* = voice). Because of this relationship a variety of calamities befall the state. Jayalengkara decides to return to heaven, and changes his name to *Kala Surya* (*surya* = sun). He orders his son Raden Subrata to enter the service of his cousin the king of Majapahit. When the moon is full Kala Surya ascends to heaven together with his wife and sister. The *kraton* is abandoned. It is henceforth guarded by Kala Surya's daughter Ratna Pambayun, who changes into a big snake. As a reward for services rendered Raden Subrata receives from the king of Majapahit the kingdom of Janggala. Subrata has five children: 1. Rara Suci, who becomes a nun; 2. Lěmbu Amiluhur, who succeeds his father as king of Janggala under the name of Jayengrana; 3. Lěmbu Marjaya, ruler of Kědiri; 4. Lěmbu Mangarang, ruler of Urawan; 5. Lěmbu Mardadu, ruler of Singasari. The king of Majapahit returns to heaven. He is succeeded by his son Tejangkara. At this time Kala Surya sends down from heaven his famous *tunggul wulung*, which is a black banner with a white border. The giant staff of the flag is thrust so firmly into the ground of the *pasėban* in the *kraton* of Majapahit that it is impossible to remove it. The country is struck by calamities and epidemics. Tejangkara announces a *sayėmbara*: whoever is able to pull out the formidable standard will receive the daughter of the deceased king, Teja Swara (*teja* = glow, radiance), in marriage. Jayengrana (Lěmbu Miluhur) goes to Majapahit and pulls out the standard. He marries Teja Swara. Kala Surya now asks his sister Candra Swara to incarnate herself into the daughter of the king of Kědiri. His wife Candra Lata is to be incarnated into the princess Kumudaningrat of Urawan. He himself is incarnated into the son of Jayengrana, Kuda Wanengpati. On her way to

¹⁶ See A. B. Cohen Stuart, *Overzicht van't Javaansche Dichtwerk Djaja Lengkara*, *B.K.I.* 1853, pp. 44-69, and 1854, pp. 151-188. W. H. Engelmann, *De Javaansche Handschriften in de Bibliotheek van het Ned. Bijbelgenootschap*, *Tijdschrift voor Ned. Indië* 1870, vol. 2, pp. 166-168. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. 1, Leiden, 1967, p. 235.

Kēdiri, Candra Swara is stopped by Narada, the messenger of the gods. She divides herself into two, one half being incarnated into the princess of Kēdiri and the other half into the daughter of patih Kudana Warsa of Janggala, Dewi Angreni. Kuda Wanengpati, when he reaches adulthood, meets Angreni and immediately falls in love with her. He takes her home as his wife and refuses to marry the princess of Kēdiri, as arranged by the mutual parents. The king has Angreni put to death. Kuda Wanengpati becomes mad with grief. He sails off with his followers, and conquers Bali, Blambangan and the other petty kingdoms in the east of Java. Finally he arrives at Kēdiri, which is being besieged by a number of foreign princes who all want Sēkar Taji (Candra Kirana) for their bride. He defeats them and receives Sēkar Taji in marriage. He is reconciled now, for Sēkar Taji and Angreni are as it were each other's image: they are not one, but are not different either, they appear alternately. After his marriage he succeeds his father as king of Janggala under the name of Prabu Surya Wisesa.

Apart from the obvious identification of the king with the sun and of the queen with the moon for several generations in succession — as Rassers remarks — we find here as essence of the story what may be called the Panji theme par excellence, viz.: a *struggle provoked by the desire for a woman*, and additionally in this story, as a characteristic element connected with it: *the forbidden or even incestuous sexual relationship* carried on or aspired to by several of the main characters of the story.

As prototype of the Indonesian myth which forms the core of the Panji stories Rassers indicates the myth of Kalangi and Manimporok as found among the Tontemboan of North Celebes.¹⁷ This myth tells us how the god Kalangi, who originally was living in the interior together with his friend the god Manimporok, moves to the coast and founds a number of villages near the sea. Eager to meet his old friend, Kalangi returns to pay Manimporok a visit. The latter has gone out, however, and Kalangi only finds the beautiful Kalongkohan, Manimporok's wife at home. He seduces her and takes her with him to the coast. Manimporok is deeply grieved when, on coming home, he finds that his wife has disappeared. He begins to carve a wooden image of her, which, as he goes on working, resembles her more and more. Finally the likeness is perfect and then the image comes to life and assumes the functions of Manimporok's former wife.

Father Schmidt¹⁸ postulates that this and similar Indonesian stories form part of an ancient complex of Indonesian lunar mythology. The story of Kalangi and Manimporok according to him gives a picture of

¹⁷ J. A. T. Schwarz, *Tontemboansche Teksten*, Leiden, 1907.

¹⁸ W. Schmidt, *Grundlinien einer Vergleichung der Religionen und Mythologien der austronesischen Völker*, Vienna, 1910.

several monthly cycles of the moon in succession. Its theme is the antagonism between the waxing and the waning moon. Kalangi is identical with the waxing moon. On his visit to Manimporok he meets Kalongkohan, the full moon. He seduces her, i.e. he coincides with her. The duped husband remaining behind in distress is the waning moon. With the next cycle the new moon appears: represented by the image of the stolen wife which gradually shows a greater and greater resemblance to her in every respect until, in the end, she is completely similar and takes her place.

The unequivocal sexual character of the story, however, as Schmidt says, betrays influences from another complex of myths which have a distinctly solar character. This solar mythology he believes to have penetrated the Indonesian Archipelago from the southeast and to be indicative of Papua influences.

Accepting in its broad outlines Schmidt's interpretation of the Tontemboan myth discussed above, Rassers considers the chief motifs present in the various Panji stories identical, or at least closely related, to those of the Kalangi-Manimporok story. Panji and his ancestors are all representatives of the waning moon, while his rivals represent the waxing moon. Jayalengkara's black standard with the white border also symbolizes the waning moon. When Panji is born his mother dies, just as the full moon dies when she brings forth the waning moon. The voyage across the sea which often occurs in these stories is symbolic of the voyage of the moon-boat (waning and waxing moon) across the celestial sea.

The contaminating influence of the solar motif is apparent from the simultaneous identification of Panji with the sun: Rawi-srangga, Kalasurya, etc. This contamination has also caused a blending of the asexual with the hypersexual. In his role of the waning moon Panji is the chaste young prince, but when he displays his solar aspect he is the great lover who leaves every woman he meets pregnant. Panji's aunt, the nun Rara Suci, is, like Panji's bride, a representative of the full moon.

A peculiar feature of stories such as the Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati and that of Jayalengkara is the incestuous nature of Panji's union with Candra Kirana. Panji and Candra Kirana are actually brother and sister. This element, however, is only seemingly absent in the Tontemboan myth, says Rassers, since the persons representing the waxing, full and waning moon belong to one and the same cycle of the moon and may consequently be understood to be standing in a brother-sister relationship to each other.

There is one further element which requires attention. The Tontemboan myth accepts the marriage of the full moon with the waning moon, but rejects the one with the waxing moon. Schmidt connects this fact with his favorite theory about a primitive monotheism which he believes to have preceded the stage of development represented by the myths in their present form. The representative of the waxing moon, so Schmidt argues, must have coincided with the supreme deity of that original monotheistic system of beliefs. This supreme godhead was conceived of as being above sexual relations, and part of this aspect was preserved after its gradual decline and ultimate incorporation into the moon mythology, and even after the solar mythology introduced the sexual contrast into the old stories. The solar influence, which succeeded in penetrating the figure of the waning moon, recoiled from the divine sexlessness of the supreme being which was preserved in the waxing moon.

Rassers agrees with Schmidt that the Indonesians once, at a very early stage, had a belief in a supreme divine being. *But he refuses to believe that this explains the unacceptability of the person representing the waxing moon as a marriage partner for the one representing the full moon.* If indeed the succession of the phases of the moon, which is supposed to be reflected by the story as told in the myth, was regarded as the struggle of two men for one woman, one acceptable and the other unacceptable as a marriage partner for that woman, this must have been, so Rassers argues, because in the society concerned a *certain connubial arrangement* obtained, which permitted certain marriages whilst prohibiting others. This would mean that the Panji myth is here putting us on the track of a *primitive exogamous social organisation*. Referring to studies by Van Ossenbruggen and Durkheim and Mauss¹⁹ Rassers argues that in the remote past the Javanese must have had a tribal division into two exogamous primary clans, each divided into two sub-clans, something similar to what is found in other areas of the world, such as among the Australian Aborigines and the Amer-Indians. Parallel to this division of the tribe into four groups ran the arrangement of various material objects, such as weapons, fabrics, etc., and abstract

¹⁹ F. D. E. van Ossenbruggen, *De Oorsprong van het Javaansche Begrip Montjapat in Verband met Primitieve Classificaties, Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, 5e reeks, 3e deel, 1e stuk, Amsterdam, 1917.* E. Durkheim and M. Mauss, *De Quelques Formes Primitives de Classification, l'Année Sociologique VI, 1903, pp. 1-72.*

concepts or cosmic phenomena, such as the points of the compass, night and day, and the colours, in a *primitive system of classification*. This way numerous kinds of objects and concepts were associated both with one another and with one of the four tribal divisions, while such concepts as superiority, inferiority or polarity were applied with respect to the concepts grouped together in adjoining or opposite divisions of the system. This way the tribal division and cosmology were brought together into a classificatory system used for purposes of *divination* and for *magical practices*.²⁰ Connubial relations, the tribal division and the cosmology were all embraced by one complex system. A person belonging to a phratry or group with which no affinal relations were maintained, and who was consequently unacceptable as a marriage partner, was associated with certain colours and cosmic phenomena, such as the phases of the moon, etc. This also explains how a dual association of a person with both the waning moon and the sun might occur. For unknown reasons the waning moon happened to be classified together with the sun in the same division. Even after the exogamous tribal division had disappeared the connected way of thinking persisted and the classificatory systems used for divination, speculative thinking and all kinds of decision-making became more and more elaborate.²¹

Thus the unacceptability of a person classified with the waxing moon as a marriage partner for a person classified with the full moon becomes easily understandable. *Several of Father Schmidt's observations concerning primitive monotheism and the contamination of the lunar mythology with elements of a solar mythology now seem to us unnecessarily complicated or even untenable, and may be dismissed*, Rassers concludes. Candra Kirana's hesitation in following Raden Inu is explained by the fact that by doing so she had to leave her own clan. The aunt, Rara Suci, as the senior member of the generation of Inu's father, belongs to the fifth division representing the totality. This explains why she could not marry, but lived as a nun on Mount Pucangan, a mountain complex consisting of one main peak with four minor peaks surrounding it, thus roughly forming a square (*manca-pat*).

²⁰ In Java a four/five division (*manca-pat*), four divisions with the fifth representing the totality obtained; cf. Th. Pigeaud, *Javaansche Wichelarij en Klassifikatie, Feestbundel uitgegeven door het Kon. Bat. Genootschap*, vol. II. Weltevreden, 1929, pp. 273-290. J. L. Swellengrebel, *Korawāçrama, Santpoort*, 1936, pp. 29 ff.

²¹ Cf. H. A. van Hien, *De Javaansche Geestenwereld*, vol. V, Bandung, 1913.

Indian influences in the Panji story.

The Panji stories contain a number of elements betraying certain Indian influences, such as the *sayēmbara*, the contest of prowess between the gallant suitors of a noble young lady in order to decide who is to win her as his bride (reminding us of the Indian *swayamwara*), and numerous other details with which we are familiar from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata epics. If we wish to find really parallel situations, however, so Rassers argues, we should turn not to the Sanskrit epics or their earliest Javanese adaptations, but to the deviant versions as found in the Javanese Rama Kēling, the Malay Hikayat Sēri Rama, and the *lakons* of the *wayang purwa*. But how are we to conceive of the relationship between the latter and their Sanskrit originals? And does this mean that the Indonesian versions of the Rama story and the *wayang purwa lakons* are the medium through which Indian influence reached the Panji stories?

Earlier scholars have pointed out that the Malay Hikayat Sēri Rama and the Javanese Rama Kēling, though apparently containing the same subject matter, are distinctly different works from the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa.²² Juynboll argued that the Indonesian Rama versions do not derive at all from the Sanskrit epic but from an independent Tamil version from South India.²³ According to him this explains the main differences with the Sanskrit epic.²⁴ Unfortunately this South Indian original has not up to now been found. H. Kern and G. A. J. Hazeu also occupied themselves with the problem posed by the many profound differences between Javanese *wayang lakons* treating Indian themes and their Sanskrit 'originals'. On this point Kern remarks: 'For the present it seems — and probably always will remain — impossible to trace step by step all the transformations which the Indian stories have under-

²² A. Dozon, Etude sur le Roman Malay de Sri Rama, *Journal Asiatique* 1846, pp. 443 ff. D. Gerth van Wijk, Iets over Verschillende Redactiën van de Sri Rama, *T.B.G.* vol. 34 (1891), pp. 401 ff.

²³ H. H. Juynboll, Eene Episode uit het Oudindische Rāmāyana vergeleken met de Javaansche en Maleische Bewerkingen, *B.K.I.* vol. 50 (1899), pp. 59 ff.

²⁴ A line of thought later pursued by W. Stutterheim, *Rāma-Legenden und Rāma-Reliefs in Indonesien*, München, 1925; and: A. Ziesenis, *Die Rāma Sage bei den Malaien, Ihre Herkunft und Gestaltung*, Hamburg, 1928. The relationship between Vālmīki's Sanskrit epic and deviant versions of the Rāma story in the Indian vernaculars, however, presents a series of rather complex problems, as is demonstrated by the Indian scholar Dineshchandra Sen in his book *The Bengali Ramayanas*, Calcutta, 1920.

gone.'²⁵ Rassers comments that the differences in question have not arisen in the course of any slow, continuous process, but should rather be considered as the result of abrupt *mutations*. He is of the opinion that what seems to us, modern Europeans, an unbridgeable gap between the Indian and the Javanese presentation of the epic stories concerned, meant nothing to the ancient Javanese. The Rama Kĕling and the *wayang purwa lakons* represent something that is entirely different from the Indian epics; at the same time, however, they are completely the same, not in their objective features but in their magical characteristics. By way of an example Rassers briefly compares the plots of the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa and the Malay Hikayat Sĕri Rama:

Rāmāyaṇa. The gods complain to Brahma about the evil deeds of Rāwaṇa, king of the *rākṣasas* (ogres). Because Rāwaṇa can only be killed by a human being the god Wiṣṇu is prepared to incarnate himself into the four sons born to king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā. Half of his divine essence goes into Rāma and the remainder into his brothers Lakṣmaṇa, Śatrughna and Bharata. Rāma marries Sītā, the adoptive daughter of king Janaka of Mithilā who found her when ploughing a field when she emerged from a furrow. Sītā is abducted by Rāwaṇa who wishes to possess her as his wife. Assisted by an army of monkeys led by Sugrīwa (son of the sun god Sūrya by a nymph) and Hanumān (son of the wind god by a nymph) Rāma defeats Rāwaṇa and rescues his wife Sītā. Before being completely re-installed as his wife, however, Sītā has to pass a fire-ordeal in which she proves that she has preserved her chastity. Then Rāma is crowned king of Ayodhyā.

Hikayat Sĕri Rama. King Dasarata is clearing a plain in order to found a new settlement. In a hollow bamboo he finds a girl of great beauty. He gives her the name of Mandudari and marries her. With Mandudari the king now begets Rama and Laksamana. With his second wife he begets two other sons, Bardan and Citradan, and a daughter, Kikewi Dewi. Rawana, ruler of the giants in the island of Langka, hears about Mandudari's beauty. He goes to Dasarata and demands that Mandudari be given to him. From the dirt (Malay: *daki*) secreted by her skin Mandudari now creates a frog. This frog she changes into a woman who is exactly like herself. This double, called Mandu-daki, is given to Rawana. At night Dasarata quickly follows Rawana to his palace and has intercourse with Mandudaki before Rawana has a chance to do so. Mandudaki bears a daughter who is called Sita Dewi. The astrologers foretell that when she grows up the girl will marry a king who will rule the world and defeat Rawana. Rawana then orders the infant to be placed in an iron box which is put out to sea. The box drifts ashore in Darwati Purwa and is found by Maharesi Kala, who rears the girl. When she reaches adulthood Sita is given to Rama in a *sayĕmbara*. On their

²⁵ H. Kern, *Eene Indische Sage in Javaansch Gewaad*, 1876, *Verspreide Geschriften* vol X, The Hague, 1922, pp. 171-211. Cf. G. A. J. Hazeu, *Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het Javaansche Tooneel*, Leiden, 1897, Chapter IV. A recent publication on this subject is: S. Singaravelu, *A Comparative Study of the Sanskrit, Tamil, Thai and Malay Versions of the Story of Rāma with Special Reference to the Process of Acculturation in the Southeast Asian Versions*, *The Journal of the Siam Society* vol. 56, pt. 2, 1968.

way home Rama and Sita take a bath in what appears to be a magic pool. Suddenly they find themselves changed into monkeys. In this condition Rama has intercourse with Sita. Laksamana shows Rama the way to recover his human form: by having another bath in the same pool. In order not to give birth to a child with the form of a monkey Sita has herself massaged until the semen is expelled. It is introduced into the body of Dewi Anjani, a hermit's daughter, who gives birth to a son, the monkey Hanuman. Sita is abducted by Rawana. With the help of Hanuman Rama defeats Rawana and so wins back Sita. After Sita has proved her chastity in a fire-ordeal Rama settles down with her in a newly founded city. Many years later he founds another city: Ayoja Pura Nagara.

Rassers is of the opinion that this Malay text is in fact nothing other than a Panji story in which Rama and Sita — actually brother and sister: the incest motif — stand for Raden Inu and Candra Kirana. Dasarata and Rama are representatives of the waning moon, Sita represents the full moon, and Rawana the waxing moon. Rawana claims Mandudari, like Sita a representative of the full moon, but is given a fake: Mandudaki. He abducts Sita but is in the end defeated by Rama. Rama is the sole figure who is entitled to possess Sita. By winning her he obtains universal rulership. If we accept the idea that the Malay Hikayat Sēri Rama and the Javanese Rama Kēling should be considered as *examples of the Panji myth retold in terms of the Indian Rama story*, this would explain the great deviations from the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa. A *conditioning factor* of this 'use' of the Indian Rama material may have been the fact that in the Sanskrit epic Rāma is declared an incarnation of Wiṣṇu.

Rassers subsequently compares the contents of the *wayang lakon* Palasara with the story of Parāśara in the Sanskrit Mahābhārata. Hazeu had done so earlier in his dissertation²⁶ and observed the fundamental differences between the plots of the two stories. Here, too, Rassers concludes that the *wayang lakon* indeed reflects, in dramatized form, the episodes from the Mahābhārata indicated by Hazeu. It cannot, however, be called an adaptation — not even a free one — of the Mahabharata story, but it is a Panji story, constructed according to its own rules and incorporating a number of traits of the Indian epic material. This raises the question of whether perhaps all *wayang lakons* are Panji stories. Do we not find essentially the same story enacted in each *lakon*? *This would mean that in fact no sharp distinction can be drawn between the wayang geḍog, in which Panji stories are enacted, and the wayang purwa, which features mostly Indian motifs.* Could it be that there is a deeper general relationship between the *wayang* theatre and Indonesian

²⁶ G. A. J. Hazeu, 1897, Chapter V.

mythology in the general framework of the primitive tribal organization? And could this be the meaning of the ancient Javanese tradition which mentions Panji (Raden Inu) as the originator of the *wayang* theatre?

Rassers then analyses the *wayang lakons* Sakutrēm and Sēmar Jantūr. He concludes that the antagonism between the Javanese Panḍawas and Korawas as apparent from the *wayang lakons* is essentially different from that between the Pāṇḍawas and Kaurawas in the Sanskrit epic. This conflict has become Indonesian in character: it represents the eternal struggle between the forces associated with the waning and the waxing moon. This also explains how the Javanese could identify the heroes of the 'lunar race', engaged in an internecine fraternal war, with their own mythical ancestors. In the story about the rivalry between the Pāṇḍawa brothers and their Kaurawa cousins, all descended from the common ancestor Wyāsa, they recognized roughly *their own story about the creation of the world and the beginnings of (their) human society* relating the rivalry between the two moieties of the tribe. This explains the often grotesque changes which the Indian stories suffered in the process of 'adaptation'. In fact, only those elements of the original stories which were assimilable to the Indonesian myth were accepted. The rest was either changed or left out altogether.

It is apparent from the foregoing that, so Rassers says, the study of the Panji romances for the purpose of increasing our knowledge of Javanese history is bound to remain a futile effort. Panji romances are not historical novels. If we find Panji elements in texts of a real or supposed historical nature, these testify rather to the general influence of the Panji theme in Javanese literature. They can never be indicative of a historical substratum of the Panji theme as such, because this is basically a mythical theme. Every time we find points of similarity between the Panji myth and Javanese history we should reckon with the possibility that the story is not relating the objective historical truth, but only represents *the mythical truth*; in other words, the same thing that happened to the Indian epic material used for *wayang lakons* has happened here to the historical facts underlying the story as told in the texts. This also applies to texts such as the Nāgarakṛtāgama and the Pararaton. Once king Erlangga had been recognized as creator of the Javanese world of his time he could be identified with the tribal hero whose life had to pass through certain stages and of whom certain acts could be expected. *This also implied a certain specific configuration of political facts and personages around his personality.* The same applies to Ken Angrok, who as founder of a new dynasty *had to marry a woman*

who irradiated light (Ken Deḍes). In a similar way Kāmeśwara of Daha and his queen Kirāṇaratu of Janggala, mentioned in the Smaradahana, are not the *historical prototypes* of Raden Panji and his beloved Candra Kirana, as Poerbatjaraka argued,²⁷ but, as we must assume, were figures portrayed by the author of the poem after certain *mythical prototypes* with which he and his contemporaries were familiar.

Background of the Panji stories.

The great vitality and expansive power of the Panji myth are explainable from its deep religious significance. Why then did the translators of the books of the Mahābhārata and the author of the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa *kakawin* remain impervious to it? The reason for this is, so Rassers argues, that *the Panji myth had its specific domain in the wayang literature*. Consequently a special relationship must be assumed between the Javanese theatre and Indonesian mythology in the general framework of the primitive tribal organization. Characteristic of the *wayang* theatre is the division of the characters into right (*wayang tēnggēn*) and left (*wayang kiwa*) parties. The party of the right is always noble and good, that of the left always evil. The *panakawan* figure Sēmar is the mentor-servant of the characters of the right. Togog holds the same position with respect to those of the left. The contents of all *lakons* are essentially the same, boiling down to the struggle between good and evil forces, which struggle is in the end always won by the party of the right, or 'the good one'. If the Panji myth tells us of the struggle between the waxing and the waning moon, i.e. between the two moieties within the closed unity of the tribe, the *wayang* screen constitutes the stage of the struggle. Onto the illuminated screen is projected the entire tribe, its two moieties being represented by the good and evil parties the conflict between which forms the theme of every *lakon*. If we regard the Panji story as the myth about the ancestors of the Javanese people and the founders of Javanese society, then *the wayang theatre is the rite in which the myth is enacted in dramatized form*. Consequently it is also owing to and by means of the *wayang* theatre that the Javanese ancestral myth — i.e. the Panji theme — gained and preserved its influence and power of expansion. This conclusion furnishes the key to the problem of *the origin of the Javanese theatre*. Panji often bears

²⁷ R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, 1919.

names with the meaning of 'horse'. In the Majapahit period animal names for persons were quite common, e.g.: Gajah (Elephant) Mada, Kēbo (Buffalo) Anabrang, Lēmbu (Bull) Amiluhur, Dāngdang (Crow) Gēndis, etc. These names are suggestive of *totemism*. But totemism presupposes a society organized in phratries and clans. Now Van Ossenbruggen in his study on the vestiges of the ancient Javanese classificatory system²⁸ demonstrated that this system was basically a cosmological system which in its general outlines displays great similarity to the cosmology of the totemistic Australian Aborigines, whose society is also divided into exogamic groups. On the basis of data provided by the Panji stories we may now posit that *Java must also have passed through a stage of totemism, that especially the Panji myth belongs to a totemistic environment and consequently that the Javanese theatre developed out of a totemistic rite.*

In the Javanese classificatory system the celestial bodies occupied an important place. The moon represented the origin and unity of the tribe. Its two halves symbolized the two exogamic phratries or moieties. While animals and plants must also have been classified clan-wise in a similar way. Van Ossenbruggen concluded this from certain taboos.²⁹ The story found in texts such as the *Tantu Panggĕlaran*, *Aji Saka* and *Babad Tanah Jawi* about a legendary Javanese ruler dividing the realm founded by him among his four or five children reflects a prehistoric division of the tribe, first into two phratries and subsequently into four or five clans. Consequently the names of the children among whom the realm was divided are suggestive of the names of exogamic groups, or *collectivities*, rather than of individual persons.³⁰ In the next generation the four/five division is again encountered among the children of Rēsi Gaṭayu, namely: 1. Rara Sucian, 2. Lēmbu Amiluhur (king of Janggala/Koripan), 3. Lēmbu Pētēng (king of Kēdiri), 4. Lēmbu Pēngarang (king of Gagĕlang), 5. Ni Mrēgiwangsa, the spouse of the king of Singasari Lēmbu Amijaya. Lēmbu Amiluhur had a son Panji, married to the princess Candra Kirana of Kēdiri. The nun Rara Sucian, Panji's aunt (whose name should be considered as an epithet of the full moon), represents the tribe as a whole and consequently remains unmarried.

²⁸ See footnotes 19 and 20.

²⁹ Van Ossenbruggen, p. 34.

³⁰ Thus, e.g., in the *Babad Tanah Djawi* king Kanḍi-Awan ('the Luminous Jar', son of Sri Mahapunggung, had five children: 1. Panuhun, king of the farmers, 2. Saṅḍang Garba, king of the merchants, 3. Karung Kala, king of the hunters, 4. Tunggul Mētung, king of the palm-wine tappers, 5. Rēsi Gaṭayu, the youngest son, who succeeded his father as king of Koripan.

This is the same situation as that depicted in the Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati: four kingdoms ruled by brothers or brothers-in-law, and one unmarried elder sister.

Plant- and animal-names are found as names of persons throughout the Panji story. It is obvious, however, that *at the time the story took its present shape this segmentation of the tribal society had already become a thing of the past*. What traces we still find of it are only rudimentary elements. What may have remained at this particular stage may have been the idea of an existing special relationship between persons and animals, plants, objects and concepts which were conceived of as belonging together in the framework of the old classificatory system. Thus a certain person might be identified with a particular celestial body or phenomenon, and be assumed to have a special affinity with a special species of animal, a particular colour, etc. In the Panji story of Mantri Wadak, for instance, Raden Inu is born in the form of a bull, while in the Smarawedana he is a monkey. In the Hikayat Sēri Rama princess Mandudari is born from a bamboostem and in the Tontemboan myth Manimporok's second wife is 'made' (i.e. 'born') out of a *sangkiow* tree. And so on. *The way of thinking as expressed in these stories is essentially the same as that found among some totemistic Australian tribes*. Here, too, we find the virtual identity between the human individual and his totem, be it a particular animal species or a plant.

Before the Australian Aboriginal youngster becomes fully emancipated as a member of his tribe and attains complete identity with his totem, however, he has to pass through a series of *initiation rites*. These rites are without exception painful and most unpleasant for the adolescent. We have here the belief that during these rites *the initiate dies and is reborn* as a new and perfect individual. In the intervals between the tests of endurance theatrical performances are given. The mythical ancestors of the tribe are brought on the stage and sacred stories are recited. This way the initiates are informed about the oral traditions of their tribe and the secrets behind various religious rites. The initiation ceremonies are at the same time *introductions to the future marriage* of the candidates: one cannot marry unless one has been initiated as a full member of the tribe.

Many of the most important and most constantly recurring features of the Panji stories show a striking resemblance to the chief phases of the initiation rites as observed among the totemistic Australian tribes. As general background to the Panji stories and the *lakons* of the *wayang*

purwa we discovered a story with predominantly moon-mythological traits which also contained a number of elements deriving from an ancient classificatory system. But this left a number of rather striking peculiarities unexplained, namely: the constant hardships and difficulties that have to be undergone or overcome by both Raden Inu and Candra Kirana before they are allowed to enjoy undisturbed bliss. Accepting the idea that the Panji stories relate the marriage of the ancestral couple who originally founded the Javanese society, this does not furnish us with the entire truth. For this primeval marriage is the culmination of the series of tests and trials together constituting the painful initiation ritual to which the couple had to submit before they could be united in marriage. The Panji stories demonstrate the close connection between initiation rites and marriage, so much so that often the initiation test par excellence for Raden Inu consists in his having to win the particular woman who is destined to be his bride. Just as in Australia, Raden Inu adopts a new name each time he has passed through a particular phase of the series of tests, suggestive of the fundamental change that has taken place in his personality.

A difference with the initiation ritual as described for certain Australian tribes³¹ is that Raden Inu does not undergo his initiation under the guidance of elders acting as his stern mentors. He has the company only of his *panakawans* (i.e. servants guarding him). The explanation of this peculiarity is that Panji is the divine ancestor who originated the initiation ritual. He is consequently his own initiator and, by initiating himself, sets an example for those coming after him. His *panakawans*, especially Sēmar, who figure in the story as his servants and guardians, function in the myth as prototypes of what were to become the initiate's mentors. It is this circumstance which lends the myth its somewhat hybrid character. At the same time, however, we are now able to understand the seemingly senseless repetition of sometimes almost identical situations and adventures: the initiation is not complete after just one ceremony but consists of a whole series of acts or tasks, all basically of the same nature.

³¹ Rassers has drawn mainly on: B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The native tribes of Central Australia*, London/New York, 1899; and idem, *The Northern tribes of Central Australia*, London/New York, 1904; and C. Strehlow, *Die Aranda und Loritja Stämme in Zentral Australien*, Frankfurt, 1907-1908. Pater Schmidt's comment on this fundamental departure from his theoretical framework was published in the *Feestbundel uitgegeven door het Kon. Bat. Genootschap* vol II, Weltevreden, 1929, pp. 353-369 (Der Pandji-Roman und die austronesischen Mythologien).

Summarizing, Rassers states that the elements which seem to have been borrowed from Javanese history and from the Indian epics are not of great value for a proper understanding of the Panji romances. On the contrary, an insight into the nature and meaning of the Panji myth is of importance for our understanding of Javanese historiography, and Javanese literature in general. The idea that the Panji theme is a nature myth in which the sun and moon figure as human beings proved to be correct only up to a certain point, leaving many rather striking traits unexplained. A number of these appeared to fit into a larger general framework of primitive tribal organization. The division of primitive tribal society was seen to furnish the proper background to the story. But as its most ancient core was indicated finally the myth relating — in a way fitting in only with a totemistic way of thinking — *the origin of the Javanese world with its exogamous connubial arrangement and its initiation ritual as the introduction to marriage*. Only at a later historical stage, when this totemistic way of thinking and the associated division of the tribal society had gradually faded into the background, the myth was understood in a slightly different way and the main focus of attention shifted from the tribal division itself to objects and concepts classified in accordance with this principle. The sun and moon eclipsed the figures of the totemistic ancestor and ancestress who, combining in their persons the divine with the human, had originally represented the two Javanese phratries. More specifically this means that, reduced to their oldest core, Raden Inu and Candra Kirana are the twin brother and sister who descended from heaven to become the ancestors of the two phratries of the original tribe.

Comments.

Rassers approached the problem of the Panji theme as an anthropologist, thinking in terms of the categories that were valid in his time. Although he was obviously not an uncritical follower of Father Schmidt, he was not able to simply dismiss the latter's theories concerning and interpretations of Austronesian mythological material. In addition to this he had to work with the available descriptive material, which involved his having to lean heavily on Van Ossenbruggen and to make use of ethnographic material relating to non-Austronesian peoples. Reliable ethnographic studies on archaic Indonesian societies were still sparse at the time.

As an anthropologist Rassers conducted his literary study in a way which was not quite congenial to many philologists. He talked about *the Panji* story without showing first that the various Panji stories known to us are indeed no more than variations on the same theme. He did not search for a prototype but used, without bringing forward a sufficient number of arguments, a *Malay hikayat* for his discussion of this typically *Javanese* theme. When the *Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati* turned out not to cover all his needs he integrated other stories, which he went ahead and called Panji stories without first defining their position with respect to the one just mentioned, into his argument as well. His opinion that the theme of the *Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati* is analogous to that of the *Tontemboan* story about the god *Manimporok* may not be shared by many of his readers. And although his analysis of borrowed Indian epic motifs in connection with the Panji theme is interesting, it may not be convincing to everyone. After all, the *Hikayat Sēri Rama* and the *wayang lakon* *Palasara*, to mention a few are clearly different stories, each with its own plot. To a philologist it is hardly acceptable to see all *wayang* stories treated alike and declared repetitions of the Panji theme, as Rassers does. The point is that if we define the Panji theme as broadly as Rassers did at the beginning of his study, viz. 'the struggle for a woman', there may be many more stories that fit the definition.

The *Hikayat Sēri Rama* and the *lakon* *Palasara* share the common characteristic that *both deal with the founding of a new settlement or state*. This central theme is bound up in a special way with *the motif of the hero who has to win the woman destined for him from the beginning but desired by someone else*. By winning her he becomes universal ruler or founder of a new dynasty. It seems true that the *Hikayat Sēri Rama* and the *lakon* *Palasara* in their present form are not simply adaptations of Sanskrit originals, but should rather be considered as Indonesian stories constructed according to their own laws. It is also true that the theme of these stories is in several ways rather similar to the Panji theme as developed in the *Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati*: *Raden Inu* is predestined to become ruler of all Java, but before this can be realized he has to win *Candra Kirana*. However, that the borrowing of Indian epic material and its transformation into 'Panji-like' stories by *dalangs* of the *Wayang kulit* should be considered the outcome of 'an underground process in which intellectual reasoning plays no role', as Rassers posits on page 275 of his book, will not easily find acceptance with the majority of students of Indonesian literature. For a *lakon* of the *wayang kulit* to be acceptable to the average audience,

it has to fit into a quite rigid structural framework. Many *lakons* are well-known and often requested because their contents are considered appropriate to certain occasions in a person's life. But even so, the *dalang* always has some freedom to manipulate the story. That this freedom is in fact used, and may also have been used in the past, becomes apparent when we compare the contents of the *lakon* Palasara as reproduced in Te Mechelen's collection of outlines (used by Rassers) with the text edited by T. Roorda and translated by C. Poensen.³² This freedom may be used consciously to suit the taste of the patron or audience, or unconsciously, in which case the incorporation into a *lakon* of traits borrowed from another one, a process commonly known as *contamination* and amounting to nothing other than outright corruption, results. This has of course nothing to do with any 'deep religious meaning' or 'mystic urge' in the Panji theme or with sun and moon symbolism. It is interesting to observe, on the other hand, how the plots of certain stories may be so popular or important as to become a source of contaminating influence on others.

The social function of the Panji story.

It is obvious that a final and definitive discussion of the Panji theme should be based on a systematic study and comparison of a much larger number of Panji stories than have been studied up to now. Meanwhile we may observe that, in spite of Rassers' argument to the contrary, the Panji story in its most prevalent form functions as *an episode in the legendary history of Java*. We find it in the Babad Tanah Jawi, in the so-called 'great' Śērat Kanḍa, in the story of Jayalēngkara and in several other texts, all of them pretending to be relating in one form or another events believed to have happened in the remote past. I found it in its simplest form in the Babad Daha-Kēḍiri, a legendary history of the former kingdom of Kēḍiri.³³ The story here runs as follows.

³² Ch. te Mechelen, *Drie en Twintig Schetsen van Wajangstukken*, V.B.G. vol. 40, Batavia, 1879; republished in Latin characters by Balé Poestaka under the title *Pakēm Ringgit Poerwa*, Serie no. 59, Batavia, 1931; T. Roorda, *De wajang-verhalen van Palasara, Panḍoe en Raden Pandji*, The Hague, 1869; C. Poensen, *De Wajang, Mededeelingen vanwege het Ned. Zendelingsnootschap*, 16e jrg. (1872), pp. 247 ff.

³³ Yogyakarta, 1953; a slightly different version was published by P. W. v. d. Broek, *De geschiedenis van het rijk Kēḍiri*, Leiden, 1902.

King Sri Gēntayu (in the text explicitly identified with Jayalēngkara and Erlangga) of Janggala has five children: 1. Dewi Kilisuci, a nun living in a hermitage on Mount Kapucangan; 2. Raden Dewakusuma, alias Prabu Lēmbu Amiluhur, who succeeds his father as king of Janggala; 3. Prabu Lēmbu Amērdadu, ruler of Daha; 4. Prabu Lēmbu Pēngarang, ruler of Urawan; 5. Prabu Lēmbu Amērjaya, ruler of Singasari. Lēmbu Amiluhur wants his son Panji Kuda Rawisrēngga to marry the daughter of his brother, the ruler of Daha. Panji meets the *patih's* daughter, Dewi Angreni, and takes her to wife. He refuses to go to Daha for his projected wedding with his niece. The aunt Kilisuci intervenes. She decides that Angreni must be put to death, because — and this is an important point in view of the purport of the story — Dewi Sri has obviously manifested herself in the wrong woman. Once Angreni is dead Dewi Sri may be expected to move from her into Candra Kirana, and then the marriage of Wisnu with Dewi Sri can be re-enacted in that of Raden Inu with Candra Kirana. Kilisuci has Angreni put to death by a half brother of Panji's. The latter, however, persists in his refusal to marry the princess of Daha. His father banishes him from the court of Janggala. The prince goes wandering off to his uncle in Urawan. This uncle feels sorry for him, takes him into his palace and gives him his daughter in marriage. The king of Maguwa in Hindustan hears that the wedding of Panji with Candra Kirana has been cancelled and comes to Daha to ask the princess in marriage. The king of Daha refuses and begs for military assistance from his brothers. Panji goes to Daha on behalf of his father-in-law in Urawan. He defeats the king of Maguwa in a single combat. His aunt Kilisuci now again steps in and arranges a marriage between him and Candra Kirana, as *she* alone can function as the true manifestation of Dewi Sri who is destined to be united in marriage with Wisnu, i.e. in this case the prince of Janggala.

We see that in this version *strong emphasis is repeatedly laid on the fact that Candra Kirana is a manifestation (Javanese: titisan) of Dewi Sri, and Panji of Wisnu.*³⁴ In connection with this it is interesting to note that Panji is represented as a grandson of the East Javanese king Erlangga. Erlangga was claimed to be 'the Wiṣṇu of his time', and also the later kings of Kēḍiri were generally regarded as *wiṣṇuwawatāra*, i.e. 'incarnations' or manifestations of Wiṣṇu.³⁵ The representation of Panji as a manifestation of Wisnu who has to marry Candra Kirana — said

³⁴ Cf. J. L. A. Brandes, 1920, p. 66, where he notes the same fact in connection with the similar designation of Ken Angrok as an incarnation of Wiṣṇu in the Pararaton text.

³⁵ Cf. C. C. Berg, 1969, vol. 1a, pp. 100 ff. The statue of Wiṣṇu erected in the sanctuary of Bēlahan on Mount Pēnanggungan was taken by Rouffaer, Krom and Stutterheim to be a 'portrait statue' of king Erlangga, and dated 1049 A.D. Th. A. Resink refuted this idea in his article Bēlahan of een Mythe Ontluis-terd, *B.K.I.* vol 123 (1967), pp. 250-266 (republished in English in *Indonesia* no. 6, Cornell, Oct. 1968, pp. 2-37). Resink argued that the Bēlahan sanctuary was built a century earlier and rejected the whole notion of posthumous 'portrait statues' of kings. Several of Resink's views were recently queried by R. Pitono, *The Belahan Problem, The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, vol. 8 (Dec. 1971), pp. 86-95.

to be a manifestation of Dewi Sri — of the kind found in the Babad Daha-Kědiri — from a cultural historical point of view is therefore quite plausible and not without importance. It has been observed earlier that Panji's names 'Kuda' and 'Rawisrěngga' both point to that same solar aspect reflected by his identification with the god Wisnu. It now remains to be seen whether his name or title 'Panji', meaning *banner* or *standard*, also has something to do with this. Another point requiring attention is the identification of Candra Kirana (princess 'Moonbeam') with Dewi Sri.

In view of the above, fairly positive, clues linking the Panji story to a particular period of Java's past, the question may arise whether the kingdoms mentioned in the story indeed existed side by side as independent states some time around the 11th century. I believe this question to be immaterial to our main problem. For even if there did not actually exist sovereign kings of Koripan, Daha, Gagělang or Urawan and Singasari, there must have been *adipatis* residing in these places. They may have recognized one from among them, or even some other outside potentate, as their sovereign, and may thus have been reduced to the status of hereditary governors. But apart from the duty to pay tribute and furnish military assistance when requested, this probably had few implications and there will have been little interference from this 'political centre' in their local affairs. Consequently we may consider ourselves dispensed from the obligation to look for a period in Javanese history when said 'kingdoms' existed independently side by side with each other.

The story of the prince of Koripan/Janggala and the princess of Daha/Kědiri, who are united in marriage after a series of complications, is typically a *wedding-story*. This is also illustrated very clearly in the Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati where *the adventures of Raden Inu and Candra Kirana are enacted on the stage during the solemn celebration of their own marriage*. By the identification of the prince of Koripan with Wisnu and that of the princess of Daha with Dewi Sri the story gains an extra dimension and becomes an allegorical representation of the union of the god Wisnu with the goddess Sri, repeated or re-enacted on earth in this royal marriage.

In early Indian mythology the god Wiṣṇu is a manifestation of solar energy. In the Mahābhārata he is the creator and supreme god. He also stands in a certain relation to the watery element, and is often identified with Nārāyaṇa, the personified primeval spirit. During certain intervals in creation he is inactive. In this state he is pictorially represented in human form, slumbering on the great serpent Śeṣa floating on the

primeval waters.³⁶ Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune, in later mythology identified with Śrī, was born from the foam of the ocean when it was churned by the gods and demons for the purpose of obtaining *amṛta*, i.e. the nectar conferring immortality. She is also represented as appearing at the time of creation floating across the water on the unfolded petals of a lotus flower. She always accompanies Wiṣṇu as his wife. In his incarnation as Rāma she is the latter's spouse Sītā, the adoptive daughter of king Janaka sprung from a furrow when he was ploughing the ground in preparation of a sacrifice instituted to obtain progeny. Sītā is usually invoked as tutelary goddess of agriculture and the fruits of the earth. She shares this aspect with the Javanese Dewi Sri. In Wiṣṇu's incarnation as Kṛṣṇa she is his wife Rukmiṇī, daughter of king Bhīṣmaka. Consequently the wedding of the prince of Koripan and the princess of Daha is lent broader significance by its comparison to the wedding of Wisnu and Dewi Sri. It becomes the re-enactment of an oft-repeated cosmic drama in which the creator and lord of the Upperworld unites with the goddess representing the primeval waters and the Underworld, which is auspicious for the fertility of the earth and the good fortune of the human community.

Interpreted in this way the drama of Panji and Candra Kirana was an appropriate stage-play to be performed on the occasion of every pre-Islamic *royal wedding* in Indonesia. If the host possessed the means, he could have a special version of the story composed, a special variation on the basic theme fitting the situation or circumstances of that particular wedding. *It was thus possible for the stage performance of the Panji drama in one form or another in the end to become a purely conventional procedure having little to do indeed with any mystical preoccupation of the theme or its possible aspects of ancient tribal division, initiation ritual, the phases of the moon, etc.*

In my opinion it is this *social function* of the Panji drama as the conventional stage-play for royal weddings in the 12th - 14th centuries rather than its deeper religious meaning which explains the large number of existing Panji stories both in Java and outside. In this period a number of Javanese princes and princesses must have been sent abroad to be married off to members of befriended royal houses. Available historical data testify to this. The retinue of such a prince or princess most probably included a *dalang* with a *wayang gēḍog* outfit, or even

³⁶ Concerning Wiṣṇu's role in the process of creation in Indian mythology, see F. B. J. Kuiper, 1970, p. 111.

a whole group of *topeng* dancers, or both. As part of the festivities the Panji drama was put on the stage in the desired form, translated into Malay, Balinese, Cham or Thai for the benefit of the audience. If the person concerned was a Javanese prince marrying a foreign princess and going to live with her in her country he might call his residence Daha, either in earnest or in jest. We see this happen in Southeast Borneo, where the *kraton* was called Nagara Daha for some length of time. In the reverse case of a Javanese princess being married off to a crown prince belonging to a royal house abroad the residence of the young couple could be styled Koripan. This then would explain the occurrence of the typically Javanese place names of Daha and Koripan in Borneo, Bali, Lombok and Sumatra. How such a marriage of a Javanese prince fitted into the local cultural context may be seen from the Hikayat Banjar, where we find the following words put into the mouth of the Javanese 'founder of the dynasty' invited from Majapahit to Banjar as husband for the princess 'born from a mass of foam' floating on the local river:

'Raden Putra — to resume our story — said: "Uncle Lambu Mangkurat, my 'real name is Suryanata. This means that I am a solar king. Everything on land, that is, everything on firm ground, and everything in the sea, that is, everything 'in the water, is subject to me. None other than I could take Putri Junjung Buih 'to wife, because no-one but Putri Junjung Buih can have me for husband, for 'she is predestined as my match, as water and sun belong together as a pair.'" ' 37

'Raden Putra' occurs in several Panji stories as a name for Raden Inu.

The Panji story and the wayang theatre.

Rassers assumed the existence of a deeper general relation between the *wayang* theatre and the ancient mythology fitting into the general framework of the primitive tribal organization, as reflected by the Panji story. He was of the opinion that we find enacted in each *lakon* essentially the same story namely the Indonesian myth about the creation of the world and the origins of human society, with special reference to the rivalry between the two moieties of the tribe. In accordance herewith he argued that the *wayang* must be the rite in which this myth is constantly re-enacted in dramatized form. The logical implication of this is that the *wayang* theatre must be an original Javanese

³⁷ J. J. Ras, *Hikajat Bandjar*, The Hague, 1968, p. 313.

creation of great antiquity and its dramatic material be constituted by an original Javanese myth or adaptations thereof.

'Wayang theatre' to Rassers meant in the first place *wayang kulit*, preferably to be studied in Java and from Javanese data only. A question that immediately arises at this point, however, is that concerning the factor of change, in other words the problem of possible historical developments. What is original in the present-day *wayang kulit* and what not? The structure of the Central Javanese *wayang lakons* is strictly conventional. They are made up of a fixed sequence of scenes providing the framework within which the *dalang* presents the story. In so doing he alternately recites *dialogues* in which he is able to show off fully his skill at composition, extemporization and acting, and *narrative passages* in old-fashioned poetic language, chants *descriptive passages* in ornate, rather archaic language obviously handed down orally with a minimum of variation from generation to generation, and sings *suluks*, i.e. metric passages in a sometimes rather corrupt Old Javanese or Kawi wording, setting the 'rasa' or mood of the moment (auspicious, tender, sweet, solemn, tense, ominous, etc.). The dialogues, having no fixed form, are of course liable to constant innovation. They are produced in modern Javanese, varying according to the situation from dignified court language to vulgar colloquial. The narrative passages, though abounding with clichés, also have no fixed form. Some descriptive passages, however, are strictly conventional. But, although archaic in various respects, they may not go back much further in their present form than the 16th century. As an example I would mention the stereotype description of the capital recited in the opening scene (*jějěr*) of each *lakon*. This description is always the same, whether it concerns Hastina, Amarta, Wirata, Mandraka or any other royal residence. Invariably the *dalang* tells us: '... to the landward side of the city mountains rose; on its left it was bordered by rice fields while to its right there flowed a big river; and before the city, bordering on the sea, there was a large commercial and harbour quarter so that clothing and foodstuffs were cheap and plentiful...'. This appears to fit the city of Dêmak around, say, 1500 rather than any of the principal Javanese court centres preceding or following this *kraton* in time.

But of course the Javanese *wayang* theatre is much older than that. Epigraphic evidence for this is available in the charter issued by king Balitung in 907 A.D., which contains the following passage: '... *si galigī mawayang buat thyang macarita bimma ya kumāra*...', i.e. '... Galigī gave a *wayang* performance in honour of the gods, reciting

the Bhīma Kumāra . . .'.³⁸ The question is what performances such as the one mentioned here may have been like. Now the oldest elements of our present-day *lakon* texts are definitely the *suluks*. Many are taken from Old Javanese poems such as the *Bhārata-yuddha*, the *Arjunawiwāha* and the *Rāmāyaṇa kakawins*, works created between the 9th and 12th centuries A.D. *It is not impossible that these kakawins constituted the original texts chanted by the ḍalang while performing the shadow-play* and that their contents were gradually replaced by paraphrases produced by the *ḍalangs* in more modern language in order to suit their audience in more or less the way this is still done in Bali. If this is so, then certain types of Balinese *wayang* may well be a more faithful reflection of the type of performance mentioned in the inscription than the modern Surakarta-style *wayang kulit*. This implies a departure, both on the point of form and contents of the *lakons*, from Rassers' views in this respect. Furthermore, the purely ritual type of performance in Bali (*wayang lēmah*) is executed without a screen or lamp and is consequently not a shadow-play at all (even the audience can be dispensed with altogether), in contradistinction to the shows given for didactic purposes or pure entertainment (*wayang pětěng*). This, too, gives rise to some complications with respect to Rassers' argument. Although it is well possible that several of the *wayang purwa lakons* are indeed old Indonesian myths retold in terms of certain episodes of the *Mahābhārata* or *Rāmāyaṇa*, as maintained by Rassers, it is definitely unlikely that the *majority* of these *lakons* should be variations on one and the same mythical theme.

It may be mere coincidence, though it need not necessarily be so, that the 11th and 12th centuries, i.e. the so-called *Kēḍiri* period, during which a number of important *kakawins* are known to have been created, also saw the advent of the *Panji* story. This was a period in which *Wiṣṇuism*, 'the religion of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* epics', was the most prominent religion in Java. Characteristic of the *Panji* story is the identification of *Panji* and *Candra Kirana* with *Wiṣṇu* and *Śrī* respectively. In the *wayang purwa lakons* we find a similar identification of *Krēsna* and *Rukmini* or of *Rama* and *Dewi Sinta* with *Wiṣṇu* and

³⁸ Cf. F. H. v. Naerssen's publication of the text and translation in *Aanwinsten op ethnogr. en anthropol. gebied v. d. Afd. Volkenkunde v. h. Kol. Instituut over 1934*, Amsterdam, 1935. The study of some types of *wayang* performance found in Bali should be helpful in reconstructing the history of the Javanese *wayang kulit* theatre; cf. S. O. Robson, *The Kawi classics in Bali*, *B.K.I.* 128 (1972); p. 325.

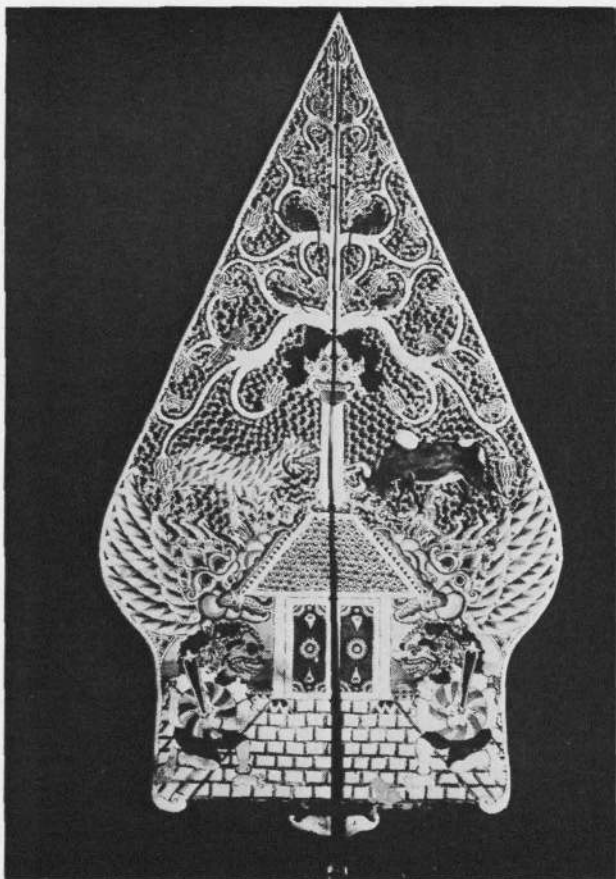


Fig. 1. Combination of the tree of life and a temple or gate. (Collection J. H. Beltman.)

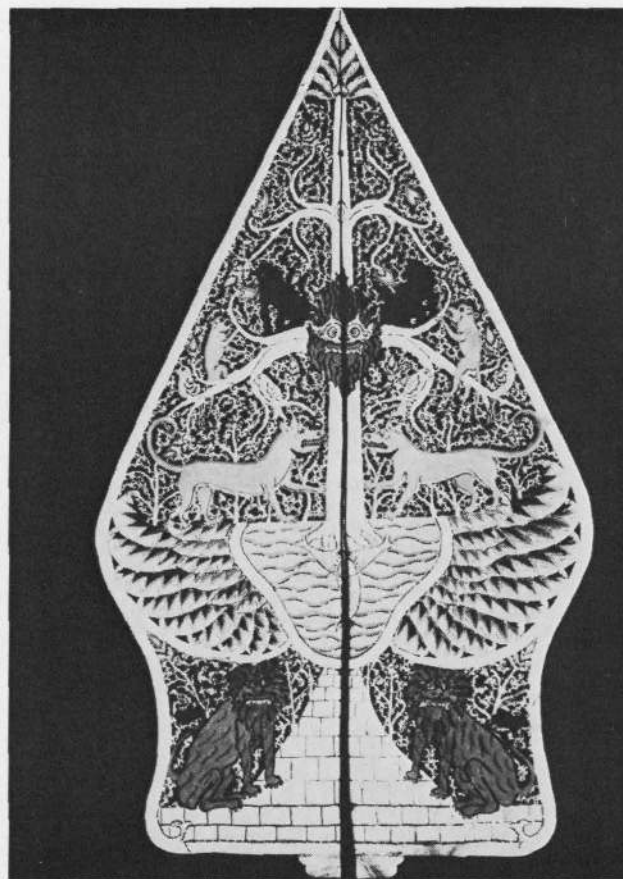


Fig. 2. Tree of life rising from the primeval waters. (Collection J. H. Beltman.)

Javanese *kayons*.

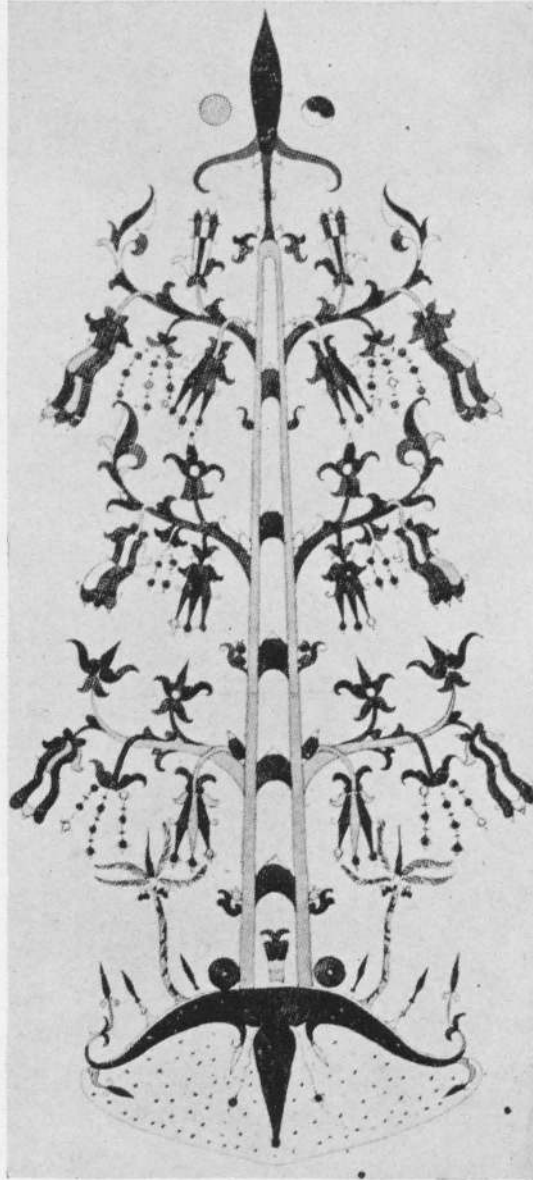


Fig. 3. Ngaju Tree of Life as the totality of the emblems of the supreme deities.

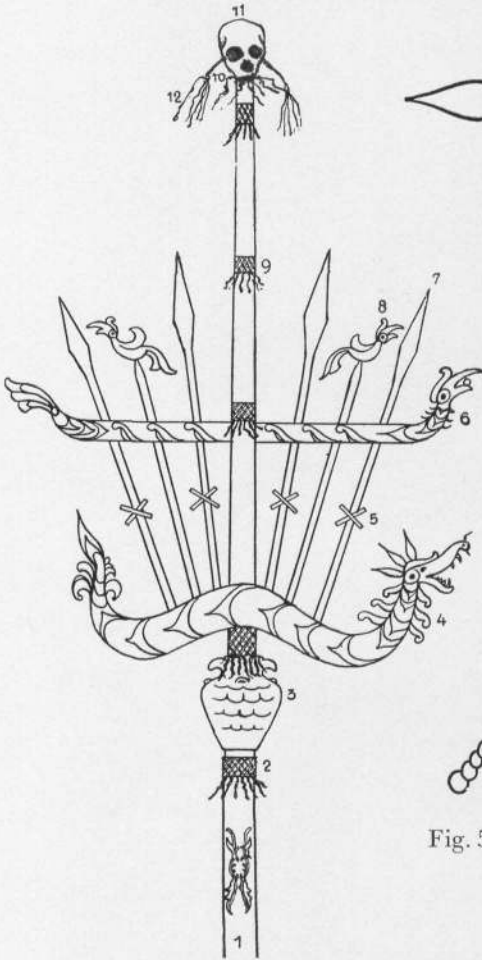


Fig. 4. *Sanggaran* (Tree of Life as totality of Hornbill and Watersnake).
 (Drawing from a Dayak text now in Leiden Univ. Libr. Cod. Or. 8880/2.)

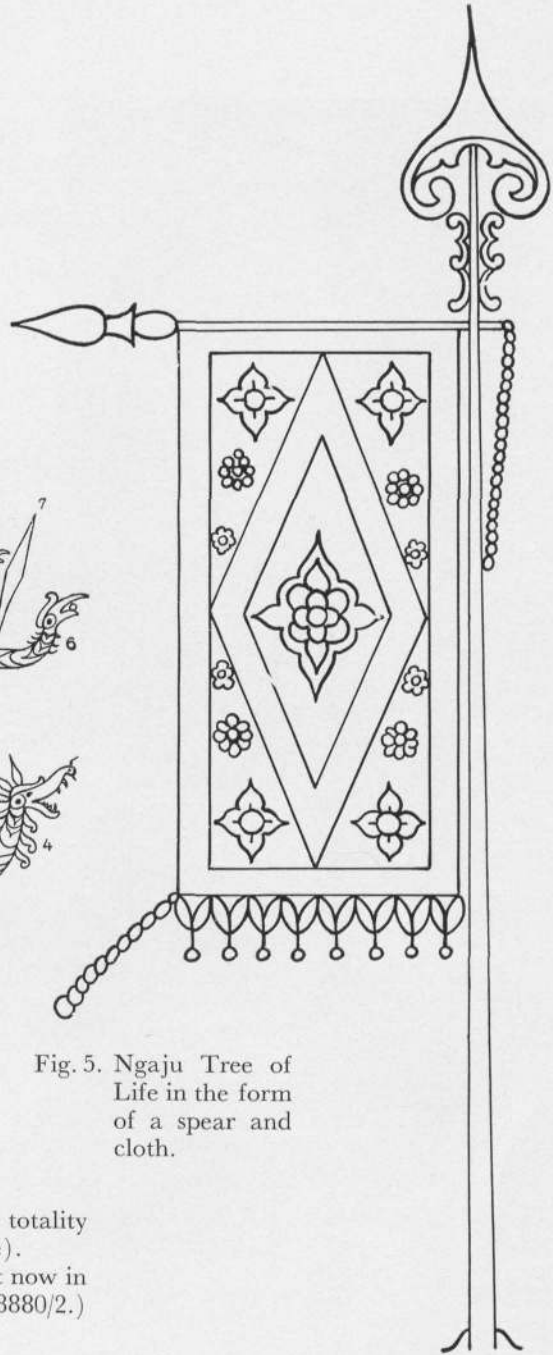


Fig. 5. Ngaju Tree of Life in the form of a spear and cloth.



Fig. 6. Gate of Candī Sēṅḍang Ḍuwur, East Java, showing wings on either side as characteristic for *kayon*.



Fig. 7. Royal palanquin, Yogyakarta, showing a combination of the sunbird with two Watersnakes which is also characteristic of the Dayak "soul-boat".

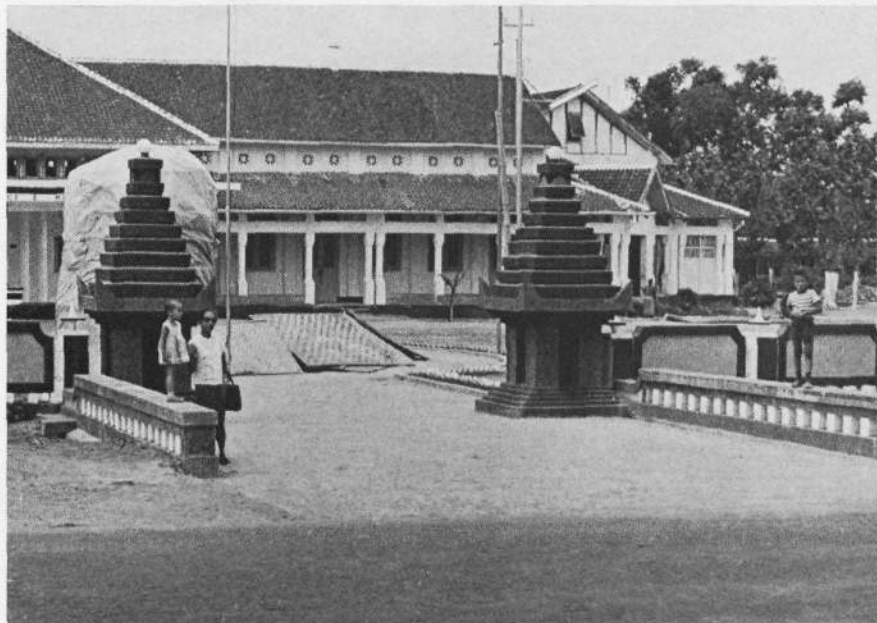


Fig. 8. Entrance to school compound flanked by two miniature temples (Blitar, East Java).

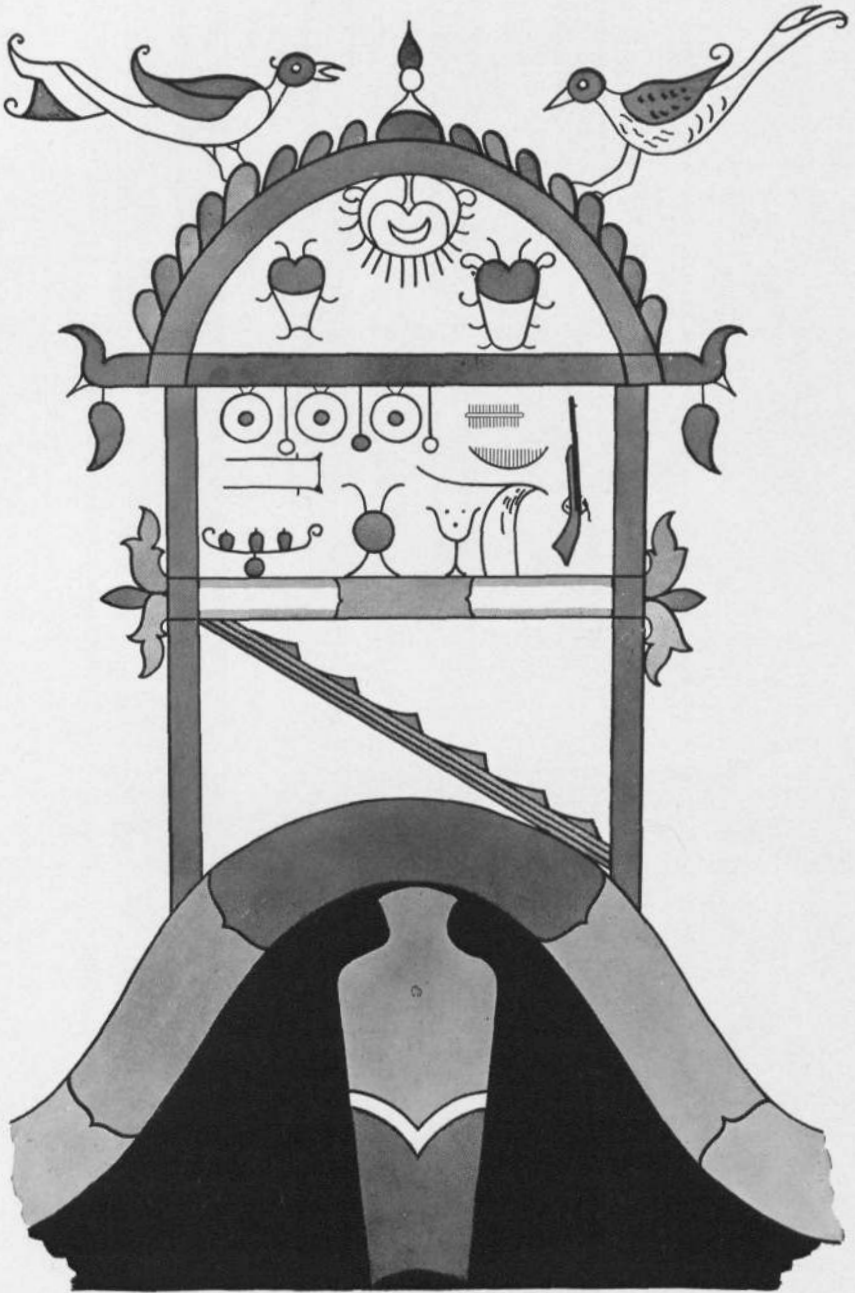


Fig. 9. Ngaju house as Tree of Life on Primeval Hill.

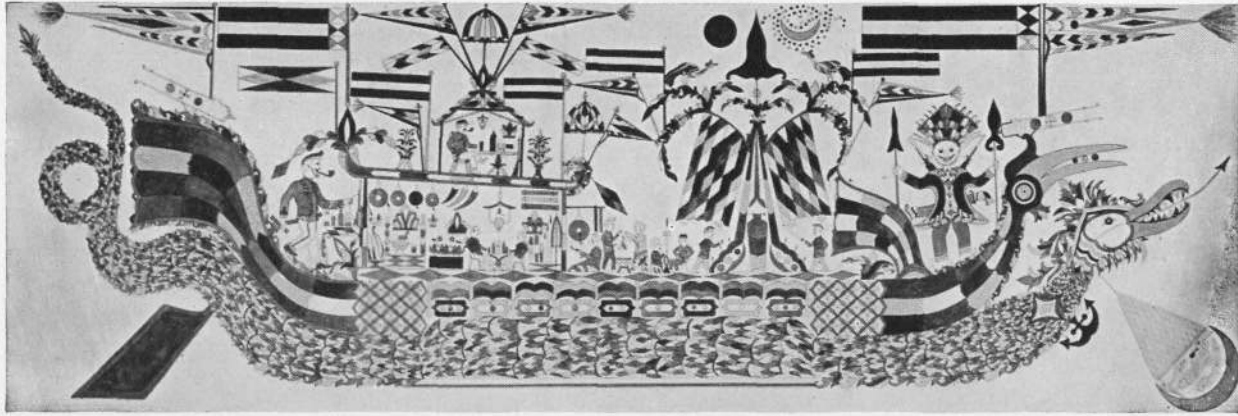


Fig. 10. Ngaju "soul-boat" (combination of Watersnake and Hornbill).

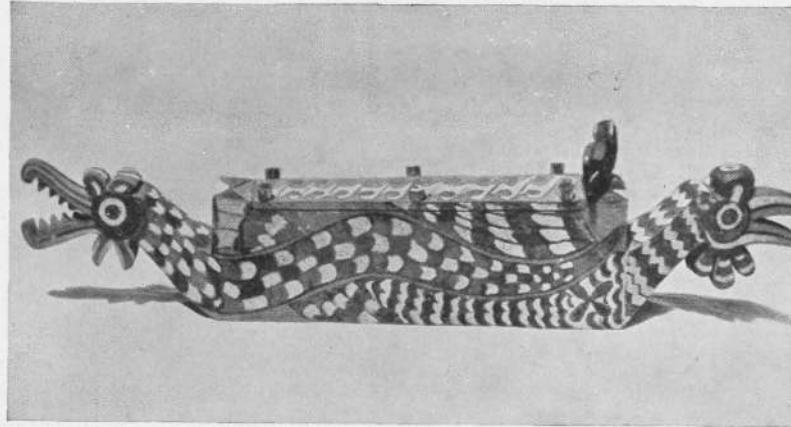


Fig. 11. Ngaju coffin as combination of Watersnake and Hornbill.

Śrī.³⁹ It seems to me that here lies the essential 'general relation' between the Panji story and the *lakons* of the *wayang purwa*. We should not forget, however, that in the latter this identification goes back directly to the Indian originals. Consequently this common feature will only acquire relevance if *both* the *wayang* theatre *and* the Panji stories can be proved to derive from a much older, pre-Hinduistic, institution and myth.

The theatrical equipment for a shadow-play performance (screen, lamp, etc.) is such that it would be hazardous to draw any conclusions concerning origin and/or age of the *wayang* from these items, an exception being made for the motifs used in the ornamentation of several objects and for the puppets themselves. The presentday stylized form of the *wayang* puppets, as was similarly the case with the present form of the *lakons*, is not really old. Javanese tradition has it that these were gradually evolved after the advent of Islam early in the 16th century. Sunan Kali Jaga, one of the nine saints credited with the introduction of Islam in Java, is believed to have played an active part in this besides other important figures of the 'modern' Javanese past. Many Balinese puppets are more archaic in form and style, than the Javanese ones. They are reminiscent of the figures found in reliefs in late Hindu-Javanese sanctuaries, and come closer to the puppets of the Indian shadow-play as reproduced by F. Seltmann⁴⁰ than the modern Javanese ones. In fact, the theory of the purely indigenous origin of the Javanese shadow theatre seems pretty well exploded after Seltmann's recent publications on the shadow theatre in India. But, since the Javanese word *wayang* (Krama: *ringgit*) means not only 'shadow-play puppet', but rather 'puppet' in general and also 'dancer' or 'actor', *the term shadow-play is definitely too narrow a rendering for 'wayang performance', and hence it is more correct to think of wayang in the more general terms of a 'dramatic performance' involving either human actors or puppets, not necessarily projected against a lighted screen.*

One of the more ancient items of the *dalang's* equipment is definitely the *kayon* or *gunungan*, i.e. the tree-like ornament placed in the centre of the 'stage' at certain points before, during and after the performance.

³⁹ This idea is still very much alive at the present day. We find it elaborated in the *carangan lakon Wahju Purba Sēdjati*, edited by Ki Siswoharsojo, Yogyakarta, 1961 (for an English adaptation see James R. Brandon, *On thrones of gold*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970).

⁴⁰ F. Seltmann, *Schattenspiel in Mysore und Andhra Prades, B.K.I.* vol. 127 (1971), pp. 452-489. And: *Schattenspiel in Kerala, B.K.I.* vol. 128 (1972), pp. 458-490.

The *kayon* is not restricted to Java, but is equally found in the *wayang kulit* of Bali and Malaya. In view of what has been said above it seems permissible to treat the Javanese *kayon* not just as an item of the modern puppeteer's outfit, but to attribute to it a more general significance as an, apparently indispensable, Javanese stage requisite. Meanwhile it is worth bearing in mind that tree-like ornaments placed on the stage before or during a dramatic performance given either by human actors or with the aid of puppets are reported from other regions in Asia as well.

Brandes was of the opinion that the *kayon* represents the celestial tree or *kalpadruma*, or in a wider sense the divine mountain or Mahāmeru. Aichele, accepting Brandes' opinion, stressed the solar character of this ornament and compared it to, among other things, the *tree of life* of old Egyptian and Near Eastern civilizations. He was of the opinion that the *kayon* acquired a place in the shadow theatre only by accident and must have originally belonged to an entirely different sphere. To Stutterheim the *kayon* represents above all else the *meru*, i.e. the mountain of the gods with the celestial tree on top of it. He described the Kala head on Javanese *kayons*, halfway up the trunk of the tree, as a 'sun symbol par excellence'.

Rassers fully accepts the existence of an actual connection between the *kayon* of the Javanese *wayang* and the tree of heaven known to us from Indian mythology. As an indispensable accessory in the *wayang* theatre, however, the *kayon* must represent, according to him, a small-scale reproduction of the front wall of the sacred men's house, and consequently of a tribal temple.⁴¹ The gate that is often depicted on Javanese *kayons* he believes to represent the actual entrance to the men's house. The Kala head with its lolling tongue he compares to the mask usually found in the centre of the front wall of the men's house among the Papuans in the Sepik river area in East New Guinea, a figure very much resembling the Javanese *banaspati*.

In my opinion Hidding hit the mark when he compared the *kayon* of the Javanese *wayang* theatre to the Ngaju Dayak *batang garing*, i.e. ivory trunk or *tree of life*.⁴² The *batang garing* is a symbolic representation of the process of creation and plays an important role in all

⁴¹ W. H. Rassers, 1959, p. 178. W. Aichele, Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van de Wenschboom, *Djawa* 1928, pp. 18 ff. W. F. Stutterheim, Oost-Java en de Hemelberg, *Djawa* 1926, pp. 333 ff.

⁴² K. A. H. Hidding, De Betekenis van de Kakajon, *T.B.G.* vol. 71 (1931), pp. 623-662.

religious ceremonies. Decisive for its position in the total cultural context of the Ngaju Dayak people is what is told about it in their *creation myth*. Since Rassers stressed the fact that the Panji story and a number of *lakons* of the *wayang purwa* must reflect an ancient myth about the creation of the world and the origins of Javanese society, we shall now briefly turn our attention to the Ngaju Dayak of South Borneo, living 'nextdoor' to the Javanese but less exposed to outside influences affecting their culture and literature.

The Ngaju Dayak creation myth.

The full text of this myth, which forms part of the priestly chants at the mortuary ritual, was recorded and translated by Schärer.⁴³ Its contents are briefly as follows.

In the beginning everything was in the jaws of the coiled Watersnake. Only the gold mountain towered high, with on its summit its hornbill (i.e. its master) *Ranying Mahatala Langit*. The radiance of the gold mountain mixed with the glittering of the jewel mountain. The jewel mountain swayed back and forth, and on its summit moved its hawk (i.e. its master) or Raja Tempon Hawon. The jewel mountain in its movements struck against the gold mountain. From the series of successive contacts came into being: the clouds, the vault of the sky, the mountains of the earth, the moon and the sun, etc., and finally the golden *head-dress* belonging to *Ranying Mahatala Langit*. Lightning flashing forth from the gold mountain and jewel mountain changed into the moon-shaped ear-ornaments which swing to and fro from the ears of *Putir Selong Langit*, the sister of *Ranying Mahatala Langit*, standing on her brother's left. *Mahatala* stretched his fingers and caused the female *Jata*, the *Watersnake*, his 'maiden', to emerge from the sea (i.e. the primeval waters). *Jata* emerged and the *ear-rings* of the moon, the female *Jata*, swung back and forth, stirred by the beneficent wind. *Jata* cast the jewels to which the ear-rings were secured high into the air and they changed into earth, they changed into the hill. Together the *Watersnake* and its '*sanger*', *Mahatala*, created the ancestors of mankind on the banks of the river of the world.⁴⁴ *Mahatala* raised high his golden head-dress, which changed into the *tree of life*. The sister of *Mahatala*, *Putir Selong Langit*, gathered the fruits and buds from this tree and mixed these with the water of life. Then came into being the tree *Erang Tingang* (a tree in the Upperworld from which rice originates). *Putir Selong Langit* possessed a *female hornbill*. It flew from

⁴³ H. Schärer, *Ngaju religion, the conception of God among a South Borneo people*, The Hague, 1963, pp. 163 ff.

⁴⁴ *Sanger* = Malay *besan*, i.e. persons whose children have intermarried. The concept of the union of Father Sky (the male cosmic principle) and Mother Earth (the female cosmic principle) as a kind of primeval marriage setting in motion the whole process of creation is also found in tribal mythologies elsewhere in Indonesia; cf. W. Stöhr and P. Zoetmulder, *Die Religionen Indonesiens*, Stuttgart, 1965, pp. 122 ff.

its *golden cage*, alighted on the three of life and fed on its buds and fruit. Mahatala raised his *golden dagger*. The dagger changed into a *male hornbill*, which flew to the tree of life and fed on its moss; but it remained hungry. When it saw the female hornbill eating the buds and fruit it became angry. A fight broke out between the birds. In the course of this struggle the tree of life was gradually torn to pieces (but this destruction of the tree by the two birds is actually a continuation of the process of creation). Buds hacked away from the tree by the male hornbill changed into a vessel of yellow *bangkirai* wood (the golden boat or watersnake boat). The female hornbill in turn kicked at the knotty excrescences of the tree. They stretched and changed into the first human being: a woman wearing a shawl and called *Putir Kahukup Bungking Garing*. She immediately got into the yellow boat. The last remaining stump of the tree of life changed into a black boat (the jewel boat or hornbill boat). The male hornbill hacked at the throat of the female hornbill. From it fell white gleaming moss which changed into a human being. This was the youth *Manyamei Limut Garing*. He got into the black boat. The two boats drifted together. The youth, seeing the girl, was overcome with the desire to unite with her, and to possess the *moon*, his *sister*, the *female hornbill*, the *Watersnake*. The girl was prepared to yield to her *hornbill*, provided he was able to find her a piece of land for a landing-place for the boats and a tall house to live in. Meanwhile the male and female hornbills resumed their fighting and killed each other. Their bones changed into the tree of life in the village of the dead, which tree rises from the depths of the sea and from which flows the water of life guaranteeing eternal life to the dead. With the help of Mahatala and Jata an island was formed on which a tall house was erected. Manyamei Limut Garing was now able to marry his sister, the moon, Putir Kahukup Bungking Garing. They begot three *daggers* (i.e. sons). One of the boys, *Maharaja Buno*, left the Upperworld and became the ancestor of the people living on the banks of the river of this world; *Maharaja Sangiang* became the ancestor of those who settled on the banks of the Sangiang river; and *Maharaja Sangen* founded the lineage of those living in the primeval village of Batu Nindan Tarong.

The *gold mountain* and *jewel mountain* are the seats of the two supreme deities: Ranying Mahatala Langit, the Hornbill or the sun, who is lord of the Upperworld, and his female counterpart, Raja Tempon Hawon (cf. the male and female *gunungans* of the Garëbëg feasts in the Javanese principalities). From the contacts between these mountains originates part of creation. Raja Tempon Hawon is probably identical with Mahatala's sister Putir Selong Langit, whose name means 'agate of the sky'. Her relationship to Mahatala's '*sanger*', Jata, is not clear from the wording of the myth. Schärer says: 'It would be risky to conclude here that she must be equated with Jata, i.e. that she is Jata herself, though there is much to be said for this interpretation.' My personal impression is that *the moon Putir Selong Langit and the watersnake Jata are two alternating aspects of one and the same supreme female principle*. The whole cosmos comes into being from the meeting between the two supreme deities, the male and the female.

As the process of creation continues, the role of these deities is taken

over by the male and female hornbills. *The male hornbill comes from Mahatala's dagger, which is a phallic symbol. The female hornbill escapes from Putir Selong Langit's golden cage (cf. Javanese kuṭa mas, euphemistic for the female pudenda).* In their sacred contest the two birds annihilate the tree of life. This tree of life symbolizes the unity of the two supreme deities: the total ambivalent godhead. It stands between the Upperworld and Underworld (cf. the Toba Batak *tunggal panaluan*). Pictures of it show a combination of the emblems and attributes of the two supreme deities: the male hornbill and female hornbill, the sun and the moon, spear and cloth. *The trunk of the tree is formed by the sacred spear, emblem of Mahatala and, again, a phallic symbol. It rests on the primeval hill, suggestive of the female pudenda.* Sometimes we find Mahatala enthroned in the top of the tree and the tree itself supported by the body of the watersnake. Within the trunk there is a sacred jar filled with the water of life. In its simplest form we find the tree represented as a combination of the spear and cloth: as a *banner*. In this form we also find it represented as the masts of the sacred boats: the hornbill boat and the watersnake boat.

In religious pictures we find representations of the hornbill with the scales of the watersnake and of the watersnake with the feathers of the hornbill. This means that the two in some way form a unity. The *sanggaran* (post erected at mortuary feast) of fig. 4 is nothing other than a schematic representation of the tree of life. It shows, horizontally, a hornbill with the body of a watersnake together with a real watersnake. From other *sanggarans* displaying only one watersnake horizontally, and a hornbill at the top we may deduce that the two horizontal animals of our fig. 4 represent only different aspects of one and the same being, namely *the supreme female deity* occurring in the myth alternately as the hawk Raja Tempon Hawon / Mahatala's sister Putir Selong Langit (the moon) and as Mahatala's 'maiden' Jata, the watersnake. The female hornbill is her emblem. The skull in fig. 4 represents Mahatala or the male hornbill and is to be compared to the sun just below the ridge of the roof in fig. 9 (cf. the Kala head in the *kayon*). Turning to Java we find that here the combination of two *nagas* with a solar bird, as above is a favorite feature of traditional ornamental design. We find it represented in fig. 7, which shows one of the royal palanquins of the Sultan of Yogyakarta. As a ceremonial conveyance this palanquin may be compared to the Ngaju Dayak soul-boat of fig. 10.

Fig. 9 shows the sacred Ngaju Dayak house in the form of a tree of life, standing on the primeval hill which encloses a jar. It is comparable

to the winged portal or gateway on the *kayon* of fig. 1. The jar is comparable to the basin of water from which the tree in fig. 2 rises. On other *kayons* we may find this basin combined with the roof of the gateway. This comparison tends to confirm both Rassers' theory that the *kayon* represents the front wall of the ancient Javanese sacred men's house or tribal shrine and Stutterheim's view that the *candis* or temple-mausoleums of Java are replicas of the Meru or World Mountain symbolizing the cosmic order, and that they share this symbolism with the *kayon* of the shadow-play. That the gate on *kayons* may indeed be regarded as a temple-gate is illustrated by fig. 6, showing one of the gates of *canḍi Sēḍang Ḍuwur*, which has the same curious wing-like ornaments on either side as those always found on *kayons* (probably originally perching birds comparable to the birds on the roof of the house in fig. 9, which represent the male and female hornbills of the creation myth). Fig. 8 shows how miniature temples are still frequently found flanking the entrances to large compounds or the approaches to villages in East Java, in a similar way as the two *waringin kurung* in front of *kraton* entrances in Central Java.

The element represented by the sacred contest between the two hornbills in the creation myth is encountered everywhere in Ngaju Dayak religious ceremonies in which the primeval events are re-enacted, namely birth, initiation and marriage ceremonies, and the great mortuary feast. Actualized in this way, it belongs to the same category as the potlatch feast with its ceremonial, sportive competitions between antagonistic groups, its fights, and its large-scale destruction of valuables, etc. The cock-fights with often heavy betting which are so popular all over the archipelago may derive from this same complex of customs and beliefs.

The Ngaju Dayak creation myth and the Panji story.

1. *The tree of life.* Comparison of the Ngaju Dayak *batang garing* with the Javanese *kayon* leaves little doubt as to their being perfectly identical. They exhibit the same sets of symbols and emblems. They show some interesting parallels also functionally. *The batang garing is erected whenever the creation myth is enacted.* Similarly the first act of the Javanese *ḍalang* before commencing a *wayang* show is to place the *kayon* in the centre of the stage. This suggests that the *wayang* show, be it a *wayang gēḍog* (in which the Panji story is enacted) or a *wayang*

purwa show, has certain important characteristics in common with the re-enactment of primeval events on the occasion of initiation, marriage, etc., among the Ngaju Dayak.⁴⁵

In the Panji story Raden Inu's title '*panji*' becomes meaningful when we remember that the tree of life is represented in its simplest form by a spear with a square of cloth, i.e. the banner or *panji* (cf. fig. 5). Corresponding herewith the Ngaju Dayak creation myth states that the name of the descendant of Maharaja Sangen who remains behind as guardian of the primeval village of Batu Nindan Tarong is Sarempong *Panji*.

In the Ngaju Dayak myth a new cycle of creation begins when Mahatala raises his golden headdress, which thereupon changes into the tree of life. This tree becomes firmly rooted down below, but towers up high into the sky. A parallel to this is found in the Javanese story of Jayalengkara Panji, when Kala Surya, prior to his new incarnation, sends down from heaven his powerful emblem, *the black banner with the white border*. This banner is planted in the *paséban* (i.e. court) of the *kraton* of Majapahit (the centre of the Javanese world). Owing to its presence here the country is beset by disease and death. No one is able to extract it but Miluhur, who is of Kala Surya's own race and will be his physical father in his subsequent incarnation (cf. the role of the male hornbill in the creation myth). We find this motif in several other Panji stories, though sometimes almost beyond recognition. So in the *Sérat Kanda* (see Poerbatjaraka, 1940) for example, instead of a standard it is the rib of a palm-leaf which, on the occasion of a *sayembara*, is planted so firmly in the square in front of the palace of the king of Kéling that only Miluhur is able to extract it.

A modern Javanese reflection of the same ancient element is doubtless the tradition concerning the origin of the most sacred of the Yogyakarta '*pusaka ageng*', the pike *Kyai Plèrèd*, which is briefly as follows.

⁴⁵ The scope of this article does not permit a discussion of the problem presented by the intriguing parallel (among several others) of the Indian *jarjara* or *Indra-dhwaja* (i.e. Indra's banner) which, as an equivalent of the *kakayon*, is placed on the stage and worshipped during the prelude to a dramatic play. Cf. F. D. K. Bosch, *The golden germ*, The Hague, 1960, pp. 177 ff.; and F. B. J. Kuiper's important review on the first edition of this book: *Naar aanleiding van de Gouden Kiem*, *B.K.I.* vol. 107 (1951), p. 68. In his study of 1970 Kuiper drew attention in a more general way to some remarkable parallels between the Indian and Ngaju Dayak cosmogonic myths as well as parallels with myths elsewhere, and to the important problems arising from this (concerning the tree of life, the two birds perched on either side of the tree and other aspects of the myth, see esp. pp. 124 ff.).

When the end of the Majapahit empire was drawing near, a powerful *pandita*, Sèh Maulana Maribi, was engaged in ascetic exercises once sitting in an old tree near a pool in a forest. A daughter of the *adipati* of Tuban, Dewi Rasa Wulan, came to this pool for a bath. The *pandita* looked down on her, and through the power of his gaze the girl became pregnant. In despair she invoked the help of the holy man to get rid of the child. Through his magic power the *pandita* caused the child, a boy, to be born in a supernatural way. It was given to the widow of a village chief, Nyai Ageng ing Tarub, who reared it. After this had happened Sèh Maulana Maribi severed his *penis*, which changed into a bronze *kris* named Braja Sungku. At some later time, when it was made into a *pike*, it received the name Kyai Plèrèd. The boy, known as Jaka Tarub, became one of the ancestors of the first king of Mataram.⁴⁶

It should be observed here that the motif of Mahatala's raising his most precious emblem and subsequently hurling it down, whereupon it takes the form of the tree of life, also has a parallel in Hinduism. In the Dewadāru Mahātmya the god Śiwa in disguise visits a hermitage. He throws all the wives of the *ṛṣis* into an erotic passion. Following a curse pronounced by the enraged *ṛṣis*, Śiwa's *lingga* separates from his body. It penetrates deep into the underworld, while Śiwa himself falls asleep. All sorts of calamities now befall the universe. The gods Wiṣṇu, Brahma and Indra beseech Śiwa to resume his phallus, in order to guard the world against complete destruction. Śiwa agrees. He takes his *lingga* and erects it on the Hātakeśwara kṣetra (the field of the Golden Lord). There it is worshipped by the gods.⁴⁷

The usual representation of the *lingga* as an object of religious worship makes it a perfect parallel to the tree of life. It rises with its tip, the most sacred part, upward from the *yoni*, which is usually taken to represent the female pudenda. As a symbolization of sexual union (functioning in a fertility cult, for example) this is an illogical arrangement. If, however, we take the *lingga* as an alternative for the tree of life which has its roots deep in the underworld or in the primeval hill or waters (the female aspect of the cosmos) and reaches with its tip into heaven (the Upperworld, or male aspect), then the representation of a *lingga* rising from its *yoni* becomes perfectly logical.⁴⁸ An illustra-

⁴⁶ J. Groneman, *De Garèbbèg's te Ngajogyakarta*, The Hague, 1895, pp. 55 ff. Groneman quoted from the Babad Dèmak. The Babad Tanah Jawi presents a different version. Maulana Maghribi = Malik Ibrahim † 1419 in Gresik.

⁴⁷ Cf. F. D. K. Bosch, *Het Lingga Heiligdom van Dinaja*, *T.B.G.* vol. 64 (1924), pp. 227-291.

⁴⁸ Cf. F. D. K. Bosch, 1960, p. 166. For a more detailed discussion of the *lingga* cult in Java and a comparison with similar cults elsewhere in Southeast Asia, see Ph. van Akkeren, *Een gedrocht en toch de volmaakte mens*, The Hague, 1951.

tion of this is provided by the lingga monument of Jalatunḍa, a Wiṣquite sanctuary of 977 A.D. on Mount Pēnanggungan in East Java. Here we see as central part one main lingga surrounded by 2 x 4 smaller ones, grouped together on a lotus cushion and encircled by a giant *naga* (watersnake).⁴⁹

Identification of the tree of life with the phallus or lingga of the creative deity does not of course preclude the possibility of equating the tree of life, on a different level of speculation, with the human body: the human body as the holy tabernacle of the creative principle. This equation automatically leads to the concept of male and female trees of life found in the Ngaju Dayak complex of religious notions. 'Annihilation' of this human tree of life by the gradual reduction of food and sleep, as is customary in ascetic exercises, leads the ascetic to a higher sphere of spiritual consciousness. In the framework of this symbolism the representation on the stage of the tree of life, i.e. the *kayon*, can be interpreted as a gateway to a higher level of existence, while the *wayang* play itself, which is performed at night, provides a view of the path traversed by the conscious human being to reach that level.⁵⁰

2. *The quasi-incest motif.* A parallel that leaps to the eye is that between Kala Surya in the Jayalēngkara Panji and Mahatala in the creation myth. Kala Surya (king Jayalēngkara) is carrying on in addition to his regular marriage to queen Candra Lata (n.b. *lata* is poetic for 'snake') an incestuous relationship with his elder sister Candra Swara. This relationship is perpetuated in his next incarnation as Raden Inu. His former sister then incarnates herself in both Angreni (who receives the usual punishment for this incestuous relationship: the penalty of death) and the princess of Daha, Candra Kirana. Kala Surya's former wife is incarnated in the princess of Urawan, Kumudaningrat, whom Inu marries even before Candra Kirana. It is interesting to note that there is a similar situation in the generation of Panji's father. At Lēmbu Miluhur's side we find two women: the queen Teja Swara, Panji's mother, and the king's unmarried elder sister Kilisuci, who plays a very active part in the story.

This quasi-incest motif corresponds to Mahatala's seemingly dual

⁴⁹ F. D. K. Bosch, The Old Javanese bathing-place Jalatunḍa, *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archeology*, The Hague, 1961, pp. 49-107.

⁵⁰ Cf. Mangkunagara VII of Surakarta, *On the Wayang Kulit (Purwa) and its symbolic and mystical elements*, translated from the original *Djawa* article by C. Holt, Data Paper no. 27, Ithaca, N.Y.

relationship in the creation myth: on the one hand with his regular partner, the female Jata or *watersnake*, and on the other hand with his sister, Putir Selong Langit, the *moon*.

The explanation for this ambiguous situation in the creation myth is to be found in the alternation of day and night. In the daytime the Underworld is down below, and the female Jata, or *watersnake*, is in hiding in the primeval waters below. At night the situation is reversed: the Underworld is up above (the nocturnal sky), and the female Jata, queen of the Underworld, is visible as the moon Putir Selong Langit.⁵¹ Consequently the female Jata and Putir Selong Langit, although not quite identical, are even so inseparable: *they are the alternating aspects of the female part of the cosmos*. Towards sunset Mahatala causes the female Jata to emerge. When the moon rises, Putir Selong Langit stands to the left of her brother, Mahatala, the sun. She is the guardian of the water of life, kept in a jar, during the daytime below the primeval waters, i.e. in the depths of the ocean, and at night in the nocturnal sky with the moon. This is why the myth describes both women as wearing 'moon-shaped' ear-ornaments, and why their roles in the creation process cannot be separated.

The group of statues in Bělahan, a holy bathing-place on mount Pěnanggungan dating from the 10th century A.D., is perhaps a Hindu-Javanese reflection of this same idea. It depicts the god Wiřnu (n.b.: the 'mistaken portrait statue' of king Erlangga) riding the Garuđa with below him to the right and left his wives, the goddesses Lakřmī and řri, who in later Indian mythology are usually taken to represent one and the same person.⁵²

The quasi-incest motif also explains the ambiguous and ever mutually hesitant attitude which is characteristic of Raden Inu and Candra Kirana in most Panji stories. On the one hand they have a strong desire to marry (cf. the youth Manyamei Limut Garing and his 'sister', the moon Putir Kahukup Bungking Garing in the creation myth), while on the other hand they seem to shrink back from this.

3. *Rice goddess and sun-bird*. In the Panji story Candra Kirana is referred to as a manifestation of Dewi Sri, worshipped in Java as the

⁵¹ The nocturnal aspect of the cosmos, a motif which is also known from Indian mythology; see F. B. J. Kuiper, 1951, p. 82; *idem*, *The Bliss of Ařa*, *Indo-Iranian Journal* vol. VIII, The Hague, 1964, pp. 114 ff.; *idem*, *The Heavenly Bucket*, *India Maior*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 150 ff.

⁵² For pictures of this see Th. A. Resink, 1967.

goddess of rice. This feature also finds a parallel in the creation myth. The sister of Mahatala, Putir Selong Langit, gathers ivory fruits from the tree, mixes them with the water of life, and thus causes the Erang Tingang tree, the tree in the Upperworld from which rice originates, to grow.

In the same way that Putir Kahukup Bungking Garing may be considered a granddaughter and personal manifestation of Putir Selong Langit via the female hornbill, the youth Manyamei Limut Garing is to be considered a grandson and manifestation of Mahatala, the great Hornbill, the sun. The hornbill in Borneo is the symbol of virility and power par excellence. Parallel to this, Raden Inu is the grandson of Sri Gëntayu, also called Rěsi Gaṭayu, who is usually identified with king Erlangga. Gaṭayu derives from the Sanskrit jaṭāyu. The bird Jaṭāyu in the epics is the king of the vultures, the faithful ally of Rāma, and the son of Garuḍa who serves as Wiṣṇu's *wāhana* (vehicle) and is symbolic of Wiṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, and consequently is a sun-bird, just as the Indonesian hornbill.

The role played by Dewi Sri and her younger brother Sadana (which is a name for Wiṣṇu⁵³ in the *wayang lakons* belonging to the agricultural sphere was discussed by Rassers in his article on the meaning of the Javanese drama published in 1925.⁵⁴ The *lakons* discussed here certainly derive from very ancient, pre-hinduistic, Javanese myths and exhibit a number of features which connect them with similar Ngaju Dayak mythic material.

4. *Functional character.* I have earlier characterized the Panji story as a typical princely *wedding-story* and explained its widespread occurrence in different versions from this fact. Schärer informs us that among the Ngaju Dayak the two months between the old and the new year, when all the agricultural tasks are finished, are considered the most proper time for contracting marriages.⁵⁵ It is the time between the expiry of one period and the beginning of another in the existence of the world: the time of a new creation. This is also the period in which the community

⁵³ From the Skt. *sādhana*, cf. H. N. v. d. Tuuk, *Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, vol. III, p. 145. Among the various meanings of Skt. *sādhana*, Monier Williams (*A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford) also lists: 'organ of generation (male or female)'; cf. the lingga cult mentioned above.

⁵⁴ W. H. Rassers, 1959, pp. 1-61.

⁵⁵ H. Schärer, 1963, pp. 81 ff. For Indian parallels see F. B. J. Kuiper, 1970, pp. 107, 117 and 137.

celebrates its major religious feasts. The *tree of life* is then erected, later to be destroyed again. All sorts of *contests* are organized and *theatrical performances* held. The wedding is one of these major religious feasts, for to be married means to enter a new stage of the sacred life. It is the same kind of event as birth, initiation and death: something old comes to a close and something new begins. It is death and rebirth. The young people concerned die and are thus returned to the mythical primeval phase. They return to the Tree of Life. This is expressed in the ritual clasp of the imitation of that tree by the bridal pair, which symbolizes that they are *in* the Tree of Life. In the ritual the godhead re-enacts the creation of the world, and through it the young people leave the Tree and re-enter Life. Thus *the wedding is the re-enactment of creation* in general and also the re-enactment of the creation of the first human couple from the Tree of Life. *In their matrimonial union the young couple are identified with the total godhead*, i.e. with the united Hornbill and Watersnake, exactly the same as Panji and Candra Kirana when they are identified with Wiṣṇu and Śrī.

Conclusion.

Comparison of the Panji story with the Ngaju Dayak creation myth showed them to have a number of essential characteristics in common. Seemingly odd features in the Panji story became meaningful after tracing the original associations. The story about the union of Raden Inu with Candra Kirana interpreted as the union of Wiṣṇu with Śrī may now be defined as *an ancient, pre-Hindu-Javanese, creation myth retold in quasi historical terms in the cultural setting of 11th century Hinduized Java.*

The comparison enabled us to verify the functional character of the Panji story as a typical wedding-story. It further explained the use made of the Panji motif in various historical or semi-historical texts dealing with the beginning of a new era (dynastic origins). The prominence in the story of the sun and moon, which induced Rassers to speak of a moon myth, although he rejected the interpretation given by Father Schmidt, also became understandable. Another advantage of our comparison is that it enables us to isolate a number of features and motifs from the seemingly unwieldy, 'amorphous mass' of Panji stories which we can now recognize as being essential to the theme. It may thus eventually become possible, if not to find a prototype, then at least to

classify the existing stories as more or less faithfully reflecting that prototype.

Finally it should be remarked that this comparison brings us very near to Rassers, who regarded as the most ancient core of the Panji story the myth relating the coming into being of the Javanese world and the primeval marriage of the first human couple, who were the ancestors of the Javanese people and the founders of Javanese society. It also brings us quite near to the point from which Rassers started his later studies collected in 'Pañji, the Culture Hero'. Much of the negative appreciation of Rassers' work — so it seems to me — derives directly from careless reading and the taking of catchwords out of their context. Rassers did what today is common practice in many other disciplines: he used the available factual knowledge to construct a *model*, which in turn could be used as a tool for further research. This model proved basically suitable for the purpose. It is only normal that, as the years pass by, the model should need adaptation and correction in accordance with the advance in our factual knowledge.

A controversial element of Rassers' theory was the emphasis laid on the totemistic character of the original myth and on the cosmic dualism connected with the division of primitive tribal society into moieties. Although we are primarily concerned with the philological and literary aspects of the Panji problem here, it is perhaps not without use to give at least some attention to this point, and I shall do so by quoting Schärer. Discussing the essence of Dayak religion Schärer remarks that: '... the supreme deities are never represented in art as persons but as mythical totemic creatures (Hornbill and Watersnake), This may be connected with the fact that the supreme deities are identical with the moieties, and therefore cannot be represented except as totemic creatures or emblems (spear and cloth). They are precisely not persons but the total community. The Upperworld and the Underworld are not in the first place the dwelling-places of the two supreme deities but of the two moieties or ritual groups.'⁵⁶ This tribal organization — as Schärer had remarked earlier,⁵⁷ — has long since disintegrated. The society is still divided into groups, but these groups do not have the character of moieties. The 'Sun People' (or 'White People') of today,

⁵⁶ H. Schärer, 1963, p. 157. N.B. This point is disputed as being an application of Durkheimian theory (possibly inspired by Rassers) by H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The Cosmological Aspect of Indonesian Religion*, *J.R.A.S.* 1959, pp. 100-139.

⁵⁷ H. Schärer, 1963, p. 138, and pp. 40-43.

i.e. the group connected with the Hornbill, representing the Upperworld and Mahatala, are the superior social group, from which judges, military leaders, *adat* chiefs, etc. are recruited. They are the group who own the *pusaka* or sacred heirlooms (cf. the *priayi* group in Javanese society; *wong putihan* in Java applies to a religious elite group). The inferior group consists of the freemen forming the majority of the society. They own the *land* and are mainly occupied in agriculture. They are called the 'Moon People', 'Watersnake people', or 'Red People' (cf. the *wong abangan* in Javanese society), associated with the Underworld and obliged to render various services to the superior group, primarily at feasts. This is also the group which provides the *balian* and *basir*, i.e. the priestesses and priests who are the repositories of the orally transmitted sacred literature.

This brings us to the last point in Rassers' theory that should be mentioned at this stage, namely the relation between the *wayang* theatre and the Panji story. I have tried to show that the shadow theatre in its present form is most probably not as old as has been assumed by some scholars in the past. This does not mean to say that Javanese dramatic art is not a really old institution, but simply that *the shadow theatre may have evolved from some older form of dramatic performance which was not necessarily a wayang kulit or leather puppet type of show*. In her discussion of 'The Wayang World' Claire Holt remarked: 'There are striking parallels between the qualifications demanded of a dalang and those that were required, on the one hand, of the Indian *sutradhara*, director and producer of classical drama and, on the other, of a shaman who officiates today in a Dayak community of Central Borneo.'⁵⁸ In view of the facts discussed above, and taking into account the social and (semi-)religious functions of the *wayang* theatre in Bali and Java even today, it seems likely that dramatic performances of a ritual nature more or less similar to the religious and semi-religious entertainment forms found among the Dayak of South Borneo constituted the origin of Javanese dramatic art as well. Cultural influences from India may have led to the development of the leather puppet show as a specialized form of dramatic expression, in addition to the old topeng show and possible other indigenous types of performance during the first millennium of the Christian era. In view of their particular theme it is likely also that the Panji or *wayang gēḍog* shows constituted from the beginning an important element in the repertory of this *wayang* theatre.

⁵⁸ Claire Holt, *Art in Indonesia, Continuities and Change*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1967, p. 132.