

The Panji Story: From Version to Version *)

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Introduction

A monument that was erected during the reign of King Dyah Balitung of Central Java dating from approximately 907 CE (Ministry of Education and Culture 1983-1984, 2) provides the oldest written record of a *wayang* performance, which was based on the *Mahabharata* epic tale.

The *Ramayana* was also an important source in the development of the performing arts in the early civilization of Java. The history of the *Ramayana* dates back to approximately the 5th-4th century BCE. It is believed that the original version of the story is Valmiki's *Ramayana*. Some cultural evidence suggests that the *Ramayana* predates the *Mahabharata*. Regardless of which tale appeared first, these two important Indian literary works have been adapted to many forms in Javanese performing arts and in those of the rest of Southeast Asia: the Javanese *Ramayana*, the Javanese *Mahabharata* (in various forms of puppetry), the Balinese *Ramayana*, the Phra Lak Phra Lam of Laos, the Hikayat Seri Rama of Malaysia, the Ramakien of Thailand, the Yama Zatdaw of Myanmar, etc.

Alongside the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, there is a local Javanese cycle called the Story of Panji, which, according to C.C. Berg's work *Inleiding tot de Studie van het Oud-Javaansch* (1928), was disseminated in the year of Pamalayu (1277 CE). Purbatjaraka, an expert on the Panji cycles, writes: "[...] the writing of the early Panji story was during the supremacy of the Majapahit Kingdom" (Purbatjaraka 1968, 404). The Story of Panji subsequently spread throughout the Southeast Asian region, including present-day Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, Myanmar and Laos, and has been adapted to a variety of performing arts.

There are differing versions and episodes of the Panji cycles. The main story, however, is about the romance between Prince Panji and Princess Kirana, a tragic tale of love, full of adventures and challenges that sometimes concludes with a happy ending. This paper is a descriptive study of versions that can be found in Purbatjaraka's book *Tjerita Panji Dalam Perbandingan* (1968) and in R.A. Kosasih's *Pandji Semirang* (1978). It is possible that the *Mahabharata* may have influenced some stories in the Panji cycles. In his genealogy entitled *Pustaka Radja Mada*, the Surakartan poet Ranggawarsito writes: "the Javanese Kings, including Panji, are considered the descendants of the Pandavas of the *Mahabharata*" (Brandon 1970, 9).

1. Prelude to the Panji Stories: ‘The Book of Smaradahana’

This book, entitled *Kakawin Smaradahana*, was written by Mpu Dharmaja in the early 12th century CE and was later incorporated as a prelude to the Panji tales. It describes that King Kamesjwara (Kamajaya) of the Court of Kediri reigned from 1037 to 1052 (1115 – 1130 CE) and that he is the third incarnation of Batara Kamadaja. Kamesjwara’s wife, Sri-Kiranaratu, also known as Dewi Kamaratih, was a princess of the Court of Djenggala. The story tells that both husband and wife have disappeared from Svargaloka (heavenly earth) and were burnt by the fire of Shiva, lord of destruction. The spirits of Kamajaya and Kamaratih fell to the earth and were incarnated several times as mortal human beings. Accordingly, the main characters of the Panji cycles are Prince Panji and Princess Kirana, the notable incarnations of Kamajaya and Kamaratih on earth (Purbatjaraka and Hadidjaja 1952, 21-22).

2. The First Version: ‘The Tales of Pandji Kuda Semirang’

This version can be found in the 125 scripts collected by Cohen Stuart (Purbatjaraka 1968, 3-42). It tells of the brotherhood of the four kings of Java, the eldest one being the king of Kuripan, the second the king of Daha, the third the king of Gagelang and the last one the king of Singasari. Inu Kertapati, later known as Panji and also known as Kuda Rawisrengga, is the son of the king of Kuripan. The story begins with the arranged marriage of Prince Inu Kertapati and Princess Galuh Candrakirana, the daughter of the king of Daha.

Upon realizing that both the king of Kuripan and the king of Daha have not fulfilled their promise to give offerings to the gods of *bengawan*, Batara Kala, the god of destruction, reports to Batara Guru and asks for his permission to punish them. As a result, Inu Kertapati and Galuh Candrakirana are condemned to remain separated and to face numerous challenges before they can finally be reunited as a married couple. In the many challenges and adventures to which Panji is submitted in the middle of the story, he engages in warfare, always ending up as the victor, and meets beautiful ladies who fall in love with him.

In this version, while he is out hunting, he meets Ken Martalangu, the beautiful daughter of the chief of the village. Both the father and daughter are afraid of the king of Daha, knowing that Panji has already been promised to Galuh Candrakirana, the princess of Daha. Their fears come true as the queen of Kuripan, Panji’s mother, becomes very angry. One night, she comes to Martalangu’s room while Panji is out hunting and stabs Ken Martalangu to death with her *kris* (wavy double-bladed dagger).

Meanwhile, Batara Kala is also submitting Galuh Candrakirana to bad events. He makes a whirlwind that carries Galuh Candrakirana to Mount Djambangan and asks her to stay there and become an ascetic (*pertapa*). She changes her name to Endang

Sangulara. Her parents, the king and queen of Daha, are shocked upon discovering that Galuh Candrakirana, their beloved daughter, has suddenly disappeared, and they soon send a delegate to the king and queen of Kuripan to tell them what happened. Panji also finds out about Galuh Candrakirana's disappearance and sets out to look for his fiancée. During his travels, Panji (Inu Kertapati) conquers several small kingdoms, such as Mataun, Madiun, Sulu, Madenda and Padjang. In the middle of this adventure, interestingly, it is told that Panji happens to meet Endang Sangulara (Galuh Candrakirana's new name as an ascetic) just moments before Batara Kala takes her to the Kingdom of Tamasik and changes her name to Kuda Semirang. As Kuda Semirang, Galuh Candrakirana embarks on adventures of her own, meeting various challenges that take her to places such as Manggada and Gagelang. Here again, Panji meets Semirang (Galuh Candrakirana) in a very interesting moment. At this time, their relationship is described as follows: Panji has always been good to her and begged for her love, while Semirang (Galuh Candrakirana) has always warned him and threatened him, breaking his heart many times.

At the end of this version, Galuh Candrakirana changes her name to Tjarang Tinangluh and arrives at the top of Mount Indrakila, where she meets Semar, Batara Narada, Bagawan Gotama, Batara Guru and Sang Hyang Tunggal (the Almighty One). It is then told that Tjarang (Galuh Candrakirana) is the beloved daughter of the gods. Begawan Gotama then suggests that she meet her lover Panji as soon as she can. Panji realizes that Tjarang is the princess of Daha, the lover for whom he has been waiting for so long, and that she will become his wife. The story concludes with a happy ending for all of the characters.

Notes:

There is a similar version entitled *Panji Semirang* that has been published four times by Balai Pustaka since 1940, as well as a comic book version by R.A. Kosasih that is based on Balai Pustaka's version. In both formats, the fourth king that reigns in Singasari has been displaced by the only sister of the three kings (of Kuripan, Daha and Gagelang). She becomes a nun (*Biku*) named Biku Gandasari and becomes an ascetic on Mount Wilis.

3. The Second Version: 'The Story of Panji Kambodja'

According to Purbatjaraka, this Khmer *Eynao* story is of Indian origin. The king of Daha decides that his beautiful daughter, named Bossaba, will be engaged to his nephew, Eynao. However, he later marries the princess of another kingdom before he meeting his fiancée, the princess of Daha. One day, the Kingdom of Daha is attacked by neighbouring kingdoms and sends a call for help. The king of Kuripan, Eynao's father, orders his son Eynao to lead his army to help the king of Daha. Eynao defeats the invaders, all of whom surrender and are ordered to submit their loyalty to the king of Daha. Eynao receives a warm welcome by the king of Daha, his own uncle and all of

the high-ranking officials. Bossaba does not want participate in the festivities thrown in her fiancé Eynao's honour, because he broke her heart when he married another girl. When Eynao sees Bossaba, he is mesmerized by her beauty and cannot contain himself. He then blames himself for marrying the other princess. Eynao cannot help wanting to attract Bossaba's attention, which he can hardly obtain. He asks his brother-in-law Sijatra to help him several times but he does not succeed. In the end, Eynao is so upset that he wants to kill himself when he finds out that Bossaba wants to marry a prince from another kingdom named Charika.

His brother, Sangkha-marita, tries to help him by kidnapping Bossaba and bringing her to a remote place in a cave that has already been decorated for Eynao and Bossaba's wedding. Still, Eynao does not manage to win her love and finally declares: "If you are certain of your decision to not accept me and if I am hopeless in begging for your affection, then I have no reason to be here. I will thus go far away across the mountains and jungles until I die, because I have promised myself that I would only return to my father's palace with you by my side, surrounded by your love, which to me is more precious than all of magnificence of the palace." (Purbatjaraka 1968, 52)

One day, Bossaba is alone in the cave to which Eynao took her when he kidnapped her. She has the chance to look around the cave, but suddenly, a whirlwind takes her to the palace of Pramotan, where she meets her grandmother, Pattarac-cala, who says: "I am your first grandmother and I condemn Eynao for two things, first for refusing your hand in marriage and taking another lady as his wife, and secondly for kidnapping you. This young man has disappointed me and thus he should be punished to what he has done. I will turn you into a man named Onacan and you will be adopted as the king of Pramotan's son."

Eynao and two of his followers go searching for Bossaba's whereabouts. They reach the Kingdom of Sangvat-borey and introduce themselves with new names: Eynao as Panji, Sangkha-marita as Acharang-visangkha and Vijada as Vorot-kenlong. Onacan (Bossaba's new name as a young man) keeps thinking of Eynao and sees in 'his' dream that Eynao has now become an ascetic somewhere to the east of 'his' new home. 'He' then asks for 'his' stepfather's permission to look for a future 'wife' for 'himself' and thus heads east where 'he' meets Panji and his followers. Panji says to Acharang-visangkha: "Keep an eye on this young man, he looks like Bossaba; it is impossible that the gods have changed her into a young man to look for us" (Purbatjataraka 1968, 62). Panji confirms that Onacan is Bossaba dressed as a man. As a result, Panji wants to stay there in order to be able to see Onacan everyday.

To shorten the story, one day Bossaba asks Acharang-visangkha to write and draw a story on the skin of a water buffalo. He draws the cave and the stories about Bossaba and Eynao on the skin. Upon seeing this, Bossaba wants to meet Eynao as soon as possible. Acharang then tells her that it was Eynao who asked him to draw and write these stories on the skin. Eynao is standing there listening to them at that very moment.

A surprised Bossaba runs to meet Eynao but she falls down unconscious. Eynao runs quickly to hug her and help her regain consciousness. They are finally reunited despite having been apart for ten years, separated by Pattarac-Cala who punished Panji because of his mistakes. As expected, this version concludes with a happy ending with the reunion of Panji/Eynao and Galuh Candrakirana/Princess Bossaba.

Notes:

This version mentions four kingdoms without giving the names of each king. Both Eynao and Bossaba serve the king of Kalang (Gagelang). Bossaba turns into a young man named Onacan and Eynao changes his identity to Acharang. Both experience tremendous adventures and have to face so many challenges, but it all comes together in the end.

4. The Third Version: ‘The Panji Story in Serat Kanda’

The king of Koripan, Dandang-gendis, son of Resi Gentaju, wants to become the great king of all of Jawa (Java) Island. He shines like a sun in his circle. He loves arts and science and has complete faith in his minister Djaksanegara. In this version, the minister Djaksanegara stands in front of the people and announces that, from now on, he declares that Dandang-gendis is the great king of Jawa and that the island can no longer be divided. Dandang-gendis then changes his name to his father’s name, Resi Gentaju. Resi Gentaju reigns for quite sometime until he has five grandchildren from his son Prince Dewakusuma. The first one is a girl named Rara Kili, the second a boy named Luhur (or Miluhur), the third a boy named Mangarang, the fourth a boy named Midadu and the last is a girl named Wragilwangsa.

Prince Dewakusuma has now been promoted to become the king of Djenggala and is rousing welcome among the people. His eldest daughter, Rara Kili, remains single and chooses asceticism. The second child Miluhur, the eldest son, has been chosen to become the king of Djenggala for the following generation. Miluhur is married to Murdaningrum, the daughter of the regent of Bagelen. The second son, named Mangarang, is married to Tjandraningsih and is awarded the title of king of Kadiri. He is given a new name: Lembu Mangarang. The third son, Midadu, is married to Sumekar, the daughter of the regent of Panaraga, and becomes the king of Gagelang. His new name becomes Lembu Midadu.

In this version, it is told in a prophecy that Miluhur will not have a son to succeed him as the future king of Djenggala unless he marries a princess of Keling (Purbatjataraka 1968, 86). Hence, Miluhur’s father orders his son to look for a princess that will give him a son who will one day become the future king of Djenggala. He and his two younger brothers thus embark on an adventure, not knowing which direction to go.

The king of Keling throws a contest for the public, announcing that he who manages to pull out the *sada* or *lidi* (palm leaf rib) that has been embedded into the earth will win the right to marry the princess. Miluhur decides to meet this challenge with the use of *cupu manik* (a magic ring) that brought him and his two brothers safely to the kingdom of Keling. As expected, Miluhur wins the contest and wins the prize to become the husband of the princess of Keling whose name is Sangkaningrat. An extravagant wedding party is thrown in the honour of the newlyweds, which lasts for seven days and nights. The princess then gives birth to a boy named Inu. Kili Suci tells his younger brother Miluhur that, in the future, his son Inu will become the greatest king of Jawa, as none of the past or future kings' abilities are comparable to Inu's. King Mangarang, Miluhur's younger brother, declares under oath: "I will take this boy as my son-in-law when my pregnant wife gives birth to a baby girl". His queen eventually gives birth to a girl named Puteri Sekartaji (or Raden Galuh Candrakirana) two months after Inu was born. All parties then agree that the newborn girl will become Inu's future wife.

One day, Sekartaji disappears, and the sad news is sent to Djenggala. According to Kili Suci, Sekartaji has been kidnapped by a powerful person who has taken her far away where only Panji himself can possibly find her. Panji thus sets out to look for his beloved Sekartaji (Galuh Candrakirana).

Sang Brahmana, who has kidnapped Sekartaji, takes her to his abode. He tries to win Sekartaji's heart but fails to do so as Sekartaji keeps refusing him. When Sang Brahmana tries to rape her, she runs away as quickly as she can until she reaches a small jungle. At the same time, Panji, unseen, reaches Brahmana's and makes himself visible to him. A fight ensues after which Panji triumphs over Brahmana. Panji sends Brahmana to his death by decapitating him and sending the severed head to his son Kalana, attaching a letter inviting him to Djenggala to avenge his father's death. Panji promises that he will kill him as soon as Kala reaches him.

At the end of this version, Panji and Sekartaji return to Jawa. When they reach Djenggala, a big wedding ceremony is thrown in honour of Panji and Sekartaji. Everyone enjoys themselves and the story of Inu Kertapati and Galuh Candrakirana (Sekartaji) ends happily.

Notes:

We may suggest that this version stems from the Solo Scripts in which the name Dandang-gendis can be found, a name also found in Pararaton. The Serat Kanda version may be considered as an older written story than that of Babad Tanah Djawi (the Story of Java). Moreover, its narrative is comparable to the typical Pustakaradja written by Ranggawarsita. While there are usually numerous fights and wars that occur in the story of Panji Semirang, the Serat Kanda version has been simplified, containing only one fight: Panji against Brahmana and his son Kelana. Another detail is that, unlike 'Panji Semirang' and 'Panji Kambodja', the place of focus is in Daha.

5. The Fourth Version: ‘Panji Djajakusuma’

This version is from the J.L.A. Brandes collection (No. 150). The source must have been a copy of the original, the origin of which is unknown (as is the case with much of the Brandes collection). This version is not exceptional in terms of language or lyricism. Furthermore, none of the numbering order co-relate one to the other. In rendering this version, I also use Y. Padmapuspita’s *Panji Jayakusuma* as a reference.

An ascetic king named Resi Gadahu (Resi Gataju) has five children: Princess Kili-sutji, Prince Dewa Kusuma or Miluhur, Prince Lembu Amidjaya, Prince Lambu-mangarang and Princess Pregi-wangsa. In this version, it is told that one brother and one sister are beloved by the goddess (which name is not specified). The girl’s name is Dewi Sri and the boy’s is Wisnu or Sedana. They are on an adventure and do not know where to go. On their way, the boy falls in love with his own sister (we can thus suppose that this is a story about incest in early Javanese literature). They then promise each other that they will not marry another lover. However, the girl says that, because they are family, she has to refuse to marry him. For their wish to come true, they need to be reborn a second time. Her brother accepts this condition and stabs himself to death.

Afterwards, Dewi Sri lives alone and cries. Her tears turn into a beautiful lady whose name is Unon and who, in the future, will be reborn as the princess of Urawan. Wisnu (Sedana) is reborn as the prince of Djenggala and is given the name Raden Putra or Gagak-pranala, Kuda-rawisrengga or Panji Asmara Bangun. Raden Putra (or Panji Asmara Bangun) is so strong that it is believed his ancestors have given him a supernatural power.

One day, Raden Putra visits Bantrang, the chief of a village. There, he meets Rara Temon, the adopted daughter of Bantrang. Raden Putra believes that Rara Temon is Dewi Sri’s reincarnation under the new name of Dewi Sekartaji. He falls in love with her and then marries her, after which he takes her back to his homeland in Kahuripan (Koripan).

The king of Djenggala, Panji’s father, then orders Panji, his wife Dewi Sekartaji and his brothers (Punta, Kartala and Pamade) to visit his grandmother in Keling. In the middle of the sea, their ship is struck by a typhoon. Panji and his brothers land in the Dayak areas and have to serve the king of Urawan. He is then given a new name: Jayakusuma. His brothers Punta, Kartala and Pamade also receive new names: Jayalaksana, Jayasentika and Yudapati respectively. Meanwhile, his wife Dewi Sekartaji or Galuh Candrakirana lands on the island of Bali where Batara Narada turns her into a handsome young man named Jayalengkara. ‘He’ becomes the adopted ‘son’ of the king of Bali named Bajo-sengara. Prince Jayalengkara, who is Dewi Sekartaji in reality, later becomes the king of Bali and is given the name Prabu Jayalengkara.

So begins an adventure that both Panji and Dewi Sekartaji (Galuh Candrakirana) must complete in disguise (*penyamaran*) as Jayakusuma and Prabu Jayalengkara. One day, Jayakusuma is ordered by the king of Urawan to attack Bali. He successfully kills Jaya-asmara, the Balinese military leader. Upon hearing the news of 'his' army chief's death, Jayalengkara becomes upset. 'He' then goes to worship the gods at a temple where Panji Jayakusuma is hiding after having snuck into it. When he sees 'Prabu Jayalengkara' from his hidden place, he is astonished to see that Prabu Jayalengkara looks exactly like Galuh Candrakirana. Panji then speaks from his hidden place, unseen by Jayalengkara, pretending to be a god and asking Jayalengkara what 'he' is praying for. 'He' answers that 'he' wants to ask whether 'his' husband is still alive. Panji instantly answers that he is still alive and is now very close to her. At that moment, Jayalengkara sees Panji in front of 'him' and suddenly turns back into her true form as Galuh Candrakirana. Having been apart for so long, their reunion was emotional. In the end, Panji (or Jayakusuma) is appointed to reign over Djenggala and Galuh Candrakirana gives birth to a baby boy named Raden Kuda-laleyan, also called Jaka-sumilir. They live in Djenggala happily ever after.

Notes:

According to Purbatjaraka, this version must have been very popular in Solo during the 19th century and was compiled on *lontar* scripts found in Engelenberg's collection (No. 27). This version can also be found in a collection at the Radyapustaka Library in Solo. Purbatjaraka believes that the year of the original writing of this version was between the 1st and 15th January 1801, as mentioned in Raffles' description (Winstedt 1938, p. 42).

Padmapuspita comments that there are similarities between this version and other versions of the Panji cycles, such as elements used to tie the whole story together into one complete version, for instance:

- 1) The romantic element: the main story is about Panji's love and romance with his fiancée(s).
- 2) The epic element: in regards to the different roles and characters, there are those who are on Panji's side and those who are his enemies, resulting in antagonistic characters and plots.
- 3) The historical element: the events described take place during the Kahuripan, Daha, Gagelang and Singasari periods. The names of these kingdoms do in fact exist in the history of Java.
- 4) The mythical element: in the Panji Jayakusuma version, for example, it is told that Panji is the reincarnation of Sedana and that Galuh Candrakirana is the reincarnation of Dewi Sri. Sedana and Sri are the names of the god of wealth and the goddess of the rice paddy in Javanese mythology.
- 5) The folklore element: the story of Rara Temon, a country girl and a beautiful floral designer, is the reincarnation of Galuh Candrakirana. In Java, this has become a nursery tale told to children when putting them to sleep.

6. The Fifth Version: ‘Panji Anggraeni Palembang’ (Part One and Part Two)

Part One: In the kingdom of Kediri, the king has a beautiful daughter named Candrakirana, also known as Sekartaji. Many kings try to propose to her but she refuses each and every one of them, for she has been promised to the prince of Jenggala, whose name is Kuda Waning-pati (Panji).

Sekartaji is in the water castle surrounded by her ladies-in-waiting (*para dayang*) who tell her that Panji has already married the daughter of Kudanawarsa. Sekartaji is so sad that she runs to her room and starts crying, thinking that Panji is a man that does not fulfill his promise. In the meantime, Panji is enjoying the company of his wife Dewi Anggraeni. Rara Sunti tries to remind Panji about his promise to Sekartaji (Galuh Candrakirana), but Panji replies that she can always marry someone else. Meanwhile, the king of Jenggala contemplates killing Anggraeni and executes his plan so that Panji will marry Sekartaji. Upon discovering Anggraeni’s death, Panji gets mad and starts to see all things that are thick and long as presents from Anggraeni.

Panji then embarks on an adventure and has to face many challenges. He also meets many women and takes them as his concubines. One day, he asks all of his concubines to gather at the water castle. Panji is surrounded by his concubines and wants to give all of them sexual pleasure simultaneously. Panji enters a *unio mystica*. Meanwhile, all of his concubines feel pleasure as they are enjoying a mystical sexual union (Purbatjaraka 1968, 215). (This scene is comparable to a kind of ‘virtual reality’.)

Part Two: Panji and Semar go to Tambak-baya to see if everything is all right. Inside the house, Panji sees a shining *tjakra* (a secret weapon shaped like a disc) as big as a tire. He approaches it and sees that Dewi Anggraeni is there. He is so scared that he unintentionally hugs Semar and says: “Look! She has returned!” Panji then uses magic to put all of his concubines to sleep and makes them dream of him having intercourse with them. Then Panji comes to Anggraeni, who blames him for not coming to see her in the afterlife (*alam baka*). In the next scene, Panji takes Anggraeni to his room.

A queen also falls in love with Panji. She does not want to come back to her husband, King Nusakancana of Tambak-baya, so she asks Panji to kill him so that she can be with Panji for the rest of her life. As a result, Panji and his army go to war against King Nusakancana and his army. Panji defeats them and kills King Nusakancana, but Nusakancana manages to stab Panji who falls down unconscious. When he awakens, he is in Sekartaji and Anggraeni’s arms. Narada, the goddess, tells him that from now on he will be reunited with both of them as one lady. The union of Sekartaji and Anggraeni is known as Candraswara.

Notes:

As a composition, according to Purbatjaraka, these two versions of Panji Palembang were highly valued. However, the relationship between the two versions of Panji

Palembang was as slightly different as we may notice from the appearance of King Nusakancana until his death in the hands of Panji, followed by the union of Anggraeni and Sekartaji to become one person called Candraswara (Purbatjaraka 1968, 395-6).

7. The Sixth Version: 'Panji Kuda-Narawangsa'

This version is from the J.L.A. Brandes collection (No. 295). According to Purbatjaraka, this version is the least exceptional in quality. Its poetic artistry is below average as can be seen in the unnecessary repetitions of the same acts (Purbatjaraka 1968, 242).

While speaking to Doyok, Sadumulur expresses that he does not think the queen of Daha deserves to have such an ugly face. Her face looks like a mythical gigantic demon. Doyok asks him to remain silent, afraid that Panji can hear them.

The king of Cantakapura (another name for Jenggala used to refer to the other name of Ngamarta, the court of Yudistira from the Mahabharata) is so happy to hear that Panji wants to come back to meet his wife, the princess of Daha, even though her face looks like that of a demonic giant.

Panji meets with his concubines and tells them that his wife has already returned from her adventure, but that her face has turned into that of a gigantic demon. Before this happened, Sekartaji was taken away by Dewi Durga (the demonic goddess of bad spirits) who then changed her face into an ugly one.

Onengan (Panji's sister) comes in and tells him that she gave a bath to Dewi Sekartaji only to find out that she has a foul odour and that her hair is full of fleas. Onengan suggests to Panji that he does not go to see her, but Panji ignores his sister, motivated by his intention to see Sekartaji.

Meanwhile, a parallel story is taking place concerning the real princess of Daha (Dewi Sekartaji). While she is sleeping she is abducted by the goddess and put in the middle of the jungle for four and a half years. Narada comes to see her and informs her that another Candrakirana (Sekartaji) in the form of a demonic giant is pretending to be her as Candrakirana. The real Candrakirana then asks Narada to put her to death instead of going back to Jenggala for she has been shamed, but Narada instead turns her into a handsome young man named Kuda-narawangsa. In Jenggala, many young girls fall in love with 'him'.

At one point, Panji and Kuda-narawangsa happen to walk next to each other in front of the court of Kediri. The false Candrakirana finishes adorning herself and putting her make-up on, but she is still seen as a mass of ugliness. Yet she is Panji's bride. Under

the influence of her magic spells, Panji tends to treat her very nicely, while many in Jenggala see this union as a terrible mistake.

One early morning, Panji is awoken by Onengan who tells him that Nara (Kudanarawangsa) has disappeared. They set out to look for Nara and stop at a Nagasari tree where Panji sees clothing and a letter from Nara. After reading it, he then realizes that Kudanarawangsa is his real wife disguised as a young man and that the princess that he thought was Sekartaji was the daughter of a slaughter man (a man whose job is to slaughter cows for consumption). Panji then orders Pamade and Kertala to kill his bride (the false Sekartaji), which they succeed in doing.

On another occasion, Panji meets Citra-langen who wishes to commit suicide because she is unhappy to have to marry a prince from Seberang who she does not like at all. Panji asks her to pull her rings out and give them to him. Suddenly, Panji shows himself to her and she recognizes him instantly as her beloved husband. They exchange sweet romantic words and, the next morning, walk together to leave the court of Seberang.

Notes:

There are strophes from number LV (Asmaradhana) to number LXXXVI (Sinom) of this version that tell us about the disappearance of Panji, his adventures, his fighting against various enemies and his reunion with Sekartaji. According to Purbatjaraka, Bradjanata in this version is Nila Prabangsa found in Panji Semirang (Purbatjaraka 1968, 390). His role in this version, however, is very minor.

8. The Seventh Version: 'Malat'

This version is most popular in Bali. According to Purbatjaraka, information on this version can be found in the J.L.A. Brandes collection (No. 54, Ns. BG No. 391). Controversially, Purbatjaraka states that, contrarily to R. van Eck and Dr. Juynboll's estimates concerning the age of this Malat, this version is not particularly that old, regardless of the use of the Djawa-Kawi literary form. Purbatjaraka instead writes: "This Malat is not only not that old, but is also boring, excessively long and trivial. Its narrative is as slow as a snail and the readers are almost dying to sink into the list of embellishments and jewelleries worn by its characters" (Purbatjarak 1968, 291).

The king of Jenggala has two brothers and one sister. The youngest one is married to the king of Singasari. The king of Keling has a son to Likwa named Misaprabangsa and another son to Parameswari called Nusapati. The king of Daha has a son named Wiranantaja (Gunungsari).

One day, the king and queen of Kediri are saddened by the news of their daughter's disappearance. Delegates are then sent to search for her but they do not succeed. Ino of Keling wishes to go find her but he does not receive his father's permission to do so,

because delegates have already been sent to look for her. Instead, his father suggests that he marry the princess of Singasari.

Ino of Keling asks his father if he can go hunting. He reaches Pagutan and then heads to Kembang Kuning before reaching Tarate-bang. In the middle of the Pagutan jungle, he is attacked by the king of Tarate-bang, but Ino defeats his assailant and the court of Tarate-bang is now under his control. At this point, Ino changes his name to Panji Amalat-rasmi. He then goes to Gagelang and serves its king for one year.

From Gagelang, Panji goes to Lasem. The story then goes round and round, from one adventure to the other, from one place to another, from one kingdom to another, taking a princess from each kingdom as his wife, just to show how strong and handsome Panji is. In this version, his wives include the princess of Pamotan, of Kabalan, of Pandan-salas, of Pajarakan and of Cemara.

One morning, all the kings and queens are gathered at *pendopo* (terrace) of the main hall whilst enjoying morning drinks and breakfast. The singers are singing and the poets are reciting their lyrics. Then, all together, they go to town where they met the king of Singasari. The king expresses his sadness because his daughter is missing. Suddenly, the very last sentence of this version tells us that the king of Singasari finds his beloved daughter who has been missing for so long. However, it is not mentioned how or in what circumstances she reappears. This is how the version ends.

Notes:

In nearly all of the Panji versions, Panji ends up marrying Gunung-sari [sic], at the end of the story, but in this Malat version, it does not happen at all (Purbatjaraka 1968, 384). We found that in this version, Panji also plays in a puppet show, as can be found in 'Panji Semirang' (where Gunung-sari performs as the puppeteer in Gagelang). In 'Kuda Narawangsa', it is Candra Kirana who turns into a young man who plays in the puppet show.

9. The eight version: 'Wayang Beber' of Yogyakarta

Wayang eber is a type of performance that can still be found today even though it has become quite rare. Unlike the shadow puppet performance (*wayang kulit*), which involves puppets made of water-buffalo skin, *wayang beber* uses painted cloth or paper scrolls that depict drawings of the Panji episodes. (Album Wayang Beber Pacitan dan Yogyakarta. Ministry of Education and Culture. Project of Cultural Media 1983-4)

The collection of *wayang beber* that still remains at this time consists of only two series of stories. These two stories (or literary works) are from the story of Panji entitled Remeng Mangunjoyo and Joko Kembang Kuning. Joko Kembang Kuning is a pseudonym for Raden Panji (alias Panji Asmarabangun).

The story of Remeng Mangunjoyo is the story of the experiences of Raden Panji when he becomes a hermit. At first, he has to go through various difficult challenges and has to fight hard before he can get his wife back (Galuh Candrakirana or Dewi Sekartaji). Fighting against enemies who possess supernatural powers, such as Resi Puyangaking, Patih Gajah Gurito, Wewe Putih and Prabu Kelana, he has to compete against them by walking on top of a rattan pole that spans over a deep ravine.

The story of Remeng Mangunjoyo consists of four series of scenes. Each series consists of four scenes painted on one roll of *wayang beber*. This version can be found in the village of Gelaran in the high plateau of Gunung Kidul Yogyakarta.

Wayang beber in Gelaran, Gunung Kidul of Yogyakarta, amounts to eight rolled panels. Four rolled panels form a series of the Remeng Mangunjoyo story. The four other rolled panels are fragments from the story of Panji, the title of which is still unknown. These eight rolled panels are stored in a wooden box that contains the whole *wayang beber* unit.

10. The ninth version: ‘Wayang Beber Pacitan’

This version of *wayang beber* can be found in the high plateau of Karang Talun, Pacitan, East Java. It is well known for performing the story of Panji entitled Joko Kembang Kuning. Not only is this version used for *upacara ruwatan* (Javanese ceremony), but it is also used for regular performances.

The *wayang beber* of Karang Talun as a whole amounts to six rolls. These are stored in a wooden box that contains the whole unit of the *wayang beber*. This box has been duplicated as the original box has been heavily damaged. The making of the duplicate box has already been done twice or more since then.

The story of Joko Kembang Kuning consists of six series, each consisting of four scenes. The *dalang* (narrator) speaks and sings in the local dialect of East Java, which is Pejagongan.

The main characters in Joko Kembang Kuning are Raden Panji, Dewi Sekartaji, Raja Kediri, and Dewi Kili Suci. Gunung Sari in this version is named Gonorepo. Panji is also called Punto, Prasonto and Nolodermo.

[This *wayang beber* was performed at the SEAMEO SPAFA event *Panji/Inao Traditions in Southeast Asia* on 4 March 2013. This performance can be viewed at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rsn_w0JAg6I].

11. General notes on all versions (with the exception of *wayang beber*):

Purbatjaraka attributed categories to each version as follows:

- A. This category describes the four kings of the brotherhood without stating their names and without the existence of Kili Suci. Included in this category are 'Panji Semirang' and 'Panji Kamboja'.
- B. Same as above but with the appearance of Kili Suci. The story of 'Panji Palembang' and 'Hikayat Galuh Digantung' can be classified in this category.
- C. Also same as above, but by stating the names of all four kings of the brotherhood, that is according to Roorda-Gunning's edition, *Geschiedenis van Kadiri's edition*, P. v.d. Broek's, Raffles', Not.Bat.gen., 1904, page CXIX and Jayalengkara of Cohen Stuart's scripts.
- D. This category describes three brothers and two sisters, the oldest is Kili Suci and the youngest is married to the king of Singasari. Included in this category are 'Serat Kanda', 'Jayakusuma', 'Babad Tanah Jawi', 'Babad Kartasura' and 'Cekelwanengpati'.
- E. This category, according to Purbatjaraka, is the one that describes the four kings of the brotherhood with two sisters, among which the oldest is Kili Suci and the youngest is the one who is married to Pudak-setegal. In this category, such as in the 'Ajisaka', the king of Singasari is not Panji's brother-in-law, but his brother, just like in category D.
- F. Included in this category is the story of 'Malat', in which there are three brothers and one sister who marries the king of Singasari, like in category D. Kili Suci cannot be found here, like in category A.
- G. In this category, according to Hageman's notes, Kili Suci is the daughter of Dewokusuma and becomes the wife of Ami-joyo, the king of Singasari.

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