

Political Context in Surakartanese Court Style Wayang Gedhog: Relationships Between Iconography and Performance Aspects with the Image of Power in 19th Century Java

Konteks Politik dalam Wayang Gedhog Gaya Kraton Surakarta: Hubungan Aspek Ikonografi dan Pertunjukan dengan Imaji Kekuasaan Jawa Abad ke-19

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Abstract

Wayang gedhog, a Javanese art form that dates back to the 15th century, has endured several cultural transformations, once seen by the *Walisanga* as a method of spreading religious preaching. Under the rule of Mataram kings, who tended to reinforce their supremacy and legitimise their power in the mythical *Panji tales*, especially in Sunanate of Surakarta, this form of shadow puppetry survives even after the Javanese courts' political and military power gradually deteriorated in the 18th and 19th centuries. The concerns that have been raised about these cultural phenomena are: Why did the Surakartanese court give *wayang gedhog* greater consideration than its Yogyakarta equivalents, and what relevance does it have in the Sunanate's idea of power? In order to learn more about the phenomenon of *wayang gedhog* performance in the courtly setting of Surakarta, this article used a textual and contextual approach in a multidisciplinary field that included literature, history, aesthetics, and performance studies. It is discovered that political and ideological considerations significantly affected the iconography and performances of *wayang gedhog*, while this type of puppetry also expected to represent a *Kraton* political ideology. Additionally, it was established that the roles and depictions of *wayang gedhog* figures changed over time in response to changes in the regional or global political environment.

Wayang gedhog yang telah berkembang sejak abad ke-15 di Jawa telah bertahan dari transformasi kebudayaan yang pesat, pernah dianggap sebagai bagian dari sarana dakwah para *Walisanga*. Seni ini berkembang menjadi bagian dari seni keraton pada masa pemerintahan raja-raja Mataram yang berupaya memperkuat supremasi dan melegitimasi kekuasaan mereka melalui cerita mitos Panji, terutama di Kasunanan Surakarta, dan bertahan bahkan setelah kekuatan politik dan militer keraton-keraton Jawa merosot di abad ke-18 dan ke-19. Pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang timbul seputar fenomena kebudayaan ini di antaranya: bagaimana Sunan-sunan Surakarta dapat memberi perhatian lebih terhadap *wayang gedhog* dibandingkan Sultan Yogyakarta, serta apa arti penting *wayang*

gedhog dalam lingkungan Kasunanan dengan konsep kekuasaan yang dianutnya. Pemahaman terhadap fenomena pertunjukan *wayang gedhog* di lingkungan Keraton Surakarta dapat dicapai melalui pendekatan tekstual dan kontekstual dalam ranah multidisipliner yang meliputi kajian sastra, sejarah, estetika dan pertunjukan. Artikel ini mengungkap bahwa faktor-faktor politis dan ideologis sangat mempengaruhi ikonografi dan pertunjukan *wayang gedhog*, di samping jenis wayang ini juga merefleksikan ideologi politik Keraton yang dinamis. Terbukti juga bahwa peran dan penggambaran tokoh dalam *wayang gedhog* berkembang secara dinamis menurut perubahan konteks politik global maupun regional.

Keywords: *wayang gedhog*, Panji, Surakarta, iconography, performance | *wayang gedhog*, Panji, Surakarta, ikonografi, pertunjukan

Introduction

Wayang gedhog is a type of *Panji-themed* shadow play that is becoming increasingly rare. Unlike the specific origin of *wayang purwa* terminology, which refers to the *primaeval* puppetry, *wayang gedhog* gets its name from an almost obscure genealogy: while some believed that the word *gedhog* related to *kedhok*, "mask," because its repertoire resembles a popular masked theatre (see Zarkasi and Adnan 1995), others stated that *gedhog* could come from *gedhogan*, "stallion," refers to many figures with the title *Kuda*, "horse", in this puppetry (see Wilkens in Noto Soeroto 1911). The other suggested that *gedhog* came from *gedhug*, "the farthest," because its repertoire, the *Panji* story, is traditionally considered the farthest period allowed to be performed with *wayang* medium (see van Helsdingen 1913).

During the reign of Demak in the 16th century, this courtly shadow puppetry was once a thriving art form in Javanese kingdoms. According to traditional chronicles, it was introduced by the saint Sunan Giri II (Panembahan Ratu Tunggal) in mid-16th century CE (Sajid 1981). Meanwhile, some Western scholars believed that *wayang gedhog* was related to Balinese *wayang gambuh*, which is said to have originated in 16th century Majapahit enclaves in Eastern Java and is thus considered to be older than the Islamic influences of *Walisanga* (see Hinzler 1981). *Wayang gedhog* is reported to have been a royal performance during the reign of Sultan Agung (1613-1645), with a particular ranking puppeteer known as "*dalang daleman*" (King's puppetmaster) (Reditanaja 1971). Since then, it has been reported that *wayang gedhog*, with its *Panji* subject, is strongly associated to the Kraton's creative life, although in rural regions, this narrative also played in a more popular *wayang beber* (scroll-theater) or *wayang topeng* (masked-theater). After the collapse of the Javanese kingdoms in the post-Independence era, which was brought on by the quick transition from an old monarchy to a new democratic system, the existence of *wayang gedhog* performances began to diminish (Soetarno 2005). Nevertheless, it is intriguing to learn how the four rulers of the Mataram dynasty focused on the advancement of *wayang gedhog* and why this shadow puppetry came to be associated with court arts.

The *wayang gedhog* tradition of Surakarta's courts, Kasunanan and Mangkunagaran, served as our material object in this study. Unlike Kasultanan and Pakualaman courts of Yogyakarta, which developed this tradition only during certain eras, it appears that in Surakarta *wayang gedhog* has enjoyed a more sustainable life during the reign of its patrons, from Pakubuwana II (1745-1749) to Pakubuwana XII (1945-2004). The manuscripts dealing with the historical records of Surakartanese shadow puppetry recounted that among all the rulers of Surakartan courts paid close attention to the development of this puppetry tradition. The much longer life of *wayang gedhog* in the Surakarta context has raised the question of "how was the Surakartanese court paid more attention to *wayang*

gedhog than its Yogyakarta counterparts" and "what is the significance of *wayang gedhog* in the Surakartanese court with their concept of power". To find an answer to this topic, we would examine the iconographical (*garap wayang*) and performative (*garap pakeliran*) components of *wayang gedhog*, as these two types of *garaps* (technical aspects) play a vital part in practically every type of Javanese shadow puppetry. The study of both textual and visual sources of Surakarta court *wayang gedhog* performance traditions was undertaken to offer solutions to the aforementioned problems.

The Court of Surakarta and its Cultural Politics of *Panji*

Surakarta's court was established in 1745 as a result of the culminating the Chinese rebellion "Geger Pacina" which brought the Javanese kingdom of Kartasura (1680-1742) to an end. Surakarta's name might indicate a wish for a "heroic" and "prosperous" (*heroique un florissante*) fate, free of the grief of previous Mataram dynasty capitals such as Plered and Kartasura, which ended in painful devastation (Houben 1989). According to this viewpoint, the name "Surakarta" itself may indicate a desire to reverse Kartasura's misfortune, which has suffered political turbulences since its creation in 1680 until 1742. The formation of this court was marred by internal strife, when Prince Mangkubumi and Raden Mas Said (Hamengkubuwana I and Mangkunagara I in the future) revolted against the Kraton for personal reasons. Though the establishment of this new Kraton was thought to end the civil wars, it was not strong enough to prevent the inevitable fate of separation, which formed the other courts of Central Java. Since those events, Surakarta has chosen a different path in its cultural politics: when Yogyakarta rulers eager to identify themselves with their Mataram ancestors, the Sunans advanced Javanese culture, including literature and arts, leading to the so-called "Javanese Renaissance" in the early decades of the nineteenth century (Sudewa, 1995). The "renaissance" had a significant impact on Surakarta's cultural life, not only in the context of literature, but also in *wayang* puppetry: while Yogyakarta claimed their royal style of puppetry as "*Mataraman*" (the conservative way of Mataram), the court of Surakarta developed their own style, which was widely regarded as the newer one (Haryanto 1988).

It is interesting to mention that the Surakarta court's cultural life also greatly influenced the *Panji* subculture, which flourished in other parts of Java. Originally, the *Panji* story tells of an imagined East Javanese prince, Panji, and his lover, who is commonly referred to as Galuh or Candrakirana (Sekartaji). It was once thought to be an oral tradition (Hardjosaputra 2021). As *Panji* themes became popular in courts, it was unavoidable that this romance would be "*Kratonized*" in many ways, from formalizing the social structure and roles of the characters to extending the topic to a larger ideological and political meaning. The oldest surviving source of recorded *Panji* tradition, "*Panji Margasmara*", which dated as old as 1458 CE, does not even mention the *Panji*'s identity as an heir of a dynasty. The central characters were portrayed as the children of imaginary nobles (*Arya*) in a Majapahit period setting (Sidomulyo 2014). However, further development of *Panji* writings reveal that the character *Panji* and his lover, Galuh or Candrakirana, are an allegory of King Kameswara I of Kadiri and his bride Kirana (Poerbatjaraka 1968). Agus Arismunandar's most recent research expands on the theory by identifying the *Panji* figure as a representation of Majapahit King Hayam Wuruk, with his royal bride Indudewi inspiring the character Candrakirana. In contrast, the sad marriage of *Panji* and Angreni was seen as a metaphor of a failed engagement between Hayam Wuruk and Sundanese princess Pitaloka (Arismunandar 2010).

Regardless of who Panji and Candrakirana actually represented in Javanese historical context, it could be temporarily implied that the Panji textual traditions were absorbed by the Javanese and Balinese courts as a part of their tradition, which reflected the situation of actual life in Kraton environment. Vickers (2005) discovered that the 17th century *Panji*-themed Malat writings represent the Balinese kingdoms' ideology, which was primarily inspired by the concept of a mediaeval "ideal" Javanese power, which commonly alludes to the 14th century Majapahit kingdom. However, the insights supplied by the courtly *wayang gedhog* would be different in a far more sophisticated 19th century Javanese context: The division of Javanese kingdoms, as depicted in the 18-19th century trend of *Panji* literature, which recounted about the division of a Javanese dynasty into four kingdoms: Jenggala, Kediri, Ngurawan, and Singasari, encouraged certain monarchs to utilize Panji narratives to express their political stances: The personally commissioned *Babad Kemalon* of Mangkunagara I (1757-1796) identified Panji as this prince's ancestor (Ricklefs 2018); the Sultans of Yogyakarta used to identify themselves and their kingdom as Panji and Kadiri, which they considered as the highest supremacy between the four kingdoms in the *wayang gedhog* stories (Wiratama 2020); Surakarta's Sunans have a distinct cultural strategy: they seek to identify as Panji on his Janggala throne as the "axis" (in Javanese "*pancer*" or "*paku*", which also relates to their royal title, *Pakubuwana*). Panji was portrayed in this context as a crown prince and future king who is also trying to find his consort Candrakirana, which eventually escaped from the kingdom by any means as the main theme of the story. This theme of separation and reunion was considered a classic in some preceding Panji literatures from the 18th century, but Pakubuwana IV (1788-1820) has emulated it to reflect his father, Pakubuwana III's, effort to recover from the wound of separation with Yogyakarta (Nugraha 2015).

Based on some historical records, we could see that Pakubuwana IV during his dynamic reign plays various roles: he appeared as a rebellious young king in 1798-1799 crisis (often referred as "*Pakepung*"), as a political conspirator in 1812 (*Sepahi* Affair), and after the end of British administration in 1816 his desire to fulfil the title "*Pakubuwana*" seems to be changed from pragmatic politics to a much cultural and symbolic one. In his last years, he commissioned two sets of wayang puppets, each named *Kyahi Jimat* (*wayang purwa*) and *Kyahi Dewakatong* (*wayang gedhog*) as the means of giving the lesson to the young nobles of *Kraton* (manuscript SMP-RP 92: 10). It is also said that *wayang gedhog* was the last *wayang* he performed personally in 15 July 1820, only less than three months before his death (Wiratama 2021). The use of *Panji* themes and *wayang gedhog* performances as a court art which also contains political concepts and aspirations were continued by Pakubuwana VII (1830-1858) who reproduced Kartasura puppets *Kyai Banjed* and named the set as *Kyahi Buntit*, the creation of some *wayang gedhog* stories by Pakubuwana IX (1861-1893), and then followed by the commission of a complete set of *wayang gedhog* which combined the previous collections of *Kraton*, named as *Kyahi Sriwibawa*, to celebrate Pakubuwana X (1893-1939)'s coronation anniversary. Certainly, there is some developments, continuities, and changes of this puppetry that happened during this time, which will be illustrated in sections below.

The Iconographical Aspect of *Wayang Gedhog*

Wayang gedhog, as a *Panji*-themed performance, has a distinct origin than the Indian epic-based *wayang purwa*, however both share aesthetic expressions in terms of stylization and symbolism. The most significant feature that could determine whether a Javanese depiction of a certain character referred to a local *Panji* tale or a Hindu epic could be indicated by its iconography: while *Mahabharata* figures wear shrimp claw-shaped *gelung supiturang* headdresses, roles from *Panji* stories could be easily identified by their crescent-shaped *tekes* or *gelung tetanggalan*, which is less archaic. As a result, it was assumed that the characters of *Panji* stemmed from a much more local

context than legendary epic figures (Kieven 2014). These depictions of Panji figures may be seen in the 15th century Selokelir statue (now in Bandung, West Java) and the 17th century *wayang gambuh* figure from Bali, which functioned as the oldest example of Panji puppetry tradition preserved in Indonesia (Figure 1). Both of them have the same facial expression and height as Arjuna from the *Mahabharata* in *wayang purwa* iconographic tradition, although they wear *tekes* instead of *gelung supiturang* as their signature headdress (Figure 2).



Fig. 1 Panji figure in Balinese *wayang gambuh*. He appeared to wear crescent-shaped *tekes* as the headdress, which until now recognized as the main iconography of this Javanese hero. Collection of Dr. Walter Angst and Sir Henry Angst of Indonesian Puppets in Yale University Art Gallery. Source: Photo by Matthew Isaac Cohen, 2022.



Fig. 2 *Wayang purwa* figure of Arjuna, bearing the physical resemblance with Panji figure but with *gelung supiturang* headdress. Source: Photo by Rudy Wiratama, 2023.

Furthermore, the presence of *keris* daggers and indigenous attire, which could be found in a variety of visual goods ranging from stone sculptures to buffalo hide *wayang* figures (see Vickers 2009), indicates the second primary trait of *Panji* figures iconography. The British Museum's collection of Kartasura-styled *wayang gedhog* puppets from the late 18th century exhibits a more developed style of iconography of *Panji* story figures than *wayang gambuh* of Blambangan: its costume has been appropriated to a contemporary Javanese *Kraton* manner with a *kampung ageng* (formal court attire) and detailed depiction of particular batik and *keris* according to the courtly status of their wearer, but they still wear the "ancient" headdresses such as *tekes*, *gelung keling* (round hairknot) and *garudha mungkur* (a *garuda*-face shaped ornament) instead of Javanese *kuluk* (formal cone-shaped hat) and headcloths like the contemporary Java nobles (Figure 3). The iconography of *wayang purwa*, on the other side, still preserving the iconography of east Javanese temple bas-reliefs and statues, but only stylized to be more decorative.



Fig. 3 *Panji* figure with a further development of iconography, wearing *keris* dagger and *kampung ageng* cloth as part of his costume. Source: The Trustees of the British Museum, asset no. 1613425354.

In the world of *wayang gedhog*, two sides moulded the entire story: while Panji and his relatives from the Javanese side stood in the protagonists' party, there was another group named "*sabangan*" or "*wong sabrang*" who acted as villains in *wayang gedhog* tales. Their appearance in Javanese Panji literatures highlighted a duality of supernatural and physical might, which was reflected in their ferocious (*kasar*) demeanour as the polar opposite of ideal Javanese refined (*alus*) behaviour (see van der Molen 1992). The *sabangan* of *wayang gedhog* differ from *wayang purwa* antagonists in that, whereas *wayang purwa* antagonists may come from the demonic side (Rahwana) or be the reincarnation of injustice (Duryudana), the *wayang gedhog sabangan* figures are simply the "others" imagined by the Javanese.

Along with Javanese parties whose costumes were adapted to conform with current court clothing, the *sabrangs* also made an appearance in *wayang gedhog* imagery of this time. The figures of *sabrang* warriors have dark complexions, as opposed to "Javanese" images, which have golden gilt (*prada mas*) for their complexions. On the other hand, they continue to use Javanese forementioned above. The main difference between *sabrang* warriors and their Javanese counterparts can also be found in physiognomy: the *sabrang* characters are usually depicted with unrefined yet distinct facial features; even in the description of object As1859/1228.533 on the British Museum's website, it is identified with the term "animal face" during Raffles' time (Figure 4).



Fig. 4 A *Sabrang* figure “with animal face”. Collection of British Museum, London. Source: The Trustees of the British Museum, asset no. 1252348001.

When Kartasura's *wayang gedhog* featured *sabrang* figures with unusual facial traits (kalawijan) dressed in Javanese garb, subsequent figures from the Surakarta era were much more "alienated": they wore non-Javanese attributes such as Buginese keris, headcloth, and *baju kurung* shirt. There are two other types of *sabrang* in the Panji themes of *wayang gedhog* that have distinct qualities. Aside from the characters of the *Sabrang* party who establish themselves as a clear opponent to Panji (for example, Klana and his people), there are also figures of the *Sabrang* who formed an alliance with Panji and his party (such as kings and nobles of Ternate, Bali, or Siam), and also a *sabrang* party which was actually the part of Panji's party themselves, such as Panji and his *kadang kadeyan* in disguise (Klana Jayengsari, Gajah Wulung, etc.). The categorization of those three types of *sabrang* would have some iconographical consequences: protagonist *sabrang* figures are usually depicted with *alus* (refined) features, but in *sabrang* attire; *Sabrangs* who are the disguise of Panji and his *kadang kadeyan* are still wearing *tekes* and Javanese *keris* (Figure 5). Those contrasts also indicated how the Surakartan Javanese saw the phenomena of *sabrang*-ness and *Javanese*-ness, both politically and culturally, while simultaneously rethinking and repositing themselves in a shifting global environment. As an example, the figure of Raja Siyem (Siamese King) in the 20th century *Sriwibawa* set bears the total resemblance with Javanese party's facial expression and stature. This figure also wears almost full Javanese attire (including Javanese *keris* in appropriate manner), but with a long European sword and a jacket with white elephant emblem as the only remaining signs of his *sabrang*-ness. This figure might be created as a homage to Siamese king, Prajadhipok or Chulalongkorn, who visited Surakarta during the reign of Pakubuwana X (see Purbadipura's *Sri Karongron*, 1930).



Fig. 5 The iconography of *Sabrang* figures in Surakartanese *wayang gedhog*: the figure of Makassarese Daeng Marewah with full Makassarese attire (left), collection of Museum Sonobudoyo, Yogyakarta; and Macan Wulung, the disguise of Panji's half-brother Andaga (right) with *tekes* and Javanese *keris* from the collection of Museum Radyapustaka, Surakarta. Source: Photo by Rudy Wiratama, 2016 and 2022

The continuity, evolution, and development of *wayang gedhog* puppetry appear to be heavily impacted by the cultural and political constellation that has occurred in Surakarta over time. The dynamic historical process required the Sunans to concurrently redefine their place in both the real and metaphorical worlds, and one way of doing so is through its imagery. The understanding of this phenomenon could thus be approached using Erwin Panofsky's triadic stages of Iconology (1972): aside from its natural or primary meaning, we could analyze the patterns of visual idioms of *wayang gedhog* figures, both *sabrang* and *Jawa*, as a means to reach the secondary meaning (dealing with traditional convention), and finally discovered intrinsic meaning or content, which deals with the performance aspects (*garap pakeliran*) discussed below.

The Surakartanese *Wayang Gedhog* Performative Aspects

Wayang gedhog, as a courtly art, was also performed in an all-night style, but there were several significant characteristics that distinguish it with the popular *wayang purwa*. One of the most noticeable distinctions was the employment of gamelan *laras* or tone between both performances: *wayang purwa* mainly employed an all-*slendro* ensemble, but *wayang gedhog* solely used *pelog* ones. Another distinction is that, although *wayang purwa* has just three *pathets* or "tone modes", *nem*, *sanga*, and *manyura*, the *Panji*-based *wayang gedhog* has four modes or *pathets*: *lima*, *nem*, *nyamat*, and *barang* (Suwarno pers. comm. 2021). In terms of narrative organisation, there are some similarities between these two courtly performances: every play starts with the explanation within the Javanese party in the first assembly scene (*jejer sepisan*), and the conflict will be shaped after the *Sabrang* party's assembly in the second part of the performance. The distinct differences about the structure of *wayang purwa* and *wayang gedhog jejer sepisan* scenes are: all of *wayang purwa jejer* was loosely based on a representation of any central Javanese court, but in *wayang gedhog*

there is a very specific narrative which refers to the real situation that happened in the context of Surakarta's *Kraton*. The *jejer sepisan* of *wayang gedhog* includes an extensive description of the main part of *Kraton*, stretching northward from *Sasana Sewaka* or *Pendhapi Ageng* as the central point with the royal throne in it, until *Sitihinggil* and *Alun-alun* (royal square) where the Patih (vizier) and his deputies await the call to meet the King. *Wayang gedhog* also have Surakarta court royal regalia, known as *Kyahi Upacara*, displayed in wayang figures, although *wayang purwa* merely stated them in the puppeteer's explanation (*janturan*) without an actual presence (Figure 6).



Fig. 6 The royal lady-in-waiting (*ampil-ampil* or *badhaya*) carrying three of some Surakarta courts' regalia (*Kyahi Upacara*) depicted in *wayang gedhog*. Puppets from Mangkunagaran, Surakarta. Source: Photo by Rudy Wiratama, 2022.

The use of court terminology (*basa kadhaton*) in the discourse between King or Patih and his court officials from *jejer sepisan* to the *kapalan* (leaving scene) in *pathet lima* also suggests a link between *wayang gedhog* and *Kraton* life. According to Madyapradangga (1970), during the reign of Mangkunagara IV (1853-1881), the scene of the yearly *Sekaten* festival was also included to the play, emphasising that the events shown on the screen occurred in the current courts of Java and were not related to the ancient times of Hindu realms. Suwarno even recalled that during this moment, royal jesters imitated the Muslim clerics of *Kraton* when they were in charge of blessing the *gunungan* (copy of a mount made of raw and cooked food) (Figure 7).

Every *wayang* performance has their own hostile party, which is represented by a *Sabrang*, to complete the traditional *wayang* dramaturgy of two opposed sides. Unlike the demonic *wayang purwa's* *sabrang*, *wayang gedhog* features kings and warriors from geographical overseas. In the Balinese *Malat* scriptures, Panji's adversary takes the background of vassal territories in Majapahit in Java, such as Lasem, Mataram, and Pamtan. But in *wayang gedhog* repertoires, the *Sabrang* countries refer to the realms outside Java, such as Sumatra, Celebes, Borneo, or Molucca. Except for the ogre Srengginimpuna, who is the disguise of Bremanakandha, or Kaki and Nini Buta Ijo, disguises of god Kamajaya and goddess Ratih, the regular antagonistic parties from *wayang purwa*, which were represented by *danawa* or ogres, were rarely encountered in *wayang gedhog*. The opposition group in *wayang gedhog* repertoires is generally led by a *sabrang* king, also known as Klana or "the Wanderer-King".



Fig. 7 The female *Gunungan*, an artificial mount made from various cooked food, for *Sekaten* scene in *wayang gedhog*, a collection of Museum Radyapustaka, Surakarta. Source: Photo by Rudy Wiratama, 2011.

Klana, the primary adversary of *wayang gedhog* theatre, has a very complicated origin story. The old records of *wayang gedhog* lakons in “*Serat Kandhaning Ringgit Purwa*” stated that he was a king of Tanjungpura (in Borneo) (Soemoatmodjo, 1985); but originally Klana himself was the son of the King of Ngurawan, which means he was Panji's cousin, or in other words, the main antagonist of *wayang gedhog* stories was Javanese, not another race. He was represented as having a short height and protruding eyes. Even though he is represented in the chronicles as a *sabrang* king, he wears full Javanese royal dress in an excessive fashion.

Interestingly, despite the “*sabrang* and *Jawa*” polarity that shaped the entire dramaturgy and *lakon* structure in Javanese *wayang gedhog*, we could also find some intriguing facts, that in earlier Javanese *Panji* manuscripts, it was recounted aside from their royal Javanese identity, Panji and his siblings also have their *sabrang* origin, at least from their maternal genealogy. Panji's mother was of *Keling* of Indian subcontinent, while his half-brother Brajanata was of *Wandhan* (Papuan) mother, according to the old *Panji Jayakusuma* book. The nobles from *sabrang* maternal line, such as Pamade or Punta from a Balinese mother, is also present among the *kadeyans* (Padmapuspita 1982). Later, during the Surakarta era, the story from *Panji Jayalengkara* recounted that Panji's mother was from east Javanese descent, which is the princess of Majapura. His half-brothers were shown from diverse areas, ranging from Pattani to *Wandhan* in the eastern Archipelago, placed as the children of lower-rank concubines from outside Java, by a royal Javanese father, Prabu Lembu Amiluhur. Those narratives lead us to believe that, throughout time, the concept of “bloodline nobility” (*trahing kusuma rembesing madu*) in connection to Javanese authority and political legitimacy may have shifted from India-oriented to a totally “Javanese” dominance. Thus, the

notion and role of *sabrang* evolved throughout time in response to the dynamic changes that occurred in Java, as mentioned in the next section of this article.

The Development of *Wayang Gedhog* and Global Changes: An Epilogue

Anderson (2007) stated that in the Javanese spectacle, the ruler plays a role as a core of traditional polity, who personifies unity in a society. The unity itself considered as a central symbol of power, and thus it demanded a legitimate supremacy to obtain this, since the Javanese believed in the credo “*ora ana surya kembar*” (there are no twin suns). As the division of Javanese kingdom became inevitable and was made permanent in the middle of 18th century, Sunan Pakubuwana must find a way to maintain his centralistic concept of power. He moved from the series of invasive political movements (1790-1815) to a much symbolic, cultural movement - to set the court of Surakarta as the reflection of Jenggala, the main kingdom of Panji tales and the progenitor of Javanese kings and nobility, so he could preserve his supremacy at least in symbolic terms, since there are any possible chances to reunify the Mataram dynasty. The relocation of main characters in *Panji* narratives from fictitious figures to spiritual (and genealogical) ancestors of Javanese nobility also has some consequences, such as changing Panji's identity from a romantic hero in a Middle-Javanese novel to a descendant of popular *wayang purwa* character Arjuna, as well as Quranic Adam (for further explanation, see Jaques 2006). The appropriation of the genealogical table also had the consequence of legitimizing the rulers of post-*Pagiyanti* Javanese kingdoms who were contending for the position of the true heir of the Mataram dynasty.

The historical satire (*pasemon*) could be obviously detected in both of Javanese court versions of *wayang gedhog* stories: in the Surakarta version, Panji would finally succeed the throne of Jenggala. Meanwhile, Panji was supposed to be the monarch of Kediri in Yogyakarta *lakons*, which appears to be a parallel epithet of this monarchy (Wiratama 2021). The traces of Javanese rulers' self-identification with Panji characters could also be seen in some behavioural aspects of *Kraton* customs operated by their kings and lettermen: in Surakarta, it is said that Pakubuwana III preferred to perform the *Panji Sepuh* (the 'mature' Panji) dance when he received a visit from the crown prince of Yogyakarta (Ricklefs 1974). Sultan Hamengkubuwana I of Yogyakarta also created some war-dances such as *Tuguwasesa* and *Guntursegara*, which later found to be a part of Yogyakarta *Panji* narratives, which placed king Tuguwasesa or Brajanata of Jenggala (an epithet of *paku bumi* or Paku Buwana) as a virtuous king but not strong enough to handle the *sabrang* king of Parangkencana (the Dutch) and his allies. The conclusion of this tale may be found in Yogyakarta *wayang gedhog lakons*, where Panji and his son emerged as the issue solvers, with the support of *Guntursegara* (*guntur* means "thunder," which might be roughly related with Sember Nyawa "the soul-striker," a famous moniker of the future Mangkunagara I or Raden Mas Said).

In early years of Surakarta Sunanate, the presence of *sabrang* people in the *Kraton's* capital was considered as a part of VOC's mercenaries; In the other side, there are also non-Javanese and non-Muslims acting as an ally of *Kraton* (see the case of Surapati in the era of Kartasura and the presence of Kampung Bali in the north of *Kraton* Surakarta complex). The *sabrang* party plays both adversarial and protagonist roles in *Kraton* and *Kompeni's* ambiguous relationship, depending on their perspective. If they oppose Javanese "ideology", they are labelled "*sabrang*," but if the opposite occurs, they are considered "*Njawa*" (Javanese-like). However, because it occurred in a situation in which *Kraton* was (both *de jure* and *de facto*) under the suppression and intervention of *Kompeni* (and then, the Dutch government), *wayang gedhog* could be viewed not only as an aesthetical presentation, but also as a form of escapism or legitimation, congruent with the change

of Javanese state from a politically active state to what Geertz has described as a theatre state (1981).

In the much later age of the 19th and 20th centuries, in the midst of concurrently declining military and political dominance, *Kraton* must adapt their concept of *sabrang*: today, "man from the overseas" are a part of the globalizing "Jawa" world's reality. They must understand that the existence of *sabrang* kings and nobles is not necessarily in hostile or client-patron relationships, but might also match their goal in an analogous mutual affair, as evidenced in *wayang gedhog lakons* after 1817: *Jayengtilam*, *Panji Dadap*, *Panji Raras*, and so on. In these sorts of *Panji* literature, the *sabrang* people, who were earlier considered a symbol of global adversary, would become a devoted friend, or a counterpart "Javanese" in some context.

It is also possible to assume that, in the setting of Surakarta courtly *wayang gedhog*, political and ideological themes affected the narratives and iconography of this *Panji*-themed puppetry, in addition to its original romantic topic. Thus, *wayang gedhog* serves multiple purposes in the lives of the *Kraton*'s nobles: not only as an aesthetical presentation, entertainment, the medium of reproducing the proper manner (*suba sita*) inside the court environment, or to explain some philosophical themes (*mbabar ngelmu lebet*), but also as a reflection of political ideology about the King and his State. In the personal opinion, these phenomena dealing with *wayang gedhog* might be seen as the effort of the Sunans, to maintain their importance and sovereignty in the middle of decreasing military and political power under the colonial Dutch control. It could be done with redefining their role as a model of Javanese leader, inspired by *Panji*, their mythical ancestor. In the almost impossible circumstances, there is any space left to regain this position, except by the means of symbolic acts, which also includes drawing the real world to the *Panji*-based *simulacra* produced by Sunan and his cultural environment.

On contrary of assumption that it proves Surakarta Sunans having ability to secure his position in a changed world, Pemberton stated that the increasing attention to the *lelangens* (leisure, entertainment---including the further cultivation of *wayang gedhog* performances) marked their cornered situation (see Pemberton, 1995). Even in the post-Independence era, the nation's educational institution, represented by ASKI (Indonesian *Karawitan* Academy) readjusted the role of *wayang gedhog* so its significance become reduced, from the political performance wrapped with the Javanese courtly fantasies and extravaganzas, to a nearly extinct puppetry (*wayang yang hampir punah*), which has almost no importance in the contemporary *wayang* showbiz. However, at the very least, may the outcomes of this study provide us with a better understanding of the relevance of *wayang gedhog*, which is often overlooked by puppeteers and *wayang* spectators.

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