THE CONFLUENCE BETWEEN ISLAM AND JAVANESE MYSTICISM IN THE AESTHETICS OF
WAYANG PURWA: A RELIGIO-CULTURAL ACCULTURATION

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อานัคอากุง ลินดาวะตี เคนคานา : การหลอมรวมของรหัสยลัทธิในศาสนาอิสลามและความเชื่อชวาที่ปรากฏในสุนทรียศาสตร์ของวายัง ปูรวะ: การผสมผสานกันทางศาสนาและวัฒนธรรม (THE CONFLUENCE BETWEEN ISLAM AND JAVANESE MYSTICISM IN THE AESTHETICS OF WAYANG PURWA: A RELIGIO-CULTURAL ACCULTURATION) อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: รศ. ดร. วิทยา สุจริตธนารักษ์, อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์ร่วม: ผศ. ดร. อิมติยาส ยูซุฟ, 162 หน้า.

การศึกษานี้เป็นความพยายามที่จะตรวจสอบบทบาทของสุนทรียศาสตร์ในฐานะที่เป็นสื่อของการปรับเข้าหากันทางด้านศาสนากับวัฒนธรรมของความเป็นอื่นในสภาพของถิ่น ซึ่งในที่นี้หมายถึงการปรับเข้าหากันของรหัสยลัทธิของชวากับศาสนาอิสลามในชวา โดยอาศัยสื่อของวายังปูรวะ มีประเด็นหลักอยู่สามประเด็นที่มีความสำคัญในการตรวจสอบนี้ อันได้แก่ เรื่องราวและที่มาของวายังปูรวะ วายังปูรวะภายใต้อิทธิพลของอิสลาม และวายังปูรวะในพิธีกรรม การศึกษานี้ใช้วิธีการศึกษาเชิงพรรณาแบบคุณภาพ โดยอาศัยแนวทางศึกษาทางวัฒนธรรมและประวัติศาสตร์ เพื่อให้ได้ข้อมูลที่มากพอจึงใช้การศึกษาค้นคว้าจากตำหรับตำรา การสังเกตุการณ์และการใช้เอกสารต่างๆ

เรื่องราวเกี่ยวกับวายังปูรวะอันมีที่มาจากกาพย์ของอินเดียที่ลือชื่อทำหน้าที่เป็นสื่อทางจริยศาสตร์ และสุนทรียศาสตร์ โดยที่เรื่องราวต่างๆเหล่านั้นได้รับการปรับให้เข้ากับวัฒนาธรรมชวา ท่ามกลางอิทธิพลของอิสลาม รูปแบบของเล่นหนังที่เด่นชัดและเป็นที่นิยมชมชอบอย่างยิ่งนั้นไม่เพียงแต่ยังยืนหยัดอยู่ได้แต่ยังได้รับการปรับแก้ทางศิลปที่น่าเร้าใจยิ่งในบรรดาเรื่องราวของศิลปการแสดงของอินโดนีเซีย ผลที่ปรากฏคือว่าข้อค้นพบทางเทวะวิทยาคือ เตาหิด (ความเป็นหนึ่งเดียว) อันเป็นหลักการพื้นฐานของศิลปะอิสลามที่สอนว่า ไม่มีพระเป็นเจ้าอื่นใดนอกจากพระอัลลาห์ผู้สร้างสากลจักรวาลนั้น มีอิทธิพลต่อการปรับเปลี่ยนของวายังปูรวะเป็นอย่างมาก โดยเฉพาะได้มีการเน้นย้ำถึงลักษณะนามธรรมของสุนทรียศาสตร์บางแง่มุม (เช่นการเน้นรูปลักษณ์/การทำให้ผิดสภาพธรรมชาติ ของตัวหนัง) ตลอดจนลดระดับสถานะของพระเป็นเจ้าในวัฒนธรรมฮินดูและชวาของวายังปูรวะที่ตอกย้ำแนวคิดถือว่าอัลลาห์คือพระเป็นเจ้าพียงหนึ่งเดียว

การค้นคว้ายังได้พบว่ามีเรื่องที่พัฒนาขึ้นมาใหม่อันเป็นการขยายของท้องเรื่องเดิมของกาพย์อินเดีย คือ รามายณะ กับมหาภารตะ เรื่องเหล่านี้ใช้ตัวละครเดิมในเนื้อเรื่องที่ผูกขึ้นใหม่ อันได้แรงบันดาลใจมาจากการที่ วาลีซงโงะ (ผู้วิเศษทั้งเก้า) พยายามจะเผยแพร่ศาสนาอิสลาม โดยหลักแล้วปูรวะในฐานะที่เป็นรูปแบบศิลปดั้งเดิมในเขตชนบทก็ยังคงเป็นสื่อศูนย์กลางในพิธีกรรม เป็นการสร้างความรู้สึกเชื่อมโยงกับอดีตของชวา อันเป็นวิธีการติดต่อกับบรรพบุรุษ ดังที่ปรากฏในพิธีกรรมที่ชื่อ รูวะฮัน (ruwahan) โดยสารสำคัญแล้ววายังปูรวะที่มีฐานจากฮินดู มีลักษณะของการเข้าหากันได้กับระบบความเชื่อที่นำเข้ามา คืออิสลาม อันมีลักษณะที่ค่อนข้างราบเรียบในกระบวนการผสมผสานทางวัฒนธรรม

สาขาวิชา   เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา   ลายมือชื่อนิสิต ....
ปีการศึกษา 2557   ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก ....
                                         ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาร่วม ....

ANAK AGUNG LINDAWATI KENCANA: THE CONFLUENCE BETWEEN ISLAM AND JAVANESE MYSTICISM IN THE AESTHETICS OF WAYANG PURWA: A RELIGIO-CULTURAL ACCULTURATION. ADVISOR: ASSOC. PROF. WITHAYA SUCHARITHANARUGSE, Ph.D., CO-ADVISOR: ASST. PROF. IMTIYAZ YUSUF, Ph.D., 162 pp.

This study is an attempt to investigate into the role of aesthetics as a medium for religio-cultural accommodation of others in the local; in this case the accommodation of Javanese Mysticism and Islam in Java through medium of *wayang purwa*. There are three issues which were crucial to this investigation: The stories and origins of *wayang purwa, wayang purwa* transformations under Islam influence, and *wayang purwa* in ritual ceremony. This study employs a qualitative descriptive method with cultural and historical approaches. To obtain comprehensive data, literary studies, observation, interviews, and documentation were also used.

The stories of *wayang purwa,* originating from the prominent Indian epics, served as ethical and aesthetical media in which the stories are thoroughly adapted to the Javanese culture. Under Islam influence, the vastly popular and essential shadow play form did not only survive but underwent the most exhilarating artistic alteration in Indonesian theatre. The results showed that *tawhid* (unization) theology—the basic principle in Islamic art—which teaches there is no God but *Allah*, has been influencing the transformations of *wayang purwa* to a great extent. In particular, it emphasizes the abstract quality of its aesthetic aspect (stylization/denaturation of *wayang* figures), and the reduction of the status of the *wayang purwa* Hindu-Javanese gods, highlighting the concept of *Allah* as a single Divine Being.

The research found that new stories are being developed as extensions of the main plots based on the Indian epics, Ramayana or Mahabharata. These stories use the original characters in newly-invented episodes, inspired by the Walisongo's attempts to promote Islam. Essentially, *wayang purwa* as a traditional art form in the countryside remains a focal medium of ritual ceremony. It provides a sense of connection with the Javanese past, as a means of contact with the forefathers, as expressed in *Ruwahan* ritual ceremony. In essence, the Javanese Hindu-based *wayang purwa* finds a level of compatibility with the imported religious system of Islam, an act which has been relatively peaceful throughout the process of acculturation.

Field of Study: Southeast Asian Studies	Student's Signature _____
Academic Year: 2014	Advisor's Signature _____
	Co-Advisor's Signature _____

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The Indonesian archipelago is blessed with a variety of traditional and theatrical arts; one of the most eminent is *wayang* art. Many theories and perspectives have been proposed by scholars to define the realm of *wayang*. The Javanese employ the word *wayang* to express both the various varieties of their traditional theater and the puppets which form an essential element in that theatre. The word *wayang* meant 'ancestor' or 'shadow' in early Javanese. In its derivation as *hyang*, the word refers as to an honorific term for gods; in its descent as *eyang*, it means forefather. Associating ancestors or forefathers with the gods was a common animist or tribal practice according to Irvine (1996: 129). Sagio (1991: 4) notes that the word *wayang* is derived from the old Javanese word '*bayangan*' for 'shadow'. Interestingly, *bayangan*, the modern Indonesian word for shadow, is very similar and perhaps drawn from the same Javanese root.

In a more practical respect, *wayang* is a basic name signifying 'a flat or rounded puppet which is used in presenting a play' as stated by Melemma (1954: 5). According to Tilakasiri (1999), it is possible that the term was associated exclusively among Europeans as the 'shadow play' because it presented the most popular type of entertainment when compared to other forms of puppetry. This traditional Javanese 'shadow puppet' performance is often distinguished, in Indonesian, as

wayang kulit, however this simply means 'puppets made from buffalo hide' and integrates such forms as Balinese *wayang* (Pausacker 1996: 10)

Irvine (1996) examines the commonly consented view and approves the theory of *wayang* as a dramatic form dating back to animism rites in Java's prehistory, and is thus initiated in religious mysticism. In addition, it is generally accepted that *wayang* shadow plays, as prevalent now, are preceded by rituals where spirits of ancestors are invoked to appear in the form of shadows on a screen (Tilakasiri 1999: 72). Old mythological stories were enacted during these performances, with indigenous heroes and legendary kings playing foremost roles, in the form of flat puppets, as pointed out by Tilakasiri (1999).

Yuwono Sri Suwito,[1] one of the more prominent Javanese *wayang kulit* scholars, opines that there are some different types of *wayang kulit* with specific stories or repertoires, such as:

1. *Wayang Purwa*, where the events in the repertoires are supposed to have happened during the life time of Arjuna Sasra Bahu, Rama, and Kresna. Raden Parikesit, the grandson of Arjuna, is the last character to appear in *wayang purwa*, in the story of the great Bharatayuda War.

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[1] Personal Communication, 3 June 2014.

2. *Wayang Madiya*, the story deals with the life time of the well-known Raden Parikesit, and that of the historical Raden Panji.

3. *Wayang Gedog,* the story covers the period between Raden Panji, around the middle of the 10th century, and the arrival of Islam, in the mid-15th century.

Among all types of *wayang kulit, wayang purwa* is the most popular and well known, with beautifully painted bright colors. According to Ulbricht (1970: 2) *purwa* means 'past' and can be translated as 'the very beginning', therefore it could be interpreted as 'shadow of the past'[2]. *Wayang purwa,* a traditional Javanese art form, is one of the most prominent examples of it as a comprehensive art. The art of *wayang purwa* connects with religion, mysticism, folklore, literature, history, philosophy, dance, and music. Moreover, it correspondingly covers a multi-cultural society that adapts traditional and contemporary values for harmonious living. It also represents different entities to different Javanese groups. For instance, Orthodox Javanese Muslims associate the existence of gods depicted from animist or Hindu belief systems to the characters of the traditional *wayang purwa*. Nevertheless, for other Javanese groups, particularly those who are fervent in traditional mysticism, *wayang purwa* can possess a deep spiritual influence (Irvine 1996). Regarding the religious rites or sacred rites of mystical experience, Hazeu, the 19th Century Dutch

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[2] The word 'past' here according to Ulbricht should be grasped in the broadest sense of the world, simply prolonging beyond the limits of our memory 'up to the day the world was created.'

scholar, also believed that the leather shadow puppetry was homegrown. As he claimed, the ancient Javanese made 'puppet figures depicting the ancestors who were their chiefs, and used them to enact stories of the tribe's mystical origins (cited in Irvin, 1996: 129).[3] Within these extremes, the intensities of meaning for *wayang purwa* may be diverged due to diversity of its audience (Irvine 1996: 4). Tilakasiri (1999) argues:

> *Wayang is not merely 'shadow figure' or the 'shadow theatre' but it brings us a vision of the history of the islands, their rich cultural and literary heritage, and not only as a form of traditional theatre, but most of all, creating bonds of understanding and mutual appreciation among Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims including ethnic groups (Tilakasiri 1999: 62).*

Although the *wayang purwa* originated as a Javanese theatrical art during the period of the sovereignty of Javanese kings, it was favored by adherents of Hinduism and Buddhism; the twin faiths. The play was written in classical Javanese and first became well-known among the Javanese of Central Java dating from the period of the Hindu kingdom of Mataram, founded around 732 A.D.

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[3] For further details regarding religious/sacred rites of mystical experiences concerning *wayang purwa* see Brandon, J. R. (1970). On Thrones of Gold. London, Oxford University Press.

The great Indian epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are the basis for the stories of *wayang purwa*. Uniquely, these epics are so closely interlinked that they formed a single integrated epic in *wayang purwa* adaptation, which describes the stories, or *lakons*, drawn from 'the origins'; from Javanese pre-history and folklore; from Indian post-Vedic literature; and from Javanese creativity and inventiveness over many centuries (Irvine 1996). Some centuries later, the introduction of Hinduism to Indonesia created several changes leading to the adaptation of the two Indian epics into Javanese *kakawins* (poems) and other literary works, based on their episodes. From that period forward, the *wayang purwa* were performed with *lakons* (play scripts) composed from the subject of these epics. In essence, the *wayang purwa* art blossomed for over 200 years, assimilating Hindu influences from the epics and religious literature; then the play expanded to the East of Java and later to Bali (Irvine 1996: 131, Tilakasiri 1999: 67).

Moreover, according to Mulder (1983), Islam that came to Java was the Sufi variety, which was easily accepted and embedded in Javanese syncretism since mysticism and magical-mystical practices have long been rooted in the Javanese culture. It has been argued that the nine saints (Walisongo), who spread Islam in Java, were believed to have used the art form of *wayang purwa* to promote their religious teachings, and drew the line between the teaching of the Sufi school of Islam and the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist teaching of *kebathinan*. According to Koentjaraningrat

(1985: 317), this phenomenon has been termed *Agami Jawi* (Javanese Religion), and is an essential element of the whole concept of 'Javanism'. In other words "Javanese Islam" is a cultural intermarriage between Islam and Javanese tradition (Hilmy 1999: 37).

Concerning the aesthetical aspect of *wayang purwa*, Islamic strictures on the direct representation of the human form led to changes in the design of puppets. Despite the changes, the old animist Hindu *wayang* not only remained structurally intact, but continue to develop as Javanese culture's highest art form. There are theories reason this accommodation. This adaptation was possible because the concept of the omnipotent Allah automatically relegated the old *wayang* gods to the status of mythical or demigods figures. Another theory argues that the most successful of the Islamic proselytisers were Muslims of the Sufi sect, which has a strong mystical element and allows for the doctrine of mystical subjugation of the self in an attempt to commune with God. Regarding to this theory, the Sufi Muslims were more tolerant of and acceptable to the mystical nature of Java's earlier animism, Hinduism and Buddhist variants, and allowing elements of each to live on through *wayang purwa*.

With some adaptation, the Hindu-based Javanese *wayang purwa* and the imported religious system of Islam became the tradition of *wayang* that profoundly permeated the lives of ordinary Javanese people. In taking Islam to the people, it enhanced the

synthesis of the mystical values of Islam with the traditional mystical and cultural values of Javanese. Thus, the early promoters of Islam promptly appreciated that *wayang purwa's* essential Hindu-based theme of the acceptance of divinely decreed fate as the will of God could be accepted as complimentary to Islam (Irvine 1996: 171). Interestingly, the acculturation also spread to the Javanese literary works. According to Zoetmulder (1974: 31), the old Javanese literary languages of the *kakawin* and the *kidung* absorbed Arabic loan words to generate what we identify nowadays as Modern Javanese.

Furthermore, the classification of Javanese society has been debated by western scholars since the publication of Clifford Geertz's book "The Religion of Java" in 1960. Geertz divided the Javanese into three 'variants' (*aliran*): *abangan, santri,* and *priyayi.*[4] These were seemingly religious categories, distinguished by particular aspects of Javanese syncretism. The *abangan* religion represented the "animistic aspects of the over-all Javanese syncretism" (Geertz 1960: 60). He divided the *santri* into two sub-variants: the *kolot* (or *kuno*, meaning conservative) *santri* which maintained

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[4] The phenomenon has been classified by Western scholars as 'Syncretism'. Nevertheless, some Javanese scholars prefer the term 'Mosaicism' rather than 'Syncretism' to define the special ability of the Javanese to absorb, assimilate and adapt new cultural or religious influences into their existing cultural traditions and mystical and religious beliefs (Cipto Prawiro, 1986: 27 cited in Irvin, 1996). Benedict Anderson describes it in shorthand terms as 'Javanese tolerance'. He argues that this 'tolerance' has enabled the Javanese to absorb new ideas, religions and values – 'augmenting and invigorating' rather than destroying the underlying Javanese sense of identity (Anderson, 1996).

animistic and Hindu-Buddhist practices and were represented by the Nahdatul Ulama organization and the *modern santri,* who considered themselves as 'reformed', and closely obeyed the Koranic teachings and were associated with the social welfare organization Muhammadiyah. The third variant, the *priyayi,* to a great extent emphasized the Hindu aspects of Javanese syncretism.

> *This white-collar elite, its ultimate roots in the Hindu-Javanese courts of pre-colonial times, conserved and cultivated a highly refined court etiquette, a very complex art of dance, drama, music, and poetry and a Hindu-Buddhist mysticism* (Geertz, 1960: 6).

In essence, two brands of Islam took hold; one the more conventional form of the religion, the other a unique syncretic blending of mystical Javanese-Animist and Hindu-Buddhist beliefs into a broad Islamic framework, which accordingly divided Javanese perceptions towards the traditional art of *wayang purwa,* as well as its aesthetical enhancement.

Regarding the aesthetical enhancement of *wayang purwa,* Sagio and Ir. Samsugi, the authors of Wayang Kulit Gagrag Yogyakarta; *Morfologi, Tatahan, Sunggingan dan Teknik Pembuatannya,* (Wayang Gagrag Yogyakarta; morphology, *Tatahan, Sunggingan* and the crafting technique) argue that the denaturalization of the human

figure in *wayang purwa* is a result of the profound influence of Islamic arts. To some extent Brandon (1970: 6) agrees to this opinion, as he states that the transformations in *wayang purwa* occurred as the outcome of the conversion of Java to Islam; however, he argues that the accuracy of these accounts is open to question as they were written some hundred years after the events.

Irvine (1996: 21) questions "why the influence of Islamic culture on the traditional *wayang* stories was relatively modest and why the old stories continued to be so popular?" The humblest assumption is that the Hindu-Javanese *wayang purwa* had become deep-rooted as folklore in the Javanese community and its supremacy was not to be contested. In addition, the portrayals of its universal themes were relevant to the Javanese and flawlessly acceptable as the media of entertainment (Brandon 1970, Irvine 1996, Drs. Sunarto 2006). Moreover, Yousof (2010: 89) states that *wayang purwa* essentially functioned as a medium for the propagation (*dakwah*) of Islam as well as the spread of Sufi teachings. Nevertheless, it should be noted that *wayang purwa* remained controversial, specifically from the standpoint of Orthodox Muslims. This conflict is demonstrated in an account shared by Perry (1994: 64) who cites McVey (1970: 24):

> *The question of using lakon based on the Mahabharata presented*
>
> *the Walisongo with an ideological dilemma: how could Islamic*
>
> *teachings be presented through Hindu epics, given the inherent*

"contradiction between Hindu element in the wayang purwa and

Muslim religious thought?"

Based on the elaboration above, it was fascinating to investigate the acculturation between Javanese Hindu-Buddhist and Islam which inspired the elaboration of *wayang purwa*. This led the author to focus on a particular research topic, which was later taken as the title of this thesis: "The confluence between Islam and Javanese mysticism in the aesthetics of *wayang purwa*: A religio-cultural acculturation."

1.1 Research Question

How, and to what extent, does the aesthetics of *Wayang Purwa* represent an important medium of expression of Javanese religio-cultural worldview?

1.2 Research Objectives

This thesis will investigate the role of aesthetics as a medium for religio-cultural accommodation: in this case the accommodation of Javanese Mysticism and Islam in Java through medium of *Wayang Purwa*.

1.3 Hypothesis

Wayang Purwa has served immensely as a medium of acculturation in the encounter between the two conceptually differing religio-cultural worldviews of Islam and Javanese mystical traditions, resulting in the housing of Islam within the Javanese cultural space. This undertaking has been both tense and accommodative.

Mysticism, as the nature of Islam Sufi, and Javanese mysticism brought together the two differing religio-cultural worldviews, articulated through the aesthetics of *wayang purwa.*

1.4 Research Methods

This research employs the qualitative descriptive method (Miles and Huberman, 1984: 11-15) with cultural and historical approaches. Edgell (2011) examines the cultural approaches to the study of Religion:

> *Cultural approaches, drawing on different theoretical traditions and analytical frameworks, focus on a wider range of religious expression, and explore a different set of questions about the nature and sociological significance of Religion* (Edgell 2011: 6).

Cultural approaches have been significant in determining our understanding of the nature of religion and religion's role in society, and in establishing an agenda for research since the founding of sociology as a discipline (Edgell 2011: 24). Moreover, when attempting the historical approach, a thorough literature review is critical. According to Stage (2003: 99), articles and books in a specific topic can provide rich sources of information, which involves a considerable amount of time for a good literature review. Nevertheless, the richness of data collected, the point of view

gained, and the expanded knowledge of the researcher acquired from this method makes this an invaluable stage in the research process.

In order to accomplish the target of data collection, keeping the time constraint in mind, the following techniques were applied:

1. A study of the literature; which included written materials related to the history of *wayang purwa*, *wayang purwa* as a form of traditional theater, Islam studies, Islam and art, Javanenese mysticism, Javanese cultures and wisdoms, etc. from various sources including books, articles/journals, newspapers, magazines, and from the internet.

2. Interviewing informants, based on in-depth interviews. Interview with several *dalangs,* which are categorized by the author into experts and apprentices (based on their experiences and quality of performing). The *dalangs* are Sutono Hadi Sugito, Blacius Subono, Suyanto, Aneng Kiswantoro, Deniawan Tommy Chandra Wijaya, Bambang Topowardoyo, Fani Rickyansyah, and Sasmito Raras, as well as other academics from various academic backgrounds in Javanese arts, particularly *wayang purwa*; Islam and art; and Javanese mysticism. Interviews were conducted with commoners also, as they provide an important representation of different Javanese sub-cultures whose knowledge can be reliable for particular subjects.

3. Observation. Observe *wayang purwa* through *wayang purwa* performances (live shows and online performances on the internet), *wayang purwa* museum, *wayang purwa* gallery, as well as Hindu-Buddhist temples which show the depiction of *wayang* stories.

In terms of observation, research on *wayang purwa* performances was divided into its main purposes:

1. Entertainment, observed through attending *pergelaran* (performance) *wayang purwa* in Yogyakarta and Surakarta, mainly in Sonobudoyo Yogyakarta and Sonobudoyo Surakarta.

2. Traditional Javanese ritual ceremony, conducted research for different Javanese rituals: *Sadranan/Bersih Desa* rites in Banaran village, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta, conducted on 16 June 2014, and *Ruwahan ritual ceremony* in Candi village and Ceporan village, both are located in Klaten, Yogyakarta, held on 24 June 2014.

In order to enhance the knowledge regarding the aesthetical aspects of *wayang purwa*, the author visited Desa Butuh, in Surakarta. The majority of the inhabitants of this village live off the *wayang purwa* home industry; producing the *wayangs* from the early process to the final one.

As history has always been the author's interest when *wayang purwa* is concerned, visits were made to Javanese Hindu-Buddhist temples that depict the *wayang* stories on the bas-relief and sculptures based on the Indian epics, the Ramayana and Mahabharata, with the intent of finding the connection between *wayang purwa* of the Java past to the present one. Thus, Candi Sukuh and Candi Cetha in Surakarta, as well as Candi Prambanan in Yogyakarta which are considered as the precise temples where the beauty of Javanese arts, reflecting the Javanese religious mystical beliefs and the Javanese civilization could be observed.

Islam was an essential subject in this research, which provided extensive influences to the development and transformation of *wayang* arts. It was very inspiring and led the author to study a brief history of Demak kingdom, the first Islamic kingdom in Java, as well as the roles of Walisongo in spreading Islam. Therefore, the fieldwork included a visit to the well-known Demak mosque, believed by the locals as the place where the Walisongo started spreading the Islamic teachings, as well as performing *wayang purwa* outside the mosque as a means of proliferating Islam. Additionally, the author visited the tomb of Sunan Kalijaga, a member of Walisongo, the prominent actor behind the introduction of *wayang purwa* into the Javanese Islamic cultures, who even now, is worshipped by the Javanese.

4. Documentation.

Regarding the data analysis technique, interactive analysis technique is applied, which comprised three simultaneous activities: data reduction, data presentation, and verification (Miles & Huberman, 1984: 13). The technique for validating data in this research is triangulation, involving the triangulation of data sources, method, and theory. Triangulation of sources is achieved by comparing various sources in order to verify its validity. Particularly for this research, the data obtained from observation will be validated by comparing it to data obtained from interviewing informants and literary studies.

1.5 Research Scope

The scope of the research is limited by period and place. The time limit of the research is limited to the time between the fall of Majapahit and the rise of Demak (15th Century) to the present time. The spatial limit for this research is in two areas; Yogyakarta and Surakarta, Central Java. Reliable academic sources were obtained from some universities and art institutions, namely ISI (Institut Seni Indonesia) Yogyakarta and Surakarta, Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) Yogyakarta, Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta (UNY), Universitas Negeri Sebelas Maret (UNS) Surakarta as well as *wayang purwa* practitioners in Yogyakarta and Surakarta, such as Sanggar Wayang Sagio (Yogyakarta) and Sanggar Wayang Gogon (Surakarta).

1.6 Conceptual Framework

Religious ideas give meanings to life; as mentioned earlier in accordance to the focal point of this research, which underlines the roles of religious ideas conveyed through the medium of *wayang purwa* to the audience. In essence, religious ideas have inspired the meaning of life for the audience who come for the *wayang purwa* performance; where the dramatic stories and music are presented, with episodes and the whole presentation derived from the essence of Islam and Javanese mysticism. It is important to mention that the audience use *wayang purwa* and practice the ideas from the screen/performance as a way of engaging Islam and Javanese mysticism in their life. Thus, *Wayang purwa* became a bridge between the two different traditions; the Javanese mystical religious traditions (Animism and Javanese Hindu-Buddhist) and Islam.

Therefore, the theory of Religion as Cultural System advocated by Clifford Geertz from his book *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973) is applied as a theoretical core of this research. According to Geertz, religion as cultural system is:

> *(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such aura of factuality that*

(5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic (Geertz 1973).

Pals (1996) elaborates Geertz's theory in a modest manner:

1. *By "a system of symbols" Geertz means just about anything that carries and convey to people an idea.*

2. *These symbols "establish powerful, pervasive, and long moods and motivations" … saying that religion makes people feel things and also want to do things. Motivations have goals, and they are guided by enduring set of values what matters to people, what they think is good and right.*

3. *"Conceptions of a general order of existence." By this Geertz simply means that religion tries to give explanations of the world…. Its intense is to provide an ultimate meaning, a great ordering purpose to the world… On the one side, then stand conception of the world, and on other a set of moods and motivations guided by moral ideals; taken together, these two lie at the core of religion. Geertz abbreviates the two elements by referring simply to "world view" and "ethos".*

4. *"(4) Clothes these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic." In simpler terms, this means that religion mark out a sphere of life that has a special status. What separates it from other cultural system is that its symbols claim to put us in touch what what is "really real"---with things that matter to people more than anything else.*

In essence, the central point of "Religion as Cultural System" is that religion consists of a worldview and ethos that merge and support one another. According to Geertz, a worldview is best expressed in the Javanese concept *rasa. Rasa* has two principal meanings: "feeling" and "meaning." As "feeling" it refers to the physical senses of taste and touch, as well as to emotional feelings. For "meaning" *rasa* is employed to the words in a letter, in a poem, or in common speech (Geertz 1973).

Rasa is an essential fraction of two Javanese mystical traditions: Javanized Hindu-Buddhist on one side, and mystical Islam (Sufism) on the other. As Javanese religion is subsequently mystical, God is found by means of spiritual discipline in the complexities of the self as pure *rasa*. According to Clifford Geertz, *rasa* is the "connecting link" between the three principal components of religious life: mystical practice, art, and etiquette:

> *And Javanese (and aesthetics) are, correspondingly, affected-centered without being hedonistic: emotional equanimity, a certain flatness of affect, a strange inner illness, is the prized psychological state, the mark of truly noble character. One must attempt to get beyond the emotions everyday life to the genuine feeling-meaning which lies within us... Both religion and ethics, both mysticism and politesse, thus point the same end: a detached tranquility which is proof against disturbance from either or within or without* (Geertz 1973).

As justified by Geertz (1973: 137-138) the fusion of a mystical-phenomenological world view and an etiquette-centered ethos is expressed in *wayang purwa* in various ways:

1. It is conveyed in terms of iconography.

2. The fusion appears as story.

3. The moral substance of the play is occasionally interpreted analogically.

It is essential to highlight that the play as a whole is generally perceived to be a dramatization of individual subjective experience (Geertz 1973). Therefore, one may perceive the icons or the story differently based on one's inner understanding towards the worldview and ethos.

Furthermore, even though *rasa* is initially a Sanskrit word, it is not only substantial in Tantric Shaivite (Hindu) and Buddhist texts, but also in Islam Sufi mystic contexts, as well as in the syncretic mystical cults that combine elements of all three religions. Accordingly, as any other metaphysical and ethical "system", *wayang* is concerned with clarifying the universe. *Wayang* mythology attempts to investigate the existential position of the Javanese man; his connection to the natural and supernatural order, to his associate, and to himself (Anderson 1996). The different faiths merged in *wayang purwa* share one point: a belief in the ultimate goal of the union with the Absolute Being—Allah in Islamic terms.

An important key element in Javanese aesthetics is the concept that all human activity should strive for being *halus*[5]. *Kehalusan* is an inner aesthetic quality which exists in the private consciousness of oneself. Therefore, for being *halus* requires balance between external physical behavior (*lahir*) and inner spiritual consciousness (*bathin*) (Irvine 1996: 92). The external expression of *kehalusan* in wayang purwa, as in Javanese life can be observed in the behavior, speech, style, and dress of the *wayang* characters. Additionally, the physical shape of *wayang* puppets also indicates the level to which the characters characterize inner *halus* qualities. The antitheses of *halus* are the concepts *kasar,* meaning 'coarse', or 'rough' and *keras* suggesting obscene hardness and rigidity (Irvine 1996: 93).

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[5] The Indonesian word *halus* (*alus* in Javanese) means 'refined', or 'cultural.'

To a great extent, the theory above reflects the essence of *wayang purwa* as a medium of acculturation, whose manner and method of religio-cultural acculturation between Javanized Hindu-Buddhist culture and the values of Islam gave rise to a unique style and religious inter-marriage. A style which is expressed as a distinguished and meaningful art form in *wayang purwa.*

1.7 Significance of Research

Firstly, The outcome of the research will academically contribute towards further studies on Islam and Javanese mysticism in *wayang purwa*, particularly on how two religious cultures (Islam and Javanese mysticism) in the same geographic space (Indonesia in general, Central Java in particular) have been able to coexist as illustrated in the adaptation of the *wayang purwa* art which has Javanese features but whose course contents are interwoven with Islam and Javanese mysticism.

Secondly, this study will provide a new perspective concerning Islam and Javanese mysticism as a cohesive unification, as manifested in *wayang purwa*: it shows how *wayang purwa* as a cultural resource has been able to bridge the gap between different variants in Javanese society. Lastly, it will be a reference for further study of Javanese syncretism as reflected in *wayang purwa* aesthetics.

1.8 Literature Review

A brief narration of mysticism in *wayang purwa* is found in a book written by H. Ulbricht, 1970. In his book *Wayang Purwa Shadows of the Past,* he discusses *wayang purwa's* esoteric knowledge that has been preserved in an astounding form. It is also concerned with the mystery of Creation, mysticism, which he points out should not be confused with esoteric knowledge. According to Ulbricht, the major difference between esoteric and mysticism is that esoteric knowledge can be conveyed by means of plain language, while mystical experiences are incommunicable. He emphasizes that this does not mean that followers of esoteric teachings might not experience the mystical. He argues that 'mystics put themselves to a state of ecstasy during which they step out of this world of ours into the invisible one'. This perception cannot be described in our languages; rather they can only be expressed in terms of symbols, which can be grasped by those who have had similar mystical experiences. 'For non-mystics, their meanings must be dark and unintelligible.' All in all, he concludes that mysticism plays an important role in *wayang purwa,* particularly in order to unite with God, as the aim of the mystic.

A particular topic on Javanese religion[6] can be found in Clifford Geertz' *The Religion of Java.* He divides Javanese society based on their social and religious views (*abangan, santri* and *priyayi*). A related book by Budiono Hadisutrisno, the author of

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[6] I found some different terms; Islam Kejawen, Agama Jawa, Agama Jawi, Kebatinan Jawa, etc

Islam Kejawen discusses the interweaving of Javanese mysticism and Islam resulting in a 'different' form of Islam as has been termed "Islam Kejawen". He regards his arguments to the historical events back to fifteenth century. For instance, in 1478 Brawijaya V, considered as the last Majapahit king, was converted to Islam by Sunan Kalijaga (one of the Nine Saints-Walisonga and the king's advisor). It had an enormous impact on the big waves of Islamization arriving in Java, as the Javanese applied the Agama *Ageming Aji* principle, which means king's religion becomes the principle religion for the commoners.

Effendy Zarkasi discusses a narration of symbolic interpretation in *wayang purwa* in Bahasa Indonesia. In *Unsur Islam dalam pewayangan* (Islamic elements in *wayang* adaptation), he describes the symbolic interpretation towards *wayang* as he argues that the puppets are empty forms which come to life only when the *dalang* (puppet master) moves them, just as God brings people to life. In his book, he claimed that *wayang kulit* is a Muslim invention that has been used from its inception as a means of propagating Islam. A similar perspective is expressed by Sugito in *Dakwah Islam Melalui Media Wayang* (Islam proselytization through *wayang* as the media) and Poedjosoebroto in *Wayang: Lambang Ajaran Islam* (Wayang: Symbol of Islam teachings).

Furthermore, Indonesian and western scholars argue that Walisongo played an important role in the spread of Islam in Java. The elaboration of this topic can be obtained in *Wali Songo Rekontruksi sejarah yang disingkirkan* (Wali Songo the reconstruction of the eliminated history) written by Agus Sunyoto. He explains that Islam reached Nusantara (Indonesia) in seventh century by the Arab merchants. However, eight centuries later, Islam was still not fully accepted by the locals. However, when the Sufi gurus, well known as Walisongo, started spreading Islam, it took less than half a century to transform most of Javanese into Muslims. He emphasizes that one of the main reasons the spread of Islam by Walisongo was successful is that they applied a lax approach through arts and cultures; part of it through *wayang purwa* performance as the medium.

David Irvine, the author of *Leather Gods & Wooden Heroes: Java's classical wayang*, debates that while *wayang purwa* may have absorbed some of the aesthetic and artistic principles of Islam, only to a much lesser degree does it absorb Islamic ethical or moral principles. James R. Brandon, the author of *On Throne of Gold*, shares a similar point of view. He claims that the Javanese Islamic stories never achieved the popularity of the old-Hindu Javanese stories, which were so firmly entrenched by the sixteenth century.

Various books, journals, and articles focus on Islam in *wayang purwa* or Javanese mysticism in *wayang purwa*. However, a particular topic about the confluence between Islam and Javanese mysticism in the aesthetics of *wayang purwa* as a detailed narration in one systematic academic research in any form of literature, including thesis or dissertations, has yet to be found.

Chapter 2 Wayang Purwa: The stories and the origins

The Ramayana, one of two great Indian epics, tells the story of Rama. A large part of it is devoted to the narrative of Rama's exile in the forest, where he is escorted by his wife Sinta and Lakshmana, his brother. One day Rahwana, the ten-headed and twenty-armed demon, abducts Sinta and carries her off to his palace in Lanka. With the help of a monkey army, who is commanded by Hanoman, Rama succeeds in freeing Sinta and Killing Rahwana in the end.

The Mahabharata, the other great Indian epic, is a story about the war between the five brothers of Pandawa and the Korawas, their hundred cousins. The Pandawas consist of Yudistira (the eldest and crown prince); Bima (the strongest); Arjuna (the preeminent archer); and Nakula and Sadewa, the twins. The brothers lose all they have in a game of dice with the Korawas, including their common wife, Drupadi and their kingdom. After living in the forest for several years, they ready themselves to wage war against the Korawas. The depiction of the war comprises the well-known episode called Bhagavadgita, which is regarded as the reflection of Hindu philosophy.

Kinney (2003: 19) argues that the Indian version of both of the above epics used immense attractiveness on comprehensive levels of society in Southeast Asia. This is highlighted by the fact that many Old Javanese texts are based on episodes of

Ramayana and Mahabharata (Sears 1978). Nowadays, the Ramayana persists as a favored story in Buddhist Thailand, and the stories originated from the Ramayana and Mahabharata are still employed as the most popular themes for *wayang* performance in Indonesia, both in Hindu Bali and in Islamic Java (Kinney 2003: 19).

This chapter attempts to study the transmission of the Ramayana and Mahabharata from India to Java; in particular the parallels and influences in various aspects of its evolution within the Javanese elements which refer to the main stories of *wayang purwa* adaptation. In addition, this chapter aims to investigate the origins of *wayang purwa* which have been debated by scholars.

2.1 The Ramayana and Mahabharata of *Wayang Purwa*

The stories of *wayang purwa* originated from the prominent Indian Epics, the Ramayana and Mahabharata. It functions as a media for the ethical and aesthetical. Nevertheless, the stories are thoroughly adapted to the Javanese culture. This transformation definitely affects the standard of *wayang purwa* play where the stories and themes of both epics are utterly interlinked as they form a single combined epic, whereas in Indian classical performances, these two epics manifest separately, from the dramatic perspective as well as literary entities.

The four major cycles of *wayang purwa* were classified and standardized in the royal courts of Central Java in the 18th and 19th centuries. The immense collection of

approximately 180 *lakons*, or stories, was interlaced in the Hindu epics, the Ramayana and Mahabharata. These *lakons* are grouped in into four cycles:

1. The tales and myths of pre-Hindu Javanese mythology (played during the observance of exorcism rites) – is heavily tied to ancient Javanese animist beliefs and the *Adiparwa* (based on the first section of the Mahabharata)
   – **7 *lakons.***

2. The Arjuna Sasrabahu cycle deals with the origin of some of the major characters of the Ramayana; the *lakons* are located in the kingdom of Lokapala and Alengka. It is also termed the Lokapala or pre-Ramayana cycle – **5 lakons**.

3. The Rama cycle; *lakons* devoted to the abduction of Sinta by the ogre of Alengka and the greatest and most successful efforts of her husband, Rama to free her – **18 *lakons.***

4. The most dramatically comprehensive cycles of all, the Mahabharata
   – approximately **150 *lakons.***

Interestingly, as described by Irvine (1996: 19), the Javanese have developed thematic, principled and cultural connections which strengthen the integrity of Javanese *wayang purwa* as a single epic. The most obvious connection between the cycles is the presence of Hindu Javanese gods, who are both ancestors of the protagonist and active players in the *wayang purwa* stories. Wisnu[7] the Avatar,

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[7] The Javanese spelling for Vishnu.

incarnated into mortal form as Arjuna Sasrabahu (see fig. 1) or as Ramabargawa (see fig.2), and certainly as Rama (see fig. 3) and as Kresna (see fig. 4), plays a major role in *wayang purwa* as characters that take part in different cycles.

Figure 1: Arjuna Sasrabahu

Figure 2: Ramabargawa

Figure 3: Rama

Figure 4: Kresna

Irvine (1996) elaborates that the story of Ramabargawa is narrated in the Hindu *Puranas* and in Mahabharata. Ramabargawa is killed by Rama in the early part of the Ramayana, signifying the symbolic transfer of Wisnu's incarnation from one cycle to another. The giant Rahwana (see fig. 5)[8] is the main symbol of evil in both the Arjuna Sasrabahu and Ramayana cycles and perhaps incarnated in more subtle forms in the Mahabharata stories. Hanoman (see fig. 6), the righteous and heroic ape, is a major protagonist in Ramayana. According to the Javanese, he lives on as an icon of purity through the Mahabharata stories. In addition, the uniquely Javanese clown-companion or servant characters appear in the Arjuna Sasrabahu or pre-Ramayana cycles as well as in the Ramayana and Mahabharata cycles.

Figure 5: Rahwana

Figure 6: Hanoman

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[8] Rahwana is also known as Dasamuka in Javanese version of the epics, meaning ten-faced (ten-headed)

The Javanese version of the Indian epics in *wayang purwa* presents a characteristically Javanese interpretation of humankind's place in the cosmic order. The stories of the epics have been modified and refined to suit the core of Javanese cultures, for example:

1. Dewi Drupadi in the original epic of Mahabharata has five husbands, the Pandawa brothers: Yudhistira, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sadewa. However, in *wayang purwa*'s version, she is merely the wife of Yudhistira, since Javanese culture does not have a polyandry tradition.

2. Gatutkaca is a son of Bima who is a colossus in the original version of the Mahabharata epic appears only in the episode of Bharatayuda[9] war. While in *wayang purwa*, he is portrayed as a gallant hero with a number of miracles, having, for instance, the enchantment of *Brajamusti* that still can be learned in the modern Javanese community for magical purposes.

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[9] Bharatayuda: Bratajuda Djajabinangun (Javanese) literally "the war of the children of Bharata in which victory is won'; this is the full Javanese name for the final war between the Pandawa and Korawa (Anderson, 1996:101).

Figure 7: Rama and Shinta of the Ramayana

Figure 8: The Pandawa of the Mahabharata

Figure 9: The Punakawan

An interesting observation is that the uniquely-Javanese clown-companions or servant characters known as Punakawan, consist of Semar, Gareng, Petruk, and Bagong (see fig. 9). In *wayang purwa* adaptation, they appear in the Arjuna Sasrabahu or pre-Ramayana cycles as well as in the Ramayana and Mahabharata cycles. These characters are drawn from Java's more ancient (pre-Hindu) past, which do not exist in the original story of Ramayana and Mahabharata. Therefore, it shows that local

content has been added to the stories of the original epics with a view to integrate them to the Javanese community.

Based on the elaboration above, investigation into the transmission of the Ramayana and Mahabharata from India to Java provided fascinating results, which will be expanded upon in the following sections.

2.1.1 Earliest evidence of the epics in Java and the archipelago

According to Sarkar (1934: 173) many early versions of the Ramayana epic have been found in Java. As examined by Sears (1978: 15), the earliest evidence of the epics in the archipelago is also regarded as the earliest evidence of Indian influence, explicitly in the Yupa sacrificial pillars of King Mulawarman of Borneo (c. 400 A.D.). Sears explains that this inscription uses the *Anustubh* metre, the metre of the epics, and seems to indicate familiarity with the Pandawas of the Mahabhrata. This reference to the eldest of the five Pandawa, Yudistira, is considered to be the earliest reference of the epics in all of Southeast Asian epigraphy.

Other evidence includes the Veal Kantel inscription from Cambodia (c. 6th century A.D.) that says "with the Ramayana and the Purana he gave complete Mahabharata and arranged for a daily recitation without interruption" (Chhabra 1965: 88-89 , cited in Sears 1978: 16). Sears points out that, also in the sixth century, Pa-ka-da-to the king of Langkasuka, situated on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, mentions

the mountain Gandhamadana in a letter of the Chinese emperor. Considering that this mountain was uprooted by Hanuman in the Ramayana, Sarkar (1934) believes it reveals a familiarity with the epics. Based on the study of Chhabra (1965: 83), Sears (1978: 16) reveals that there are two 7th century inscriptions from Champa that reference the epics: The Trankieu and and My-son Stele incripstions. On the one hand, the Trankieu inscription mentions the construction of a temple devoted to Valmiki and supposedly positioned his image in it. On the other hand, the My-son Stele inscription of Prakasadharman refers to Drona, Asvattaman, Dassaratha and Rama; all of them are characters in the epic.

In Java, Sarkar (1934: 20-21) asserts that the first epigraphical evidence of the epics appears in the 8th century, namely the Canggal Inscription of King Sanjaya (see fig. 10). In this inscription, Sanjaya is associated to Raghu and both are said to have "overthrown many a circle of feudal lords." The Dinaya inscription of 760 A.D. mentions the erection of a black marble statue of the Sage Agastya,

Figure 10: Canggal inscription

who is credited for bringing Aryan civilization to South India and Southeast Asia (Sarkar 1934: 32-33, Chhabra 1965: 78, Sears 1978: 16). In the early 9th century the

stones of Kamalagi from central Java tells of a group of characters from the epics; Narada, Pandava, Baruna, Nandi, and Ravan. Although the spelling of their names are dissimilar from the Sanskrit spelling, they are nevertheless recognizable (Sarkar 1934: 62).

Furthermore, from the early ninth century, there are the remnants of a group of Saivite temples from Dieng Plateau of central Java, displaying the names of the Pandawa brothers, their consorts and their assistants (Sears 1978: 17). Irvine (1996: 17) points out that this group of temples came to be regarded as the temple-tombs of the heroes of Mahabharata by some Javanese. According to legend, these heroes were the forefathers of the ancient kings of Java. Holt (1967: 53) compares these temples to a group of temples in Mamallapurn, south India dating back to the seventh century. Interestingly, the names of the Pandawa brothers are also present in this Indian group of temples. Sears (1978: 17) gives a further explanation that in the mid-ninth century, the well-known Candi Loro Jonggrang (Prambanan) emerges, which provides evidence to the fact that the epics were broadly known at that time. According to him, nearly the entire story of the Ramayana, excluding the first and last (seventh) books of Valmiki is carved in relief on the walls of these temples. He assumes that the common people are also familiar with the epics, as many people would have been required to help in the construction by this time.

In the tenth century, the epics were thriving in Java. Holt (1967: 282) suggests that an inscription issued in the name of King Balitung in 907 A.D. signifies that by that time, the ruling princes employed the recitation of the epics as an essential means of their ritual festivities. Part of this inscription is translated by Sarkar (1934) as follows:

The tangkil hyang Si Nalu recited the Bhimakumara, dancing like Kicaka; Si Jaluk recited the Ramayana, blowing flutes and making buffoonery; Si Mungmuk (and) Si Galigi showed vayang in honour of gods and presented (above all) Bhimaya-Kumara.

Nevertheless, this inscription, to some extent, is evidence of the earliest references to *wayang* performance where Bima from the Mahabharata epic is the main character of the *wayang* story as described in this inscription.

2.1.2 The Javanese version of the epics

There are no written Indian Sanskrit versions of the Hindu epics or Indian theatre found on Java dating from the first thousand years of Javanese Hinduism, as pointed out by Irvine (1996: 17). According to him, Sanskrit literature was translated into the ancient Javanese court language, *kawi*. He refers to Zoetmulder (1974: 11-12) that *kawi* was a focal Indonesian language, both in the majority of the vocabulary and in the structure, even though it adopted a variety of nouns and adjectives from Sanskrit.

Desai (1970) suggests the Ramayana stories traveled from India to Southeast Asia, as well as other parts of Asia, in the early centuries of the Christian era along three routes:

1. An overland channel from northwestern India into Tibet and China.

2. A sea channel from Gujarat and South India to the Malay Peninsula and the archipelago.

3. A second land channel from the northeastern part of the India into Burma, Thailand and Laos.

Sears (1978: 19) opines that the Ramayana and Mahabharata, as in India, were the source for bits and pieces of most Javanese prose, poetical, and oral literatures before Islam entered into the archipelago; at least as early as Kalidasa (c. 5th-6th century A.D.). Poets and authors in India began employing the epics as the source of their stories. According to him, the earliest existing piece of literature in Java, which dates back to the late ninth or early tenth century, is also the earliest full poetical work based on the epics. This is the Javanese version of the Ramayana or the *Ramayana Kakawin*, the only piece of literature that survived from the central Javanese period. Interestingly, the *Ramayana Kakawin*, represents merely one part of the Ramayana tradition in the archipelago (Sears 1978: 19).

Moreover, the *Ramayana Kakawin* is the only piece of Old Javanese literature that can be traced back to its Sanskrit original. It goes along with a Sanskrit work of the 6th or 7th century, Bhatti's Ravanavadha (The Death of Ravana) which is commonly called the Bhattikavya.[10] There is also a version of the Uttarakanda (the 7th book of Valmiki) in Old Javanese, according to Sears (1978: 21), Zoetmulder (1974) groups it with the *parwa* literature due to its style and form. Therefore, these two works, the Ramayana Kakawin and the Uttara-kanda appear to be related to the high Sanskritic tradition of India (Sears 1978: 21-22).

According to Desai (1970: 9-10), there is a second group of Ramayana stories that exists in the archipelago which does not correlate with the Valmiki version by any means. The Serat kanda ning ringgit purwa (a group of stories from the ancient *wayang*), Rama Kidung[11] Bali, Ramayana Sasaka, Rama Kling, Rama Tambak and the Malay Hikaiat Seri Rama are included in this group. Above all, the Serat kanda ning ringgit purwa or shortly Serat kanda, to be the most discussed or the most essential versions, despite it being written much later than Ramayana Kakawin. Serat kanda also existed in the form of oral tradition that merged with various Islamic legends and characters, thus suggesting a process of assimilating new cultural values (Sears 1978: 22).

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[10] According to Sears (1978: 37) this was first discovered by Sarkar, then verified by Manomohan Ghosh and then supported by other scholars.

[11] Kidung is a piece of poetry of indigenous Indonesian.

Apart from the versions of Ramayana, the parwa versions of the Mahabharata dating from the late 10th century, after the court had moved to east Java, is also essential to the discussion. According to Sears (1978: 19), around 930 A.D., for reasons still unknown, the central Javanese court of Sindok moved to the eastern part of the island. This marked the beginning of the Javanese period that experienced a rising degree of Javanization, or the recurrence of the indigenous cultural forms. The old Javanese version of the Mahabharata, the *parwa*—cognate *parva*, one of the books of the 18 books of the Mahabharata in Sanskrit—was composed in the court of Sindoks's descendent. Sears (1978) points out an interesting characteristic of the *parwa* stories in which Sanskrit *slokas* are inserted along with the Old Javanese.

Zoetmulder (1974) observes that the reasons behind the use of Sanskrit for curses and mantras are obvious, according to him:

> *These formulas belong to the sacred sphere and possess supernatural qualities by virtue of their contents, the sacred character and magical powers of the person using them, and the language in which they are pronounced. For a Javanese of the period in question Sanskrit was the holy language par excellence. The author of the Old Javanese parwas would have wanted to express this formula first in Sanskrit in order to underline its sacred*

or magical character (Zoetmulder 1974: 90-91, quoted in Sears 1978: 25).

There is another explanation by Zurbuchen (1976), drawing from the idea of Zoetmulder:

The key to understanding the structural importance of the Sanskrit quotations, and more importantly the significance of the Javanese parwa in general, lies in analysis of the kind of royal storytelling which goes on in Java and Bali to this day. In wayang, where the act of storytelling can bring dangerous powers into play, the dalang intermittently recites chants in Old Javanese, bits of pottery called suluk[12]. These pauses in the action are moments of safety and serenity amid the tumult of events. The audiences need to understand the language of the suluk to benefit from its calming, controlling effect. Similar functions can be attributed to the sloka fragments in the parwa texts. (Zurbuchen 1976: 28, quoted in Sears 1978: 26)

Furthermore, Sears examines the *Kakawin* poetry of the later East Javanese period (11th-12th century) and finds that they are equivalent in some ways to the *Kavya*, or

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[12] *Suluk* is mood song or recitation. There are three types: *pathet, sendhon and ada-ada* (Irvin, 1996, Pausacker, 1996)

high Sanskrit poetry of India. The *kakawins* are also based on the epics themes (Sears 1978: 19). In the perspective of Holt (1967: 67), Hindu and Buddhist religious texts, together with extracts from the Hindu epics, whether as prose (*parwa*) or as *kawi* poetry in Sanskrit metres (*kakawin*), are the form of *kaw*i translations from Sanskrit. In addition, the local Javanese metres (*kidung*) were employed and the subjects for literature were developed to incorporate solely Javanese literature and folklore (Irvine 1996: 17). According to Yousof (1994: 225), the *kakawin* version of the Ramayana was compiled by a court poet named Yogiswara. This version dates around 930 A.D. in the Central Javanese period and is the oldest and the longest surviving *kakawin.* The well-known *kakawin,* Arjuna Wiwaha[13] was composed by a court poet Mpu Kanwa in approximately 1030 (Yousof 1994: 244-246) and *a kakawin* version of the great war in Mahabharata, Bharatayuda, was composed by court poets of Jayabaya in Kediri, Mpu Sedah and Mpu Panuluh, in 1157 (Yousof 1994: 30).

Moreover, the *kakawins,* or poems based on the epics, had a literary ethic of their own, whereas the worlds of the aesthetic and mysticism turned out to be completely intertwined under the influence of Buddhist Tantric and Indian Saivite concepts as observed by Sears (1978). The involvement of the *dalang* (puppet

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[13] Arjuna Wiwaha occasionally interpreted as 'The Wedding of Arjuna' and sometime as 'The Veneration of Arjuna, see pg. 244-246, Yousof, D. G.-S. (1994). Dictionary of Traditional South-East Asian Theatre. Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press.

master) with a fusion of mystical and aesthetic power appears to indicate the comprehensive traditions as was found by Zoetmulder (1974) in the *kakawin* poetry. From Sears (1978) analysis, the *wayang purwa,* or Javanese shadow play theater of Java and Bali, falls somewhere between the *parwa* literature and the *kakawin* poetry. All things considered, it is still ambiguous whether *kakawin* poets derived their themes and inspiration from the *wayang* stories or whether the *wayang* puppeteers utilized the *kakawin* and *parwa* literature as the source of their plays.

Understandably, *wayang purwa* has a great correlation with the development of the Hindu epics in Java. It is therefore essential to study the origins of *wayang purwa* and related evidence found in Hindu-Buddhist temples depicting the story of the epics, as wells as its principal characters portrayed in *wayang purwa* adaptation.

2.2 The theories of the origins of wayang purwa

Scholars have debated for years regarding the origins of *wayang purwa.* Blackham (1960: 19) points out that there are two theories related to the origins of the performances. The first concerns the worship of ancestors, where the leather figures represented the spirits of the ancestors. Various rituals were executed for these, partially to appease these spirits and moderately to make them appear beneficially in the performance; before, during, and after the performance. The second theory suggests that these figures and plays were shown during the initiation rites of young

men, in order to guide and teach them about the history and legends of their people (Blackham 1960: 19). She underlines, regardless of which theory is right or wrong, that these performances have conveyed ethical education, particularly the struggle between good and evil. In the end evil is always conquered by the greater spiritual strength and self-control of the good.

Scholars have also debated the extent of Indian and Chinese puppet influences to *wayang purwa*. Chen (2003: 32) argues:

> *Although the Andhra Sarwasmamu states that Indian kings who invaded Java in the sixth century introduced it to the shadows, the present Indonesian shadow theater is so much more elaborate and sophisticated than the remnant traces of this art in India that many have maintained that it was an autochthonous Indonesian tradition.*

As evidence to support his argument, Chen points out that while Indian shadow performances is either played with a very few or no musical instruments at all, those in Indonesia are accompanied by extensive troupes of *gamelan* music; while for the Chinese, Shadow Theater is only a minor form of opera. Unquestionably, the Indonesian shadows are probably the best-known form of Shadow Theater of the world. A similar point of view is expressed by Keeler (1987: 14) "preeminent art form

in Java" and by Brandon (1970: 1) "one of the world's most complex and refined dramatic and theatrical forms."[14]

Chen (2003: 33) argues that the most observable Indian influence on Indonesia is the fact that all the shadow theater traditions of Southeast Asia employ the adaptation of the two great Indian epics, the Ramayana and Mahabhrata. This point of view is supported by the position of Krom (1926: 45) that *wayang kulit* of Indonesia existed in areas where Hinduism used to flourish or still exists. The majority of Dutch scholars who dedicated themselves to the study of Indonesian history and art perceived that the Javanese shadow plays are of Indonesian origin. Tilakasiri (1999: 21) states that Brandes and Haxan are amongst those who have maintained the perspective of:

> *The shadow play showing so strong a connection with the social, cultural and religious aspects of Javanese life from antiquity, must necessarily be considered an autochthonous Javanese phenomenon that has only been hinduized in the course of its history* (Tilakasiri 1970, quoted in Tilakasiri 1999: 21)

Tilakasiri (1999: 21-22) perceives that they both have elaborated major details of the existing *wayang* performance, particularly how the dramas are formed in indigenous

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[14] Keeler and Brandon refer to The Javanese *Wayang Purwa*.

manners; the style and technique of presenting the plays as well as the stage setting are to a great extent not related to anything adopted from India. In essence, it shows how the *wayang* literature reflects the authentic Javanese customs and institution.

(Rentse (1947), cited in Tilakasiri (1999: 22)), takes a different view. He claims far before the *wayang* was introduced to Java from India, visitors such as merchants visiting Java, as early as the 7th century B.C. may have brought the shadow play from their journeys to Java and familiarized it to India. He states that the shadow play originated in Java then spread to other parts of Asia where it is found in styles different from its original and adapted to local traditions, folklore, and religion. Malaysia's shadow play for instance, is performed for religious purposes. Referring to Rentse's suggestion, Tilakasiri considers the argument is highly indefensible since the earliest known type of shadow play in Java, *wayang purwa*, is certainly connected with the introduction of the Indian epics to Indonesia.

Tilakasiri (1999: 22) views the perspective of both scholars above as one claiming for the art as a completely indigenous origination and the other, going even further and justifying its origin as the result of Javanese influences on India. Brandes, Haxan and Rentse points of view tend to look at the enhancement of the art both in India and in Java, historically and rationally. Moreover, Tilakasiri and Krom, another Dutch scholar argue that *wayang* is a Hindu Javanese formation, where the manner of theater is similar to the Indian, because had borrowed from it, but advanced in Java

with its own unique characteristics; therefore giving the impression of an indigenous creation (Tilakasiri 1999: 23).

2.2.1 Depiction of *wayang* on bas-relief and statue

The religion and arts of the East Javanese period, which were based on Indian patterns and religious cultures, revived forms that were developed during the Central Javanese period. Together, the new concepts and styles emerged and intermingled with indigenous Javanese concepts. According to Kinney (2003: 24), one of the most essential developments regarding the religion was the merging of Hinduism and Buddhism into one religious system; not as a syncretic belief fusing elements of both religions but rather as two separate means within one complete system. She argues that the equality of both different religions is emphasized in various texts from this period, including statements that they developed dissimilar but equal ways to attain highest reality. She clarifies the perspective of Zoetmulder (1974: 341) that based on the words of the Old Javanese text *Sutasoma, "bhineka tunggal ika"* which translates as unity in diversity, and was adopted as the motto of the Indonesian Republic, Siva and Buddha are depicted as different but essentially one. The collaboration mentioned above is perfectly illustrated by the existence of Siva-Buddha temples.

At Candi Jago (see fig. 11) for instance, a Buddhist monument is decorated with reliefs portraying *Tantri* stories and the Buddhist *Kunjarakarna* along with the Hindu Arjuna Wiwaha as well as Parthayajna stories. Hindu and Buddhist literature are exhibited on the same monument, indicating the harmonization between the two religions (Kinney 2003: 34-35).

Figure 11: Candi Jago

As mentioned earlier, various Old Javanese stories were adapted and applied in the stories of *wayang purwa.* Literature flourished during the early Javanese period, particularly during the Singasari and Majapahit kingdoms, and many of the Old Javanese *kakawin* were based on the Indian epics. During the period when architecture and sculpture flourished, many temples were decorated with narrative reliefs, based not only on the great epics but also indigenous texts, to some extent depicting the *wayang* versions of the Old Javanese poems (Irvine 1996, Kinney 2003).

It has been debated that statuary and stone relief carvings inspired the Majapahit *wayang* makers to represent human characters and the gods of *wayang* in their natural form. Considering the position of Stutterheim (1927) in regards to the East Javanese *wayang* style, Kinney (2003: 35) concludes that the characters in Central Javanese reliefs such as in Ramayana reliefs of Prambanan temple (see fig. 12) are sculpted in a naturalistic and realistic manner; however the figures in East Javanese reliefs are more elegant and slender. She highlights that the poses of the East Javanese characters are very stylized, in some circumstances their limbs are depicted as unnaturally long, similar to the depiction of *wayang* puppets.

Figure 12: Depiction of the Ramayana story on the bas-relief Prambanan temple.

Moreover, many reliefs of the late Javanese period are frontal displays of the characters' body with the head and both feet directed to one side. The figures also appear two-dimensional, undoubtedly portraying the *wayang* puppets, as expressed by Kinney (2003). The depiction of *wayang* on the reliefs of candi is even more

evident when the characters are displayed with the typical *wayang* hairstyle called

the *supit urang* "crab claw". For instance the presentation of Arjuna at Candi Jago,

Krishna on the Main Temple of Panataran, or Bima at Candi Kendalisodo

(Kashowihardjo 2003, Kinney 2003).

Another correlation with *wayang* that is interesting to observe is the frequent

appearance of the *punakawan* (see fig. 13)—the indigenous Javanese servants of the

court—in East Javanese reliefs, according to Kinney (2003: 35), which was never

depicted in Central Javanese art. In contrast to Kenney's argument, Gendeng (2010)

argues that the story of Sudamala illustrated in the bas-relief of Candi Sukuh, Central

Figure 13: Depiction of squatting Sadewa followed by a Punakawan and

Betari (Goddess) Durga also accompanied by a Punakawan, Sukuh Temple.

Java prominently portrays the image of Punakawan, particularly Semar, as he is one

of the leading characters in the story. Deniawan Tommy Chandra Wijaya conveyed a

similar point of view. He is a *dalang* from Surakarta and an academic who is active in

raising awareness towards the essential roles of *wayang purwa* amongst the Javanese community. He argues that, based on the appearance as well as the story illustrated on the relief—the Sudamala story—some of the images portrayed on the bas-relief of Candi Sukuh are unquestionably the images of Punakawan.[15]

Moreover, in Candi Surowono of East Java at the end of the 14th century, the *punakawans* accompanying Arjuna are portrayed in a very energetic fashion, often copying or exaggerating the actions of the hero. The illustrations can be humorous and were perhaps intended to make visitors laugh, which is a similar role to what the *punakawan* characters perform in Javanese shadow play (Kinney 2003).

Furthermore, according to Kinney (2003: 39) a number of semi-divine beings seem to have been elevated to a higher divine status during the Majapahit period. Two of them are Bima and Hanoman, sons of Bayu, the Hindu god of the wind. Hanoman is the ape general in the Ramayana, who possessed supernatural powers. Approximately five images of Hanoman have been found, two of which show him

Figure 14: Bima with Supit Urang "crab claw" hair style.

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[15] Personal Communication, 29 August 2014.

holding a yoni and meditating. Bima, however, is the second and most powerful of the five Pandawa brothers; the heroes of the Mahabharata. In the Javanese context, Bima combines power and physical strength with respect. A number of Bima images illustrate him with a strong sturdy body and *supit urang* hairstyle—his characteristic features in today's *wayang* (see fig. 14).

Kashowihardjo (2003: 3) states that a statue found in Candi Sukuh, Central Java depicted with traits such as coils on the back of the head (*kucir* - a plait of braided hair), a thick mustachioed face, hands holding a snake enwrapping the body, ornamented in fabric with a *poleng* motif, and long thumb nails; this was identified by Stutterheim as a Bima figure. Kashowihardjo (2003) points out that a statue found in the complex of Candi Cetho, Central Java, even though only portrayed with bulging eyes, a thick mustache and *poleng* motif fabric, is also recognized as a Bima figure. Stutterheim (1956) suggests in his article "An Ancient Javanese Bhima Cult," that the statues mentioned are identified as Bhima-Bhairawa statues, one form of Siva's symbols.

Besides being depicted through statues, the Bima character is also illustrated on bas-relief. For instance, those found in Candi Sukuh complex as well as in Candi Penanggungan (Istari 2003). Kinney (2003) goes further: according to her, there are also narrative reliefs that only reveal one scene of a story; for example at Candi

Kendalisodo in East Java, depicting an episode of Dewaruci where Bima is portrayed entering the ocean for searching the ultimate truth, which he finally finds within himself (to be discussed further in chapter 3). Derived from the same Candi, a well-known scene of the meditating Arjuna being tempted by heavenly nymphs is also illustrated. Thus, apparently some stories/episodes were so admired at the time that presenting them on the reliefs was central in familiarizing with the people.

Gunadi (1985), in his research writes about Bima associated with the Dewaruci story. In contrast to the perspective of Stutterheim (1956) which sees Bima from the Javanese-Hindu interpretation, Gunadi perceives it as a preliminary admission of the Islamic beliefs enveloped in a society that was still based on the pre-Islamic faiths. Kashowihardjo (2003: 6) argues that the notion mentioned above is based on the unearthing of statues from temples of the late Majapahit period. In the meantime, the oldest Islamic remains in Java are from the 11th century, based on an engraved inscription on the tombstone of Fatimah binti Maimun. This is strong evidence of the presence of Muslim communities in the Nusantara archipelago when it was still under the system of the Hindu-Buddhist rule as stated by Ambary (1998). This is also an indication that a genuine process of Islamization was already occurring.

Chapter 3 Wayang Purwa Transformations under Islam Influence

The manner and method of cultural assimilation between Javanese Hindu-Buddhist culture and the values of Islam gave rise to a unique style and religious inter-marriage, as can be seen in *wayang purwa*. This chapter attempts to clarify the correlation of the religion of Islam to the artworks of *wayang purwa* which have been present in Java throughout the centuries, and to answer the question: How and to what extent does Islam influence *wayang purwa*?

3.1. The Introduction of Islam to Java: The beginning of the acculturation

Irvine (1996: 7-10) elaborates that in the 7th century, Islam had established itself first in northern Sumatra, specifically in Aceh. However, it was very slow to spread to the east and south. In around the 13th Century the faith spread gradually across the archipelago, which is the largest in the world consisting of more than 17,000 islands, through trade with Muslims, conversion of the royalty to Islam, and the appeal of the Muslim faith (Mutalib 2008: 13).[16]

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[16] The Babad Tanah Jawi, The Babad Cirebon, The Sejarah Banten, and the Serat Kanda as the accounts of the history of the Islamization of Java, as such their reliability were doubted by scholars, see Ras, J. J. (1986). The Babad Tanah Jawi and its Realibility: Questions of Content, Structure and Function. <u>Cultural Contact and Textual Interpretation</u>. C. D. G. a. S. O. Robson. Dordrecht-Holland/Cinnaminson-USA, Foris Publication. 246-272.

Hilmy (1999: 19-20) reveals, based on the Javanese account documented in the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, the complete conversion of Java to Islam was dated 1478 A.D., and therefore at the end of the 14th century of the Javanese era, which was evidenced by the disintegration of Majapahit power. Regarding the Javanese history, this period is the highlight of the segregation, which separates the ancient pre-Islamic kingdom of Singasari and Majapahit from the Muslim kingdom of Demak and Mataram. From this point onwards, the gradual evolution of social institutions began, Islam took the place of Hindu tradition which had been entrenched in Javanese society and characterized Javanese history for over a millennium.

Irvine (1996: 7) elaborates that the Islamic state of Malacca was the major power in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, and the coastal areas of Borneo and the Celebes by the late 15th century. As Malacca became a prodigious trading center in the region, the inland Javanese kingdom persistently lost control over maritime trade which had been a principal factor contributing to Majapahit's triumph. In the fifteenth century, The Javanese north coast (*pesisir*) was progressively Islamised. As a result, the cultural connections between the inland kingdom and the *pesisir* gradually weakened; the coastal culture showed more openness to the influences from the north, despite the fact that the older Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms turned inwards.

He further examines that by the 18th and 19th centuries orthodox Islam was strongly engrained in West Java. In Central and East Java the more orthodox Javanese Muslims also had a strong position along the routes of Islamic missionary activity— across the north *pesisir* towns from Cirebon to Gresik, in Surabaya and Madura, and around Banyumas. Moreover, The syncretic Animist-Hindu-Buddhist Javanese Muslims (*abangan*) practicing various forms of *Agami Jawi* (*kejawen*) were predominant in the inland areas of Central and East Java, particularly around the four royal courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Over time, the geographical division between the two streams of Javanese Islam permeated the village level, creating mosaic within a mosaic of patterns of religious belief.

Based on the elaboration above, consequently, the disintegration of the Hindu Majapahit kingdom from the north coast cities accelerated the spread of Islamic influence into the heartland of Java. Essential to highlight is that Islam spread peacefully through the personal efforts of Islamic teachers and traders. There is a combination of three fundamental factors towards Islam's infiltration of the *pesisir* (coastal), as examined by Legge (1963), as follows:

1. On the one hand, it may have been a matter of true conviction that the local coastal rulers were converted to Islam. On the other hand, preserving commercial links with Malacca may have been the second result, or else, it

may have been motivated by the willingness to break their suppression to the collapsing Hindu Majapahit Empire.

2. The acceptance of Islam may indeed have been as 'a means of self-protection against the coastal states' by the inland rulers developing from the remnants of Majapahit, merely as a matter of political expediency.

3. The eagerness of the Islamic proselytizer, Walisongo (the Nine Saints) to interweave the elements of the animist and Hindu ritual into Muslim mystical beliefs and practices encouraged the gradual conversation of the inland rulers and populations.

Jay (1963) shares his point of view concerning the factor that made Islam accepted more easily by the Javanese; it was the opportunity provided by Islam for less powerful people to escape the feudalistic Hindu cultures. It is generally accepted that Majapahit was a kingdom where feudalism predominated and Hinduism developed one of its foremost characteristic. Hence, for this motivation Islam emerged as a liberating force against feudalism and the Buddhism related with it (Hilmy 1999: 21).

Important to mention, local mystical practices were also very substantial in making Islam Sufi more acceptable to the Javanese since pre-Islamic Hindu-Buddhist tradition had its strong mystical tradition. Pigeaud (1962) argues based on the

evidence of local accounts, during the proliferation of Islam in the interior of Java, the Sufi teachers encountered the Shiva-Buddha mystics on equivalent terms, for instance as mystics to mystics, teaching the hegemony of the new religion.

Accordingly, the manner of acculturation between Javanese Hindu-Buddhist culture and the principles of Islam to a great extent have led to a creation of a unique form of religious inter-marriage. *Wayang purwa*, the Javanese shadow play developed under the Islamic kingdom, is a great medium to bridge the cultural assimilation between the different faiths, as viewed by Walisongo (the nine saints), in particular Sunan Kalijaga. Nevertheless, *wayang purwa* which originated from the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist culture, under influence of Islam, underwent some transformations in order to suit the new ideology,[17] to be discussed as follows.

3.2 The prohibition of pictorial representation of human beings

During the period when *wayang purwa* theater, along with other art forms, experienced the revitalization, there were no Javanese *wayang* figures which survived from the Majapahit period. It suggests that statuary and stone relief carving inspired the Majapahit *wayang* makers in representing human characters and the gods of

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[17]Some scholars argue with the evidence of eradicating Majapahit *wayang*, and creating the new form of *wayang* with some major transformations, to a great extent indicating the intention of legitimating the power of Islamic kingdom, and to a great degree entrenching the Islamic principles into Javanese art form. Personal communication with Tommy Chandra (28 August 2014), Sindung Tjahyadi (2 Septembember 2014) and Bima (4 September 2014).

wayang as possible to natural life form. In Soedarso (1986)'s perspective, *wayang*

kulit performance with *kelir* (screen) has already existed before the creation of bas-

relief with *wayang* manifestation on the wall of candi; thus the creation of bas-relief

was inspired by the art of *wayang* during that period. Soedarsono refers his argument

to the Candi Jago and Candi Penataran.

Figure 15: Left, depiction of Bima on statue (source: Trowulan Majapahit heritage complex), Bima-wayang kulit Bali (middle), and Bima-wayang purwa (right).

Majority of scholars believe that the authentic form of Majapahit *wayang* is *wayang*

kulit Bali, as they claim that the *wayang* artists escaped to the island of Bali and

continued the art form there. Nevertheless, concerning the aesthetical aspect of

wayang purwa, a different opinion is addressed by Sindung Tjahyadi, who argues that

wayang purwa is basically inspired by *wayang beber*, a scroll Javanese *wayang*

which developed around Majapahit period and was refined by Walisongo during

Demak period.[18] Similar opinion is also addressed by Zarkasi (1977); he says that *wayang beber* was transformed into *wayang purwa* by the Walisongo under Raden Patah, approximately in 1437.

Furthermore, there are at least three theories to explain the properties of the familiar highly stylized Javanese *wayang purwa* which can be observed, namely that the facial and body shapes are distorted, particularly the shape of the eyes and the elongated of the nose and neck, the extended arms and the contorted full frontal torso. The three theories are:

1. The particular distortions, which were familiarized in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries signifying the Islamic ban on the portrayal of the human form in art, apparently, are not the characteristic of Balinese *wayang*.[19]

2. The distortions were created to enhance the artistic appearance of the shadows of *wayang* characters.

3. The creation of the distortion of *wayang* refers to the perception of ancestors' appearance after achieving a perfection in the spirit world.

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[18] Personal Communication, 2 September 2014.

[19] Interesting to note, most Chinese shadow puppets are also depicted in profile, with only the one side of the face observable. Chinese shadow puppets may be articulated not only at the shoulders or elbows, but also at the knees and frequently at the waist as well.

The reason of the denaturalization *wayang* figures is assumed to be related to the Islamic principle, in which His Royal Highness Somdet Krom Praya Dhumrongrachanupap has mentioned in '*The legend of Inao*':

> *Javanese shadow puppets do not look like human because Islam prohibits portrayal. Javanese have performed shadow play since they were Brahman. When they are Islam, they still play. Therefore, they have to distort leather puppets in order to comply with the regulation of Goren* (Dhumrongrachanupap 1965: 99).

Nevertheless, there is an argument expressed by King Prajadhipok (Rama VII) against the perception mentioned above, as follows:

> *For not drawing like a human, they explained that because Mohammed did not allowed portraying human. But this issue is not true because old pictures and sculptures drawn to be unlike human had long been before Mohammed came to Java Islands. To date, the explanation is that wayang means devil, the ancestor devil performing wayang. Therefore, as ghosts, they make themselves not to look like human* (Planoi 1969: 235, quoted in Taweethong 2010: 6).

Sunyoto (2011) in his book *Wali Songo Rekonstruksi Sejarah yang Disingkirkan* (Wali Songo the Removal of Reconstruction History) claims that *wayang purwa* is created by Walisongo, particularly Sunan Kalijaga who initiated the art form thoroughly, and contributed to its significant influence to the present-day's *wayang purwa* art form.

Thus, the distortion of *wayang* image under influence of Islam, as mentioned earlier by some scholars is a result of the aesthetic values in Islam. Therefore, *tawhid* principle in Islam as the core argument of the transformation of *wayang purwa* under influence of Islam is focal to be investigated. Al Faruqi (1985) states:

> *The Islamic breakthrough in the arts was the result of the desire to*
>
> *give aesthetic expression to the proclamation, La ilaha illa Allah*
>
> *("There is no god but God."). Since Allah (SWT) is so completely*
>
> *other than the natural world, no creature of nature should stand*
>
> *as symbol for Him. In the visual arts, therefore, there is a disregard*
>
> *for and even an avoidance of the representation of humans,*
>
> *animals, or objects of nature. Instead, the artist concentrates on*
>
> *geometric and other abstract designs, elaborate calligraphy, and*
>
> *heavily stylized and denaturalized figures* (Faruqi 1985: 20).

Lois Lamya' al Faruqi (1982) in her research paper "Islamic Art or Muslim Art?" discusses about three basic principles as evidences in the influence of *tawhid* on arts, includes; Abstract Quality, Stylization/Denaturalization, and Infinite Patterning, she argues:

> *Stylization /denaturalization, as a principle of the Islamic arts which enhances the abstract quality demanded by the notion of tawhid, principle, which involves an emphasis of the transcendent rather than the earthly realm, evidences itself in other significant ways: notably in the aesthetic treatment of materials and structures* (Faruqi 1982).

She gives clarification on the theology of *tawhid* as the basic principle in Islamic Art. According to her, the theology of *tawhid* (unization), teaches there is no God but Allah (SWT), as the creator of the universe, the all-knowing, all-prominent, and the ever merciful. Following is the excerpts of her study which I related to the *wayang purwa* art of creation:

> *The arts of Islamic cultures are not logical statement of tawhid in words, phrases, sentences, but an aesthetic which is apprehended immediately through sensory perception. They are actually "translations" of the ideas embodied in the ideology of tawhid*

into poetic lines and strophes; into two-dimensional lines, colors and shapes... and into tonal and durational musical sounds (Faruqi 1982).

The elements of arts mentioned above can be found in *wayang purwa* adaptation, which lead me to a question as to the extent of the aesthetical aspect of *wayang purwa* influenced by the Islamic principle on arts. Thus the investigation as follows.

Wayang purwa underwent transformations under influence of Islam, the most visible is in the heads of the *wayang* which can be seen only on one side of the face. The distortion and stylization of the *wayang's* facial appearances can be observed noticeably such as; eyes that are too bulging or too narrow, noses pointing out like carrots or fattened like aubergines. In addition, the lips shape varies; for aristocrats, the lips are pencil thin (see fig.16) and thickened with projecting fangs on monsters and demons (see fig. 17). Important to mention, the most distinctive characteristic of *wayang purwa* is the necks, the torsos and arms which are elongated (Irvine 1996: 131).

Figure 16: Arjuna of Pandawa

Figure 17: Batara Kala

Wayang purwa has experienced a long process of refinements from the beginning to what can be seen nowadays. According to Ulbricht (1970: 30) In the Shaka year of 1439,[20] Demak king, Raden Patah accepted Islam, and then ruled under name of Sultan Sah Ngalam Akbar. With Walisongo's creativities in transforming *wayang purwa* into plain pieces of characters made of black painted of buffalo skin which show only in outline, Raden Patah allowing this kind of art to be played; as convinced by the Walis, it could not be regarded as the representation of men. Nevertheless, this art form could not satisfy the Javanese nobles' aesthetic taste, therefore the refinements followed for years in quick succession.

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[20] The Javanese reckoned their years in accordance with the Shaka era. All years cited in Ulbricht (1970) refer to the Shaka era as he discussed about chronogram figures, therefore it should be in the chronologically. The Shaka-year 1 being 79 A.D., hence Shaka-year 1439 was 1517 A.D.

Following is the table of of *wayang purwa* 'evolution' created/inspired by Javanese

nobles as elaborated by Ulbricht (1970: 30-34):

Year	Javanese Nobles	Innovations
1447	Sultan Sah Ngalam III	Specifying incision for *wayang* eyes, ears and moths.
1480	Sunan Ratu Tunggul (king of Demak in this period)	Representing *wayangs* as deities, giants and monkeys; wore loin cloths passed between the legs and tied up at the black. For other characters, regardless of rank and sex, were dressed like kings. The clothing[21] was gilded.
1530	Sultan Adjawidjaya	Characterizing *wayangs* as human beings, dresses according to the ranks; kings, princes and ministers could be distinguished by their garments.
1541	Panembahan Senapati Ing Ngalaga of Mataram	Designing *wayangs* with special care to the hair and head ornaments.

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[21] As informed by Ulbricht, to avoid misunderstanding, all type of puppets made of leather were never dressed in fabric like other kind of puppets. Instead, dresses, ornaments, and other details were always painted.

Year	Javanese Nobles	Innovations
1552	Susuhunan Anyakrawati	Endowing *wayangs* with moveable arms. The new character, the Raksasa Tjakil represented the year 1552 as a chronogram figure.[22]
1563	Sultan Agung Anyakrakusuma	Representing the concept of beauty on *wayangs* through the heads bowed and the eyes wide open. Another chronogram figure, the red Raksasa Rambutgeni (the giant whose hair is transformed into flame) was created.
1578	Sunan Mangkurat of Mataram	Introducing the cow Andini as the mount of Betara Guru who to this point portrayed standing with his feet on the

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[22] According to Ulbricht (1970: 31), a chronogram figures stands a motto which words have the implication of numbers and signify the year of the origin respective character. For instance: Raksasa Tjakil, is the expression of the motto: "*Hanembah Gagaming Buta Tunggal*" means "Honor be the weapon of a Giant", the elaboration: *Hanembah*---reverence by performing *sembah* (done by raising both hands, sembah stands for the figure..............2 Gagaming—weapons. The Raksasa Tjakil carries weapons, like a sharp or pointed object, stands of the figure..........5 *Buta*—raksasa---giant. The word buta represent..5 *Tunggal* literally means...1 Then read it in the reverse order 1-5-5-2, the numbers conveyed by the motto reveal that Raksasa Tjakil was invented in the Shaka-year 1552.

Year	Javanese Nobles	Innovations
		ground. The *wayang* became a chronogram figure for the year 1578.
1605	Sunan Mangkurat of Kartasura	Representing more than one *wayang* for one character in order to mark up different periods in their life. With the exception of Betara Guru and his wife Betari Durga, the deities dressed in ceremonies cloak and shoes. For the priests, they were given the same cloak but not the shoes. A giant was introduced as a chronogram figure.
1652	Pangeran Adipati Puger of Kertasura	Giving the giants and their ministers garments regarding to their ranks, however without collars. A female giant was chosen as a chronogram figure.
1655	Susuhunan Pakubuwana II	Creating *wayang* Arjuna with his own hands, had become the favorite character in the meantime. The Buta

Year	Javanese Nobles	Innovations
		Terong as the chronogram figure was invented.
1708	Susuhunan Pakubuwono III	Presenting *wayangs* with the faces look up wards again. Introducing chronogram figure by punching the year of origin through the leather between the feet of the *wayangs*. This part was allowed to be painted with black some years later, only for *wayangs* which were made for use at court.
1716	Susuhunan Paku Buwono IV	Giving a crown to all kings.

In essence, the shape of *wayangs* experienced several transformations under the court, and is evidence of the nobility interest in the *wayang purwa*. The new sets of *wayang purwa* made by the rulers not only copied the innovations of their predecessors, but also enhanced the refinements by their own creativity. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the common people lost interest to *wayang*

purwa (Ulbricht 1970: 33). Ulbricht (1970: 34) concludes, the clothing and other external attributes of the *wayang* as the ornamentation are exclusive in their manifestations. There was nothing to add to the shape of their bodies, however the three developing standard types of body frame were compatible to the creation of *wayangs*, in this manner:

1. The small, slim and spiritualized with nearly closed eyes.

2. The medium one, athletic and courageous with round eyes.

3. The big size, bulky and rude *wayang* with fangs and bulging eyes.

Djajasoebrata (1999: 39) says in the 17th century the number of *wayangs* used by the royal courts of Central Java had expanded and their form became highly refined, essentially various versions of the same character portrayed in more than one appearance (different ages, disguises and moods). He gives an example, Arjuna appears as a youth (known as Janaka, Permadi, adult (Arjuna), and hermit (Mintaraga). In the same manner, Kresna is not wearing a crown yet as a youth, his face points upward with half long hair. In addition, *Wanda* representing mood of the characters which just mentioned above, according to Djajasoebrata (1999: 39)'s perspective, things become complex when a character is represented by various puppets, each of them signifying various *wanda* (moods). Wanda which represents the appearance of the puppets according to Sagio may vary from scene to scene, or from *lakon* to *lakon.* He explains

that *wanda* of the puppets signifies particular status, phase of life, mood and characters type of each puppet that appears in the story. An example by Irvine (1996: 140), the *wanda* for Kresna, Bima or Gatotkaca for the two sections (*patet*) may be gold, then the final section is represented in black *wanda.* According to him, a gold face or body suggesting the inner harmony and tranquil inner-self, while black may indicate anger or immense physical strength, or merely maturity.[23] According to Irvine (1996), during this period and following centuries, further refinements were made, primarily in the clothing and ornamentations of the *wayangs* (see fig. 18)

DEWI SRIKANDI

Jamang
(single-tiered diadem)

Suweng
(earring)

Lungsen
(tails of the blouse knot)

Pasemekan
(breast-binding
covering waist and
hips)

Gelang gana
(bracelets)

Kalpika
(finger-ring)

Garuda mungkur
(Garuda hair-clasp)

Sumping surengpati
(ear ornament)

Pending
(sash buckle)

Centhingan dodot
(trailing waistband)

Dodot putri
(wraparound sarong)
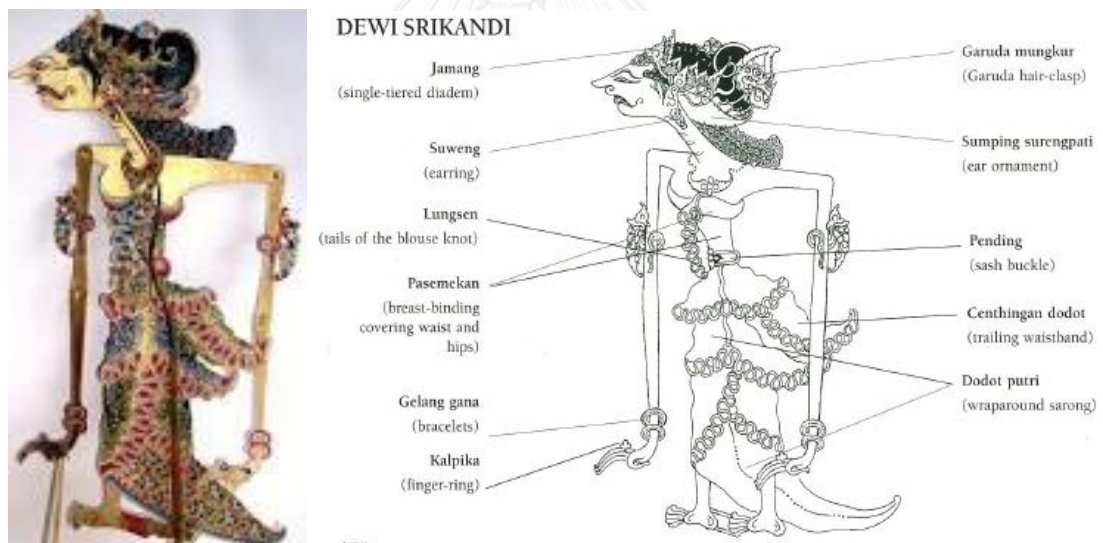
Figure 18: The ornaments of Dewi Srikandi

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[23] Irvine (1996: 140) gives approximate number of the *wanda*, for Arjuna, there may be fourteen different *wanda*, fifteen for Bima, and for Kresna and Gatotkaca about four for each, depending on the collection.

As underlined by KGPH Puger,[24] to a great extent *wayang purwa* were refined and experienced the most comprehensive enhancement towards the creativeness of the craftsmanship, not only towards the stylized physical characteristic of the puppets, but also the music and dramatic presentation, particularly after Mataram kingdom was divided into four Central Javanese principalities: Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Paku Alaman, and Mangkunegaran, triggered by a long internal political conflicts. As a result, each city has their own details of creation in portraying the puppets, for instance, Surakarta's *wayang purwa* was considerably smaller than the one in Yogyakarta. Irvine (1996: 132) observes *wayang purwa* collections created for the Pakualam court mostly stick to the standard of Yogya conventions, yet not difficult to recognize by the *keris* worn by the noble figures (see fig. 19) and by the long black curvy hair which flows down the back of the *wayang's* neck (see fig. 20).

Figure 19: Batara Indra and his keris

Figure 20: Salya, Yogyakarta style

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[24] Personal Communication, 29 August 2014.

All in all, as argued by Sagio (1991: 9), certainly the refinements of *wayang purwa* did not end just right there, but has been developed to the present-day. Regarding the refinements on *wayang purwa* based on the *tawhid* principle, thus denaturalization on the figures is the highlight. Under Islam influence, the restriction on the naturalization of *wayang purwa* depiction has encouraged the formation of styles tremendously. Nevertheless, the transformation were not merely on the aesthetic aspect of the appearances. The reduction in status of Hindu-Javanese gods of *wayang purwa* regarding to the concept of Allah as the single Divine Being was regarded as a significant change, consistent with *tawhid* principle. As a result, some elements in the Ramayana and Mahabharata as the main stories were modified, to be discussed as follows.

3.3 The adaptation of the concept of Allah as the single divine

In his book, *Javaansche Volksvertoningen* (1938), Dr. Th.G.Th. Pigeud explicitly mentions that *wayang purwa* as what we see nowadays is a product of the Walis, that was Islamized (Soekmono 1963). To be precise, *wayang purwa* is a result of assimilation between ancient Javanese beliefs and Islam. Under influence of Islam, the *wayang purwa* depictions of gods and mortals experienced significant alterations. The concept of Allah as the single divine according to Irvine (1996: 21), conflicts with characteristic beliefs in *wayang* stories. Therefore, the change and adaptation of the

epics, the Ramayana and Mahabharata to the Islamic teachings were very crucial (Sunyoto 2011). According to Irvine, the older traditional gods were being assimilated into Islamic design beliefs in order to solve the conflict gradually, and to some extent the art of *wayang purwa* can be accepted by Javanese Muslims community.

Sunyoto (2011: 242) explains that the process of "de-dewanisasi" (downgrading the status of the old Javanese gods) – is to accord with the *tawhid* principle. This concept illustrates in the stories of the epics in which signifies the weaknesses of the gods in the same ways as human. As claimed by Irvine, Gods once had been human transformed from ancestors:

> *The gods can thus be weak-willed, jealous, mean-minded and far less virtuous than a mere mortal still struggling to reach Nirvana. They can play tricks on each other, and squabble over the women. They play politics and love with equal passion. Gods can be deformed. Guru, the greatest of the gods, was ugly and lame. They can be inherently evil, like Bathara Kala or Bathari Durga* (Irvine 1996: 111).

The story of Kamajaya and Dewi Ratih, the God and Goddess of Love and Beauty transformed into dreadfully hideous ogres by Guru whom jealous of their marvelous love and heavenly beauty, is a great illustration of humanized character of gods; being bad-tempered   and malevolent, as said by Soetarno (1987) cited in Irvine:

1996 . Moreover, in many standard *lakon* plots, Ksatria mortals such as Bima, Arjuna or Gatotkaca were being forced to call upon by the gods to save them over the demons/powerful spirit. It shows despite the gods of Javanese *wayang* master in the magic spell and incantations, however, they are not invincible; often as subject as is any human beings (Irvine 1996: 111).

The assimilation of the Javanese *wayang purwa* gods into Islamic creation beliefs was not only focused on showing the weaknesses of the old gods, however, the Islam proselytizers considered to undergo the genealogical tree for *wayang purwa* characters which began in the 16th century and completely formalized in the works of Yasadipura and Ranggawarsita, the Surakarta poets (*pujangga*) in the 18th and 19th century. *Serat Paramayoga* tells about the descent of the Hindu gods of wayang purwa from Adam and Eve, is a highly imaginative story, written by Raden Ranggawarsita (Irvine 1996). In addition, Sears notes that the *Serat Pakem Ringgit Purwa* or *Serat Kandhaning Ringgit Purwa* gave the hero characters in *wayang purwa* genealogies which accorded them to the Islamic Nabi Adam (Padmapuspita 1985, Sears 1996).

At the top of cosmic tree the gods and goddess have their own hierarchy with their own functions. Sang Hyang Tunggal, the Holy All-comprehensive One who is never represented as puppet since he has no physical form, is seen as the father of both

the Hindu God Shiva (Bathara Guru) and the Javanese God Ismaya (Semar). The concept of Tunggal as the Divine essence, a non-physical entity, persisted to unify the concept of spirit of ancestors and local deities (Irvine 1996: 101)

According to Sears (1996: 50), a more linear conception of the connection between the past and the future to cyclic Hindu-Javanese ways of understanding the world was brought about by Islamic emphasis on genealogy[25]. Sears clarifies that the Javanese word *sarasilah/silsilah* refers to the concept of genealogy interweaved with personal histories, suggesting Islamic view of diffusion reflected in the *hadith*, the prophet life stories, whose story lineage must be tracked back to the period of the Prophet to be considered genuine. Sears (1996) analyzes the stories of *wayang purwa* which derived their legitimacy from the narration of the Mahabharata characters genealogies infused with the Islamic concepts of genealogy. Hence, concerning to the Islam and *wayang purwa* connection, the additional mythology developed in order to manifest the subsidiary position of the gods of *wayang* in relation to the God and the Islam Prophet (Irvine 1996: 21).

The *Sajarah-dalem urut saking pangiwa tuwin panengan* (genealogies of the left and the right, the custom that links the Javanese kings to the highest religious authorities)

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[25] This concept derived from the notion of the Arabic word *shihjara* incorporates both genealogy and history, and the word *sajarah* (or *sejarah*) means "genealogy" in Javanese and "history" in Malay/Indonesian which both sprang from this Arabic root (Sears, 1996).

place the Javanese kings within Islamic traditions; the right genealogy starts with

Nabi[26] Adam, an origin character for Semitic traditions, and then links the Prophet

Muhammad (*Kanjeng Rasul*) to the kings of Mataram whilst the left genealogy also

begins with Nabi Adam however connects the Mahabharata heroes to the

Pakubuwana lineage of Surakarta (Sears 1996: 50). Generally speaking, it shows how

profoundly the Javanese traditions have familiarized themselves to Islamic oral and

written tradition.

A remark expressed by Irvine, regarding the disciples of Islam on Java, were said to

have been descendants from Adam from the side which generates the Prophet:

> *With intermarriage between the families of Walis and the old royal*
>
> *houses of Java, two lines of descent of Adam could be said to*
>
> *have been reunited. In this way, local rulers could continue to*
>
> *justify their own political and religious power by claiming ancestral*
>
> *affinity with the great prophets of Islam as well with the Hindu-*
>
> *Javanese gods of wayang purwa* (Irvine 1996: 21).

Sunaryadi (2006) examines a connection of the concept of king during the Hindu-

Buddhist and Islamic period. In the period of Hindu-Buddhist, the legitimation of the

king was by the notion that the King was as *titisan* (incarnation) of God through the

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[26] Nabi is Indonesian term for Prophet.

God-King stand point.[27] In the Islamic period, the legitimation of the ruler (King) was also through the King-God concept, by positioning himself as *kalifatullah* (the representation of God).[28] By this concept, the King is the chosen one to rule the world, as the representation of God. Therefore, the concept of *wahyu* (God's commandment) and *ramalan* (prediction) played an important role to reinforce the legitimacy of the king. Essentially, *wahyu* is also connected with *takdir* (destiny) because it cannot be accomplished without the God's will. Accordingly, the concept of *titisan* and *wahyu* are also expressed in *wayang purwa*.[29]

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[27] King Airlangga, in East Java seeing himself as a true incarnation of Vishnu. A statue has been found depicted Airlangga riding on Garuda, the remarkable Hindu eagle as Vishnu's vehicle. In addition, the founder of Singosari dynasty claimed himself to be an incarnation of Shiva, the Lord of Heaven as he reinforced his legitimacy by having the local Brahman priests accepting his claim, see Wagner, F. A. (1998). Art of Indonesia. Singapore.

[28] The title of Jogja King is Sultan, it refers to '*Ngarsodalem Sampeyandalem Ingkang Sinuwun Kanjeng Sultan Hamangkubuwana, Senopati Ing Ngalaga Ngadurachman Sayidin Panatagama Kalifatulah Ingkang Jumeneng kapin...*". The title of Sultan is a great act; he act as *ngarsodalem* (stand in front), from *sampeyan dalem* (your feet), these two words implies that in life, a person has to step forward. *Ingkang sinuwun* or the one who is expected is *kanjeng* Sultan (a will to implement justice), *Hamengkubuwono* implies the one who protect the world (*syahadat/syahid*) for all mankind so the unity between *kawula* (citizen) and God achieved. See Sunaryadi, M. (2006). "Moeslem in the Javanese Culture Pluralism and the Palace Art Performance." Humaniora **18 No. 3**(3 October 2006: 235).

[29] Wisnu, is the god reincarnated as an avatar in wayang purwa, as in the original Hindu epics. According to Hindu tradition, it specifies as many as nine or ten reincarnations of Wisnu down through the ages; as a fish, a tortoise, a boar, a human lion, a dwarf, Ramabargawa the Axe Warrior, Rama of the Ramayana, as Kresna of the Mahabharata, and finally as Buddha. The story of Ramabargawa killing by Rama in the early part of the Ramayana represents the symbolic transfer of Wisnu incarnation from one cycle to the next.

An appealing stand point concerning this issue was expressed by Dr. Purwadi (2005:
21) in his book, *Upacara Traditional Jawa (Traditional Javanese Ritual)*:

> *After the arrival of Islam in Indonesia, the stories of wayang turned*
>
> *out to be confusing. Islam as a religion does not recognize the*
>
> *Trimurti concept, nor the system of pantheist. Walisongo changed*
>
> *the hierarchy system of gods, and placed gods only as executors*
>
> *of God's orders, not as God per se* (my translation).

Based on the elaboration above, Sears (1996) concludes that Javanese Islam ranges
from those who view Javanese religion as Hindu-Buddhist fused with Islamic
terminology, and those who place Javanese Islam within the mainstream of pan-
Islamic belief. On other words, the argument about Javanese Islam presumes the
presence of a fundamentalist or normative form of Islam. Nevertheless, a viewpoint
expressed by Sunaryadi (2006) reasons the contestation of the coming of the Islam is
not in how to fuse Islamic elements into the Javanese traditions, but in how to
reinterpret the Hindu-Buddhist's symbols by implementing the Islamic notion.

3.4 The invention of new stories within the Islamic and Indian epics

In their attempts to promote Islam, the Walisongo (the nine saints) developed new
stories as the extensions of the main plots which is based on the Indian epics, the
Ramayana or Mahabharata using original characters in the newly invented episodes.

These additional episodes were regarded as branch stories of the Mahabharata or Ramayana. The branch stories that developed under influence of Islam expressed the Islamic essence of the teachings. There are some newly invented characters outside the original Hindu genealogies (Dr. Purwadi 2005: 21). Among the most eminent of branch *lakon* are *lakon Jimat Kalimasada* and *lakon Dewaruci.* These two *lakons* are discussed as follows.

3.4.1 Lakon Kalimasada

Lakon Kalimasada is written by Sunan Kalijaga. The essence of the story is about the magical power named the *Jimat* Kalimasada, when one possess this *Jimat* (talisman or charm) then one will be safe forever. The letter *Kalimasada* was Hindu in origin whilst was afterwards given an Islamic connotation as reflected in the stories (Ulbricht 1970). Yudistira, the eldest of the five Pandawas brothers, wishes to die after the death of all his contemporaries, he cannot die because he possess this *Jimat* and then he searches for one who can read the letter of *Kalimasada*. On Mount Selamat in Java, in the year of 1443, he meets Sunan Kalijaga who studies it. He reveals to Yudistira that the word 'Kalimasada' is the mutilation of 'Kalimat Sahadat' which contained Islamic faith "La Ilaha Illa Allah Muhammad Rasul Ullah': There is no God but God, and Muhammed is his prophet' (Ulbricht 1970). According to Ulbricht (1970: 77) once Yudistira understands clearly the meaning of *Kalimasada*, he then passes away and buried according to Islamic rites.

The story of *Jimat Kalimasada* can be found in *lakon carangan Petruk Dadi Ratu* (Petruk becomes a King) or *lakon Semar Minta Bagus* (Semar asks for beautiful appearance) which center on the character Petruk and Semar, the invented Javanese comic characters of *Punakawan,* which do not exist in Indian epics. The core of the stories, according to Javanese traditional, shows that with the possession of *Jimat Kalimasada,* no matter how low one's status or position in life, one can become ennobled and well respected, according to Hasyim (nd) cited in Yousof (2010: 88).

3.4.2 Lakon Dewaruci

In the dramatic repertoire of wayang purwa, there are several *wahyu* (revelation) stories. Considerably, the most essential and well known mystical stories is *Dewaruci,* also known as *Bima Suci* (Yousof 2010: 92). The *lakon*[30] *Dewaruci* is an exclusion among the *lakons* as it is the only one that clarifies esoteric conceptions in 'plain words' Ulbricht (1970: 99). This *lakon* is derived from the story of *Nawaruci* or *Sang Hyang Tattawajnana* written during Majapahit period by Mpu Siwamurti (Priyohutomo 1934: 76), afterwards the version is standardized as a compilation by Yasadipura I, the well-known 18th century court poet of Surakarta (Irvine 1996: 103). According to Dr. Purwadi (2005: 21) the art-works of Yasadipura I such as *Serat*

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[30] A *lakon,* a Javanese word for 'play', which is an adaptation the classical literature of *wayang* performances. The word *lakon* is derived from *laku,* which means 'go' or 'act', however can also indicates 'adventure' or 'journey.'

Ambiya, *Serat Menak*, and *Serat Bima Suci* consist of teaching terms derived from the concept of *Tasawuf* Islam.

The main character in this story is named Bima, one of Pandawas brothers. The Pandawas are accompanied by Krishna, are aimed to join battle against their Kurawa cousins in order to retrieve the kingdom of Ngastina from the Kurawa. As for Dewaruci, he is Bima's divine mentor, described as a Divine incarnation of *Sang Hyang Wenang*, the *Guru Sejati* (the True Master). His appearance in the puppet form as a miniature replica of Bima himself as stated by Aris Wahyudi.[31] The story of *Dewaruci* in its esoteric mystical world symbolizes the union of man with god, represented by Dewaruci who leads the one's self and soul of the adherent toward harmony, hence endowing spiritual awareness and contentment of life in the mystical union with God, as stated by Evans (2004: 33). This esoteric conception generally is interpreted within different level of understandings, merely a subjective matters towards innate symbolic spiritual meaning.

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[31] Personal communication. Aris Wahyudi is the author of *Lakon Dewa Ruci Cara Menjadi Jawa (Dewa Ruci the way to be Javanese)* based on his dissertation. I found his book very interesting and different from the rests of the books that discuss about this *lakon* in which generally towards the Islamic elements of Sufi, while he argues *Dewaruci* is a story for ritual of worshipping Shiva, see Dr. Aris Wahyudi, S. S., M.Hum (2012). <u>Lakon Dewa Ruci Cara Menjadi Jawa (Lakon Dewa Ruci the way to be Javanese)</u>. Yogyakarta, Penerbit Bagaskara.

There is no accept code of "correct" interpretation (in wayang stories) –
different mystics, even the same person on different occasions, put the same
imagery to very different (Stange 1977: 109, quoted in Evans 2004: 36-37).

Apart from the transformation of *wayang purwa* for the reasons of presenting
substances associated with Islam, another essential enhancement was the manner
where the stories derived from the epics Ramayana and Mahabharata, the classical
repertoire were interpreted to give room for the insertion of Islamic and Sufi ideas
(Yousof 2010: 92). Ciptoprawiro (1978: 28) says in 16th century during Demak period,
the Walisongo (the nine saints), linked the teachings of the Sufi, the mystical Islam
and the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist teachings of *batin* (the concept of inner
consciousness or soul). The syncretic linkages for instance is showed by the concept
Sanskrit word *moksa* described by many modern Javanese professing Islam as the
concept of unity with a single God, as now represented in the name of Allah (Irvine
1996: 101).

The story begins with the plots of Bima death by Suyudana, the Kurawa king. Durna,
the spiritual teacher for both Pandawa and Kurawa, is appointed by Suyudana to
guide Bima on a tough journey that will definitely kill him. Durna assigns him to
search for the holy spring *Tirta Parwita Sari*, the sacred water of eternal life for
purification which can be found in the Candramuka cave, at the top of the Mount
Gadamadana which rises at the end of the Tikbrasara Forest. As a wish of his teacher

is an order, besides longing for spiritual perfection, he accepts the assignment with pleasure. Nevertheless, Durna knows exactly that there are two vigorous giants, Rukmuka and Rukmukala, living on the mountain whom certainly will kill anyone who disturbs them from their meditation.

Finally, Bima starts the journey of searching *Tirta Parwita Sari*, as he ignores the entreaties of his concerned brothers who know the danger of the journey. He reaches the mountain, and somehow awakens the two giants from their meditations. In order to find the holy water, he must fight them. He manages to defeat the giants, and finally kills them. By killing the giants, Bima relieves the Batara Guru's curse to the gods Bayu and Indra as the incarnations of the giants. As the gratitude, in return, they inform Bima that the *Tirta Parwitra Sari* is not located on the mountain.

Afterwards, Bima returns to his spiritual teacher, Durna. With such explanation of his intention in testing Bima's determination to find the holy water, thus he orders Bima to set off for his real journey. This time, he tells Bima that the *Tita Parwitra Sari* is to be found at the bottom of the sea, expecting the sea monsters will definitely slay him. Once again, Bima ignores the pleadings of his brothers for not continuing the journey. He jumps into the sea and begins the journey searching for the magic water.

With a strong willpower, he manages to survive over the rough sea. At last, he is confronted by the monster of the sea (a *naga* or a sea dragon) named Nemburnawa

whom he must fight. After a long hard time in defeating the *naga*, finally with his magical thumbnail *pancanaka,* he succeeds in killing the *naga* by slicing his body into pieces, then he continues his mission into the depths of the sea.

The bottom of the sea turns calm when Bima somehow comes face to face with an unknown creature which has emerged from nowhere with the size of a small child who behaves in a friendly and wise manner. Bima sees the miniature of himself in Dewaruci, an incarnation of his own spirit.

Bima reveals his mission in searching *Tirta Parwita Sari,* the water of immortal life. Then Dewaruci invites Bima to enter into his left ear as the respond of their discussion. In surprise, Bima questions how it is possible for him to enter into Dewaruci's left ear of such a small object. Dewaruci convinces him that the whole universe is within him, therefore undoubtedly will fit him.

Subsequently, Bima enters Dewaruci's left ear, it makes him lost his sense of direction, and he became disoriented. Then finally he becomes focus on Dewaruci, and gradually regains his sense of direction and to be familiar with the sun, the sea, the land, and the mountains; the whole universe. Unexpectedly, he then sees a glow of white light that slowly turns into a checquered pattern of four color of lights: black, red, yellow and white. As explained by Dewaruci, the light is the spirit of the divine essence; the *pancamaya*, the inner spirit, which resides within one self which

one must find within one self and whose commands one must always obey. Afterwards, he experiences another eight colors of light flash.

Then, he realizes that the *Tirta Parwita Sari*, the water of immortal life is within his own heart, waiting to be discovered, and this inner most being is inseparable; truly one with the divine, and union with God. He then sees a figure in the manifestation of a small pearl which radiating light before him as a representation of his soul. It is *pramana,* the linkage between the physical and spiritual aspect of one's existence. When *pramana* is lost, the soul of one is fused into consciousness of the Supreme Divine.

He found the world he lives in very peaceful, as he does not want to return to where he belongs; the world where his brothers of Pandawa and his Kurawa cousins live in. However Dewaruci finally convinced him to leave and to accomplish his duties. The experience within the Dewaruci as Bima's enlightenment which asked by Dewaruci to be undisclosed, empowered Bima. In the end, he accompanied his brothers and successfully regain their kingdom of Ngastina from their Kurawa cousins.

3.4.2.1 Symbolism and mysticism in the *lakon Dewaruci*

The essence of Dewaruci story is about the enlightenment journey of Bima illustrating his transformation from the worldly entity to the enlightened being. Every

stage of his journey symbolically represents the process of finding spiritual enlightenment and ultimate union with God. The message conveyed in this story is that the *Tirta Parwita Sari*, the water of eternal life, stands for the symbol of accomplishment of enlightenment is to be found within one's own self; not in the outer material world, thus the Dewaruci is Bima's own true spiritual being. The interpretation of the divine in one's own self is "to perceive the divine in its universal aspects" (Ulbricht 1970: 104). Therefore, in order to pursue this, "man goes beyond the limits of his own existence and attains communion with the universal soul" (Ulbricht 1970: 104).

There are several levels of Bima's spiritual awakening within esoteric symbolism in this story which can be reflected in the Islam teaching of *Tasawuf* which consists of four stages of approach: *syariat*, *tarekat*, *hakekat*, and *mahrifat*, as follows.

1. *Syariat* is based on the teachings of respect and live consistent with religious rules (Mulder 1983). In this context, Bima decided to gain spiritual knowledge from his teacher, Durna by searching the *Tirta Parwita Sari*, the holy water. After the failure on his attempt on the mountain, he questions his teacher, and listens to him with respect. Then, finally follows the next instruction of searching the water of eternal life in the bottom of the sea while his brothers convince him to revoke the journey of finding the sacred water.

2. *Tarekat*, in which the awareness of the core of the behaviors described in
    syariat should be developed and reflected upon (Mulder 1983). Starting from
    this stage, the steps moving away from the outward to the more inward and
    mystical. There are some obstacles he has to deal with beyond his limits, and
    each of them stands for mystical spiritual symbols.

    a. The search of *Tirta Parwita Sari* on the mountain as the first stage in
        which he fights with the giants, Rukmuka and Rukmukala representing the
        understanding of the divine ultimate truth which only can be found within
        the inner-world of one self (Evans 2004).

    b. Searching *Tirta Parwita Sari* in the bottom of the sea implies his
        consciousness of giving up the idea that the divine truth can be searched
        true rational thought and outward related perception (Evans 2004). The
        rough sea only can be handled with his calm mind through his
        meditation. Bima has overcome his emotions at this stage. Then Bima has
        to deal with a dilemma when the *naga* attacks him, between the pure
        intention of union with the divine and the desire to gain and to use power
        for material matters.

c. The fight which Bima slashes the *naga* with his thumbnail *Kuku Pancanaka* symbolizes the defeat of the physical body to the spiritual body (Ulbricht 1970: 104) The thumbnail, *Pancanaka,* he uses to defeat the naga represents the five senses (invulnerability, charisma, healing, extra sensory ability, and power) that he has refined through meditation in order to control his lust for power. Thus, by conquering the naga he has overpowered the I, me, mine of aspiration and greediness, as well as developed a better sense of right and wrong (Evans 2004).

3. *Hakekat*, is a "confrontation with the truth"(Mulder 1983). The consciousness of the core of prayer and service to 'God' is fully developed including the profound understanding of being a servant to 'God' as well as being a dependent part in the cosmic system (Mulder 1983). This stages is presented by Bima when meeting and entering Dewaruci's left ear. Dewaruci symbolizes Bima's inner spiritual self that will guide him to union with the divine, God, servant and master. Bima perceives four colors as black, red, yellow and white by focusing on Dewaruci when he finds direction. The four colors vanish into a single flame of eight colors, as explained by Dewaruci that the single flame stands for the union of self with God, as the symbol of no distinction

between the macrocosm and microcosm (Evans 2004). In terms of mysticism

interpretation, the four colors symbolize *nepsu,*[32] one interpretation explains:

Luwamah (egocentripetal force) which originates from the element

earth and is located in the flesh. Its color is black. Its nature

among other things, evil, greedy, lazy, lusty, etc. Its positive nature

comes when the negative ones are subdued and disciplined. It

forms the basic power which gives support to action.

Amarah (energy, driving force) originates from the element fire,

located in the blood, and its color is red. It has in its nature,

among other things, anger, perseverances, etc. Anger leads to

destruction, while perseverance forms the main element of

success.

Sufiah (desire, wish) originates from the element water, and is

located in the marrow. Its color is yellow. Sufiah is the passion

that brings about love, lust and keen involvement in everything.

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[32] Nepsu is a variant word of the Arabic nafs which indicates to the soul or even breath. In general it refers to the lower soul, and even to viler desires, while the appropriate word for soul or spirit is ruh (roh for Malaysian and Indonesian) see Yousof, G.-S. (2010). "Islamic Elements in Traditional Indonesian and Malay Theatre." Kajian Malaysia **28, No. 1**(2010: 101).

Mutmainah (egocentrifugal force) originates from the element of ether. Its color is white. If it is developed and cultivated it grives to unselfishness, and bring about purity of mind (Santoso 1980).

4. *Makrifat*, is the last and the highest stage when the aim of *jumbuhing kawula lan gusti* (eternity of servant and Master) has been accomplished. The one's soul has unified with universal soul and one's deeds have become pure *laku*, one's life perpetual prayer to 'God', regardless what one does (work, eat, sleep, meditate, etc.) (Mulder 1983). At this last stage, Dewaruci explains why Bima has to leave him and return to the world to accomplish his destiny. The truth lay within one's self, therefore in order to find inner peace then Bima must search his inner spirit and every action giving him the power to understand the world through his spirit. The Dewaruci is a part of Bima as a symbol of ultimate truth and reality which are to be found in one's inner self.

Nevertheless, the core of the story lies within the Javanese wisdoms and its mystical worldviews, as well as Islamic perspective towards *Tasawuf*. It is about searching and gaining true wisdom and insight. The message conveyed in this story is that one should be able to enter the inner self to find the divine in one's self as the ultimate truth, and reality is to be found in one inner self, not in the world of illusion.

To discover one's spiritual essence is to reveal God in oneself. To follow the dictates of the mystical inner consciousness is to follow the command of God. Thus is Perfection achieved (Irvine 1996: 104).

According to Woodward (1989: 92) the stories "appears to have been written during the period of transition from Hinduism to Islam, using Hindu-Javanese mythology to present the Sufi theory of the mystical path." Woodward (1989: 193) argues that *lakon* Dewaruci visibly illustrates "the concepts of the struggle of the souls against *nepsu* and that pilgrimage to the self":

Many respond that this is the true pilgrimage and hajj is only an external (lahir) form. Some kejawen mystics describe the hajj as an entirely mystical experience, explaining that it is not necessary to be physically present inn Mecca in the same way as Muhammad met his journey to heaven (Woodward 1989: 194).[33]

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[33] In Islam, *zahir* and *batin* respectively refer to the outer esoteric and the inner esoteric aspects of knowledge and believe. *Zahir* (the Manifest) and *Batin* (the Hidden) also stand for the names of Allah. In this context *lahir* is an alternative translation of *zahir* (Ghulam 2010).

Chapter 4 Wayang Purwa in Ritual Ceremony: A Mystical Religious Experience in Ruwahan Rites

The ancient origins of Javanese *wayang* were partly linked to religious rituals.[34] On contemporary Java, it is very common for the Javanese community to present *wayang purwa* performances for essential Javanese rituals; particularly those related to life stages or cycles such as pregnancy, birth, and death. Such performances depend on the sponsor's ability to afford them, as the old concept of propitiation and giving thanks to the gods is maintained in *wayang purwa*.

The *selamatan* ceremonies are conventionally held to celebrate special events. Friends, families, and neighbors are invited to witness the occasion. This chapter will focus particularly on the study of *Ruwahan* ritual ceremony where *wayang purwa* performance is presented as the final session of the ritual's proceedings.

Within the context of religious rites, and in agreement with Geertz's definition of religion as an entity of symbolic meaning, the symbols embedded in *Ruwahan* rites and *wayang purwa* performances provide a certain theological implication. The symbols are considered to be the constituent parts of a powerful metaphysical language used by one in order to experience the world beyond the scope of the

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[34] The function of wayang performance which in part linked to the religious ritual particularly can be observed in Balinese ritual ceremony.

ordinary language (Schubel 1993: 1-2). There are some elements in this ritual which contain symbolic meanings; in the food, the prayers by the ritual leader (*modin*), the burning of incense, the flowers, etc. To some extent the elements mentioned are local Javanese traditions which has incorporated Islamic elements. Nevertheless, similar notions concerning symbols can also be found in *wayang purwa* adaptation.

This chapter aims to contribute an analysis on Javanese mysticism and Islam influences on local culture are encountered within the practice of *Ruwaha*n and *wayang purwa performance* among the Javanese people in Candi and Ceporan village, Klaten, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Symbolic mystical elements are expressed throughout the process. This research was conducted on 24 June 2014 and 1 September 2014 for further data collection.

4.1 *Ruwahan* as a form of nyekar and *selamatan*

Ruwahan is a Javanese ritual in the form of a religio-traditional ceremony for paying homage to the ancestors. From an Islam perspective, *Ruwahan* can be translated as *nyekar* (ziarah), meaning a religious visit and a series of prayers in the burial places of the ancestors. It is comparatively common to *nyekar* (visit graves) during the month of *Ruwah* in Java. *Nyekar* is a verb derived from the word *sekar,* a kind of flower. Specifically in this research, *nyekar* refers to visit the grave of relatives rather than

the graves of 'saints' or 'holy' persons.[35] In general, the practice involves the placing

of flowers on the graves of the deceased and burning incense (rarely practiced in

contemporary Java). In essence, the core of *nyekar* is tidying up the grave and

sending prayers (*ngirim donga*) (Moller 2005: 267).

Moreover, the conception of *nyekar* prior to Ramadan is about a state of purity,

where one should be in a state of purity before they enter the Ramadan, and

lessens the burden of one's deceased relatives by ways of prayer. In other words, it

is simply about offering forgiveness by family and friends, both living and dead

before the first of *Pasa* (fasting in month of Ramadan) (Moller 2005: 268). In practice,

Ruwahan is held in many burial places by reciting *tahlil* prayer (reciting laa ilaha illa

Allah) and conducting *selamatan*. Then in the evening *wayang purwa* performance is

presented—if the organizer could afford it.

According to Sunyoto (2011: 116-117), *nyekar* is a local tradition which received a

strong influence from the traditions of Champa. This tradition was introduced by the

merchants from coastal Vietnam (Champa). Also, one of the Walisongo members,

Sunan Ampel or Raden Rahmat, is believed came from Champa and introduced his

local traditions (Champa) to Java. Characteristics of Champa Islam experienced

assimilation under Champa local tradition, with Hindu and Buddhist shaping of the

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[35] *Nyekar* (pilgrimage) to the graves of Walisongo increase before and after Ramadan, besides to
pay homage, *ngalap berkah* (to receive blessing) is also the motive behind this ritual.

Shradha ritual or *the ritual of "meruwat arwah"* or "purification of the spirits". This was held after 12 years of death. Afterwards, it developed as the Javanese Islam tradition of *Nyradha* or *Nyadran*, with its main purpose of sending prayers to the spirits of the family members. From the research conducted the term of *Nyadran* or *Sadranan* at the present time is used to refer to the *nyekar* tradition in Candi village and Ceporan village.

Concerning *selamatan* rituals, Hilmy (1999: 59) regards them as one of the religio-cultural pillars of Java, as the heart of "Javanese religion". It is a window for penetrating the religious life in Java, which is overshadowed by two main theological streams: *santri*, the most pious Muslims and *abangan*, the syncretic Muslims. The *selamatan* is practiced among the *abangan* in some areas of Java for certain events of pregnancy, birth, early childhood, marriage, death, and other moments of the life cycle. Whereas for the *santri*, the *selamatan* is employed to commemorate essential dates in Islamic history; for instance the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, the Prophet's ascent into heaven, and the beginning and ending of the Ramadhan, the Muslim month of fasting (Hilmy 1999-60). As an important highlight, *selamatan* plays an essential role in Javanese Islam.

Definition of *selamatan* has been discussed by various scholars. Hilmy (1999: 41) argues that *selamatan* is "a Javanese Muslim ritual conducted to gain certain

blessing from God." According to him, this definition is based on the major characteristic of *selamatan* which is highly fused with some Islamic elements, particularly Islamic prayers. Another definition is provided by Federspiel (1995) who describes *selamatan* as "a communal feast, popular among the nominal Muslim (*abangan*) population on Java, given to commemorate important events in an individual life." In his point of view, there are animistic and "shamanistic" essences attached to the ritual which is tied to non-Islamic spirits, the superstitious beliefs, and auspicious and inauspicious days and numbers. Geertz (1960) refers to *selamatan* as "the Javanese version of what is perhaps the world's most common religious ritual, the communal feast, and as almost everywhere, it symbolizes the mystic and social unity of those participating in it."

The practice of *selamatan* is generally accompanied by traditional Javanese meals. Hilmy (1999: 54) says that ritual meals are traditionally known as a core of every *selametan* ceremony in Java; to the same extent as the Arabic prayers (*do'a*). There are two major clarifications as to whom the meals are offered. Firstly, the meal provided in the selamatan is devoted to deities, spirits, and spiritual guardians from the *abangan* perspective. By offering the meal, the *abangans* believe that they are protected by the spirits and deities, and nothing harmful will happened to them, particularly from the catastrophes due to the deities' resentment (Geertz 1960: 14, Hefner 1985: 110). The second interpretation is derived from *santri's* point of view,

the food reflects *sadaqah/sedekah* (charity) or feeding the people who are economically unfortunate, inspired by the Qur'an and Hadith. Woodward (1989) points out that the "islamicity" of the *selamatan* is deeply rooted in the interpretation of Sufi Islam tradition.

Furthermore, regardin*g Ruwahan,* this ritual ceremony is conducted once a year in *Ruwah,* the eight month of Javanese calendar which corresponds with the eight month of Islamic calendar, *Syaban.*[36] There is a high possibility that the Javanese *Ruwah* is derived from Arabic, *ruh* or *arwah* (spirit) (Muhaimin 1999).

Moller (2005: 257) points out that the month of *Ruwah* holds some pre-Ramadanic rituals. By entering the month of *Ruwah* (*Syaban),* Javanese Muslims are reminded that the month of fasting (*Ramadan*) is about to come. However, Woodward (2011:

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[36] A legendary character of Aji Saka, perhaps an Indian, who came to Java in AD 78 and invented or commenced Javanese alphabet. The Javanese month correspond to their Arabic and Indonesian counterparts, as follows:oo

Javanese Months/Arabic Months

Sura/Muharram	Rejeb/Rajab
Sapar/Safar	Ruwah/Syaban
Mulud/Rabiulawal	Pasa/Ramadhan
Bakda Mulud/Rabiulakhir	Sawal/Syawal
Jumadil Awal/Jumadilawal	Dulkangidah/Zulkaidah
Jumadil Akhir/Jumadilakhir	Besar/Zulhijah

For further details on the Javanese calendar, see Hadisutrisno, B. (2009). Islam Kejawen. Yogyakarta, EULE BOOK.

211) claims that there is no clear connection between the *Ruwahan* ceremony and the coming fast of Ramadhan. From anthropological point of view, *Ruwahan* can essentially be classified as a form of cultural adaptation between local cultures and Islam; or can even be regarded as a form of Islamic syncretism. [37]

4.2 *Ruwahan* ritual ceremony: From local culture to local Islam

Ruwahan ritual ceremony is generally viewed as a big event to be celebrated by many villages in Klaten. The year this research was cunducted, in Candi and Ceporan village, there were some sub-villages participating in the *Ruwahan* ritual ceremony. In Candi village, there were two sub-villages: Rejoso jagonalan and Mblese gantiwarno merged ritually since their agreement on "Candi Manunggal" meaning "the Unity of Candi". This was done in order to strengthen their unity and to keep the harmony amongst the villagers. Similarly, in Ceporan village, there were two sub-villages collaborating in the ritual ceremony: Sudimoro and Ngering sub-village.

The aim of this ritual is to strengthen the amity between the neighboring villages by working together in cleaning the burial places, praying for the ancestor's spirits, especially those buried in the local cemetery, holding the *selamatan* feast where

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[37] For details see Geertz, C. (1973). The Interpretation of Cultures. <u>Religion As a Cultural System</u>. New York, Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.

, Woodward, M. R. (1989). Islam in Java, Normative piety and mysticism in the Sulatane of Yogyakarta. Tuczon, AZ, University of Arizona Press.

food is brought from home by the inhabitants, and lastly preparing the *wayang* performance as the highlight of the event.

In general, the ritual of *Ruwahan* is performed within the 15th to 30th of the month of *Ruwah*, the Javanese calendar. During this research the *Ruwahan* ritual ceremony was performed on 25th of *Ruwah* 2014 by two villages, Candi and Ceporan village. Interestingly, unlike Ceporan village which has no fixed date for this yearly ritual[38], Candi village celebrates the *Ruwahan* ritual ceremony annually on the 25th of *Ruwah*.

The head of Rejoso sub-village, Sukendro, who was the coordinator of this event (in 2014) states that performing the ritual with a fixed date is part of their *adat* (local custom) where they only continue the tradition of their ancestors.[39]

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[38] Picking up the date merely based on the agreement between the village administrators and the villagers.

[39] I received no precise reasons as to why *Ruwahan* ceremony is conducted every 25th of Javanese month of *Ruwah*, adat (local custom) is the general reason of this ritual conducted on the specific date.

Figure 21: Nyekar ritual

According to Sukendro, the ritual is started by *nyekar* (visiting the graves of the relatives) (see fig. 21) which can be done individually or collectively, usually one day before the *selamatan* ceremony. People participating in this ritual ceremony are usually those whose family members are buried in the local burial sites. Based on the data from the Candi village stakeholder, there are a total of five burial places in the village namely, Kalasan, Buncen, Soronalan, Karang, and Candi Lor, but only three performed the rituals (Kalasan, Buncen, and Soronalan).

Afterwards, each village organized a *selamatan* feast where food is brought from home by the villagers. The core of this feast is praying for the ancestor spirits, thus granting them peace and happiness in the afterlife. Based on observation the ceremonies were held in different locations within these two villages. Candi village conducted the *selamatan* feast, called the *kenduri* feast by the locals, in the

mosque of Al Mutaqin, next to Kuncen burial place. Ceporan village, however, conducted an out-door *kenduri* within the residential area next to the local cemetery.

Figure 22: The offerings placed on the tomb

A short distance from Al Mutaqin mosque, located on the east wing of the mosque, a *Ruwahan* ritual was being held by a small community from the same villages. This ritual was performed for the ancestors that were buried in Kuncen. The ceremony was conducted under Kejawen/Javanese mysticism rituals and the prayers were in Hindu-Kejawen *mantra* (incantation). It was observed that some people brought sets of *sesajen* (offerings) consisting of water in an earthen jar, flowers, eggs, food, incense, cigarettes, etc., which was then placed before their eyes. Finally, after the prayer, the water in the earthen jar was poured around the burial field and the rest

of the offerings placed on the tombs to pay homage to their ancestors and wishing for their blessings (see fig. 22).[40]

The mosque of Al Mutaqin, next to Sonalan cemetery, became the center of the *Ruwahan* ritual in Candi village, as the arena for an essential religious gathering of Muslims, where people gathered both inside and outside the mosque. *Ruwahan* was conducted in the mosque with the recital of *tahlil* addressed toward the ancestors of the villages, followed by public religious learning (*pengajian akbar*). The ritual ceremony in the mosques was participated by the most—approximately 500—people; male, female, adults and children alike. It was equipped with a great sound system and was a well-prepared event (see fig. 23).

Figure 23: Selamatan feast in Islamic manners

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[40] Based on the personal communication with the locals, 24 June 2014.

People came with *ambengan kenduri,* a parcel of cooked rice and its side dish (see fig. 24), which includes Javanese sweets and local fruits. The various foods were placed in *tenong* (a round container made of bamboo) (see fig. 25). Interestingly, one kind of food container called *angkring* (a bier (*keranda*) like) by the locals captivated the author's interest. Its unique appearance and various foods placed inside (see fig. 26) indicated the social status of the owner ('the have' family) as opined by Ki Blacius Subono and Sugiyanto.[41]

Figure 24: Ambenguri in tenong and angkring

Figure 26: Various foods in angkring

Figure 25: Various foods in tenong

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[41] Personal Communication, 24 June 2014 and 1 September 2014.

In contrast with the Hindu-Kejawen ritual, there was no *sesajen* (offerings) in the mosque brought by villagers. Finally, the *ambengan kenduri* (various food) were exchanged with one another, either to be consumed in place or brought back home. The ritual ended around 17.00 (started around 15.00) and was followed by the *wayang purwa* performance in the evening.

Based on interviews with some prominent figures and other people in general, the main purpose of this yearly ritual is not merely for paying homage to the ancestors. It also functions as a village purification (*bersih desa*) with the purposes of expressing gratefulness to God for the good harvest and wishing for protection from any harmful supernatural disasters.[42]

This collective ritual participation by the community members give them agency and stimulate engagement and social integration within the community. The practice of *Ruwahan* as a communal ritual involves various local cultures: Animism, Hindu, Buddhist, and Islam. It is interesting to observe the process of negotiation between the local culture (rooted in Javanese mysticism) and Islamic teachings; in other words how Islam deals with local practices and how it gives new meaning to local rituals like the *Ruwahan* ritual ceremony.

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[42] *Ruwahan* ritual ceremony is also well-known as *Sadranan* rites by the locals. Only *Ruwahan* is specifically conducted in the month of *Ruwah*, of the Javanese calendar, while *Sadranan* can be conducted in any month of the Javanese calendar depending on the local beliefs.

Having the majority of inhabitants in both villages conducting Islamic-popular rituals like *nyekar/ziarah*, reciting *tahlil* and *tasyakur* as well as *pengajian* (religious learning and collective prayers) suggests that the *Ruwahan* ritual ceremony is predominantly religious under the influence of the local beliefs and Islam, where the different beliefs interweave and complement each other. Therefore, a peaceful religio-cultural acculturation is articulated under this local ritual ceremony, and to some extent indicates a successful process of transformation from a local culture to local Islam.

4.3 The Wayang Purwa Performance

Figure 27: Wayang Purwa performance in Ceporan village

After the conclusion of the rituals of *Ruwahan,* both villages, Candi and Ceporan, organized *wayang purwa* performances as the final program. *Wayang* performances took place separately, one was performed in the head office of Ceporan village

where the performance was conducted by *dalang* Ki Purbo Asmoro (see fig. 27), based on the *lakon Wiratha Parwa* The other was played at Candi village head's residence, presented by dalang Ki Blacius Subono with *Bima Krida* as the main *lakon*. Both performances started around 20.30 and lasted until 04.00.[43]

Wayang purwa presented at the *Ruwahan* ritual ceremony functions as a Javanese media of artistic implementation where the performance can be appreciated at many levels. It also has an important role as a leisure entertainment where the dramatized tales presented by the *dalang* (puppet master) are accompanied by the *gamelan* music troupe. The pleasures and the sensations, are essentially derived from the beautifully painted and ornately carved puppets which come alive through the dramatic movements and the intense conflict between the familiar characters, the *gamelan* music and singing, and above all, through the beauty of the language and classical poetry. Aside from *wayang purwa* classical repertoire, the essence of pleasure can be relished through comedy and social or political comments. Tilakasiri points out:

> *The wayang purwa is, therefore, an expression of the ethos of the*
>
> *people who are expected to recognize the performance as a*

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[43] In the past, *wayang purwa* performances played until sunrise (6 am). In order to respect the Muslims who perform Morning Prayer (Shalat shubuh), the play should be ended earlier, Personal Communication with Supriyadi, 24 June 2014, Ceporan village.

symbol of the cosmos where the constituent entities in the form of

the story, the dialogues, the song, and narrative including music

work in harmony with life being imparted to the show by the

puppets under the command of the dalang (Tilakasiri 1999: 115).

In addition, *Wayang purwa* also performs as a media of education. For some Javanese audiences it serves as a realm of revitalizing intellectual experience, as well as a vehicle of acculturation. From the view of a spiritual experience, *wayang purwa* deeply influences the perspective of an individual and their character within human society and the world of nature. For more contemplative audiences, *wayang purwa* serves as a means for experiencing the mystical through religious/sacred rites.

It is interesting to note that from a mystical religious perspective, as pointed out by Brandon (1970: 72), it is generally accepted that spirit of the ancestors were invoked to appear in the form of shadows on a screen during *wayang purwa* performances in ritual ceremonies. This is based on the theory of *wayang* as a dramatic form of animistic rituals in Java's prehistory. Based on the observation and interview during the research, this theory is still very much relevant to contemporary Java, particularly in rural areas.

Concerning the confluence between Islam and Javanese mysticism in *wayang purwa*, this research argues that the essential feature in this particular manner of

acculturation is the both faiths formed a common connection through mysticism. It must be emphasized that the key to acculturation is manifested in the symbolic mystical elements of *wayang purwa* adaptation, as presented in the *Ruwahan* ritual ceremony. This subject is the focus of the following elaboration.

4.3.1 The stage

As *wayang purwa* performances in both villages are not spontaneous events, the *wayang* stages were managed accordingly. A *kelir* (white screen/white cloth) is fitted up at the center of a large hall in a house (as was the setting in Candi village) or out-doors in the yard. In the past, there were specific ways in which the venues for *wayang* performances were set. Some 'spaces' were designated to a gender, namely; *dalem*, the inner room which was used the area where women could watched the shadows of *wayangs*; and the *pendopo* or the front verandah where the male guests watched the *wayang* performance from the dalang's side (Melemma 1954: 8). This arrangement has many sociological and mystical interpretations.

According to Bagong Bayu Adji,[44] a *wayang purwa* organizer from Surakarta, this arrangement is related to the original rituals concerning *wayang* play for mystical practice, where only men were in charge. Nevertheless, the majority of the

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[44] Personal Communication, 19 June 2014, the interview was conducted during the monthly *wayang purwa* performance in Pendhapa Ageng Taman Budaya (Cultural Center), Surakarta, Central Java Indonesia.

informants interviewed argue that this notion is rooted from the Islamic perspective where women should not display themselves to men who are not their *muhrim* (blood relations or spouse). Nowadays, however, based on the observations of this research, anyone can watch the performance from any position they wish.[45] As claimed by Melemma (1954), it reflects democratic change in Javanese society to some extent.[46]

Furthermore, the stage equipment for the *wayang purwa* performances in both villages was simple. The shadow of the puppets are to be cast on to a white screen *kelir* in a wooden frame, an oil lamp (*blencong*) which is often shaped like a *gunungan* or the mythical sun bird *garuda* hangs over the *dalang's* head. However, modern electric lamps have all but replaced *the blencong.* Parallel to the screen, in front of the *dalang,* there are two *debog* (banana tree trunk), one a little lower than the other. *Wayang sampingan/simpingan* (the puppets not being used in the performance) will be placed on the upper *debog,* both on the left (representing bad characters) and right sides (representing good characters). They are placed in order of size, with the largest ogres on the outside and the smallest puppets on the inside, from a total collection of around 200 figures available. The second group of *wayang*

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[45] Based on observations from attending several *wayang purwa* performances, there was not a single setting which divided male and female spectators into assigned areas.

[46] For further elaboration, see Brandon 1970: 36-37, Tilakasiri 1999: 75, Ulbricht 1970: 105-106.

is *wayang dudahan*, the less praised *wayang* which appear in the performance. They are placed either inside the puppet box (*kotak*) or on its lid. *Wayang sabetan*, on the other hand, are the exalted characters to be played and they are placed on the right side of the *dalang*.

Almost every element in *wayang purwa* has a symbolic meaning and its performance is more than just a battle between *halus* and *kasar* (good and bad). Both the physical and spiritual stand as a symbol of *Sangkan Paran*, the entire cycle of existence (Irvine 1996: 98). Regarding Irvine's point of view, Aneng Kiswantoro,[47] a dalang and a lecturer from ISI (Institut Seni Indonesia) Yogyakarta states that it requires a certain level of understanding to grasp the notion of *Sangkan Paran* which are conveyed through symbols presented by *wayang purwa* elements. He argues that only a few people amongst the audience will reach this level of understanding as *wayang* performances are merely enjoyed as a form of entertainment by the majority of its audience.

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[47] Personal Communication, 9 June 2014.

Sasmito Raras[48] opines thats *wayang purwa* can be considered a magical rites performance, played for the safety and well-being of its audience and to keep them away from evil forces. Melemma (1954) states:

> *Everyone who finds himself among the dalang's audience,*
>
> *whether he listens or sleeps, is safe from all bad influence during*
>
> *that whole night* (Melemma 1954: 8).

According to Suyanto,[49] a *dalang* and lecturer from ISI (Institut Seni Indonesia) Surakarta, the magical effects resulting from a *wayang purwa* performance is recognized by the Javanese, particularly those who live in rural areas. From this point of view, mysticism recognizes *wayang purwa* performance as the symbol of the cosmos; the banana trunks represents the surface of the earth, the puppets symbolize human beings that come to life under the influence of the *dalang,* in the same manner that men are dependent on God. In addition, the lamp (*blencong*) represents a source of energy while the screen signifies heaven (Melemma 1954: 8, Sastroamidjojo 1964: 70-76, Brandon 1970: 18, Mulyono 1989: 145, Irvine 1996: 98).

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[48] Personal Communication, 19 June 2014. Sasmiro Raras is a professional *dalang* as well as a *wayang purwa* craftman artist from Surakarta.

[49] Personal Communication, 19 June 2014. Suyanto is a professional dalang and lecturer of ISI (Institut Seni Indonesia) Surakarta.

The actions of the puppets played in a *lakon* are merely a symbolic representation of the conflict that takes place within every man's spirit. Each puppet represents a different aspect of a single personality, for example Yudistira is unselfishness, Arjuna for introspection, Bima representing righteous will, etc. (Brandon 1970: 18).

Based on this observation, there are three essential sound-effect implements used by the *dalang*: two *cempala* (wooden mallet) and a *kepyak* (a set of four or five hanging metal plates) which are hung on the side of a box within reach of the *dalang's* tapping feet. *Cempala* is used to make knocks on the *kotak* (box) to give signals to the *gamelan* about the music. Additionally, the larger *cempala* is held in the *dalang*'s left hand; when sitting cross-legged the *dalang* holds the smaller *cempala* between the large and index toes of his right foot (Brandon 1970: 35-37, Irvine 1996: 165, Djajasoebrata 1999: 77, Tilakasiri 1999: 74-75).

Figure 28: The contemporary setting of wayang purwa play, Ceporan

Particularly in Surakarta's style, the smaller cempala is not employed during the performance, as informed by Fani Rickyansyah[50], a *dalang* from Yogyakarta. Behind the *dalang* are the *niyaga* (musicians) and *pesinden*, a female singer of which there can be two or more, who sit with their back to the *wayang* (see fig. 28).

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[50] Personal Communication, 15 June 2014.

Figure 29: The classical setting of wayang purwa play

In a traditional classical setting they would have faced the wayangs and had their backs to the audience (see fig. 29). Sunarto (2013) argues that the change of *pesinden* positions is a result of the leather puppet performance being broadcast on television, where more emphasis is placed on the visual aspects.

4.3.2 Overview of the mystical elements

In general, the main feature of past animist practices was the worshipping of ancestors, Brandon (1970: 3) states that 'the souls of the ancestors were brought to life as shadows in order to gain from them advice and magical assistance.' In each performance, the *dalang* narrates all the stories and constructs all the dialogue for every character, as well as 'conducting' the *gamelan* orchestra. According to Teguh

prihadi,[51] the *dalang* holds a pivotal role in conveying the *wayang* story that boldly reflects the Javanese syncretism belief with Javanese mysticism as the first layer and Islam as the second layer. Ness (1980) states:

> *The world he creates is inherently Javanese, a world where the lives and fates of gods and men are intertwined and dependent on each other. At the highest level of appreciation, the Javanese feels such a total identification with the drama and its mystical truths that he loses himself. He becomes one with the play* (Ness 1980: 1).

A brief analysis by Ness (1980) mentions the theory from an animistic perspective that sees *dalang* as a shaman, priest, or priestess who conducts folklorist rituals in order to communicate with gods or spirits; indicating a magic interpretation contributed by the *dalang*. As stated by Moertono (1968: 66), *dalang* are classified as "artisans, who exercise 'dangerous' occupation," which are believed to possess magical power "because of the forces they [work] with." Ki Sutono Hadi Sugito,[52] a dalang who performed *wayang purwa* in Banaran village, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta mentions when the *kayon* or *gunungan*, the tree-and-mountain-shaped puppet

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[51] Personal Communication, 28 August 2014. Teguh Prihadi is a contemporary painting artist from Surakarta, who involved in various *wayang purwa* performances as an event organizer.

[52] Personal Communication, 16 June 2014.

depicted with several animals, is held over dalang's head, "he is clutching the world which is going to be presented" (see fig. 30).

Figure 30: Dalang Ki Blacius Subono holding kayon, Candi village

Holt (1967: 134-135) takes into consideration that *kayon* represents the world of Javanese cosmos:

> *The kayon-gunungan stands for the cosmic order, the realm of gods, the universe. It places the shadow play within a sacred world* (Holt 1967: 134-135)

Kayon which was created by Raden Patah, first king of the Islamic kingdom of Demak, is employed to signal the beginning and the end of the performance, scene changes, strong emotions, and the elements of fire, earth, air, and water (see fig. 31).

According to Suwagiyo,[53] it represents the vehicle of Javanese mysticism, a reminder of one's duty in the position on earth they have been placed corresponding to the law of karma, the law of God, and the law of men. To a great extent, the *wayang purwa* performance reminds people of their place and responsibilities in life (Djajasoebrata 1999: 60).

Figure 31: Different types of Gunungan/Kayon

Moreover, the fact that the *wayang purwa* performance for the *Ruwahan* ritual ceremony played from dusk to dawn is based on its original purpose, indicating the perfect time when spirits move freely during the night-time (Ulbricht 1970: 4). Pausacker (1996) in her book *Behind the Shadow*, points out "one reason of why *wayang* may be performed at night is that, it is incontestably a pleasurable way of

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[53] Personal Communication, 30 August 2014. Suwagiyo is one of the organizers of Ta'mir, a non-profit organization concerns about the preservation of Demak heritage and the spreading of the Walisongo's teaching.

staying awake all night, or in Javanese language, it is known as the *lek-lekan* (staying up all night) tradition to strengthen the *bathin* (inner soul) or people's inner soul as part of Javanese aesthetic or mystical practice."[54]

In essence, the main reason to present it late at night is closely related to the Javanese traditional beliefs regarding spirits. This is evident in the set of *sesajen* (offerings) placed near the screen during the *wayang* play in Candi village (fig. 32).

Figure 32: Sesajen/offerings presented in wayang performance, Candi village.

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[54] For a further discussion on Javanese aesthetic/mystical practice see pg. 38-44 in Keeler, W. (1987). Javanese Shadow Plays, Javanese Selves. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

The *sesajen* consists of *nasi tumpeng* (symbol of mount Meru, the holy mountain), nasi golong (the rounded rice, symbolizes the cosmos where human beings live), flowers, various kind of fruits, *peyek* (peanuts and fish crackers), *krupuk* (rice crackers), traditional sweets, and boiled eggs (symbols of fertility and prosperity). Ir. Surjono (2013) reveals this kind of *sesajen* is a general standard of traditional Javanese offering for *wayang purwa* plays. However, Ngadiran[55] argues that there is no such particular standard determining the offerings for *wayang purwa* performances, as there are many factors involved in this process, such as the beliefs, economics, availability of certain foods, fruits, flowers, etc.

Pausacker (1996: 17) comments:

> *Perceiving the authentic stage set, in each wayang performance, food offerings are found placed in some banana logs under the big screen, considering the presence of another audience in form of spirits.'*[56]

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[55] Personal Communication, 16 June 2014. He is the head village of Banaran, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta, who led the Bersih Desa ritual (the village purification) on 16 June 2014.

[56] Beaty, A. (1996) argues that the spirits and ancestors eat the offerings by consuming the smells of the food and the offerings and incense also serve as a vehicle of communication between the material world and spiritual realm, see Beatty, A. (1996). "Adam and Eve and Vishnu: Sincretism in Javanese Slametan." The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute **2:2**(June 1996: 288).

Another illustration concerning *sesajen* is given by Holt (1967) points to certain practices which have the intention of protecting the *dalang*, as it is dangerous to act as a mediator between man and the gods:

> *But, whatever the occasion, the dalang never fails to lay down some offerings of rice and flowers floating in a water-filled bowl and to light some incense with a sort prayer before he opens the play. Sometimes he holds a few of the puppets over the rising smoke of incense and with an incantation propitiates the magically potent personages they embody: bringing down to earth deities and semi divine beings in name and image is not free from danger (Holt 1967: 125)*

A different opinion is conveyed by Keeler (1987: 177) who mentions that the certain ritual *sesajen* (offerings) placed near the screen during the performance are dedicated to God, Muhammad, and the *dhanyang* (the spirits that look after the village), and other spirits. Sukendro, the head of Rejoso sub-village reveals that for *wayang purwa* performance in *Ruwahan* rites, he assigned his people to prepare the offerings for the same reasons mentioned by Pausacker (1996), Holt (1967) and Keeler (1987). Once for the same rites, a couple years back, he and his people prepared *nasi berkat* (rice and the side-menu) which is supposed to be served to the villagers after *wayang* performance; he somehow found out that all the food turned

bad. He associates the incidence to his recklessness of forgetting to serve the offerings/*sesajen* to the mystical world,[57] which implies the punishment towards his carelessness.

Nevertheless, a different scenario was observed in Ceporan village, where there was no such *sesajen* placed during the wayang purwa performance. Supriyadi[58], the event organizer of the *wayang purwa* performance discloses the motive behind this. According to him, apart from the majority Islam *abangan*, there are some inhabitants from the *putihan* variant of Islam (orthodox Islam) in the minority who are against the *sesajen* custom for religious reasons (against the *shari'ah* law; polytheism or idolatry). Therefore, in order to keep the harmony amongst the inhabitants, they decided to exclude the *sesaje*n custom from the ritual ceremony.[59]

Djunaedi[60], a lecturer at Pedalangan ISI (Institut Seni Indonesia) Yogyakarata and a professional *dalang*, as well as the creator of 'wayang wali'[61] shares his personal view towards the practice of providing offerings at *wayang* performances. A few years

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[57] Some scholars argue that the practice of offerings are for the sake of the *dalang* and may be taken home by him. However in this scenario, after the performance the offering was taken home by the owner of *gamelan* Javanese music instruments (Personal Communication with Sukendro, 1 September 2014).

[58] Personal Communication, 24 June 2014.

[59] *Sesajen* (offerings) for *wayang performance* is very much based on the agreement between the sponsor, the *dalang*, and the head of music *gamelan* troupe.

[60] Personal Communication, 11 June 2014.

[61] Wayang Wali which was created by Djunaedi tells the story about the nine saints – Walisongo, the main aim of this wayang is to spread the Islam teachings which were introduced by the nine saints. Through his own creation, he is free to express his artistic skills without having any influence from mystic elements as in *wayang purwa*.

ago, as a student of *pedalangan*, he studied about all the basic Javanese rituals and

mantras to be practiced by the *dalang*. However, as time passed, and with a strong

influence of Islam *putihan* (orthodox Islam) from his family, he decided to stick to

the Islamic way of living, including on his path as a professional dalang of *wayang*

purwa. He basically ignores the magical and mystical associations to *wayang*. He

dismisses the use of *sesajen* as a tradtional custom. For him, *wayang* is a medium of

cultural expression that emphasizes artistic values and its purpose as an educational

and entertainment media. Keeler (1987) says:

> *Strict Muslims in Java have long argued against Javanese practice*
>
> *intended to propitiate territorial and ancestral spirits, and some*
>
> *express disapproval of wayang as heathen entertainment, one*
>
> *smacking of heterodox ideas and practices* (Keeler 1987: 57).

In response to Keeler's opinion above, Sears (1996: 68) points out 'the shadow

theater may well have served as a vehicle of the process' as she analyses a

comment from Pigeud (1938) on the present-day practice of devout Muslims who

avoid *wayang* performances:

Earlier this must have been otherwise, for it is said that some of the walis, who brought Islam to Java, made wayang puppets and performed as puppeteers themselves (Pigeud 1938: 103).[62]

For further discussion on the mystical aspect of *wayang purwa*, it is interesting to observe is the behavior of the *dalang* himself. *Dalang* will put himself through a ritual of propitiation and cleansing before the performance.[63] The performance would never be started without having made the suitable offerings or having passed the incense smoke over the *wayang* figures as if they were sacred (Ulbricht 1970: 4). Sasmito Raras[64] shares his experiences with *dalang* mystical practices. His late grand father, a well known Surakarta *dalang* and a master of *wayang* craft had to pass certain rituals after finishing the final stage of *wayang* art creation.[65] The rituals include fasting, meditating, providing suitable offerings, passing incense smoke over

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[62] Sunan Kalijaga, one of the prominent members of Walisongo performed as a puppeteer with different names in different districts. In Pajajaran he was well-known as Ki Dalang Sida Brangti, Ki Dalang Bengkok was his name in Tegal as a *dalang* for barongan show. For the masked play (wayang topeng) he was famous as Ki Dalang Kumendung in Purbalingga, while in Majapahit, Ki Unehan is his respected name as a *dalan, see* Sunyoto, A. (2011). <u>Wali Songo Rekontruksi Sejarah yang Disingkirkan (Wali Songo the Reconstruction of the Eliminated History)</u>. Jakarta, Transpustaka.

[63] Based on interviews with *dalangs* in Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

[64] Personal Communication, 19 June 2014, Surakarta.

[65] In general, not all figures can go through this sacred ritual, such figures like kayon, Hindu gods, Javanese gods, and the noble characters.

the *wayang* figure*,* and sprinkling the holy water over it, and finally covering the *wayang* figure with a holy white cloth (also passing a certain ritual). These rituals would be repeated on certain days which are believed to be sacred. He still continues this ritual based on his beliefs concerning the Javanese mystical worldview. Through such rituals, 'the *dalang* creates a link between the real world and the world of gods and spirits' (Irvine 1996: 106).

Figure 33: Dalang Sasmito Raras showing his sacred wayangs to the author.

Ki Blacius Subono,[66] a *dalang* and a lecturer from Pedalangan ISI (Institut Seni Indonesia-Indonesia Fine Arts Institute) who performed as a *dalang* in Candi village for Ruwahan ceremony (24 June 2014), originally came from Candi village. He grew up in a *dalang* family as his late grandfather and great grandfather were *dalang* themselves. He has performed as a *dalang* in local rituals for about 20 years.

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[66] Personal Communication, 24 June 2014.

As an academic and a professional *dalang*, certain rituals practiced by a *dalang* before a performance is not an unfamiliar tradition for him. Such practices include *tapa*. Interstingly, he combines the practice of *tapa* with yoga as he believes that this combination has led him to a higher level asceticism where he can overcome the one's worldly selfness. Mulder (1983) provides an explanation concerning *tapa*, as follows:

Figure 34: Dalang Deniawan Tommy Chandra Wijaya, performing a certain ritual before playing his sacred wayang figure.

> *To go to this mystical way is strenuous, and requires a strong sense of purpose. One has to exercise in order to overcome one's lahir aspects by means of tapa (ascetism), which may consist of fasting, praying, sexual abstinence, meditation, keeping awake through the night, kungkum (sitting for hours immersed in rivers during the night at auspicious places), or retreating to the mountains and into caves (Mulder 1983: 23).*

alang The purpose of *tapa* is purification in order to reach *samadi*, a state of mind that can be depicted as a 'world-detached concentration' where one is available to

receive divine guidance and eventually the revelation of the mystery of life, of 'origin

and destiny' (Mulder 1983: 23). Nevertheless, the purification ritual varies from one

dalang to another.[67]

In addition illustrating *samadi,* according to Mangkunagara VII (1957), the *wayang* play

may assist to stimulate the state of *samadi* in members of the audience through the

effects of the *gamelan,* the set of Javanese traditional music instruments and the

beating of the *dalang's* wooden mallet (cempala).

> *The rapid and rhythmical beats of the cempala (wooden mallet)*
>
> *against the wayang chest, sometimes soft, then loud again, render*
>
> *at this point the acceleration of the heart just before the*
>
> *emergence of the spiritual or essential "self"* (Mangkunagara VII
>
> 1957: 17).

He further elaborates that the *wayang* performance depicts *samadi* and also helps

one achieve such a state. According to him, Javanese mysticism holds that

"knowledge about the most secret mysteries of life, including life's origin," which is

obtained through "direct contemplation," not by "rational considerations"

(Mangkunagara VII 1957: 12).

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[67] Based on interviews with some *dalangs* in Yogyakarta and Surakarta during my fieldwork.

4.3.3 The *Lakons*

A *lakon,* the Javanese word for 'play', is an adaptation of classical *wayang* literature from *wayang* plays (Djajasoebrata 1999: 84). The Javanese recognize three types of *lakon. Lakon pokok* (stem stories) has not diverged from official tradition, while *lakon carangan* (branch stories) is divergent from traditional themes. If the *lakon* deviates from the original story more than just the names of a few protagonists, it is recognized as *lakon sempalan* (splinter stories) (Irvine 1996: 20, Djajasoebrata 1999: 84). In addition, these *lakons* are written in *pakem* (handbooks), which contain ephemeral outlines of the stories, with adequate directions for their performance. Even though more detailed *pakem* are available, based on observation, the performance and the *gamelan* music reflects the style of the *dalang*, who improvises the *lakon*.

Various types of *lakon* are performed depending on to the occasion. For instance, at a wedding, *Parta Krama*, the story of Arjuna's wedding, or *Suyudana Rabi*, the wedding of Suyudana. The celebration of the seventh month of a first pregnancy, Tingkeban; and less common *Pupuk Puser*, the withering of the umbilical cord, are all events for a *wayang* play depicting the birth of hero, such as *Jabang Tutuka* about the birth of Gatotkaca, *Lahiripun Permadi* about the birth of Arjuna, or *Bimanyu lahir*, about the birth of Abimanyu. For the circumcision ceremony, a Muslim occasion, there is no precise play. Since it is a ceremony where the child endures some pain

but also moves forward on the road of maturity, appropriate plays are those which express achievement, such as the abduction of a princess, or winning a contest where the divines challenge the hero to solve a problem, and the champion often marries a princess (Djajasoebrata 1999: 29).[68]

M. Nasrudin Anshory[69] says specific mystical functions in the Javanese world can be expressed through certain stories or *lakon* performed in *wayang purwa*. For instance, for the purpose of protecting a rice crop and the welfare of the village, called *bersih desa* rites, the stories used in this ritual generally include stories of the Rice Goddess, Dewi Sri. *Ruwatan* ceremony, however, is an exorcism rite, performed for purification to certify that their lives will be free from the bizarre and difficulties, with the appropriate story being *lakon* Murwa Kala.

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[68] For details see also Brandon (1970: 14). Brandon, J. R. (1970). On Thrones of Gold. London, Oxford University Press.

[69] Personal Communication, 11 June 2014. He is the author of various Islamic books, who concerns about the development of *wayang purwa* in particular, and Javanese traditions in general.

Concerning the *Ruwahan* ceremony, the *wayang purwa* presented in this ritual provides protection to all participants. Mysticism is significant in the Javanese religious experience, and numerous mystical interpretations in *wayang purwa* can be translated through the plays, the characters, and the actions (Brandon 1970: 18). Therefore, a *dalang* could choose the appropriate *lakon* based on his interpretation or his experiences.

Figure 35: One of the scenes from the Bima Krida lakon presented by
Ki Blacius Subono, Candi village.

Ki Blacius Subono, who performed as a dalang in Candi village for this ritual, presented *lakon* Bima *Krida*[70]*,* one of *lakon carangan* (see fig 35). According to him,

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[70] The same *lakon* (Bima Krida) was found on the internet presented by Ki Enthus Susmono as the *dalang*. The play is presented with Islamic prayers merged with Javanese essence of *wayang purwa,* to some extent, it shows a great acculturation between Islam and Javanese cultures, see the performance on http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eRWZAX5ajic.

this *lakon* perfectly suits the purpose of the event and the local people. It functions as '*tontonan dan tutunan*' (entertainment and teaching/guidance). This story is about Batara Guru who intends to unify Kurawa and Pandawa, however his intention is refused by Kresna and Bima. The moral teaching in this *lakon* is that good and evil cannot mix, just like water and oil. Therefore while one is still able to breathe and has the opportunity to take a part in the voyage, then one will embark on a better journey in this life and the after life, by doing good deeds (Subono).[71]

A different *lakon* was presented in Ceporan village, a well-known *dalang* Ki Purbo Asmoro, performed *the lakon* of *Wiratha Parwa*. The main narrative tells the story of Pandawa's 13th year in exile, when they have to come out of hiding in the forest to live in disguise for one year at the court of Wiratha (see fig. 36). Each of the Pandawas brothers and Drupadi, Yudistira's wife, takes on a suitable disguise and does not reveal their true identity until after the battle with their Kurawa cousins. There is a similar moral essence to this story as in Bima Krida; about

Figure 36: Bima in disguise as Jagal Abilawa in the lakon Wirata Parwa

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[71] Personal Communication, 24 June 2014.

being good or evil, life and death, and specifically about struggles and sacrifices as nothing comes easy in life; but with a strong determination, one could reach their goals and live happily through the end as stated by Supriyadi.[72]

Furthermore, a research conducted by Marsono (1992) concerning *wayang purwa* performance at Ruwahan – Sadranan rite at Jagonalan District, Klaten Regency[73] discovered that out of the 28 sub-villages that conducted *wayang purwa* performance for this ritual, four sub-villages presented *wayang purwa* play with Bharatayuda war, the Great War of the Mahabharata as the lakon/story. The four sub-villages are Gathak, Somopuro, Padansari, and Wonoboyo. Djajasoebrata (1999: 29) says this *lakon* is rarely played because of its dangerous negative power, except for the 'total' ritual cleansing of the village. In this story, two branches of the same family, the Pandawa and Kurawa face each other in a life and death struggle of the Bharatayuda war.

Moreover, this research found that this particular *lakon* is controversial amongst the Javanese society. For Javanese in general, *lakon* Bharatayuda is a taboo performance because the story is related to war and death which is believed to bring misfortune in life as opined by Sindung Tjahyadi.[74] Interestingly, the research discovered that the

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[72] Personal Communication.

[73] The same District and Regency where this research was conducted in 24 June 2014.

[74] Personal Communication, 2 September 2014.

story of Bharatayuda presented in the *Ruwahan* ritual ceremony by the four villages is a symbol of the calamity ward or as a symbol of prosperity, which is based on the ability of the god of Wisnu (Vishnu) in keeping the world in order, eliminating negative power, and protecting human beings from any disorder portrayed in the story (Marsono 1992).

The various *lakon* in *wayang purwa* performances in *Ruwahan* ritual ceremony reflect the essential values of *wayang purwa* play where good fortune or defence against misfortune can be achieved from the performance presented at the event. Therefore the appropriate play concerning the ritual is to be marked as a symbol of entering a 'higher stage' of life (Djajasoebrata 1999: 29).

Furthermore, the *wayang purwa* performance in both villages began with the overture of *gamelan* music creating the ambience of the *lakon.* Mantle Hood states:

> *The full gamut of emotions running throughout the long course of the wayang night is reflected and deepened by the expressive power of the musical accompaniment. There is appropriate music for each principal type of character when he first makes his appearance, music accompany battle scenes, love scenes, the clowns, tender and tragic music performed at the death of a favorite hero, meditative music, dance music, heroic-music-every*

> *dramatic emotion and situation has its appropriate musical*
>
> *counterpart"* (Mantle Hood, 1963: 448-9).

From dusk to dawn, the *wayang purwa* play in both villages took spectators into different phases of *lakon.*[75] Each section can be observed as a stop along the journey. The transition from one section to the next is indicated by *suluk*, the *dalang*'s recitative announcement of what is to happen in next scene (Djajasoebrata 1999: 84). According to tradition, the *lakon* consists of three levels. The three phases of a *lakon* can also be seen as the symbol of the life of mankind, in terms of the life-cycle. The first part (*Pathet Enem*) shows youth and impulsiveness, the second part, after midnight (*Pathet Sanga*), displays growth and reflection with focus on the difficulties faced by adults in their lives, and lastly, the third part (*Pathet Manyura*) symbolizes old age and insight or wisdom (Melemma 1954: 8, Tilakasiri 1999: 76). Tilakasiri shares his point of view:

> *The stories have been composed in such way that they represent*
>
> *the great connexion between the individual and the Universe,*
>
> *between the micro-and macro-cosmos; they tell the in*
>
> *psychological symbols of birth, growth and death, about rise,*

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[75] The word *lakon* is derived from *laku*, which means 'go' or 'act,' but also imply 'adventure' or 'journey'.

prosperity and decay, about the eternal struggle of Nature against

the gnawing the Teeth of the Time (Tilakasiri 1999: 117).

In regards to the perspective of Sears (1996: 55) which argues that the persuasive village performance traditions in the eighteenth century are connected with exorcism, black magic, and spirit possession, and that traces of the old rituals still exist in contemporary *wayang* theatre. He estimates that older Shaivite/Buddhist ideas of power and knowledge in the shadow theatre traditions began to be articulated in Islamic terms around the 17th and 18th centuries—and possibly earlier.

For Javanese in general, Islamic teachings remained a pathway for religious expression that interconnected well with their *kejawen* (Javanese Mysticism) beliefs. Sears uses the terms of *wadhah* (vessel) and *wiji* (seed) to express the Javanese understanding toward Islam, as a way of distinguishing between the belief in the mystical oneness between human and god, as well as the public expression of that belief. Therefore, in their acceptance of Islamic belief, the Javanese literati modified Islam to become compatible with their own principles (Sears 1996: 73).

In *wayang purwa* adaptation, each puppeteer and audience could interpret a *lakon* in their own unique way. One simple but significant question for this research was addressed to the villagers: "To what extent do you understand the *lakon* of *wayang purwa* performance played tonight?" Most of the responses received were big smiles

from the young interviewees (aged around 10 to 25 years old). According to them, they had the pleasure to watch the *dalang* playing with the *wayangs* accompanied by the dynamic music and the appealing *sinden* (singer). However they had limited understanding to grasp what the *dalang* said in Javanese *halus* (the Javanese fine language) used during the play. This subject is also expressed by Irvine (1996):

The barriers of language, however often frustrate those who seek a deeper appreciation of the philosophical, religious, ethical and social foundations of the cultures of Indonesia. This is particularly true in respect of Java's classical puppet theatre, known to the Javanese as wayang purwa. More than any other artistic medium, wayang purwa portrays in dramatic form the traditional social and spiritual values of Java (Irvine 1996: ix).

Nevertheless, in the older generation the level of understanding towards the *lakon* of *wayang* play was very impressive. A group of around five or six elderly (60-80 years old) viewers provided an interesting discussion. They said the play was great, the only fault was that the *dalang* missed one of the short scenes in the *wayang* play. This reflects of their high level of comprehension towards the *wayang* performance.[76]

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[76] Based on the author's understanding derived from literature reviews and interviews, for *lakon carangan* (the extension/additional story of the epics) as performed in both villages, each *dalang* has the freedom of interpreting the *lakon*, as it is not fixed. Therefore each *dalang* has his own personal approach in expressing the *lakon* or directing the scenes of the play.

It was an enormous pleasure to observe the *wayang purwa* plays, but more importantly the audiences who came from various backgrounds, genders, and ages proved to be interesting subjects of study. They each had smiles on their faces when greeted, addressed, or presented with questions. This undoubtedly opened up a window of understanding towards the Javanese cultures in Java rural area.

Figure 37: The audiences-the older generation

Figure 38: The audiences-the younger generation

There was another interesting feature to note; in order to attract the villagers to come to the wayang purwa performance, the committee of wayang performance in Candi village set up a lucky draw session during the performance. Everyone came with the coupon they received earlier for each of their family members. The items presented in this event were mostly the farming tools—inexpensive but useful—and some electronic appliances such as irons, fans, etc. According to Sukendro the man who gave the opening speech, apart from attempting to entice the villagers to watch the wayang performance, used the lucky draw session liven the atmosphere during the wayang play.

Figure 39: The lucky draw banner for wayang purwa performance, Candi village

Figure 40: The lucky draw coupon

In summary, both *wayang purwa* performances in the two villages provided a platform for experiencing the Javanese mystical notions and Islamic conceptions which might be perceived by the audience, and serves as a fascinating night of entertainment, as supported by Irvine:

> *A successful wayang performance is balanced combination of these basic elements of entertainment, education and intellectual and moral stimulation, as well as being for many Javanese a familiar religious ritual* (Irvine 1996: 80).

Chapter 5 Conclusion

This set out to investigate the role of aesthetics as a medium for religio-cultural accommodation, in this case the accommodation of Javanese Mysticism and Islam in Java through medium of *wayang purwa*. There were three issues which appeared to be crucial to this investigation: The stories and origins of *wayang purwa, wayang purwa* transformation under Islam influence, and *wayang purwa* in ritual ceremony. This study employs a qualitative descriptive method with cultural and historical approaches. In order to obtain comprehensive data, the methods of literary studies, observation, interview, and documentation were also used.

In order to have a better understanding regarding the enhancement of *wayang purwa* from the Javanese past to the present iterations, it was essential to study its fundamental stories as well as its origins. Depictions of *wayang* can be observed in the style of Javanese bas-reliefs or stone carvings found in Javanese Hindu-Buddhist temples. These are inspired by Indian concepts and illustrate the events from the *wayang* plays, which originated from the prominent Indian epics, the Ramayana and Mahabharata. This research discovered that the stories are thoroughly adapted to the Javanese culture and concluded that this adaptation definitely affects the standard of *wayang purwa* play where the stories and themes of both epics are completely merged to form a single combined epic.

Shadow play form did not only survive but under Islam influence but underwent the most astonishing artistic alteration ever witnessed in the annals of Indonesian theatre. Thus, the next step was to study the influence that Islam, as a religion, had on the art of *wayang purwa* which has existed in Java for centuries before the introduction of Islam. The theology of unization or *tawhid* is the basic principle in Islamic art which teaches that there is no God but *Allah*, as the creator of the universe. This teaching has been influencing the transformations of *wayang purwa* to emphasize the abstract quality of its aesthetic aspect through the stylization and denaturation of *wayang* figures. Its abstract nature gave rise to a unique representation beyond literalness devoted to symbolism, and evolved even further to rise above symbolism into the realm of mysticism.

Nevertheless, the transformation of *wayang purwa* under Islam influence was not merely aesthetic. Among the most essential transformations was the reduction in status of the *wayang purwa* Hindu-Javanese gods. The concept of Allah as a single Divine Being came into direct conflict with the principles characteristic in the classical *wayang purwa* stories. This conflict was deliberately solved through assimilation of the older traditional gods into Islamic creation beliefs where the old gods became humanized mythical descendants of Adam and Eve. Consequently, the genealogical tree of *wayang purwa* characters had to be modified, and supplementary mythology

created, to signify the subordinate position of the gods of *wayang purwa* in relation to God (Allah) and the Prophets of Islam.

The mystical and ethical perspectives of preserving cultural and religious values have been the principal focus of the creators and supporters of *wayang* arts. From this, the research discovered that, while accepting Islam, Javanese rulers remained content with the concept of legitimacy and power in the teachings of the Hindu epics which clearly described the connection between a divinely ordained ruler and his subordinates. Thus, it was the concern of the Javanese rulers to disseminate the stories of *wayang purwa* and motivate new creations.

In their attempts to promote Islam, the Walisongo (the nine saints) developed new stories as extensions of the existing plots which were based on the Indian epics; creating new episodes for the original characters. These additional episodes are regarded as branch stories of the original episodes. The branch stories developed under Islam influence expressed the essence Islamic teachings. New characters that never existed in the original stories were created to accommodate these new teachings. All the above factors contributed to *wayang purwa* becoming acceptable to the new Muslim community of Java.

The mystical world view in *wayang purwa* adaptation provides a compulsory understanding of the concepts guiding man and the values in his attainment of inner

serenity in an agitated world. The story of Dewaruci, for instance, is filled with mystical religious symbols throughout Bima's journey in search of the eternal water, *Tirta Parwita Sari*. It is a marvelous illustration of how the newly invented *lakon* (stories) adapted Hindu themes with esoteric Islamic content. It can be concluded that *wayang purwa* is the link between the Hindu-Buddhist period and the Islamic period of the Indonesian traditional arts. The connection between the two was accomplished by Walisongo, particularly Sunan Kalijaga who contributed greatly to *wayang purwa* adaptation. This was achieved through employing mysticism (Sufism) as a means of permeating the Javanese religion, which was still overshadowed by the mystical quality of pre-Islamic-Hindu tradition.

Having established the influence of Islam on *wayang purwa* transformations, the research then examined the roles of *wayang purwa* adaptation concerning the Javanese religious rituals. It was discovered that the ancient origins of Javanese *wayang* were partly linked to religious rites. On contemporary Java, it is very common for Javanese communities to present *wayang purwa* performance at essential Javanese rituals, particularly those related to life cycles or stages.

The *wayang purwa* adaptation is more than just a means of entertainment in Javanese ritual ceremony. It is closely connected with the life style of Javanese at all levels of the society. In rural Java, extended families and close-knit communities are in a world where traditional values and *adat* (local custom) remain strong. This was

found to be the essence of the *Ruwahan* ritual ceremony in Candi and Ceporan village, Klaten, Yogyakarta.

Consequently, the research concluded that *wayang purwa* as a traditional art form in countryside continues to be a significant medium of ritual ceremony. It reflects customary values with enough modifications to adapt to the changing era. The *wayang purwa* performance has been the most profound expressions of the deeply ingrained Javanese culture in the countryside. It provides a sense of connection with the Javanese past, as a means of the contact with the forefathers, as expressed in *Ruwahan* rites. Above all, *wayang purwa* reflects the local religious based-system where the mystical and religious aspects of Islam and Javanese mysticism are still legitimate beliefs.

All things considered, the method and manner of acculturation between Javanese mysticism and the tenets of Islam yielded an outcome that is a unique form of religious inter-marriage; manifesting itself in wayang purwa adaptation. Although the main characters in the lakon originated from the Indian epics, their physical depiction or spiritual representation no longer represent Hindu or even Indian values, and neither do they signify Islamic values as maintained in Islamic Shari'ah law. Instead, they embody the values established through mysticism which reflects Javanese indigenous cultural values.

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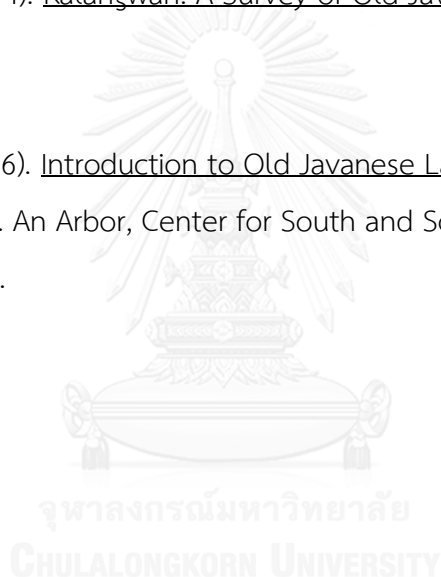
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APPENDIX

FIGURE SOURCES

Figure 1   http://tokohwayangpurwa.blogspot.com/2012/02/sasrabahu-gaya-jawa-timur.html accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 2   http://jonchejonrado.blogspot.com/2014/05/resi-ramabargawa.html accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 3   http://tokohwayangpurwa.blogspot.com/2009/10/ramawijaya.html accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 4   http://wayangkulitpurwo.blogspot.com/2012/07/simkan.html accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 5   http://wayangkulitpurwo.blogspot.com/2012/07/simki.html accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 6   http://newpurwacarita.wordpress.com/2011/04/27/anoman/ accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 7   http://www.indonesianshadowplay.com/pictures.html accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 8   http://kawruh-kejawen.blogspot.com/2012/08/letak-pandawa-lima-dan-kurawa- accessed 26 December 2014.

Figure 9   http://wayang.wordpress.com/2010/03/13/punokawan/ accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 10   http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canggal_inscription accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 11   http://ajieira.blogspot.com/2012/04/refreshing-sambil-mengingat-sejarah.html   accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 12   Personal Documentation, 1 September 2014.

Figure 13   Personal Documentation, 29 August 2014.

Figure 14   Personal Documentation, 29 August 2014.

Figure 15   Bima statue (Personal Documentation), Balinese Bima (I Nyoman Harta Negara, Bima *wayang purwa*: wayang (Deniawan Tommy Chandra Wijaya).

Figure 16   http://tokohwayangpurwa.blogspot.com/2012/02/arjuna-gaya-yogyakarta.html accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 17   http://tokohwayangpurwa.blogspot.com/2009/10/kala-batara.html
             accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 18   Irvine, D. (1996). Leather Gods & Wooden Heroes. Java's Classical Wayang
             Singapore, Times Edition.

Figure 19   http://tokohwayangpurwa.blogspot.com/2012/09/salya-gaya-
             surakarta.html accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 20   http://caritawayang.blogspot.com/2013_02_01_archive.html
             accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 21   Personal Documentation, 24 June 2014.

Figure 22   Personal Documentation, 24 June 2014.

Figure 23   Personal Documentation, 24 June 2014.

Figure 24   Personal Documentation, 24 June 2014.

Figure 25   Personal Documentation, 24 June 2014.

Figure 26   Personal Documentation, 24 June 2014.

Figure 27   Personal Documentation, 24 June 2014.

Figure 28   Personal Documentation, 24 June 2014.

Figure 29   https://www.google.co.th/search?q=wayang+purwa+panggung+klasik
             accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 30   Personal Documentation, 24 June 2014.

Figure 31   http://www.adjisaka.com/galeria/index.php/gambar-kayon
             accessed 26 December 2014

Figure 32   Personal Documentation, 24 June 2014.

Figure 33   Personal Documentation, 19 June 2014.

Figure 34   Personal Documentation, 29 August 2014.

Figure 35   Personal Documentation, 24 June 2014.

Figure 36   Photo collection of Sanggar Wayang Manteb

Figure 37   Personal Documentation, 24 June 2014.

Figure 38   Personal Documentation, 24 June 2014.

Figure 39   Personal Documentation, 24 June 2014.

Figure 40   Personal Documentation, 24 June 2014.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Dalangs:

1. How long have you been performing as a *dalang*?

2. How often do you perform?

3. How do you choose a particular *lakon*/story for a specific ritual/performance?

4. Do you have any specific rituals before performing as a *dalang*?

5. How important is *sesajen*/offering for a *wayang purwa* performance?

6. Have you had any experiences related to the mystical world during your career as a *dalang*?

7. What do the elements/features in *wayang purwa* plays symbolize/mean?

8. What special/extra preparations do you do before performing as a *dalang* in a religious ritual ceremony when compared to a casual/entertainment event, if any? Why?

9. Who is your favorite character of *wayang purwa*, and why?

10. What is your best and worst experience as a *dalang*, and why?

11. To what extent did the audiences understand the story you played?

Academics:

1. To what extent has Islam influenced *wayang purwa* adaptation?

2. How do you see the confluence between Islam and Javanese mysticism in *wayang purwa* adaptation?

3. Will *wayang purwa* development continue moving towards the Islamic essence of art? Why?

4. What are the recent trends in *wayang purwa* performance?

5. How significant is the *dalang*'s basic ritual before a play? How significant is the offering presented to the mystical world? Why?

6. How do you see the significance of *wayang purwa* performance for ritual ceremony in rural areas and in the city? What are the differences between the two?

7. What do the elements/features in wayang purwa plays symbolize/mean?

8. Do you have any ideas on how to attract the younger generation to watch *wayang purwa* performance?

Audiences:

1. How often do you watch *wayang purwa* performance?

2. To what extent do you understand the story presented by a *dalang*?

3. What is your favorite *lakon*/story, and why?

4. Who is your favorite *dalang*, and why?

5. Who is your favorite character of *wayang purwa*, and why?

6. For what occasion do you usually watch *wayang purwa* play?

7. Are you interested to learn to be a *dalang* or *sinden/niyaga* (singer/music player in *wayang* performance)? Why?

Ruwahan Ritual Ceremony:

1. Is this event conducted annually?

2. What is the purpose of this ritual?

3. How significant is this ritual for the village and villagers? Why?

4. Is there any conflict between the different variants of Islam that leads to disagreement on the perceptions concerning this ritual ceremony and *wayang* play?

5. What roles does *wayang purwa* performance play in this ritual ceremony?

6. How significant is *wayang purwa* performance in this ritual ceremony?

7. Is there any specific wayang purwa story to be presented in this event? Why?

GLOSSARY

Abangan: syncretic Muslims of Java

Adat: customary tradition/law

Agama Ageming Aji: a Javanese principle where the king's religion is the main religion for the commoners.

Agami Jawi: Javanese Religion.

Angkring: a local food container for Ruwahan ritual ceremony with the appearance of a bier.

Batin: the concept of inner consciousness or soul.

Bersih desa: a village purification.

Blencong: oil lamp used in shadow play.

Candi: temple.

Cempala: a wooden mallet used to knock on the *kotak* (box) as a signal to the gamelan about the music.

Dakwah: propagation of Islam.

Dalang: puppet master/*wayang* performer.

Dalem: the inner room used as the female's domain where they can watch the shadow of *wayangs.*

Debog: banana tree trunk used to place the *wayangs* during the performance.

De-dewanisasi: downgrading the status of the old Javanese gods.

Desa: village.

Dhanyang: the spirits that look after the village.

Donga or *doa*: prayers.

Gamelan: Javanese orchestra.

Guru Sejati: the True Master.

Halus (*alus* in Javanese): refined or cultural, spiritual realm.

Jimat: talisman or charm.

Kakawin: poem based on the epics; the Ramayana and Mahabharata.

Kasar: coarse; the material world.

Kotak: box

Kayon or *gunungan*: the tree-and-mountain-shaped puppet depicted with several animals.

Kawi: ancient Javanese court language.

Kebathinan: title given to a group of people, mostly in Central Java, who practice mystical rights based on a mixture of religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, and animism.

Kehalusan: an inner aesthetic quality which exists in the private consciousness of oneself.

Kejawen: refers to elements of Javanese local Islam; literally "that which is associated with Java."

Kelir: a white screen used in Javanese shadow play.

Kenduri: meal ritual ceremony.

Kepyak: a set of four or five hanging metal plates which are hung on the side of the box within reach of the *dalang's* tapping feet.

Kidung: a piece of poetry of indigenous Indonesian.

Keris: an ornamental weapon worn by the nobility.

Lakon: play script/story.

Lakon carangan: a branch story played in *wayang* adaptation.

Lek-lekan: staying up all night.

Modin: an official religious specialist in a village.

Muhrim: blood relations or spouse.

Nabi: prophet.

Nasi berkat: rice and the side-menu for *selamatan* feast.

Nepsu: a variant word of the Arabic *nafs* which indicates the soul or even breath.

Niyaga: musicians in *wayang* performance.

Nyekar: a religious visit and series of prayers in burial places/visiting the graves of the relatives.

Pendopo: the front verandah where male guests watch the *wayang* performance from the dalang's side.

Pesantren: Islamic boarding school.

Pesinden: a female singer in *wayang* play.

Pesisir: coastal.

Priyayi: aristocrat Muslims of Java.

Punakawan: the indigenous Javanese court servants in *wayang* performance.

Putihan: variant of the orthodox Islam of Java.

Rasa: feeling.

Ramalan: prediction.

Ruwahan: a Javanese ritual in the form of a religio-traditional ceremony for paying homage to the ancestors.

Selamat: a psycho-mystical state of tranquility where a social group or individual receives the blessing of Allah and the saints.

Selamatan: a ritual meal, the purpose of which is to induce the state of *selamat.*

Sesajen: offering.

Shaka: the Javanese year.

Shari'ah: Islamic law.

Silsilah: the concept of genealogy.

Suluk: a mood song or recitation on shadow play.

Sunan: a title for the (nine) saints of Java.

Supit urang: typical *wayang* hair style "crab claw".

Tahlilan: reciting the phrase *la ilaha illa Allah*; this is usually conducted in chorus during the selamatan or kenduri.

Tasawuf: Islamic teaching consists of four stages of approach: *syaria*t, *tarekat, hakekat,* and *Mahrifat.*

Tawhid (**unization**): an Islamic principle which teaches that there is no God but Allah (SWT), as the creator of the universe, the all-knowing, all-prominent, and the ever merciful.

Tenong: a rounded traditional Javanese food container made of bamboo.

Titisan: incarnation.

Wahyu: God's commandment.

Walisongo: the Muslims nine saints of Java.

Wanda: the various appearances of a puppet character which signifies the particular status, phase of life, mood, and character type that appears in the story.

Wayang beber: a scroll Javanese *wayang.*

Wayang kulit: shadow play made of leather.

Wayang purwa: Javanese shadow play based on the Indian epics; the Ramayana and Mahabharata.

VITA

Mrs. Anak Agung Lindawati Kencana was born on the 9th of September 1978 in Denpasar Bali, Indonesia, to a Balinese artist family. From 1995-1996 she received the honour of Putri Manuntung (Miss Borneo) representing East Kalimantan, Indonesia as Tourism Ambassador at national and international events; namely BIMP-EAGA (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines-The East ASEAN Growth Area) in Brunei Darussalam in 1996.

Her career as Sales Executive at Benakutai Hotel, a four stars hotel in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan, Indonesia started in 1997 to 2001. In 2008 she completed her bachelor degree in Arts in English, Summa Cum Laude, from Institute of International Studies Ramkamhaeng University Thailand. In 2012, she continued her education at Chulalongkorn University in the Southeast Asian Studies Program.

During her studies, she was involved in many activities related to Indonesian arts. As an Indonesian traditional dancer in Bangkok, her experience in dancing Balinese and Borneo dance was invaluable in promoting Indonesian indigenous cultures which deeply impressed Thai people. On 02 June 2014, she presented Balinese and Dayak Borneo dancing performance for the 10th Anniversary of the Southeast Asian Studies Chulalongkorn University. She also once participated in an event supported by Indonesian Embassy in Bangkok and Garuda Indonesia in Thailand to perform Indonesian traditional dances in an art performance for Thai International Travel Fair on 14 August 2014. She received an honour as the organizer and presenter for Javanese Shadow play of Wayang Purwa performance and workshop on 10 November 2014 which was supported by PEPADI (Persatuan Pedalangan Indonesia – Indonesian puppet master association) and Indonesian Embassy, as her interests concern the Indonesian cultures in "Wayang Purwa performances" which also became the focus of her recent academic thesis.

On 20 November 2014, she was a presenter at the SHOM (Spouse Head of Mission) Meeting held by Indonesian Embassy of Bangkok, Thailand attended by the spouses of ambassadors from various countries where she introduced the beauty of Indonesia through her presentation on 'The Exotic of Indonesian Traditional Wedding Ceremonies.'