Moens’ written transmission of dalang lore

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ABSTRACT
Much of the storytelling in Java is the profession of the puppeteers (dalang; also spelled dhalang) who perform and direct shadow theatre plays (wayang). They improvise their stories in the context which their performance requires. Unless commissioned to do so by a patron, it is very unusual for a dalang to sit down and actually write out a story (lakon). In the early decades of the twentieth century in the area of Yogyakarta, a kind of storytelling mini-industry arose at the instigation of some western scholarly patrons and laymen interested in Javanese popular culture. One such patron was Ir. J.L. Moens. He encouraged dalangs to write down folk tales and, as they were dalangs, they clothed these in the wayang idiom. After Moens’ death in 1954, his unpublished collection of wayang stories was dispersed. In 1964 one part found its way into the Leiden University Library. The topics discussed are: how the Collectie Moens originated and what its purpose was; who its authors were; which tradition they acknowledged; and the relationship between the Collectie Moens and the court collections of Surakarta and Yogyakarta.

KEYWORDS
Collectie Moens; Javanese storytelling; wayang purwa plots; dalang schools; written popular traditions.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In 1964 a collection of manuscripts about the Javanese shadow theatre and related topics was bequeathed to the Library of the University of Leiden. The bulk of the collection which had been assembled by Ir. J.L. Moens between 1930 and 1940/42 was produced in Yogyakarta and its environs.

In his work of compiling the collection of theatrical stories (lakon; High Javanese lampahan) or pakěm (handbook of wayang stories), Moens was assisted by a number of people, chief of them the dalang Ki Widi Prayitna from Sentolo in the Kulon Progo district to the west of Yogyakarta. As Moens paid his assistants handsomely, the stream of stories was fairly constant.

Although the diversity of the collection bears witness to Moens’ broad fields of interest, I shall concentrate on the collection of theatrical stories. The large number of stories recounting the vicissitudes of well-known figures from the Javanese version of the Mahabharata epic which originated in India, among them Bima (also known as Wěrkudara), his son Gathutkaca, male and female servants (panakawan), animals and humans who have assumed the form of animals is conspicuous. As well as these stories, there are a number of sketch-books containing scores of illustrations of various models (wanda) of wayang puppets, devised, for instance, to show a whole gamut of emotions.

As far as I have been able to discover, Moens never actually committed what his real purpose was in collecting so many illustrations and stories to paper. However, it is known that about this same time Moens was working on a monograph entitled Ringgit en wayang (Leiden Or. 10.973, Moens Nd.), in which he postulated his own idiosyncratic theory about the origin and evolution of the Javanese wayang theatre. Moens’ plan to submit this monograph to the editorial board of the journal Djawa was dashed in the aftermath of the Japanese invasion of Java in 1942.

The article consists of two parts. In Part I, I discuss the following points: 1) The repercussions of the Ethical Policy on Javanese society and what the consequences were for the dalang tradition; 2) The way in which the Collectie Moens was compiled; 3) The authors of the wayang stories (lakon); and 4) The significance of the dalang traditions in relationship to the kratons. Part II is

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1 I would like to thank Jumilah Sumaprawiro and Ignatius Supriyanto very much for their valuable explanations of Javanese expressions. My deep gratitude to Dr. Marijke Duyker who prevented me from making many mistakes, to Rob Schwier for helping me with the photographs, and to Drs. Els Bogaerts for her stimulating comments. Without them the article would not have been written. Rosemary Robson-McKillop’s translation has given this essay an extra lustre. Finally I wish to thank Dr. Clara Brakel for her support in writing this article.


3 In 1971 the Collectie Moens was expanded by a supplementary collection of manuscripts: the Collectie Moens II, discussed by Th. Pigeaud in Literature of Java Vol. IV. In this article I have confined myself to the Collectie Moens I.

4 Ki, a title accorded a person held in high esteem and the usual title to show respect to a dalang.

5 In the 1970s, seeking advice about the possibility of its publication, the manuscript was submitted to Th. Pigeaud by the KITLV (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde), but it was never published.
composed of a survey of four lakons from the collection: three consecutive stories recounting the origin of the gods and the creation of the abode of the gods Junggring Slaka, written by the Yogya dalang Ki Cerma, and one story about the knight Raden Werkudara (also known as Bima) in the role of agriculturalist, by the Yogya dalang Ki Widi. The article concludes with a few remarks about the Collectie Moens.

PART 1

1. THE REPERCUSSIONS OF THE ETHICAL POLICY ON THE DALANG TRADITION

For centuries the profession of the Javanese puppet-master dalang who performs the wayang purwa was passed on orally from father to son and from teacher to pupil. The upshot was that it was marked by local variations and regional traditions. Alongside its component of Javanese myths and origin stories, the bulk of the repertoire of the wayang purwa is based on the Javanese versions of the Indian epics the Ramayana and Mahabharata.

In the nineteenth century, the performance of the wayang purwa dalang was often given short shrift by Europeans. In his article “De wajang”, C. Poensen, for instance, claims that the performances of village dalangs, the majority of whom could neither read nor write and who did not always understand the texts of the songs (suluk), frequently left much to be desired. Poensen (1872) gave vent to his thoughts in the following words: “It was to be hoped that many of them could bring themselves to decide never to perform again”.

The dearth of education, not just among the dalangs but among the indigenous people in general, was one of the consequences of the negligent attitude shown by the colonial government towards the betterment of these people; a matter which had actually been raised on a number of occasions in the Dutch Parliament. However, by the beginning of the twentieth century, in the wake of the revision in the colonial policy announced in the 1901 Speech from the Throne, (Troonrede), a change was on the way. Now the primary emphasis was no longer concentrated on the economic interests of the mother country, but had shifted to the moral obligation of the government to encourage the betterment of the conditions of the population. The new policy set in train a number of improvements, but here I shall restrict myself to just a few which had repercussions on the dalang tradition.

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6 For an explanation of this and the other wayang terms yet to come see the Glossary.
7 In this context, the monograph of the Ramayana and Mahabharata by the historian Laurie Jo Sears (1996) is well worth consulting.
8 Fragments of Old Javanese (kawi) texts sung by the dalangs to heighten the mood of the moment during a performance. See the monograph by G.W.J. Drewes about the Javanese word suluk (Drewes 1992: 22-30).
9 “Het ware van velen hunner te hoopen dat zij konden besluiten maar nooit weer op te treden” (Poensen 1872: 208).
10 Among other speakers by C.Th. van Deventer, LLM, a fervent advocate of the education of the indigenous people, as is shown by his articles “Een eereschuld, 1899” (A debt of honour, 1899) and “Een eereschuld in het parlement, februari 1900” (A debt of honour in Parliament, February 1900), in: H.T. Colenbrander and J.E. Stokvis (1916: 1-65).
The establishment of Basic Primary Education ("volksscholen")

In 1907, alongside the expansion of secondary and tertiary education for the upper stratum of the population, throughout the length and breadth of the Netherlands Indies simple village schools (sekolah rakyat) or basic primary schools (sekolah desa) were set up. The village schoolmasters, who were paid by the village (desa), taught a simple three-year course in arithmetic, reading, writing and a few handicrafts. Lessons were taught in the regional language. In the principalities, this entailed lessons in Javanese and learning to read and write Javanese script.

The Commission for [the Provision of] Reading Materials for the General Public and Balai Pustaka

A further step was taken in 1908 with the establishment of the Commission for [the Provision of] Reading Materials for the General Public (Commissie voor de Volkslectuur), set up as an advisory body of the Ministry of Education and Religion. The brief of this commission and its offshoot the publishing house Balai Pustaka (Javanese: Balé Pustaka; Institute for Belles Lettres) has been described by the historian M.C. Ricklefs: “The publication of the older classical works and popular stories in regional languages, the translation of Western literature into Indonesian and the publication of new Indonesian literature”. He continues: “At one and the same time it thus helped to keep regional culture alive, opened Indonesians to new universal literary values and contributed to the creation of an all-Indonesian culture”. He concludes with the following words: “In the literary field [it] thus maintained some of the high ideals of the Ethical Policy long after they were dead in political affairs” (Ricklefs 1981: 176-177).

One important body which contributed enormously to the growth in literacy among the indigenous population was the Taman Pustaka (Garden of Books). This very successful institution consisted of a distribution system through which reading materials were spread via the village schools (dorpsscholen) and the second-class Hollandsch-Indische Scholen (HIS). It was founded by C.A. Rinkes in his capacity as Advisor to the Commission for [the Provision of] Reading Material.

In her article “Balai Pustaka”, the historian Doris Jedamski (1992) argues that behind the policy of Volkslectuur and Balai Pustaka to promote literacy among the general population lurked a political agenda. She suggests that one of the reasons behind the propagation of reading materials will have been for the government to be able to control the stream of information to the people; the creation of a deliberate antidote to the propaganda being spread by the political parties and their demand for independence (Jedamski 1992: 27).

She goes on to say that it is far more difficult to answer the question of whether, alongside the written word, the wayang theatre was employed for this sort of communication. This possibility certainly generated a number of discussions and was even raised in the parliament in the Indies, the “Volksraad”. I shall return to this matter later in the paper. At this moment
all I shall say is that according to Jedamksy indubitably, these discussions did give rise to several measures, including the creation of new stories recounting the contemporary adventures of beloved wayang figures derived from the example of the wayang carangan\textsuperscript{11} and the compilation of a handbook of texts dealing with contemporary issues which the dalang could use when he was performing the roles of the servants (panakawans) in the comic interludes (banyolan), always extremely popular with the audience, in order to get the government message across (Jedamski 1992: 37).

\textit{The Java Institute and the journal “Djawa”}

A third step forward, but this time of more regional significance, was taken in 1919 with the foundation of the Java Institute. By organizing congresses and publishing the journal \textit{Djawa}, this institute offered a platform to everybody interested in Javanese, Sundanese and, to a lesser extent, Madurese culture. At its first congress, held in Surakarta in 1919, Mr. Soetopo raised a number of points arising from the deplorable condition of the standard of wayang performances, which he attributed to the decadence of those who should give a good example.

“Under the influence of the dictates exerted by the decadence in prominent Javanese art circles, the wayang theatre has deteriorated into a thread-bare exhibition of its bellicose episodes occasioned by a princess, hackneyed joking and long-winded homage to Rulers and Kingdoms”\textsuperscript{12} (Soetopo 1921: 192).

In other words, the decline in the standard of the performances was attributable not just to the lack of education of the village dalangs (see Poensen 1872), it had also been compromised by the attitude of the elite and important patrons of the village dalangs. Soetopo stated that there was an urgent need of “intellectual” dalangs and he believed that the Java Institute could take steps to fill the gap.

\textit{The foundation of several dalang schools in the Principalities}

This appeal undoubtedly played a part in the establishment of several dalang schools in the Principalities.\textsuperscript{13} Soetopo believed that, in view of the desirability for dalangs with a modern education, former pupils of the Hollands-Indische schools would be the best candidates to undertake such a training (Soetopo 1921: 129).

\textsuperscript{11} From \textit{carang}, a branch; a story derived from the established tradition (\textit{baku}, in the sense of the trunk of a tree).

\textsuperscript{12} “Het wajangspel is door de eischen van de verwordende toonaangevende Javaansche kringen op kunstgebied, ontstaan in een banale vertooning van dezelfde oorlogsepisode’s om een prinses, afgezaagde grappenmakerijen en langdurige huldebetuigingen aan Vorsten en Rijken.”

\textsuperscript{13} See for the English version Clara van Groenendael (1985: 30-36), for the Indonesian version Clara van Groenendael (1987a: 53-54) for more detailed information about the dalang schools.
Nevertheless, my own research revealed that the first generation of pupils from the area of Surakarta consisted principally of working dalangs. As the only minimum requirement to attend a school was the ability to read and write Javanese script, it is impossible to exclude the possibility that they had already enjoyed some elementary education in the village schools. Unquestionably these measures did contribute to the growing literacy in the Principalities and they also paved the way for a growing demand for cheap wayang literature, a need met by Volkslectuur and Balai Pustaka via the Taman Budaya.

The upshot was that there was a steady increase in the writing down of wayang stories, a move which was given an indisputable boost by the interest shown by both European and Javanese connoisseurs of the wayang theatre. One not insignificant result was that the hitherto jealously guarded hidden (esoteric) knowledge of the dalangs, also known as the dalang lore, was exposed to the public gaze and the position of the dalang as “the guardian of tradition” was jeopardized as a consequence.

The principal interest of the European community was in the wayang texts. One interesting result this brought forth is J. Kats’ monograph, written in close collaboration with Prince Mangkokenagara VII (reigned 1916-1944) and Prince B.K.P.A. Kusumadaningrat, son of Paku Buwana IX (reigned 1861-1893), both resident in Surakarta, who each enjoyed a reputation as a patron of the arts. Prince Kusumadiningrat was especially renowned for his encouragement of Javanese dance.

Kats did his best to impose a chronological order on the extant lakons by placing them in the context of the early (mythological) history of Java, supplemented by the Ramayana and Mahabharata. His efforts established a fixed order of the wayang purwa lakons. The lakons so classified, 179 in total, were published in Javanese script by the Commissie voor Volkslectuur in the period between 1927 and 1933 (Clara van Groenendael 1987b: no. 449). To some extent they can be considered the canon of the Surakarta wayang tradition, worthy to take their place alongside the Pustaka Raja (Book of Kings) written by the Surakarta court poet Rangga Warsita (See Section 4).

Taking advantage of the increasing interest not just in the wayang but also in folk tales, folk rituals and village performances, and more generally in “things Javanese” which had taken root in the vicinity of the European centres, like those in the Principalities, the “mini-industries” which gave the dalangs as well as people with an interest in Javanese culture, an opportunity to earn a bit on the side, began to produce stories, the majority of which were tailored to the interests of the customer. A well-known customer for manuscripts produced in this way was Th. Pigeaud from Surakarta. Pigeaud’s collection, in Tim Behrend’s words, reflected his “collecting interest but at the same time represent[ed] a departure from the tradition of maintaining information on such topics by oral means (italics mine)”. And he continues:

14 For the sacrifices which some dalangs had to make in order to attend the teaching sessions see Clara van Groenendael (1985: 34) or (1987a: 60-61).
The research and collecting interest of Ir. J.L. Moens, contemporary and friend of Pigeaud in Yogyakarta and likewise a student of wayang and folk traditions, also affected the sort of texts being composed and copied in the region: his prodigious interest in the writings of native informants contributed substantially to the flood of materials on these topics that flowed out of Sentolo, Sléman, Gunug Kidul and other areas around Yogyakarta during this period (Behrend 1993: 428).

The fruits of his interest can be read in following section.

2. THE COMPILATION OF THE COLLECTION

J.L. Moens (1887-1954) was a civil engineer who specialized in water management. However, he owes his fame to his wide-ranging interest in Hindu-Javanese history, the wayang theatre and the way of life of the ordinary people. In 1924 he was appointed Chief Engineer of the Central Water Board of the Principalities (Ingenieur van het Centrale Waterschapskantoor voor de Vorstenlanden; Regeerings Almanak 1924 II: 527).

In the Principalities, he found many fellow-devotees, both Dutch and Javanese, who took an enthusiastic interest in “things Javanese”. Among them were his good friends with whom he often collaborated Th. Pigeaud and Mangkoenagara VII. Moens shared an interest in popular traditions, rituals and the wayang theatre with Pigeaud. As is revealed in a letter from the former, his friendship with Mangkoenagara VII was founded on the fact that they had shared the same guru in their initiation into theosophy. Why Moens, who had lived in Yogyakarta since his appointment in 1924, only began to collect wayang stories around 1930 remains a mystery (Pigeaud 1968: 679). What is known for certain is that, probably on Pigeaud’s advice, in collecting wayang stories from village dalangs, he enrolled the help of the then well-known dalang from Sentolo Ki Widi Prayitna. He was quite specific about the sorts of stories which interested him. The recent article entitled Pakěm Grěntěng written by Bima Slamet Raharja (Raharja 2016: 5) reveals that Ki Widi Prayitna assembled a number of dalangs, the majority probably from his own Sentolo region, in order to consult with them about the best way to go about complying with Moens’ request. Although it would seem that Ki Widi Prayitna was the driving force behind the project, his own contribution to the Collectie Moens I was restricted to just one lakon (Or.10.925, quoted in Pigeaud 1968: 692). Consequently his chief role must have been that of organizer of the project, but more of that in the next section.

Even though Tim E. Behrend states that the production of manuscripts at the request of Dutch scholars was fairly common practice in the early twentieth century, it was not all smooth sailing.

Above I have already referred to Tim Behrend’s reserve with respect to the collecting activities of Pigeaud and the consequences of committing the dalang lore, traditionally transmitted by oral means, to paper and my comment about how this affected the position of the dalangs. Moreover, this method

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16 K.G.P.A.A. Mangkoenagara VII to J.L. Moens dated 24-08-1932 (Reksa Pustaka M52/2).
of collecting data left a door ajar for yet another problem to creep in. Then
as now, as a performing artist, a dalang has to heed the wishes of his public.
He must not stray too far beyond the boundaries of the tradition which is a
common property shared by him and his public. Should he venture too far
away from it, his popularity would plummet. Here lies the rub. A dalang as
an author and dependent on his patron would have wanted to ensure that
his customer was satisfied. Freed of the restrictions imposed by his public,
he could steer his own course with the concomitant danger that he was no
longer reproducing the tradition of his own community, but is giving free rein
to his creative inspiration. Therefore, it is not out of order to ask whether, in
the case of a man like Moens, who constantly wanted to plumb new depths,
he did not end up not seeing the wood for the trees and, instead of attaining
more profound insights into the deeper layers of Javanese culture, what he did
finally attain was the outcome of the creative imagination of a few. Pigeaud
has warned of this danger on many occasions; the first time in a guarded
manner in his description of the Collectie Moens I (Pigeaud 1968), and later more
explicitly in his description of the Collectie Moens II. For instance, referring to
manuscript Or.12.250 “wayang purwa stories about the kayon”, he writes:

It is difficult to ascertain whether the tales contain elements belonging to a
firm tradition of long standing among the dalangs concerning the origin and
significance of the kayon17 and its various shapes. This is what Mr. Moens tried
to investigate. (Pigeaud 1980: 59.)

3. The authors of the collection

In as much as they are given, the names of the authors of the collection of
lakons assembled in Sentolo in Kulon Progo, are Ki Cerma, Ki Widi, Ki Widi
Prayitna, and Ki Ganda Prawira. It is known for certain that the two last-
mentioned were natives of Sentolo. According to Pigeaud’s catalogue the
collection contains no written stories by Ki Ganda Prawira, but only lists of
titles of the wayang purwa, wayang madya and wayang klithik stories which were
(allegedly) said to belong to the Pakém Grénténg tradition (Pigeaud 1968:
691; see Section 4).

Beyond his name and the fact he claimed to adhere to the tradition of
a certain Pańca Kaki, very little is known about Ki Cerma who contributed
many manuscripts from the wayang purwa, wayang gedhog, and the wayang
klithik to the Collectie Moens I (see Section 4). Cerma, which means “leather or
hide”, is an indication that this dalang was linked to the kraton of Yogyakarta
(Raharja 2016: 18). The designation “cerma” is usually followed by the dalang’s
own name, for instance, Cermatanyana [sic!], Cerma Karsana, and Cerma
Diwara, names that appear on a list of Yogyakarta court dalangs dating from
the reign of Hamengku Buwana VIII (reigned 1921-1939) (Sri Mulyono 1975:

17 A [ke]kayon (derived from kayu, ‘wood’), also referred to as a gunungan (derived from
gunung, ‘mountain’), is a piece of theatrical furniture which fulfils a number of functions in a
performance and often combines both a tree and a mountain in its design.
96. Despite the fact that Raharja has drawn the conclusion that (Ki) Cerma was a court dalang (Raharja 2016: 18), without the addition of his personal name it is impossible to say whether the Ki Cerma of the Collectie Moens is one of those mentioned on the above mentioned list. One fact is certain, the Widi Prayitna noted on the list, with the addendum “dalang golek Menak dari Sentolo” (the wayang golek dalang from Sentolo), was indeed Moens’ assistant. He still enjoyed this reputation in the 1970s.

I had the honour of meeting Ki Widi Prayitna on several occasions. During our first meeting at his house in Sentolo in 1971, he told me he came from a farming family (keluarga tani). His son, Sukarno, added that his father had happened to impress somebody from the kraton (whose name he could no longer recall) and this person had invited his father to come to the court to perform and simultaneously hone his skills. I am not exactly sure if this concerned just one single performance, or indeed if he did take his benefactor’s advice. Should the latter have been the case, it is highly probable that he attended the court school Habirandha which was opened in 1925. Certainly, he was still attached to this school as a lecturer at the time of our meeting in 1977/78.

Various clues indicate how a village dalang might have his name noted on the list of court dalangs. It is possible that Ki Widi Prayitna’s connections to the court meant that a certain distance developed between him and the village dalangs and this aloofness elucidates his more organizational director’s role in the compilation of the collection. In contrast to Ki Cerma, there is no mention of the tradition acknowledged by Ki Widi Prayitna and more will be said about this in the next section.

Finally, very little is also known about Ki Widi, the author of, among other contributions, the hundred Bima lakons. The fact that, as well as the names of the tradition he acknowledged, for instance, Pańca Kaki and Pakut Waya, he also gives the name Grěntěng, indicates his association with Sentolo. As will be shown in the next section, this name is very closely associated with this town.

4. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DALANG TRADITIONS IN RELATION TO THE KRATONS

Although the bulk of the contributions in the Collectie Moens I is anonymous, in many instances the name of the tradition in which the contribution can be placed is stated. Besides his genealogical forebears from whom he has inherited his skills and creativity, a dalang will often also indicate the written source which he acknowledges as his authority. It is assumed that the power of this text augments the authority of his performance.

In many instances among the dalangs of Surakarta, the wayang stories gathered together in the manuscript Pustaka Raja (The Book of Kings) and the lakons ascribed to the dalang Anjangmas (or Panjangmas) are a guarantee of
the authority of the stories they perform. The *Pustaka Raja* was compiled by the court poet Rangga Warsita, described by Pigeaud as “the last of the great scholars of the nineteenth century Surakarta renaissance of letters” (Pigeaud 1967: 170). The *Pustaka Raja* contains stories both from the Principalities and from the North Coast of Java (the *Pasisir*). By the incorporation of data which are much more fiction than fact, they were compiled in such a way as to suggest a link between the mythological and actual history of the successive rulers of Java (Pigeaud 1967: 170). It is the standard work of the Surakarta court tradition.

The name Anjangmas appears in the Surakartan *wayang* chronicle the *Pakěm Sastra Miruda* (The Handbook of Sastra Miruda). It describes how a certain Kyai Anjangmas, a court *dalang* from Mataram in the time of (A)Mangkurat I (reigned 1645-1677), was granted the monopoly on the performance of the exorcism ritual (*ruwat*) and, moreover, that *dalangs* outside the court had to ask his permission to be able to perform the *lakon murwakala* (Kusumadilaga 1930: 16-17).

It seems that the *Pustaka Raja* and the *Sastra Miruda* also enjoyed a wide reputation outside the court, one which extended even to Yogyakarta. This is an indisputable piece of evidence that the literary output of the kraton of Surakarta was also accessible to interested parties outside court circles. The presence of such Dutch scholars as Th. Pigeaud and J. Kats, to mention just two, will certainly have played an affirmative part. At this point, I shall restrict myself to drawing attention to the collection of *lakon* s assembled under the direction of Kats and published by Balai Pustaka. In Yogyakarta it seems that the link between the village *dalangs* and the court was much more attenuated; indeed for many the idea of such a connection would have been unthinkable. The ostensible reason for this state of affairs is that the *Purwa Kandha* (Tales from the Beginning), which was compiled on the orders of Hamengku Buwana V (reigned 1822-1855) and regarded as the standard work on the Yogyakarta court tradition in the field of “epic history” (Pigeaud 1967: 250), still remains virtually unknown beyond the court. Although awareness of the court tradition in Yogyakarta is circumscribed, the names Pañca Kaki, Pakut Waja, and Grěntêng do suggest a link to a certain authority, but what is it?

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20 It is a chronicle of the origin and development of the *wayang* theatre, set out in the form of questions and answers between the pupil, Sastra Miruda, after whom the book is named, and his teacher K.P.A. Kusumadilaga, who is also the author of the book which was printed in 1930.

21 The story of the demon Kala which accompanies the ritual, see my introduction to the performance of this *lakon* by Ki Sarib Purwacarita (Clara van Groenendael 1998: xi-xix).

22 Professor Soedarsono, a former director of the Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia (Indonesian Academy of Dance, ASTI) in Yogyakarta, has intimated an older source, a manuscript in the India Office Library in London (now part of the British Library) entitled *Serat Kandha Ringgit Purwa* J [MS IOL Jav. 19]. It was written in response to a request from Hamengku Buwana I (r. 1755-1792) for a *wayang wong* performance to commemorate the foundation of the *Kasultanan* (Court of the Sultan) (Soedarsono 1986: 6, Buku 1: *Serat Kandha Ringgit Tiyang*).

23 The *Purwa Kandha* was the basis of the great *wayang wong* performances for which the *kraton* was famed (Pigeaud 1968: 687-691).
According to a note by Moens, in Kulon Progo the name “Grěntėng” was considered to be the name of the patriarch of a family of wayang purwa dalangs, whose tradition is therefore named after him (Pigeaud 1938: 75).

On the back flap of manuscript Or. 10.923 (wayang Grěntėng puppets) is a text in Moens’ handwriting which suggests a relationship (which is not always clear cut) between a few of the personages designated as authorities in the collection. Pigeaud (1968: 691-692) added this text to his description of this manuscript and it runs as follows:

I. descendants of Kuda Narawangsa (Sěkar Taji appearing as male dalang) called:

a. Grěntėng I
b. his son Pañca Kaki
c. Pañjang Mas I
d. Pakut Waja and

II. descendants of Bondan Kějawen of Majapahit:

e. Grěntėng II
f. Pañjang Mas II
g. Griyèng Kedu (district)

Any exploration of the problem raised by this double “genealogy”, which might have putative links to the division of the lakons made by Moens into a left (pangiwa) and a right (panengen) tradition, is beyond the scope of this article (Pigeaud 1968: 691). Therefore, I shall restrict myself to a few remarks.

It is said that Grěntėng I was a descendant of Sěkar Taji, a well-known mythological figure who appears in the Panji story cycle, performed, for instance, in the wayang beber. These stories are said to be set in the time of the Kediri kingdom, therefore in a concrete historical era of Javanese history in the twelfth and thirteenth century. This was the period in which the Old Javanese parwa literature to which the wayang purwa literature is so indebted was created.

Grěntėng II is said to be a descendant of Bondan Kějawen who lived in the Majapahit era (thirteenth to end of the fifteenth century), the last Hindu-Javanese kingdom renowned for its great economic and political power. I have not been able to trace the figure of Bondan Kějawen, whose name also

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24 The manuscripts Or. 10.907-10.923 indicate that the Grěntėng tradition is broader than Moens indicates here (Pigeaud 1968: 687-691).
25 I hope to be able to say more about this in the future.
27 For a beautifully illustrated study of a few wayang beber performances see Mally Kant-Achilles, Friedrich Selten, and Rüdiger Schumacher (1990).
28 “The parwas are prose adaptations of parts of the Sanskrit epics” (Zoetmulder 1974: 68).
occurs in folk tales from the Gunung Kidul which are not counted as part of the Gréntëng tradition (Pigeaud 1968: 697-698; Or. 10.961).

On various occasions the name of the district of Kedu occurs in connection with a court dalang from Mataram. The first time is in the era of Prabu Sudha Anyakrawati ingkang sêda ing Krépyak (Prince Sudha Anyakrawati, who died at Krépyak) (circa 1601-1613).29 According to the chronicle, at this time there was a man from Kedu who performed as a dalang and who was appointed court dalang at the command of the ruler. Thereafter, the chronicle states, the ruwat was performed using the wayang beber (Kusumadilaga 1930: 15).

No matter how tempting it might be to relate this information to the episode mentioned above, especially since a court dalang and the ruwat ritual feature in both, the text does not confirm this. Moreover, the name of the court dalang is not mentioned. However, in the next episode Kedu and Kyai Anjangmas are mentioned together.

In the meantime, the court of Mataram had moved to Kartasur and the name of a couple called Anjangmas is recorded. By this time it seems that the wayang tradition of Mataram had undergone a drastic transformation because two traditions are mentioned in this period: a western (tradisi kulon) headed by Kyai Anjangmas, and an eastern counterpart (tradisi wetan) presided over by his wife[?] Nyai Anjangmas. The characteristic features of these two traditions were the panakawans who featured in them: Petruk in the western tradition and Bagong in the eastern. After the division of Mataram in 1755, this separation was maintained: Surakarta (the older or western tradition with Petruk) and Yogyakarta (the more recent or eastern tradition with Bagong).30

Kediri, Majapahit, and Mataram, names to conjure with, where could any tradition acquire more authority than by pointing to these three great powers? There is no mention of what the authorities discussed so far actually meant to the dalangs. During my research in the Yogyakarta area a good thirty years after Moens, I never came across the name Gréntëng, not even during my meetings with Ki Widi Prayitna and a few other dalangs from Sentolo. The name Panaça Kaki as part of the dalang lore was raised once, but without any further explanation. The name Paku Waja (not Pakut Waja!) was described to me as the “father” of the Yogyakarta tradition (also called Tradisi Mataram). He was presented as the counterpart of Panjang Mas, the putative “father” of the Surakarta tradition. A certain Kandhang Wesi, not mentioned on the list above, was the person introduced as the iconic figure of the Mataram tradition. Be that as it may, the upshot is a very confused package of information from which just one conclusion can be drawn, that the dalangs of Yogyakarta, in contrast to their counterparts in Surakarta,31 are not as much bothered about

29 He was the son of Panembahan Senapati and reigned in the very tumultuous period of Mataram (M.C. Ricklefs 1981: 39).
30 As it seceded from Mataram, Yogyakarta is regarded as the junior tradition. Nevertheless, the Yogyakarta tradition is often referred to as the Tradisi Mataram, implying that Yogyakarta is the real heir to Mataram.
31 See, for instance, the detailed genealogies recorded in my publications of either 1985 or 1987a.
their relationship to the *kraton* tradition.

The reason for this given to me by various people was that, because of general unfamiliarity with the *Purwa Kandha*, the court has exercised only a limited influence on the cultural development of the region. The positive side of this restricted influence on the cultural development of the people in the countryside is that the local traditions have been able to flourish in a much less restricted atmosphere. Examples of plays written by folk *dalang* are given in the next part.

**PART II**

**A FEW EXAMPLES OF WAYANG STORIES FROM THE MOENS’ COLLECTION**

I shall present four of the theatre stories (*lakons*) included in the *Collectie Moens I*. My choice has indubitably been affected by Moens’ interest in origin stories and folk tales. In the first instance, I have chosen a group of three consecutive stories attributed to Ki Cerma. As a group they tell the history of the birth of the gods from “the egg of the three worlds”: the upper world (of the gods); the middle world (of human beings); and the lower world (of the spirits) and the creation of the abode of the gods Junggring Slaka (sometimes spelled Salaka). My choice of second topic has fallen on the story of Bima (also known as Wèrkudara), a knight (*raden*), in his less familiar role as an agriculturalist. It is number eighty-three of the hundred Bima stories attributed to Ki Widi.

I shall give a brief summary of each of the four stories, from which I have singled out one dialogue (*pocapan*) which I think reveals the essence of the story. The liveliness and the character of the stories is also well represented in them. In my translations of these passages, I have kept as close as possible to the original text so as to allow the reciprocal relationships between the people involved to shine through.

Each new passage of a summary begins with the indication of the place in which the action takes place: for instance, in Arga Tirta, in the *kayangan* (the firmament), at Gunung Tunggal. This is followed by the name and its abbreviation of the actors. The short passages which link the dialogues are indicated by the Javanese word *kocapa*, frequently used in the *dalang* language (*basa padhalangan*) in the meaning of ‘the story will be told’ (Van Albada and Pigeaud 2007: 410). Each of the four manuscripts is richly illustrated with five full-page coloured illustrations. One from each manuscript has been appended to the description. The name of the artist who produced the illustrations has been lost. In view of the style, it is possible that more than one person was responsible for these illustrations. The fact that some of the figures appear to be foreshortened should not be blamed on the photographer who always photographed a whole page, but is perhaps a by-product of the binding of the manuscripts. The photographs were supplied by the Photographic Department of Leiden University Library.
DEWI RĕKATHAWATI GIVES BIRTH TO AN EGG

Javanese title:
Dewi Rĕkathawati lahiraken tigan

By dalang Ki Cerma

In Arga Tirta. The ruler of the gods SH (Sang Hyang, the revered) Rĕkathatama and his prime minister (patih), Patih Tama, are discussing the imminent confinement of Rĕkathatama’s daughter, Dewi Rĕkathawati. SH Rĕkathatama decides to travel to Gunung Tunggal to see how she is faring. He hands authority over the kingdom to his prime minister, Patih Tama.

In Gunung Tunggal. SH Tunggal is sitting with his wife Dewi Rĕkathawati and his Prime Minister Patih Soka Aji.

SH Tunggal (SHT) voices his concern that his consort, Dewi Rĕkathawati (DRW), is not her usual self.

SHT: Rĕkathawati, what is the matter? You have not been yourself for a while now. It seems as if there is something which you are afraid to tell me. Come now, don’t be reticent and don’t feel embarrassed. I am worried about you. I just can’t help it.

DRW: By your leave My Lord, you are right. I should really be punished because I have such extraordinary craving for “the egg of the three worlds”.

SHT: O My Dear, is “the egg of the three worlds” all that you crave?

DRW: Indeed, Noble Lord, that is all.

SHT: Well, [in future] if you crave anything, no matter what it might be, please do not remain silent, do not be reticent but tell me, whatever it might be.

DRW: I feel embarrassed about telling you.

SHT: Come now, in future don’t be afraid to tell me. You must feel free to talk to me about anything.

DRW: As you please, Noble Lord.

SHT: Dewi Rĕkathawati, do take good care of yourself while I go in search of that which you crave.

DRW: May your mission to seek what I crave be crowned with success.

In Kayangan (the firmament). The story continues with a description of how,
as he was roaming through the firmament, SH Tunggal spied a three-coloured shaft of light (teja) in the shape of an egg. He suspects that this is the egg which Dewi Rēkathawati craves. He grabs it and prepares to return home but then comes across his father-in-law, SH Rēkathatama, who has been following him for a while. SH Tunggal shows him the gleaming object. After he has explained what is happening, they return to Gunung Tunggal together.

In Gunung Tunggal. As soon as they arrive SH Tunggal gives Dewi Rēkathawati the gleaming object. She swallows it immediately. Her whole body begins to tremble and shortly later she gives birth to an egg (Illustration 1). End of the story.

Illustration 1. Left: Dewi Rēkathawati gives birth to an egg; Right: SH Tunggal and SH Rēkathatama (Leiden Or. 10.900/211).

Commentary
I think the most striking aspect of this dialogue is that it seems to show two diametrically opposed attitudes. On the one hand is the assumed diffidence of the woman to discuss her problem with her husband which is contrasted with the modern sounding insistence of the man on achieving complete openness in the marital relationship.

The upshot of the marked reciprocal relationship between wayang stories in general is that almost every story contains covert elements which point to one or more stories and can only be understood or even be remarked upon after one has acquired a comprehensive knowledge of the wayang literature. In this particular text the hidden element is the meaning of the shaft of light (teja) in the shape of the egg. Its origin refers to an episode in the life of a couple of young deities, Guru and Uma: while they were roaming through the firmament together, a sudden gust of wind blew Uma’s wrap-around skirt open, exposing
her genitals. Guru is so excited he has a spontaneous ejaculation (*kama salah*).\(^{34}\) I return to this point in my discussion of the next *lakon*.

2

**THE BIRTH OF TEJAMAYA, ISMAYA AND MANIKMAYA** or

**THE BREAKING OF THE EGG**

Javanese title:

*Lahiripun Tejamaya, Ismaya miwah Mankmaya utawi*

*Pecahipun tigan*\(^{35}\)

As told by *dalang* Ki Cerma

In *Sonya Luri*, the realm of the spirits. Prince Tejawahana, his consort, Tejabumi, and his younger brother, Tejawangka, are sitting together. As Tejabumi is seven months pregnant, Tejawahana decides that the moment has come to offer a prayer to the gods to ensure that the birth will not be beset by complications.

In *Gunung Tunggal*. Meanwhile the birth of the egg has caused great excitement. When SH Tunggal tries to catch the egg, it evades him and flies away. SH Tunggal and his father-in-law, SH Rēkathatama, go in pursuit.

In *Sonya Luri*. A sound like a voice emerging from the void reverberates. Tejawahana takes it to be a portent of things to come. Then the egg flies against his head. He tries to grab it but it slips through his hands and flies farther away. He joins Tejawangkawa in pursuit of it.

In *the Kayangan* (the firmament). There they meet SH Rēkathatama and SH Tunggal. They fight over the egg. When it seems that the egg yet again succeeded in escaping, Tejawahana and Tejawangkawa return to Sonya Luri. SH Tunggal and SH Rēkathatama continue their pursuit of the egg.

In *Ngondar-Andir Buwana*. In the abode of the god SH Wěnang, the tremors caused by the egg can be felt. Just as SH Wěnang is wondering what is causing these, the egg comes flying in.

In the scene which follows, the questions of SH Wenang [SHW] are answered by descriptions (*kocapa*) of the behaviour of the egg.

*Kocapa*

When the egg come to rest in front of SH Wěnang, he says: “Are you what has thrown nature into turmoil? Heavens above! It transpires that the cause which has now appeared before me is an egg. What sort of egg

\(^{34}\) See, for example, in *Collectie Moens I*: Or. 10.892/19 “the birth of princesses and Guru’s *kama salah*” (Pigeaud 1968: 682) and Or. 10.894/88-93 “demonic descendants of the *kama salah* of the *panakawans*” (Pigeaud 1968: 683).

\(^{35}\) Leiden Or. 10.900/212.
are you, a good one or a bad one? Whence have you come and whither are you bound?"

_Kocapa_
The egg remains silent. After a while SHW asks again: "What are your origins? What do you call yourself?"

_Kocapa_
As the egg is being interrogated by SHW in this manner, it moves backwards and forwards, up and down and from left to right. SHW speaks again: "Well, it is patently obvious that you are not just an egg. What deed (_kedadeyan_) has brought you forth? Is it beyond my comprehension?"

_Kocapa_
The egg evades answering and twirls around\textsuperscript{36} in front of SHW. SHW begins again: "Well, you are certainly not an ordinary, common garden egg."

_Kocapa_
Having said this, SHW remains silent for a while. After some time has passed, SH Wěnang is able to plumb the mystery of the origin of the egg and understands what is expected of him. He grabs hold of the egg and smashes it down forcibly. The egg breaks and three babies emerge from it, all three boys. Through the power of Wěnang’s concentration, they rapidly grow into young men.

In the meantime, SH Tunggal and SH Rěkathatama have arrived in Ngondar-Andir Buwana. In answer to SH Wěnang’s question of what brings them there, they recount how, when they set off in pursuit of the egg, they had come into conflict with the spirits of Sonya Luri. SH Wěnang tells them that the babies have already been born and invites SH Tunggal and SH Rěkathawati to be witnesses to the name-giving of the three boys (see the illustration). The oldest who came forth from the eggshell is given the name Tejamaya; the middle one who came from the albumen is called Ismaya; and the youngest, the issue of the yolk, becomes Manikmaya. The three boys each pay homage to SH Wěnang. Afterwards SH Rěkathawati and SH Tunggal return home.

**Arga Tirta**, SH Rěkathatama and his prime minister report on what has happened since his daughter gave birth.

In Gunung Tunggal, SH Tunggal tells his consort about the successful pursuit of the egg and about the three boys who appeared from it.

\textsuperscript{36} The Javanese text gives: _mubeng gayit_, but I have been unable to identify _gayit_.

Illustration 2. From left to right: Manikmaya, Ismaya, Tejamaya, and SH Wenang; Three boys receive their names (Leiden Or. 10.900/212).

Commentary
When he uses the expression *kedadeyan* in his conversation with the egg, Sang Hyang Wĕnang is alluding to the extraordinary birth of his three “grandsons”. The *kama salah* in the form of the triple light (*teja*) impregnates Dewi Rĕkathawati, who subsequently gives birth to a fertilized egg, which is broken open by SH Wĕnang. Thereupon the three divine children, freed of their shell, make their appearance. The circuitous impregnation of Dewi Rĕkathawati alludes to the spontaneous ejaculation mentioned earlier.

The birth of Manikmaya is a well-known theme in Javanese wayang literature and it appears in numerous variations. Possibly the most famous is the *Manik Maya* which was included in translation by Raffles in his book *The history of Java* (1817). The opening of the story is as follows:

Before the heavens and the earth were created, there existed Sang yang Wisésa (the all-powerful). This deity [who] remained in the centre of the universe, inwardly and earnestly desired of the Almighty Ruler to grant a wish that he had. A dreadful conflict of the elements ensued, in the midst of which he heard a repetition of sounds, like the rapid striking of a bell. On looking up he saw a bell suspended above him, and on laying hold of it, it separated into three parts: one part became the heavens and the earth, another became the sun and moon, and the third was a man, ‘mánik máya’. (Raffles 1817, Appendix H: ccvi.)

In this instance there is mention of just one boy, Manik Maya, who “comes into the world” simultaneously with the creation of the universe (heaven and earth; sun and moon). The beginning of this version partly corresponds to a third variant which forms the opening of a piece of Javanese mythology.\(^{37}\)

\(^{37}\) This version is attributed to a certain Karta Moeisodho of Surakarta and dates from *AJ* 1650 (AD 1725) (Winter 1843: 1).
translated by C.F. Winter. In a brief summary the passage runs:

Thinking that nothing existed beyond himself, Sang Hyang Wisesa caused three things to happen through the power of his desire, heaven and earth, sun and moon, and Manik and Moijo” (Winter 1843: 2).

This variant speaks of two boys Manik and Moijo.

These are just a few examples of widespread wayang stories told in countless variations which sometimes run parallel, sometimes contradict and sometimes overlap with each other, a circumstance which makes it impossible to indicate any original version. In his article “Manuscript production”, T.E. Behrend (1993: 410) characterizes these “wayang-style” stories as a “nonce creation”, that is to say as “neither begetting or being begot (ora manak lan ora dianakakê)”. I shall return to this in the next lakon.

3
THE CREATION OF THE ABODE OF THE GODS JUNGGRING SLAKA or
THE UPROOTING OF THE TENGGRU FOREST
Javanese title:
_Dumadosipun kayangan Junggring Slaka_ 
_uta wi_ 
_Babad Wana Tengguru_

by dalang Ki Cerma

In Ngodar-Andir Buwana, the three boys are instructed by their grandfather SH Wěnang. He explains that they are descended from the gods and their place is at the pinnacle of the three worlds. Their duty is to exercise authority over these three worlds. He commands them to construct a dwelling worthy of their status in the Tengguru Forest, which is situated on the slopes of the Himalayas. Once they have fulfilled there task, he will tell what future he has in mind for them. The three promise to carry out the command and set off. After they have arrived at the Tengguru forest, the following conversation takes place between Tejamaya (TM), Ismaya (IM) and Manikmaya (MM).

TM: “Manikmaya and Ismaya, my little brothers, grandfather’s command is unequivocal, we have been sent here to clear the forest. Let’s begin.”

IM: “By your leave, Tejamaya, I shall do as you bid.”

TM: “Fine, Brother. Now then, Manikmaya, what do you think about all this? It is obvious that you are not looking forward to it. It seems that you have no desire to acquiesce in our noble grandfather’s command? I see that you have your eyes shut tightly. Destined to clear this forest, but actually not happy

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38 Leiden Or. 10.900/213.
about it, what’s up? Be quick about it and show willing. Don’t be daunted by the sight of the forest”.

IM: “That’s enough, Tejamaya. I think that our brother is overwhelmed by the sight of the enormous trees, the wilderness and the vast expanse of the forest.”

MM: “I don’t feel like doing it. What’s to be done? What’s to be done?”

TM: “Well, Little Brother, if you abide by your decision, it is the same as holding the words of our Lord Grandfather in contempt. How is our noble grandfather’s command to be accomplished if you continue to drag your heels? What I mean to say is that to come here and behave in this fashion tantamount to committing a sin by turning a deaf ear to the command of the elders. Is that what you want?”

MM: “Indeed, I have no option but to capitulate to the wrath of the lord and do as he wants.”

TM: “That’s enough, Tejamaya. Come, let’s make a start instead of letting matters reach such a pitch that things will be said and done which we shall later regret and might even lead to a quarrel. Isn’t it quite obvious that he (Manikmaya) is easily discouraged. I think it would be better to allow him to do as he wants, brother. So, Manikmaya, if you have journeyed so far, all the way from Ngondar-Andir, just to watch me and your brother clear the forest, then so be it. That’s all there is to it.”

TM: “Indeed, little brother Ismaya, I think that’s how matters stand. Come, Ismaya, instead of talking let’s begin the task. ”

IM: “Fine Brother.” (Illustration 3).

Illustration 3. From left to right: Manikmaya, Ismaya and Tejamaya; The clearing of the Tengguru woods (Leiden Or. 10.900/213).

39 A tentative translation.
Working together Tejamaya and Ismaya clear the wood. Halfway through their task they stop to look what Manikmaya is doing. They see him wandering around aimlessly, but say nothing. When the two of them have completed the task, SH Wěnang arrives. He orders them to embellish the residence with the Kawa Condramuka⁴⁰ and to create Sela Matanggap.⁴¹

As soon as these tasks have been completed, as promised SH Wěnang tells his grandsons of his decision about the positions they will hold. Manikmaya is appointed ruler of the world, in this task he must be supported by his brothers, and Junggrring Slaka will be the place in which he resides. Tejamaya is mightily upset. He draws his grandfather’s attention to the fact that Manikmaya contributed nothing to the creation of the kingdom. Nevertheless, SH Wěnang answers that once his decision has been made, it cannot be overturned. Thereafter SH Wěnang returns to heaven.

**Commentary**

Hence, this history of the coming into being of the three gods and the creation of the abode of the gods Junggrring Slaka ends with SH Wěnang assigning authority over the world and the position of ruler of Junggrring Slaka to the youngest of his three grandchildren.

In the *Manik Maya* version given by Raffles mentioned above, the rationale behind his decision is stated in terms which are rather more straightforward. After the heavens and the earth, the sun and the moon and Manikmaya have paid homage to SH Wisėsa, the text continues:

> He [Sangyang Wisėsa] addressed himself to Manik Maya and said: “Hereafter thou shalt be called Sangyang Guru: and placing entire confidence in thee, I give up the earth and all that is attached to it, to be used and disposed of according to thy will and pleasure”. Having spoken thus, Sangyang Wisėsa vanished. (Raffles 1817: ccvi.)

The position of Manikmaya (or Manik) is articulated even more explicitly by C.F. Winter in the variant given in his article “Javaansche mythologie” (Javanese mythology), namely: not as the successor to Wisėsa but as Wisėsa himself:

> Sang Iwang Wisėsa addressed Sang Iwang Goeroe [sobriquet of Manik]: “Hark unto me Manik, thou must know that thou partake of my nature, as I do of yours. To thee I hand over the abundance of the world, thou hold the power to cause everything to grow”.⁴² (Winter 1843: 2-3.)

Indeed, in the *wayang* literature, the ruler of Junggrring Slaka is usually called Bathara (god) Guru.

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⁴⁰ The crater of Mount Candramuka, a place at which people must undergo ordeals.

⁴¹ Tentative translation: rocks which crash against each other (between which people are crushed?).

⁴² Sang Iwang Wisėsa sprak tot Sang Iwang Goeroe [bijnaam van Manik] “Hoor mij Manik, gij moet weten, dat gij mijn natuur deelachtig zijt, gelijk ik de uwe. Ik draag u de volheid der wereld op, gij bezit de magt, om alles voort te brengen”. (Winter 1843: 2-3.)
But, what happened to the other two boys who were born of “the egg of the three worlds” and what does this imply? The answer about the position of Tejamaya is given in the next lakon contributed by Ki Cerma, which I shall not discuss at length. Summed up succinctly, the burden of the lakon is this.

In the meantime, in the realm of the spirits, Sonya Luri, Tejabumi has given birth to a son named Tejamurti. When Prince Tejawahana receives news of the creation of Junggring Slaka, he desires to travel to the Himalayas to demand a place for himself. Tejamurti, who has grown into a young man, asks his father’s permission to go in his stead. When he arrives on the slopes of the Himalayas, he is stopped by Tejamaya, the oldest of the three brothers to emerge from the egg, who has appointed himself defender of Junggring Slaka. He defeats Tejamurti and returns to Sonya Luri with him. Once there he is proclaimed ruler of the realm of the spirits known as Sonya Luri.

The positions of two of the boys has been elucidated in the manuscripts discussed above. This last manuscript contains the end of the history of the origin of the gods and the creation of the abode of the gods, Junggring Slaka. The manuscripts which follows it deals with the panakawan. But what happened to Ismaya?

The conversations in the Tengguru Forest have already left no doubt that Ismaya plays the role of arbitrator. His position as the arbitrator between the gods and man is dealt with in depth in the wayang literature. He is the faithful servant of the Pandhawas, the heroes of the Javanese Mahabharata, and, back in heaven, he is not frightened to speak up when he thinks that his masters have been dealt with unfairly. The positions have thus been defined: Manikmaya, or Bathara Guru, ruler of the upper world; Tejamaya, lord of the realm of the spirits; and Ismaya, or Semar, god and servant in the world of human beings. Therefore, “the egg of the three worlds” for which Rēkathawati so craved represents the authority over the upper, middle and under worlds. In a word, authority over everything.

4

THE CLEARING OF THE BOJANG RAWE FOREST
Javanese title:
Babad Wana Bojang Rawe
By dalang Ki Widi

In Jodhipati, Raden Wěrkudara (or Bima), his prime minster Patih Gagak Bongkol and the army are seated in the audience hall when Patih Udawa of Dwarawati announces himself. On the orders of Krēsna he asks Wěrkudara to accompany him to Dwarawati because Krēsna is longing to see him. Without offering any explanation Wěrkudara refuses to comply with Krēsna’s request. Patih Udawa is forced to return to Dwarawati empty-handed.

43 Leiden Or. 10.900/214 Lahiripun Tejamurti.
44 Leiden Or. 10.891/83.
After Udawa’s departure, Wěrkudara informs his *patih* that he is planning to go out to do battle. He asks Gagak Bongkol to inform his wife, Arimbi, of his departure. After Wěrkudara has left the audience hall, the army also retires.

**At Bojang Rawe.** Wěrkudara (WD) comes upon a wood he has never traversed. There he meets Kyai Sindurancah (SR) (sometimes spelled Sundirancah), the guardian of the forest. An altercation interspersed with short explanations (*kocapa*) follows.

RW: “Hey, what wood is this? I have never crossed this forest. I would like to ask someone, but there doesn’t seem to be anyone around”.

### Kocapa

Not long afterwards, the guardian of the wood, whose name is Kyai Sindurancah, appears in the form of a white horse with an angry visage. Wěrkudara is unpleasantly surprised when he sees the horse’s face and he says:

WD: “Behold, a white horse has appeared out of nowhere.”

SR: “What’s this, there is a knight in my domain. Whence come you knight? What is your name?”

WD: “Well, well, an animal who can speak like a human. I am Wěrkudara, a knight of Jodhipati. I say creature, where have you come from and do you have a name?”

SR: “I am the guardian of the Bojang Rawe Forest. My name is Kyai Sindurancah. What has compelled you to turn up so suddenly on my land?”

WD: “I am here in Bojang Lawe because I was marching out to do battle. But now I have seen what this Bojang Lawe Forest looks like and how fertile the soil is, I have decided to clear this forest in order to make a rice-field (*sawah*). Will you help me?”

SR: “Well bless my soul! The things you want! You want to reclaim this forest? Have you asked Bathara Guru’s permission?”

WD: “Although I do not yet have the permission of Bathara Guru, his older brother Wěnang has granted me this favour. The question is, may I go ahead or not? If I may not, you won’t escape it lightly. On the other hand if I do have permission, get out of the way and I can [begin] the reclamation”.

SR: “Obviously you are prepared to go to any lengths. To cut a long story short, you may clear this wood, but only if you cut me in half with the plough

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45 This invisible protector and guardian spirit (*dhanyang*) is usually represented as the first inhabitant of an area which has been prepared for habitation.

46 Bathara is the title of a God.
first. As long as I draw breath, be this years or even windus,\textsuperscript{47} I shall never give permission”.

WD: “Plainly you are in love with death. Come on then, I’ll cut the breath from your body with my nail pancakaka”.\textsuperscript{48}

\textit{Kocapa}

Wěrkudara was planning to cut Sundirancah in half with his nail, but Sundirancah was ready for him. All at once Raden Wěrkudara is flung aside with a shout. Thereafter Sundirancah returns to the place from whence he came.

\textit{At Tembang Sore}, the village of the servants (panakawans). Ki Lurah\textsuperscript{49} Nalagareng (or Gareng) and Ki Lurah Petruk are talking about how long it is since they paid their respects in Madukara. Petruk is wondering if the time has not come to do this again. Gareng thinks that they should wait until they are summoned; when it’s all said and done they are sitting down here comfortably. They are disturbed by the sudden arrival of the knight from Jodhipati (Wěrkudara), who plumps himself down groggily.

Wěrkudara tells them that he has found a forest in which he wants to make a rice-field, but that he was chased away by the guardian. After a joint consultation, Nalagareng and Petruk announce that they are prepared to help and the three of them return to Bojang Rawe.

\textit{At Bojang Rawe}. Nalagareng and Petruk remain standing on the fringes of the forest. Surveying the extent of the wilderness, Nalagareng ponders aloud just how many days it will take them to clear the forest and who is going to come when they are hungry. Petruk replies that Nalagareng is always thinking of his stomach. Personally he has more faith in the noble descent of Wěrkudara and thinks that it might take no more than a day. They are shocked by the sudden appearance of Sindurancah.

Sindurancah is astonished that Wěrkudara has returned. Mutual recriminations are exchanged until, without as much as a by-your-leave, Wěrkudara grabs Sindurancah and holds him fast under his arm. At a nod from him, each of the panakawans grabs a hind leg of the horse and ties it up. Sindurancah, now lying down helpless, is given a choice by Wěrkudara, either he helps to clear the forest or he lies bound fast until he becomes a heap of bones. Sindurancah chooses the first option and Wěrkudara frees him. Sindurancah promises to do everything Wěrkudara desires of him. Wěrkudara asks him to clear the forest so that he can prepare a rice-field. Sindurancah replies that, if Wěrkudara wants to learn about his supernatural power (kasekten), he should pay proper attention. Frowning with concentration, Sundirancah murmurs the spell \textit{aji}

\textsuperscript{47} A windu is a cycle of eight years.

\textsuperscript{48} Wěrkudara’s extremely long thumb nail which he uses as a dagger.

\textsuperscript{49} The village headman but also simply the chief.
To the utter astonishment of Nalagareng and Petruk, the forest is cleared in the twinkling of an eye. Even Wĕrkudara is impressed by what Sindurancah has accomplished and thanks him. Sindurancah wants to return from whence he came but not before he has imparted a piece of good advice, namely: (before they begin to plant) a sacrifice should be made to him as a reward. Wĕrkudara replies that he is too far from home and that he wants to commence ploughing immediately. However, he does promise to think of him when the rice seedlings are transplanted (from the nursery bed) to the sawah. Finally he asks Sindurancah for his blessing.

After the departure of Sindurancah, Wĕrkudara suggests to Nalagareng and Petruk that they should commence ploughing. Before they begin, Nalagareng and Petruk consult each other about how they should go about this task. They agree to pull the plough and Wĕrkudara takes hold of the shafts (Illustration 4). As the spell (largely a repetition of that pronounced by Sindurancah) is murmured, the soil is ploughed without too much effort. Thereafter the three of them return to Jodhipati.

The lakon ends with the words: Thus far the elucidation (katrangan) of the story of Bima, which has a sequel, [it has been written] in the tradition of the Pañca Kaki (Babad Pañca Kaki).

Illustration 4. From left to right: Nalagareng, Petruk, and Wĕrkudara to the plough at Bojang Rawe (Leiden Or. 10.891/83).

Commentary

Bima, or Wĕrkudara, one of the Pandawa brothers, is not just a well-known character in the wayang purwa mythology. He also figures prominently in the literature and graphic arts of “ancient Java”. In the lakon described above,

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50 Pengrampas is derived from rampas, shaven, cut.
51 Lack of time meant that I was unable to read the sequel (the manuscript Or. 10.981/4).
a number of Bima’s character traits are mentioned, among them, his scant respect for conventions (his blunt refusal to comply with Krēsna’s request and, although a knight, his willingness to undertake the work of a farmer; his passing over of the lesser god, Guru, and his trust in the higher god, “Brother Wěnang”); his willingness to go to any lengths to reach his set goal (his attempt to kill Sindurancah who is standing in his way); his extraordinary physical strength (taking the restive horse Sindurancah under his arm and holding him fast); on the positive side is his thirst for knowledge (the spell pronounced by Sindurancah). He is also characterized by his aversion to evil and his association with death, redemption and immortality, aspects which played a crucial role in the Bhīma (the Old Javanese spelling of the name) veneration in the Majapahit era (1296-1527 CE) (W.F. Stutterheim 1956; M. Duijker 2010).

Duijker, who has approached the veneration of Bima from the point of view of an iconographical analysis, discovered one aspect which is very conspicuously present on the Bhīma statues, namely: the relationship between Bhīma and agriculture. She writes:

On Java there is definitely a relation between Bhīma and farmers based on fertility, and this relation is called Lintang Bhīma Sěkhti (constellation of Bhīma gifted with supernatural powers).\footnote{The article “Over de wajang koelit (poerwa)”, in the journal Djiwa 1933, by K.G.P.A.A. Mangkoenagara, contains a photograph of this constellation, but no further mention is made of it.} This astrological [sic!, read astronomical] constellation is based on the wayang shape of Bhīma and is visible during the East monsoon. The constellation was a sign for Javanese farmers to plant their rice. (Duijker 2010: 259.)

Although it is tempting to view Bima’s behaviour in the lakon Bojang Rawe as an invitation from Wěrkudara to begin with planting the rice, the text does not corroborate this assumption. The anthropologist Rens Heringa remembers that the appearance of the constellation Lintang Bima Sekti above the horizon in Tuban (on the north coast of East Java) did herald the beginning of the planting season. As far as she can recall, it did not occasion a wayang performance.\footnote{Personal communication 9 February 2016.}

One possible explanation of why Duijker could find no reference to the relationship between Bima and agriculture in contemporary literature is that the veneration of Bhīma she studied was the preserve of the Majapahit elite. Bima’s genitalia, prominently visible in the Bhīma statues and obviously an indication of his virility (Duijker 2010: 259), were an important symbol of the continuity of the dynasty. The fertility of the soil, so important to the peasant population, was apparently not of any great interest to the elite. The veneration of Bima enjoyed only a short span (from the second half of the fourteenth century; reaching its peak in the middle of the fifteenth century) in the history of Java (Duijker 2010: 257). For many centuries previously, the rituals observed by the ordinary people, the majority of them peasants, to increase the fertility of the soil had been observed from time immemorial and they were probably gradually encapsulated into the wayang idiom. Such lakons such as
Mikukuhan, Sri Mahapunggung and Bathara Sri Mantuk, which Kats (Kats 1923: 87) categorizes as the Early History of Java in his study of the wayang purwa, are evidence of the existence of such a process.

Of the four lakons presented here, the fourth, whose subject is also really a folk tale, is certainly the liveliest. The panakawans are portrayed in an instantly recognizable fashion. The scenes in which they consult with each other about what to do (whether or not to report to their master; Nalagareng’s reaction to the sight of the wilderness of Bojang Rawe and Petruk’s answer to this; and how they could help Wěrkudara with the ploughing) show that, despite their socially subordinate role, they do not make a servile impression in relationship to their master, Wěrkudara, and are able to stand up for themselves.

THE MOENS’ COLLECTION
A FEW FINAL REMARKS

The Collectie Moens I, kept in the library of the University of Leiden since 1964, is only one part of the collection assembled by Moens between 1930 and 1942. After his death in 1954 the collection fell apart. One part ended up in the library of the Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia (FSUI). Another part is now in the Astuti Sudirja Collection in the National Library of Indonesia, both in Jakarta (Behrend 1993: 428). Around 1942 Moens personally accommodated part of his collection in the Museum Sonobudoyo in Yogyakarta. This particular collection is now (2016) being studied by R.B.S. Raharja. He is focusing on the lakons written in the Grěntěng tradition. This tradition which was unintentionally launched by Moens (as he was the person who took the initiative to commence the collection) is unique in its sort as it was the first village tradition ever committed to paper and therefore is worthy of a place alongside the court traditions preserved in the Pustaka Raja and the Purwakandha, from Surakarta and Yogyakarta respectively (Raharja 2016: 2-3). Raharja laments that the authors of the collection did not keep a copy of their “creative activities” in their own possession and, as a consequence, this unique tradition is threatened with extinction for themselves (and their descendants) because it is now mouldering away in libraries. The purpose of Raharja’s article is to draw more attention to the Grěntěng tradition (Raharja 2016: 19).

As said earlier, the Collectie Moens I consists of hundreds of manuscripts to do with wayang and related topics. It is obvious that my article is just a modest step towards making this collection accessible and it is far from doing justice to the diversity and richness the collection has to offer. In the first instance, my choice has been for the wayang stories which a dalang would have no difficulty performing. Whether or not they were actually part of the repertoire performed

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54 The collection came to the University Library from the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. I have been able to trace how and when the Collection arrived there.
55 Shelf mark AS 1-85 (Behrend 1993: 428).
56 Formerly the library of the (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavian Society for the Arts and Sciences), founded in 1778 and now part of the National Library of Indonesia.
by the *dalangs* in Moens’ time is an unsolved mystery. As said earlier, Moens never devoted a word on the subject. I suspect that this was not so with all the *wayang* stories in the collection.

In order to sketch a more balanced picture of the collection, my plan now is to study a few manuscripts from the Gunung Kidul. This former regency (*kabupaten*) of Yogyakarta, situated in the catchment basin of the Solo River (Bengawan), lies isolated from the *kraton* and, in Moens’ time, was by and large a blank spot on the map. It was rarely visited by foreigners and therefore was less affected by modern influences. It certainly was an area Moens knew well because he had visited it many times in connection with his work for the Central Water Board of the Principalities. Precisely because of its local traditions and customs which had largely been discarded in other regions, it captured his imagination and became a source of valuable information for his study of the *wayang* theatre.

**Glossary**

*wayang beber*  
Theatre in which the story is depicted on scrolls (two to four scenes per scroll) made of paper or cotton, which the *dalang* unrolls in the course of his narration to the accompaniment of a few musical instruments (*gamelan*). Usually performing Panji stories.

*wayang gedhog*  
Theatre based on Panji stories.

*wayang klithik*  
1. Flat, painted wooden puppets; 2. theatre using these puppets based on Damar Wulan stories.

*wayang kulit*  
Intricately chiselled, painted flat leather puppets.

*wayang madya*  
Body of stories covering the period between the time of the *wayang purwa* (from the mythical Javanese ancestors up to the Javanese versions of the Indian epics the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*) and the *wayang gedhog* (the historical period of Daha/Kediri).

*wayang purwa*  
Theatre based on the Javanese versions of the Indian epics the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. Stories relating to the origin (*purwa*) of the gods and the mythical ancestors of the Javanese.
APPENDIX

Example 1: Dewi Rěkathawati lahiraken tigan

Kocapa

Sasampunipun ambagekaken anulya Sang Hyang Tunggal ngandika:


DRW: “Kula nuwun inggih sang edipukulun, panci [pancen?] inggih sampun mboten badhe mlesed ingkang dados pangandikanipun hyang edipukulun. Kula menika saestunipun sabet-sabet anggen kula kepenging nedha tiganing tri buwana.”

SHT: “O, dadi jeneng kita iku segah gampange nyidham rak mengkono ta dhi aji?”

DRW: “Kula nuwun inggih mila makaten sang edipukulun.”

SHT: “La menawa jeneng kita iku nyidham bab apa utawa apa rak aja banjur mung mandheg meneng wae, kudu prasaja wae karo ulun, ora ana apa-apane sementena.”

DRW: “Tiyang kula menika ajrih anggen kula badhe matur dhateng Pukulun.”

SHT: “La, iku besuk maneh aja kita mangkono. Iku duwe rembug apa wae, becike ta matur prasaja wae kaya-kaya ora bakal ana alangan apa-apa.”

DRW: “O inggih hyang edipukulun.”

SHT: “Wis Rekatha-wati, kariya basuki. Samengko ulun bakal angupaya apa ingkang dadi idham-idham jeneng kita iku.”

DRW: “Kasinggihan ana sanget tiyang edipukulun menawi pukulun nunten kersa madosaken menapa ingkang dados idham-idham kula.”

Example 2: Lahiripun Tejamaya, Ismaya lan Manikmaya

Kocapa

Wegdal menika sang hyang Wenang (SHW) pinuju pangunandika:

SHW: “Apa baya ingkang andadekake sabab dene nganggo teka ana gara-gara ingkang luwih gedhe kaya mangkene? Adate mboya ana gara-gara ingkang kaya mangkene iki. La dene sok dadi ana gara-gara ingkang semene ananging kok dadi ora ngeteran.”

Kocapa

Sang hyang Wenang sasampunipun pangunandikan dumugi semanten menika anulya sigeg. Dhatengipun tigan ingkang terangaken wonten ing nginggil menika wau.
Sasampunipun dumugi ing ngarsanipun sang hyang Wenang anulya sang hyang Wenang ngandika:

SHW: “We la iki apa jeng ndadekke gara-gara la dene iki mbanjur ketemu wae, ingkang ndadekake gara-gara kok dadi ana endhog ingkang aneng prapta ngarsa ulun. Kita endhog apa, apa endhog becik apa endhog ala? Sangkan kita endi, paran kita menyang endi?”

Kocapa

Tigan dipun pangandikani sang hyang Wenang ingkang kados mekaten menika, anulya mendel dumuning wonten ing ngarsanipun sang hyang Wenang. Sasampunipun mendel saantawis dangunipun anulya sang hyang Wenang ngandika malih:

SHW: “Kita iki kedadeyan saka apa, kita akua.”

Kocapa

Endhog dipun pangandikani sang hyang Wenang ingkang kados mekaten menika lajeng maju mundur, minggah medhak, utawi malih lajeng mengiwa manengen. Sang hyang Wenang ngandika:

SHW: “We pancen uwis terang banget menawa iki dudu endhog mung sembarangan wae. La kita kedadeyan saka apa sarta apa kita bisa makarti?”

Kocapa

Tigan lajeng mubeng gayit [kayit?] kemawon wonten ing ngarsanipun sang hyang Wenang. Sang hyang Wenang lajeng ngandika:

SHW: “We pancen endhog iki dudu mung sembarangan endhog wae.”

Kocapa


Example 3: Dumadosipun Kayangan Junggring Slaka

Tejamaya (TM), Ismaya (IM), Manikmaya (MM)

Kocapa

Lare tetiga menika wau lajeng sampun dumugi ing erang-erang ing ardi Himalaya. Sadumugipun ing erang-erang ardi Himalaya menika wau lajeng sami kendel, rembagan.
TM: “Yayi Manikmaya sarta yayi Ismaya, sarehning iku wis terang dhawuhe eyang edhi pukulun, aku sarta kowe kabeh padha kinen babad alas ing kene, la ora liwat ayo ta yayi sekarone padha wiwiti.”

TM: “Kula nuwun inggih sumongga kakang Tejamaya, semengke ingkang yayi namung andhedherek menapa ingkang dados karsanipun kakang Tejamaya kemawon.”


IM: “Ho kaka Tejamaya, ingkang rayi sareng ningali uwit-uwitan ingkang ageng-ageng utawa malih ningali dhateng bongsa grambul ingkang rungkut sarta malih jembaring wana ingkang kados mekaten menika, saking raos-rumaos kula kok lajeng ngrembek.”

MM: “Kula mboten anggadahi pikajengan. Ingkang kados pundi, kados pundi?”

TM: “Lo la iya yayi, tetep kowe nyepelake apa ingkang dadi pangandikan jeng edhi eyang pukulun menawa kowe mangkono iku. La gek kepriye apa ana barang menyer-menyer kaya mangkono dhawuhe jeng eyang edhi pukulun, jare mbasan tume kene mbanjur mung kaya mangkono, iku tetep kowe murtat menyang dhawuhe sesepuh. Yen mangkono iki karepmu.”

MM: “Inggih namung kantun nyumanggakaken badhe panduka dukani ingkang kados pundi kemawon. Kula inggih namung andhedherek sakarsanipun panduka kewala.”

IM: “Sampun kakang Tejamaya, luwar tan pasah mangke mindhak manggihing mboten sak mestinipun, samenika rak langkung prayugi lajeng sumongga sami dipunwiwiti, mangke padudon lan malih rak sampun wonten angger-angger wani gampang wedi ing pakewuh ora bakal angsthis kasembaning sedya iku yen saka pemanggih iku kula kakang. Inggih kajegipun yayi Manikmaya saking Ngondar-andir Buwana tumedak nriki pijambakipun namung betah badhe ningali anggen kula babad kaliyan kakang inggih kajengipun.”

TM: “Iya iya mula mangkono adhi Ismaya. Menawa tak-gagas iya pancen kaya mangkono iku. Wis ta yayi Ismaya ayo tumuli padha tumandang, aja mung tansah kandheg aneng wicara.”

IM: “Sumongga ta kakang.”
Example 4: Babad Bojang Rawe

Raden Wěrkudara (RWD), Kayi Sindurancah (KSR).

Kocapa
Tindakipun sang rajeng lajeng dumugi tepining wana Bojang Rawe lajeng kendel wonten ing mriku, lajeng ngunandika:

RWD: “We la iki alas ing ngendi? Aku durung tau nlasak alas ing kene iki. Mungguh kang tak takona sapa dene ora ana manungsa kemliwer.”

Kocapa
Dereng pancara dangu kasaru panjadhulipun ingkang ambedha nyang wana mriku wujud turongga pethak, nama kyai Sindurancah. Raden Wěrkudara priksa turongga semu, kagyat ing panggalih, lajeng ngandika:

RWD: “Lo iki ana wujuding turongga putih teka tanpa sangkan.”

KSR: “We la iki ana sawijining satriya prapta ana papanku. Kowe satriya ngendi lan sapa kakasihmu?”

RWD: “Lo iki ana kewan kok pinter tata jalma. Aku iki satriya ing Jodhipati, raden Wěrkudara kekasihku. La kowe kewan ngendi, apa duwe jeneng?”

KSR: “O aku iki kang ambedha nyang ana alas ing Bojang Rawe kene, jenengku Sindurancah. La kowe prapta ana papanku arep ana perlu apa?”

RWD: “Mula aku prapta ana ing alas ing Bojang Rawe sedyaku arep lelana andon jurit. Nanging bareng aku weruh kaenane alas ing Bojang Rawe iki kok tak-sawang becik temen lemahe. Mungguh alas iki tak-babadi, perlu tak-anggo sawah. Apa kowe tulungake?”

KSR: “We la gedele enak, la kowe arep ambabadi alas kene kuwi. Apa wis entuk idine bathara Guru?”

RWD: “Sanajan aku durung diidini karo Guru aku wis diidini karo kakang Wenang. La iya saiki kari entuk karo ora. Nek ora entuk aja takon dosa, dene nek wis entuk, iya enggal sumingkira tak babadane.”

KSR: “We la kowe arep ngemping lara (ng)genjah [sic] pati. Cekake kena kowe ambabadi alas iki nanging nek bisa nugelku luku. Nek aku durung perlaya tetaunana wiwindunana ora bakal ngulungake.”

RWD: “La cetha kowe sekarat, majua, corok kuku poncanaka ipang nyawamu.”

Kocapa
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