

Panji and Inao: Questions of Cultural and Textual History

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Abstract

Rattiya Saleh's 1988 book *Panji Thai dalam Perbandingan dengan Cerita-cerita Panji Melayu* [*The Thai Panji in Comparison with the Malay Panji Stories*] presents us with a quantity of fresh information on the subject of the Panji literature and has the great advantage of approaching it from both the Malay and Thai sides. It is obviously a wide field, and difficult to master, so that Rattiya's insights are especially welcome. In particular, the link with Thailand had scarcely been touched upon in the past. Although the Panji stories have been the subject of scholarly interest for a long time, ever since W. H. Rassers's *De Pandji-roman* [*The Panji Romance*] of 1922, much subsequent comment was merely derivative, simply because not many examples had been edited, let alone translated or made more generally accessible.

The starting point of interest in the Panji stories was, and is, the recognition that they represent a portion of the original creative production of the Javanese in the field of literature. Alongside themes borrowed from other regions, India in particular, this theme is one totally Javanese in inspiration. This assertion needs to be clarified against the background of the cultural history of Java.

As has been said several times before, the group of stories which are dubbed "Panji stories" are not historical, but rather epic and romantic in character. However, it should be stated that they may well have links with a historical period, and that the places mentioned existed in specific geographical locations, which served as points of departure for further development and spread of the stories.

In the majority of stories the events are set in a landscape featuring a number of kingdoms. The main ones are Kuripan, Daha, Gegelang and Singhasari, the kings of which are brothers (in that order of seniority). Kuripan

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(a shortened form of Kahuripan, a word based on *hurip*, "life"), is located in the Brantas delta (between Surabaya and Pasuruhan) and is also called Janggala. Daha is the same as Kadiri, a town which still exists on the middle course of the Brantas River; Gegelang no longer exists, but is identified with remains between the present Madiun and Ponorogo; and Singhasari, to the north of Malang, was a capital in the thirteenth century, alternatively known as Tumapel. According to early Javanese traditions, the kingdom of Java was divided by King Erlangga into two halves for his sons in A.D. 1052 (*Desawarnana* 68.1), and was only reunified in 1362 (*Desawarnana* 68.5). The elder son took Kuripan and the younger, Daha, but before long it was Daha (Kadiri) that emerged the stronger and is noted in particular as a center of literary production in the period c. 1157–1222. The suggestion being put forward here is that the political situation of the late eleventh century—otherwise quite obscure—may have formed the setting for the legends to be found in the Panji stories.

The basic story relates that the eldest son of the king of Kuripan was betrothed to, and eventually married, the eldest daughter of the king of Daha. This prince bore the title of Raden Ino (sometimes spelled Inu), which is probably connected with the title Rakryan i Hino, apparently indicating the "heir apparent" in early inscriptions and meaning "prince of Hino." (If Hino was a place name, it is possible that it is still to be seen in the village Ngino, near Sleman in Central Java.) For her part, the princess bore the title of Galuh, perhaps also originally a place name, in the form Ujung Galuh, near Surabaya in East Java.

As far as the social setting is concerned, the mention of kingdoms, princes and princesses says it already: these are tales of courts and of those who inhabited them, with the proviso that these people often ventured into the countryside and were not unfamiliar with the hills and shores of Java, not to mention the hermitages and religious foundations that also dotted the landscape.

In short, the setting is Java, and mostly East Java (although some Central Javanese places such as Pajang, Mataram and Lasem do occur). Overseas locations are referred to as well, the best known being Malayu (in the Malat). But most importantly, this is Hindu Java. There is no trace of Islam in the Panji story. This means that the stories had already taken shape *before* Islam became established in Java, that is, before the end of the Majapahit period (late fifteenth century). In other words, the inspiration for the creation of the stories was purely Hindu. The gods referred to, for example, are those familiar from other early literature: Batara Kala, Indra, the messenger Narada. Buddhism does not feature, perhaps because Javanese Buddhism in this period was mainly of an esoteric, Tantric type, unfamiliar to the majority of people.

The spirit of the stories is an optimistic, world-affirming one, expressing the enjoyment of the arts, the love of beautiful young ladies, valor in battle, fine clothes and precious ornaments. There are, of course, many difficulties and frustrations (even conflicts) to be endured and overcome, but finally the tale reaches a happy conclusion. Its movement is from peace, through complications, towards their resolution, and in this sense it symbolizes the endeavors of

humankind and carries the audience through to a happy issue out of their afflictions.

The original legends of the prince and princess may have circulated orally for some time, being elaborated in the process, before they became popular in the Majapahit period (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries) and were put into a literary form. This literary form was the Middle Javanese *kidung*. The *kidung* is a long narrative poem using a variety of indigenous Javanese metrical patterns. Hence it was in this form that the Panji stories found their way to Bali, and the theme was expanded to its greatest extent in the *kidung* generally known as the *Malat* (or *Panji Amalat Rasmin*), probably in the eighteenth century. East Java and Bali had been connected for some centuries, but it was after the conquest of Bali by Java in 1343 that the literature of Java became well established in Bali, and the same traditions were continued, so that as a result the Hindu society of present-day Bali finds itself the natural heir to the Hindu civilization of early Java.

In Java itself the Panji theme was not forgotten, but was only revived in a later period at the courts of Central Java in a Modern Javanese literary form. More important, however, were the dramatic representations of the theme in a form of shadow theater (*wayang gedhog*) and the masked dance (*topèng*). At the present day, the only work of interest to Javanese seems to be the *Angrèni*, in particular in a sung performance to orchestral accompaniment of selected passages (available on cassette tape).

It is perhaps worth noting that the literary forms of the Panji theme in Java have always been in a poetical form, in keeping with the fact that prose, while it existed in pre-modern times, was restricted to notes or technical works, whereas "serious" literature, with pretensions to aesthetic or edifying qualities, had to be in verse form. A further point relates to the close connections between literature and performance. On the one hand, poetry was always intended to be sung, that is, brought to life in a melodic form; and on the other, there has existed a mutual influence between literary art and various forms of dramatic art, in particular *wayang* (shadow-theater).

The existence of numbers of Panji stories in Malay introduces the first real questions in this account: how, and when, was the theme taken into the Malay-speaking countries? For present purposes, it should be explained that there are many Malay-speaking areas. There is no one center which one can point to as being the heartland of Malay culture. The Malay language, in many varieties, has been used and recorded in a written form in many places, ranging from Palembang in south Sumatra and the east coast of Sumatra including the Riau Archipelago, to parts of Kalimantan including Pontianak in the west, Banjar and Kota Waringin in the south and Kutai in the east, and of course the Malay Peninsula, as well as many more.

Thus the Malay language was found outside Java, on other islands, across the sea, so that communication by sea was needed to carry cultural expressions such as literary themes. The Java Sea and the Straits of Malacca have for millennia

been highways carrying commerce and much more back and forth, although of course some periods were more conducive to cultural contact than others.

Due to a convergence of historical circumstances, the kingdom of Majapahit (with its center near the present town of Mojokerto in East Java) achieved a greater degree of political and cultural influence than its predecessors. These factors related externally to trading conditions in India and China and internally to a confident and unified royal administration based on care for agriculture (Robson 1981, 262–3). The result was a degree of prosperity that enabled Java to impose its control over a large number of neighboring regions. These are listed in the Old Javanese poem *Desawarnana* (completed in 1365). This list has fascinated scholars ever since the text was rediscovered a century ago (in 1896) on the island of Lombok during a colonial expedition. It includes places from the whole of Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Kalimantan and so forth eastwards as far as Onin in west New Guinea. "Control" is expressed indirectly, by these countries "coming to seek refuge," but it could also be backed up by force, as the existence of a navy is referred to.

It is in such a context that we have to view the expansion of Javanese culture. It is interesting to note that Malacca (founded c. 1400) was a contemporary of Majapahit for most of the fifteenth century (traditionally the fall of Majapahit is dated 1478, but in fact it lasted some time longer), so that the rivalry between Malacca and Majapahit reflected in the *Sejarah Melayu* and *Hikayat Hang Tuah* is based on some form of reality. At least they were in contact, as is proved by the songs in a pre-modern form of Javanese included in the text of the *Sejarah Melayu* (Raffles 18 version, Brown 1952, 78–80, 263)—the pre-modern form probably pointing to inclusion in the text early in the sixteenth century.

Elsewhere (Robson 1992) I have revived an idea first launched by H. Overbeck in 1938 to explain the export of Javanese stories into Malay-speaking areas. Overbeck proposed that the stories of the Pandawas and of Panji are a kind of cultural propaganda that intended to demonstrate Javanese superiority, not only militarily but also in the things that really carry prestige: the creation of refined forms of art. It is true that in many parts of the archipelago the very name "Majapahit" carried so much weight that many influential figures claimed descent from it. A certain political use of the Panji theme is indeed not out of the question, as it may already have had a political application in Majapahit itself, for here the "unity of Janggala and Kadiri under one sovereign ruler" was an important theme, seeing that Majapahit had achieved just that, following the earlier division alluded to above. And the central motif of all Panji stories is the sexual union of the prince of Kuripan and the princess of Daha—a richly metaphorical expression of exactly the same message.

In order to obtain a picture of the actual mechanism of transfer from Javanese to Malay (which are separate, though related, languages), one can refer to a story found in the *Hikajat Bandjar* [*History of Banjar*] edited and translated by J. J. Ras in 1968. Here we see how artists went to Java for extended study and then returned home to reproduce what they had learned there (Ras 1968, 40–1). At home they would of course use their own language, Malay, although this

might be heavy with Javanese terms and expressions, used as appropriate to the story. It is not only Banjar in southeast Kalimantan to which this applies; one thinks of Palembang, which was also heavily Javanized. As far as period is concerned, the process referred to here was taking place in the Pasisir period (sixteenth century), after the fall of Majapahit, when Islam had been established in many coastal centers, which were in close communication with each other by sea. The Malay-language manuscript collections deriving from Banjarmasin and the former sultanate of Palembang contain many examples of Panji stories. One example from Palembang is the *Hikayat Galuh Digantung*, discussed by Overbeck in 1932, which presents a particularly rich array of Javanese culture.

Panji stories often contain the description of a wayang performance. Examples are to be found in the Malay *Hikayat Misa Taman Jayeng Kusuma* (Abdul Rahman Kaeh 1976, 159–63) and the Middle Javanese kidung *Wangbang Wideya* (Robson 1971, 187–91). Naturally one wonders to exactly what period the detail should be attributed. It is clearly not identical with the modern technique, but shows more in common with Bali, suggesting a localization in Majapahit (perhaps fifteenth century) or the following Demak period (first half of the sixteenth century). It has been noted that the Malay Panji stories have more in common with the Middle Javanese versions from Bali, meaning that these are closer to each other than to the Modern Javanese (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries). This is understandable in view of the gap in time.

The mention of wayang here is very much to the point. This is because a frequent opening sentence of Malay Panji stories actually states that the story has been adapted by a *dalang* (shadow-play performer) (*dipatut oleh dalang*) who is skilled in the arts of Java, or has been "transferred" (*dipindahkan*) by the dalang from Javanese to Malay.

Now there are several different kinds of wayang, the term depending on the repertoire and technique. In Java it is the *wayang gedhog* which has as its repertoire stories of Panji, so it is to experts in this type that one would have to look for a retelling in Malay of stories taken from the Javanese. Summaries of some samples in Javanese were published by Roorda (Gunning 1896). The titles do not correspond exactly to Malay versions extant, but are reminiscent of the *Hikayat Cekel Waneng Pati*, a well-known Malay title. Bearing in mind the high degree of fluidity to be found in Panji stories regarding the detail (such as names, episodes and so on), this is not a problem. We are therefore able to point to a channel via which Panji stories could have been created in Malay on the basis of Javanese inspiration and models.

The Inao, written by King Rama II, is a long poetical work in *klon* meter, often used for dance drama and still well known in Thailand. It is regarded as a fine artistic work, and the names of the two main characters, Inao and Bussaba, are familiar to most educated Thais. The work has been published several times.

This being so, the antecedents of the work can be investigated. Rattiya Saleh (1988, 24) gives an account of the versions in existence, although the article

"Siamese Versions of the Panji Romance" by Prince Dhani Nivat (1947) provides a clearer explanation. It is this which will be summarized below.

- a) The Dalang or Greater Tale of Inao, and the lesser Tale of Inao, according to Prince Damrong in his History of Inao, were composed by two princesses, "Kuntol and Mongkut, daughters of His Majesty of the Sublime Urn," otherwise King Boromakos (1732–1758). These "had Malay maids, descendants of Pattani prisoners of war, and these related to their mistresses the two stories" (Dhani Nivat 1947, 101). It is observed that the Prince "did not say where the tradition came from but it is to be presumed that it was oral." Or was it a conclusion drawn by Prince Damrong himself? And did the tradition specify Pattani as the origin of the Malay maids?
- b) A similar tradition is taken from H. Bastian, namely that "the epic Inao was brought by Yaiyavo, a Moslem woman, to Ayudhya and there translated from Javanese into Siamese by Prince Chao Kasat-tri for presentation on the stage." As Prince Dhani Nivat remarks, this should have been read as "princess," and this is confirmed by:
- c) The colophon attached to King Rama II's Inao, stating that it was composed by a Chao Satri in the period of Krung Kau (Ayudhya), although its original is now lost (Saleh 1988, 44).

Certain conclusions seem justified. First, the Inao only came into existence in the late Ayudhya period, perhaps the middle of the eighteenth century. Second, it was composed at court by a princess or princesses for the purposes of performance. And third, the source was Malay—a Malay woman or maids, who would have been Muslim.

However, the alleged translation from Javanese is worthy of comment. It appears that according to Thai scholars the term *kham chawaa* ("Javanese words") is applied to certain loan-words in Thai that occur in the idiom of the drama. But this should not necessarily imply that they were borrowed directly from Javanese. Possibly the Thai were not aware of or concerned with the distinction between Malay and Javanese. After all, the story of Inao is set quite unambiguously in Java, so it seems logical to assume that it was taken from Javanese. As early as 1862, H. N. van der Tuuk (1862, 126–33) drew attention to these words and the confusion in them, and Hazeu (1897, 31–7) returned to the matter in 1897. It is a subject which deserves further inquiry.

So Sethaputra's *New Model Thai–English Dictionary* (n. d., 468) under Inao reads: "Enau, hero of a story in verse of the same name, adapted by King Lertla from the Javanese." At the same time one recalls that McFarland (1944) indicates only loans from Javanese, none from Malay, in Thai. Perhaps a closer look at the items concerned would be instructive. Those familiar with the Malay Panji stories will know that these abound with words borrowed from Javanese. Seeing that these occur in a *Malay* context, we are justified in regarding them as

Malay. Because of their distinctive Javanese character, they seem to supply the appropriate "local color" for a Panji story.

The mention of Pattani may be extremely useful in finding the route by which the Panji story reached the Thai-speaking region. The story of the Sultanate of Pattani is contained in the *Hikayat Patani* (edited and translated by Teeuw and Wyatt in 1970). It is not listed in the *Desawarnana*, which gives instead the name of a much earlier Hindu-Buddhist kingdom in the same area, Langkasuka, so that it is clear that it did not yet exist in 1365. Its neighbors on the same coast—Sai, Kelantan and Trengganu—do, however, feature (*Desawarnana* 14.2). All of these would have been sufficiently familiar to the Majapahit court poet to be claimed as dependencies. According to Teeuw and Wyatt (1970, 3), the date of its foundation "might best be sought between the middle of the fourteenth and the middle of the fifteenth century." One could also mention the tradition recorded in the *Sejarah Melayu*, namely of a conquest of Kota Mahligai by a Siamese prince called Chau Sri Bangsa, his conversion to Islam, the foundation of a new settlement on the coast which was named Pattani, and the sending of a "drum of sovereignty" by Sultan Mahmud Shah of Malacca. Having been installed to the beat of the drum, Chau Sri Bangsa took the title of Sri Sultan Ahmad Shah (Brown 1952, 152). This reference to Sultan Mahmud Shah of Malacca would place us in the period 1488–1511.

Pattani in its heyday was a very prosperous trading center, and it is said to have been "much more powerful in shipping" than Johore, Pahang, or any of the other surrounding kingdoms. Nevertheless it was tributary to the king of Siam (Sheehan 1934, 85, quoting Nieuhof). Because of its extensive trade with many parts of Asia, Pattani was a natural place for European traders, including the Dutch and English, to establish stations. On many occasions Pattani was in conflict with the Siamese of Ayudhya. Normally it arranged its affairs to achieve as much independence as possible, but in the early eighteenth century there seems to have been considerable disruption, leading to the end of the "Kelantan Dynasty" in 1792. This marks the end of the narrative of the *Hikayat Patani*, which states:

Now since the King was buried in Pujut, Patani has no longer had a king, up to the present time. The country of Patani has been in great confusion and its people suffer from many ills, while rules and customs are no longer observed; but it is not for any creature to know the command of God—praise be to Him and may He be exalted—with regard to what lies ahead. (Teeuw & Wyatt 1970, 200–1)

It is in this context that we should view the presence of Malay maids in Ayudhya. There must have been a number of occasions on which they, or their ancestors, may have been carried off by the Siamese.

Teeuw and Wyatt give extensive commentary on the events mentioned in the *Hikayat Patani*, drawing attention to their possible historical significance. For example, a raid by "Javanese from Palembang" is described, which must have

taken place shortly after 1563. They point to the use of appropriate vocabulary such as *manira* (I) and *pakanira* (you), surmising that these Javanese words might have been familiar to the Pattani writer through the wayang or "through literary texts containing Javanese wayang stories, which were popular on the East Coast" (Teeuw & Wyatt 1970, 238). They also refer to the "large number of Javanese slaves in Patani" and the fact that during the reign of Raja Biru (Marhum Tengah, 1616–24) the *bendahara* (prime minister) of Pattani was an *anak Jawa bangsa sultan Mataram* (a Javanese of the family of the sultan of Mataram) (Teeuw & Wyatt 1970, 239). De Graaf (1961, 54) mentions a Dutch source which refers to a *Pangéran Pattani* (Pattani prince/nobleman) who joined an embassy from Jambi to present the Sunan of Mataram with nine cannon. (Mataram is the district of Central Java where the kingdom of Java had its center in this period; the capital was not far from the present city of Yogyakarta.)

Rattiya Saleh (1988, 41) refers to the opinion of Krommamun Phittayalap Phrittayakon that the Panji stories may have entered Siam at the height of the Malacca sultanate in the mid fifteenth century. Similarly, Winstedt (1958, 48) also thought of Malacca in this context. This view does not help us forward much, however, as it does not provide evidence of a direct connection between Malacca and Ayudhya, be it geographical, political or cultural.

Rattiya Saleh is right in drawing attention to Pattani and its possible role in the transmission of the Panji story from the Malay countries to become the Inao in Thailand, more specifically Ayudhya. She writes [in translation]:

On the basis of the above evidence it is certain that the Malays of Pattani had a close connection with the people of Indonesia and Malacca. In this way it is quite possible that the Panji story was carried to Pattani via oral literature or even written literature which was brought by Javanese direct to Pattani and not taken from Malacca. (Saleh 1988, 42)

She goes on to mention a banquet given by the Queen of Pattani in honor of a visit by the Sultan of Pahang in 1612, at which there was a performance acted all by women "to the manner of Java ... very pleasant to behold," in the words of Peter Floris in the *Narrative* of his voyage in the *Globe* to the East Indies, 1611–13. Haji Mubin Sheppard saw in this a reference to a *ma'yong* performance; Rattiya Saleh then speculates that *if* this were *ma'yong*, there is a possibility that it played Javanese stories and these may have included Panji stories (Saleh 1988, 42–3).

This is, however, only conjecture. The term "*ma'yong*" is mentioned nowhere; we do not know whether the "*commedye*" was an established form or was improvised—after all, this queen is said to have liked to surround herself with women (Sheehan 1934, 85); we do not know whether it told a story at all; and finally, seeing that it was in the Javanese manner, are we then to assume that *ma'yong* too is Javanese? Nobody has suggested that.

There is further evidence which may be of assistance. This relates to the connection between the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and Java. In fact Pattani does not stand alone; it forms one culture–area with Kelantan, but for reasons best known to herself, Rattiya Saleh nowhere mentions Kelantan. Even so, Kelantan may be equally important in forming the necessary cultural linkage with Java. After all, Kelantan is listed in 1365 as a dependency of Majapahit, alongside Langkasuka.

Javanese influence in Kelantan is described by Rentse (1936b), referring more specifically to the Majapahit "coins" found there. Such objects are also found in heavily Javanized Bali, where they are called *pipis Arjuna*, "Arjuna coins," after the wayang–like figures depicted on them. They are not actual currency, but are thought to have functioned as amulets in the form of a coin.

More important is the wayang. The significance of the dalang as both performer and creator of literature has been suggested above. There exist descriptions of wayang in Kelantan dating from 1936 (Rentse 1936a) and 1933 (Cuisinier 1957). The form of wayang concerned is termed *wayang Jawa*, "Javanese wayang," and the repertoire of this form includes Panji stories. It is to be distinguished from the *wayang Siam*, "Siamese wayang," which tells stories from the Rama epic, described by Sweeney (1972) and Wright (1980).

Rattiya Saleh (1988, 45) states that

The effects of the development of Panji stories in the form of wayang can still be found in the districts of Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat in southern Thailand. The majority of these are performed in the wayang Jawa or what is known as the wayang Melayu [Malay shadow–theater] which takes place to redeem pledges or to express the creativity of ancestors [*melepaskan angin nenek moyang*; on this "angin," see Laderman 1991, 68]. Such things still obtain among the Malays of Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat.

A footnote adds that

some are also called to religious occasions such as weddings or circumcisions, but these are only a small number as the Malays these days have more interest in watching the wayang Siam. This is possibly because the younger generation have little understanding of the language which is used by the dalang in the wayang Jawa.

This seems to confirm that Kelantan and Pattani are very similar with regard to the wayang Jawa. Further, Cuisinier (1957, 38) reports that the form is remarkably loyal to Javanese models:

Que le *wajang Djawa* soit venu de Java à Kelantan ne fait aucun doute; le nom qui est donné est un indice qui ne constituerait pas une preuve à lui seul, mais que le répertoire auquel il s'alimente soit emprunté en majeure

partie à des versions javanaises du *Mahabharata* et au cycle du *Pandji*; surtout qu'on retrouve dans le texte en malais par le *dalang* des titres javanais, des appellations et des formules de politesse, des mots de la langue des cours et jusqu'à des mots de la langue courante, comme eau, comme être, nous paraît confirmer de façon convainquante ce premier indice, en accord avec la tradition des *dalang*.

Referring to the question of a Javanese origin of the wayang Jawa of Kelantan, Sweeney (1972, 21) writes that

Tengku Khalid's version of royal tradition ... was that Sultan Mohamed I (1800–35) was dissatisfied with the state of the *Wayang Jawa*, and on his advice, his younger brother, Long Zainal Raja Banggol, sent two dalangs, Demukmin and Ibrahim, to study in Java. After *seven* years Demukmin returned alone.

This serves to show that this form of wayang already existed before that time. An equally interesting point is that the *dalang* traveled to Java for study; if this is true, it forms a remarkable parallel to the process of contact between the Javanese and Malay worlds suggested above with regard to an earlier time.

The question now begging to be asked is, why Kelantan–Pattani? Some areas of strong Javanese influence are relatively well known, for example Bali, Palembang and Banjar; others are less so, such as Kutai, Lombok and Jambi.

The answer, predictably, has to do with trade routes. Contacts flowed along certain tracks: along the north coast of Java westward to Sumatra and then into the Straits; eastward to Bali, Lombok and the Lesser Sundas; northward across the Java Sea to Kalimantan; and apparently northwestward to Johore, Pahang and along the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. A glance at the map shows the strategic location of Kelantan, as it was from here that one could cross northeast to Cambodia, and the link between the Malay Peninsula and Cambodia was the route along which Malay communities became established in Cambodia, and the Chams became acquainted with Malay literature. Until recently the Muslim Chams were still sending their sons to school in Kota Bahru, Kelantan (G. Marrison, personal communication, 5 February 1993).

Rattiya Saleh has made a very detailed comparison between nine different Malay Panji texts, with the purpose of determining which of these is the closest to the Inao of King Rama II. These nine texts are:

Inao, in the version of Ari Nakhara (translated from Malay into Thai)
Hikayat Misa Taman Jayeng Kusuma
 "Hikayat Endang Malat Rasmi"
 "Hikayat Dewa Asmara Jaya"
Hikayat Cekel Waneng Pati

Hikayat Kuda Semirang Seri Panji Pandairupa
 "Syair Angreni"
Syair Ken Tambuhan
Hikayat Panji Semirang.

Some (the titles in italics) are in a printed form, while others are manuscript or a published summary. She gives her grounds for choosing these nine, and not others, for the comparison. The comparison is conducted by means of an analysis of episodes and of characters.

The result of the investigation is negative, however: "At present the main question of the original text which forms the basis of the Inau Lek, in particular the CIR2 [= Rama II version] which is the model text of this study has not yet been able to be solved." Consequently she concludes (Saleh 1988, 181–2) that

In these circumstances I can say that the CIR2 is a text which does not represent a translation from any particular text; it may indeed be a text adapted from one not among our selected texts, possibly from an older source which was possibly also the basis of some of our selected texts ...

Such a conclusion is perhaps not surprising in view of the wide range of variability that is so characteristic of the Panji theme. After all, nobody has ever succeeded in identifying an "original" Panji story or even of determining the family relations among those that exist now. The lowest common denominator of plot is in fact quite low, although there is mostly agreement on what constitutes a Panji story and what not. The variability is already evident between the Dalang and the Inao Lek, two distinct stories with regard to plot and yet clearly related, as both are supposed to have been narrated by ladies at the same place and in the same period. Clearly there was already a long history of variation behind them in the mid-eighteenth century. The versions of the Panji story which reached Ayudhya were the product of an earlier evolution and can even be said to be quite late.

Evidence of lateness is the occurrence of the kingdom/city of Manya (that is, Majapahit) as a place of significance in the story. In the majority of stories, as explained above, there are four main kingdoms (Kuripan, Daha, Gegelang or Kalang, and Singhasari). These form a group, as if the authors were aware that Majapahit (which they would certainly have heard of) did not belong, or was anachronous, with them. This convention may have faded with the passage of time and with separation from the original, Javanese, cradle of the Panji theme.

Similarly, the motif of the execution of Inao's first love, the village girl Bussaba, is also late and is very reminiscent of the Modern Javanese *Angrèni* on the one hand, and the Malay *Ken Tambuhan* (Teeuw 1966; Robson 1969) on the other. In the latter case this element of plot has become detached altogether, so that it could even be argued that the *Ken Tambuhan* does not represent a Panji story in the strict sense at all but rather is a derivation from it.

It is a pity that Poerbatjaraka in his *Pandji-verhalen Onderling Vergeleken* [*Panji Stories Compared*] of 1940 (translated into Indonesian as *Tjerita Pandji dalam Perbandingan*) neglected to give an account of the Thai versions of the Panji theme, while choosing to reproduce the French summary by Moura of the Cambodian one (Moura 1883). Prince Dhani Nivat (1947, 96) states, however, that this is merely a translation of King Rama II's version. This is something which should be carefully checked. There do exist manuscripts of the Cambodian version in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; although the theme is known to Cambodian scholars, it cannot be said to be popular there at present.

It should be noted that it was Poerbatjaraka who saw close similarities between the Cambodian version and the "Panji Semirang" (does he mean *Hikayat Kuda Panji Semirang*?) which he summarized: "De overeenkomst tusschen de Pandji Semirang en het Cambodjaansche verhaal is zeer opvallend" [the agreement between the Panji Semirang and the Cambodian tale is very striking] (Poerbatjaraka 1940, 67). This again is something that has to be checked carefully. There are other questions relating to the Panji Semirang that remain unanswered. For example, Rattiya Saleh (1988, 22, 179) states that the Malay-speaking people of southern Thailand identify "Panji" as just "Pan-nyi Samirang" and "Pan-nyi Semeghe." This seems to mean that they know a Panji story with this title, surely an essential piece of information if we are interested in finding out in what form the Panji theme existed and was circulating in the Pattani area in the eighteenth century. Add to this the fact that a *Hikayat Panji Semirang* was published in Kota Bahru, Kelantan, in 1931 based on manuscripts from there (Winstedt 1949, 53–60). This version has been reprinted several times and even translated into Thai (Saleh 1988, 97).

Unfortunately in the past the significance of the origin of a Malay manuscript was often not recognized, with the result that the necessary documentation is absent. It is good to know where the manuscript on which some edition was made is now kept, but the library of a university is not its original home. It would be useful to know who the first owner was, where he lived, what other works he had in his collection, as well as what purpose or function these manuscripts had. The *Hikayat Misa Taman Jayeng Kusuma* published by Abdul Rahman Kaeh in 1976, for example, is an excellent specimen of the Panji genre, and we may be able to check the manuscript in the National Library in Kuala Lumpur; but from whose collection did it originate?

Matheson and Hooker have given a detailed account of the Jawi books still to be found in the Pattani area in 1988. The sample of forty-two works described are all Islamic religious *kitab*. There is no reference to literary works of other kinds, printed or manuscript. This does not mean, however, that such works did not exist two and a half centuries ago.

One can speculate on the *form* in which the Malay maids at the court of Ayudhya would have possessed their Panji stories. Are they likely to have carried Malay manuscripts with them? Are they likely to have been literate at all? Is it not more likely that they reproduced the stories in detail from memory, that is, in an oral form? In other words, if there *were* no original written text, then

the basis would have been stories as produced in performance. In that case a study of the repertoire and language of the wayang Jawa of Pattani and Kelantan might be more fruitful.

At the same time, it is possible that the retelling of the Panji romance was not an isolated phenomenon. Prince Dhani Nivat refers to the translation of a treatise on political wisdom called "Sip Song Liam" [Twelve Sides = Dodecagon]

which bears a preface stating that a certain Khun Kalyabodi, which happens to be a title limited to Islamic officials of the old Harbour Department, translated it from Malay in 1753. This seems to indicate that there must have been quite an influx of Islamic works about that time ... (Dhani Nivat 1947, 101)

Poerbatjaraka suggests that the name "Inao" can only have arisen via the misreading of a written text, as in the Jawi script the final vowel can be read as *u*, *o* or *au*, giving "Inu," "Ino" or "Inau/Inao." While these different readings are all possible, surely the Malay maids were most unlikely to make such a mistake with a familiar name. Instead, the change from Ino to Inao can perhaps be explained from the sound rules of Thai, including the fact that many loan-words from Malay (including this name) have a rising tone in the final syllable (Robson 1995b, 580). I hope to return to this point on another occasion.

In summary, the Inao of King Rama II is the end-product of a series of "receptions" of the Panji theme, which can be traced back to the (no longer extant) retelling of the stories by Malays at the court of Ayudhya, and from them further back to the Malay-speaking area of Pattani where these people probably originated, and from there even further back to Java itself, the earliest home and the setting of the Panji story.

In other words, there is no question of a direct translation from Javanese into Thai, simply because there is no evidence of contacts between Java and Siam of such a kind that might have formed a channel for the borrowing of such a literary theme.

Seeing that the Inao stands at several removes from Javanese Panji stories, it is not unnatural for it to diverge from them in several ways. We should regard it as a new, independent creation, albeit using a theme from a non-Thai source, but at the same time naturalized on Thai soil and hence incorporating much of Thai culture, distinct from Malay or Javanese culture. It has even been said that the Inao contains much, in its descriptions of ceremonies such as cremations, marriages and topknot-cutting, that is taken directly from the Ayudhya era. This process of reception is one which deserves to be studied in more detail, requiring a close reading of the Thai text as well as a knowledge of both Thai and Javanese culture.

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Abbreviation: *JMBRAS: Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.*

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