

On the war-episodes in *Hikayat Kuda Semirang* *Sira Panji Pandai Rupa*

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ABSTRACT

This paper, based on the text of the Jakarta MS C. St. 125 published by Lukman Ali and M.S. Hutagalung (1996), shows by a comparative reading of selected samples of war-episodes in the *hikayat*, that, in spite of the countless differences between them, all ultimately tell one and the same underlying story. This story is in each war-episode retold in a process of constant variation within identity. This is done by combining “pre-fab” units that each form a slot in an already predetermined narrative structure. Each of these slots is filled with a selection of type-scenes, made from the particular string of type-scenes that is available for that particular slot. In order to shed light on the question where the *hikayat*'s author may have found the models and inspiration for its composition, the numerous intertextual echoes of Javanese and Malay literary genres and individual works audible in these war-episodes are also traced.

KEYWORDS

Formulaic composition; type-scenes; intertextuality; Malay *hikayats*; *kakawin*; *kidung*; *tembang*; *wayang gedog*; Panji romances.

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INTRODUCTION¹

In his seminal study *Panji verhalen onderling vergeleken* Poerbatjaraka (1940a: 215) has pointed out that the author of the Javanese Panji-story *Panji Kuda Narawangsa* has three times in almost identical words described the battles fought in it with the kings from the opposite shore who have come to sue for the hand of the Javanese princesses. Perhaps influenced by Western notions of originality, he has seen this repetition as a sign that its composer had been lacking in artistry and inspiration. In this paper I will examine another Panji-story in which the occurrence of battle-scenes – and beyond that, of entire war-episodes – in almost identical words is an even more conspicuous phenomenon.

That Panji-story is *Hikayat Kuda Semirang Sira Panji Pandai Rupa* ('Story of Kuda Semirang Sira Panji, Expert at Assuming Disguises', HKS), a work that according to its colophon was written or copied in 1832, but may well already have been composed by as early as the middle of the eighteenth century (Winstedt 1949: 53-54). The quite bulky HKS, the manuscript of which (Jakarta C. St. 125, see Behrend 1998: 293) is lost (see Illustration 1: the first two pages of closely related Leiden Cod. Or. 3242, dated 1829 in the colophon), is a Panji romance of the epic variety (Koster 1997: 193-194, Koster in Ding Choo Ming and Willem van der Molen 2018: 103-104). Its male and female leading actors, ineffably handsome and possessing unmatched magical power, disguising their high birth and real identity behind a low status, therefore go and roam all over the land of Java. During this quest they not only fight many wars and subject numerous kings but also go through all kinds of erotic vicissitudes.

In this paper I will only deal with the many stories told in HKS about the heroic exploits performed by its main protagonists in wars. I will refer to these stories as "war-episodes" because I will treat each of them as a more or less rounded unit that is complete in itself, a unit which includes not only a battle as its core, but also the events leading-up to armed confrontation, as well as their aftermath. On the basis of some selected samples, I intend to demonstrate the remarkably formulaic manner – reminiscent of story-telling in the wayang – in which these war-episodes have been constructed.

In Malay – and, presumably, also in Javanese – oral and manuscript literature the urge to commemorate, and thus to guarantee, the constant reaffirmation of tradition and keep it more or less stable (Koster 1997: 76-79; Sweeney 1980: 41-53), although always inevitably attended by the forces of disintegration and change, has led to the development and pervasive deployment of a variety of formulaic devices for the construction of narrative.

¹ In this paper I use the edition of MS C. St. 125 in the National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta, that was published by Lukman Ali and M.S. Hutagalung (1996) under the title *Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang*. This edition can also be consulted on the site of the Malay Concordance Project (mcp.anu.edu.au). Where I have corrected the published text, I have indicated this by introducing the correction between square brackets. My references to HKS are to the page-numbers in its 1996 edition. I would like to thank Hedi Hinzler, Tom Hoogevorst, Willem van der Molen, Stuart Robson, and Wim Thierens for their help in obtaining much of the materials needed for this research and for their stimulating comments.

Such devices are, for instance, the more or less verbatim repetition of familiar words and phrases (I loosely speak of *formulae*) and the constantly repeated use of stereotypical descriptions of actions or situations (*type-scenes*) known from literary tradition (Koster 1997: 43-44).



Illustration 1. The first two pages of closely related Leiden MS Cod. Or. 3242 *Hikayat Kuda Semirang Sira Panji Pandai Rupa*, dated 1829 in the colophon. (Courtesy of Leiden University Libraries).

When we read a formulaically constructed narrative – no matter whether we limit ourselves to only that one text (intra-textually) or read it in comparison to narratives in other texts (inter-textually) – we will notice that a constant play is going on of emphatically foregrounded similarities and endless variation produced by small differences. This play of variation within identity (Koster 1997: 35-36) can also be traced in the way the many war-episodes in HKS are constructed. Remarkably, although roughly half of HKS’s narrative is concerned with heroic exploits and not with love, in its war-episodes – in total numbering thirteen – the *hikayat* seems to tell only two stories. One of these may be called *Kelana conquers kingdom and princess*, and the other *Evil attempt at conquest of a kingdom and princess thwarted*.

As I will show, by and large the same basic sequence of slots in fact underlies both these stories, the second being merely a varied and amplified version of the first. We will also see that both stories are created in a process of constant variation within identity by combining “pre-fab” units that each form

a slot in an already predetermined narrative structure. Each of that structure's slots may be filled with a selection of more or less type-scenes made from the string of type-scenes that are in principle eligible for that particular slot.

Prologues of Panji-stories like HKS often suggest that they have been composed making use of Javanese literary genres and works. While examining the formulaic way in which the selected samples of war-episodes have been constructed, I will therefore also try to trace the echoes we hear in these episodes – for example, in the *type-scenes* used and in other textual elements – of Javanese literary genres, such as *kakawin*, *kidung*, and *wayang (gedhog)*, or of specific individual literary works. Simultaneously I will also look for possible connections with Malay literary genres and works. In this way we may perhaps gain a clearer idea where the anonymous author of HKS may have found the models and inspiration for composing this *hikayat*.

SUMMARY OF *HIKAYAT KUDA SEMIRANG SIRA PANJI PANDAI RUPA*

Desiring to obtain children, the rulers of Kuripan, Daha, Gegendang, and Singasari make vows to the gods and sons and daughters are born to them. On the god Guru's orders, two married couples descend to earth. Arjuna incarnates himself as crown-prince Raden Inu Kertapati (henceforth RIK) of Kuripan, whereas his wife Dewi Subadra is born as Raden Galuh Candra Kirana of Daha (henceforth RGCK). Sang Samba reincarnates himself in Daha as crown-prince Raden Perbatasari (henceforth RPS), while his wife Dewi Januwati is born as Raden Ratna Wilis of Kuripan (henceforth RRW). When all these princes and princesses have become engaged and the couples are about to become reunited in marriage, the gods decide to punish the kings for not fulfilling their vows.

The gods make RIK, while he is hunting, meet a mere village girl from the mountains (*orang gunung*), called Ken Mertalangu. In reality, she is the heavenly nymph Anggar Mayang who has been condemned to live on earth until she is killed, because she has had an affair with the god Jayasukma. When RIK, having fallen deeply in love with Ken Mertalangu, refuses to marry his fiancée RGCK and installs the girl in his residence as his wife, the Queen sends RIK away to hunt in the forest on the pretext that she craves the meat of a tigress with cubs, and in his absence stabs the girl to death. Next the god Kala abducts RGCK, who is angry with RIK because he has rejected her, from Daha to Mount Jambangan. There she and her companions assume the identity of nuns (*endang*) and she calls herself Endang Sangulara.

After leaving Kuripan, RIK on Mount Danuraja learns from the ascetic Cakcasena who Ken Mertalangu really was, that RGCK is still alive, and that he will meet her later. He assumes the identity of a roaming knight (*kelana*), calling himself Mesa Angulati Sira Panji Sangulara and conquers the kingdom of Mataun, making its princess his wife. Now RIK's older half-brother Raden Brajadanta (henceforth RBD) and his younger brother Raden Carang Tinangluh (henceforth RCT) with their companions also leave home to search for him, assuming respectively the aliases of Mesa Yuda Panji Kusuma Indra

and Ajar Wirapati. The *buta* Dati (Javanese: Ditya 'demon') Nala Prajangga, in reality the god Jayasukma, abducts RIK's younger sister from Kuripan to the Cave Sela Mangling, in the hope thus to attract the attention of RCT and be killed by him so that he can return to heaven. The last search party to set off is that of RGCK's younger brother, Raden Perbatasari (henceforth RPS) who leaves Kuripan to search for his sister and assumes the alias of Kuda Nestapa Astra Wijaya.

When all search parties have been fielded, the process of gradual recognition, reunion, and return is set into motion, although not without occasional set-backs. It starts when RCT, still calling himself Ajar Wirapati, is united with his sister RRW, after having killed the *buta* Dati Nala Prajangga at Sela Mangling. In the course of their circumambulations in various disguises and with bewildering changes in their own and their companions' names, RIK and the other princes now go on an unbridled conquering-spree of kingdoms, acquiring ever more princesses as booty for their harems.

What gives HKS its name is the episode in which Panji Sangulara (RIK) has in the kingdom of Pandan Salas met RGCK – in fact the main protagonist of the *hikayat* – in her disguise as Endang Sangulara. To prevent RIK, who has fallen in love with the nun, from discovering her true identity, the god Kala removes her with her companions to the kingdom of Tumasik and there changes her into a man, a fierce roaming knight who calls himself Kuda Semirang Sira Panji Pandai Rupa.

As do the other roaming royals, so Kuda Semirang, too, always keeps up the pretense of being a mere uncouth mountain dweller. "He" even maintains this disguise when "he" enters the service of the king of Gegelang. There "he" is reunited with Panji Sangulara (RIK) as well as RIK's two brothers RBD (still called Mesa Yuda) and RCT (now called Mesa Wirapati), who, also still in disguise, have like-wise with their companions joined that king's service, and in the retinue of Mesa Wirapati "he" also meets RRW, who now calls herself Ken Anglersari. The family-gathering at Gegelang is complete, when RGCK's brother RPS with his companions, too, joins them, disguised as a puppeteer, who calls himself Dalang Surengrana and gains the admiration of everybody with his performances.

The narrative of HKS, after having told of numerous smaller battles, culminates in two big ones. The first is fought between the forces gathered at Gegelang and the king of Socawindu assisted by five other kings who are his brothers. In an insolent letter the king of Socawindu demands the hand of Raden Kusuma Agung of Gegelang, who is in fact already engaged to Mesa Wirapati (RCT). After the enemy troops have been defeated and their kings have been killed, Kuda Semirang (RGCK) and Dalang Surengrana (RPS) slip away from the battle-field. Kuda Semirang resumes her female appearance and creates a kingdom called Danuraja, ruling it as Ratu Dewi Kusuma Indra with RPS as her Chief Minister (*arya*).

After the disappearance of Kuda Semirang a distraught RIK, now calling himself Kelana Edan, climbs Mount Silawarna. There the ascetic Bagawan

Candrama Sakti, whose pupils are the Nine Seated Ones (*Sang Pelinggih Sembilan Orang*), riddlingly informs him that he will meet RGCK, but if he meets the nun he will not meet Ken Mertalangu. He also instructs RIK to ask for the hand of the queen of Danuraja and to agree to whatever bride-price she may demand. When the king of Panggaljaya sends an insolent letter to the queen of Danuraja, demanding she marry him, she sets him a number of conditions that are impossible to fulfil: the marriage must be solemnized in the heavenly Balai Tinjau Maya, in the presence of seven heavenly nymphs and she must be given a bride-price of two white elephants – a male and a female one – that must each be chained to a pole of the balai with a golden chain.

Now follows the second big battle in HKS, in which at the instruction of the Nine Seated Ones Kelana Edan (RIK) and his two brothers RBD (Mesa Yuda) and Mesa Wirapati (RCT) join the forces of Danuraja against the king of Panggaljaya and the five kings who are his brothers. They kill all the enemy kings and the wives of the fallen rulers all commit suicide on the bodies of their husbands.

Pale and weak with longing for RGCK, Kelana Edan now sends Mesa Yuda (RBD) and Mesa Wirapati to Danuraja to ask on his behalf for the hand of its queen, and she accepts on the same conditions she has set the king of Panggaljaya. To obtain for RIK what he needs from heaven Mesa Wirapati climbs Mount Indrakila. On his way he kills a tree-dwelling fairy, called Dewi Assam, who is in reality Batara (sic) Durga's daughter, punished by him for an illicit affair with the god Sukmajaya. With her help he obtains the two elephants needed. When they are refused entrance into heaven by the god Narada, Mesa Wirapati's companion Semar, taking the shape of Sang Yang Tunggal, wreaks havoc in heaven. In a panic, the gods now allow him to take the Balai Tinjau Maya and the seven heavenly nymphs sitting in it with him to earth.

After a fight with Gotama, who is furious with Semar because he has peed on his favourite spot for meditation, they return to Danuraja, where all the searchers and the sought reveal their true identity to each other and RGCK now feels ashamed for having dressed as a man. The rulers now fulfil their vows to the gods and the marriages of the engaged princes and princesses are celebrated. When the young princes have been installed as kings, succeeding their fathers, the abdicated rulers with the permission of the god Nayakusuma return to heaven with the seven heavenly nymphs, seated in the Balai Tinjau Maya that is transported there by the magic of Batara Durga and Bagawan Gotama.

THE BASIC SEQUENCE: MATAUN AND MADIUN CONQUERED

Let us now turn to the sequence of slots that is followed, with more or less variation, in the fifteen war-episodes of HKS² that all tell the story *Kelana*

² These fifteen war-episodes of the *Kelana conquers kingdom and princess* variety are HKS 63-71, 72-77, 79-90, 95-108, 108-120, 120-132, 132-136, 139-141, 144-149, 149-155, 157-165, 175-179, 179-190, 190-200, 214-223.

conquers kingdom and princess. In order to establish that basic sequence I will perform a comparative reading of the first two war-episodes, namely: 1. the taking of Mataun by Mesa Kelana Panji Sangulara, as RIK calls himself when he has set out from Kuripan in search of his fiancée RGCK who has been abducted by Betara Kala and is now going under the name of Endang Sangulara (HKS 63-71; henceforth Story A); and 2. The conquest of Madiun by Mesa Yuda Panji Kusuma Indra, as RIK's older brother Raden Brajadanta calls himself, after having left Kuripan in search of him (HKS 72-77; henceforth Story B).

As we will see, both stories A and B are built on the same basic sequence of slots – as is also the case in the other stories telling of a Kelana conquering a kingdom and a princess – and each slot of the sequence is fleshed out into a narrative by the particular selection and combination of type-scenes chosen from the string of type-scenes that are available for use in that particular slot in the narrative sequence.

Slot 1: “An enemy decides to attack”. Let us then begin the comparative reading with story A, that of Panji Sangulara's (RIK's) taking of Mataun. As is clear from his question “What is your opinion” (*apa bicaramu*) to his five *kedayan* when he sits down under a tree (*pohon kayu garda*) with them at the foot of Mount Danuraja, Story A opens with a council type-scene. That council results in RIK's decision that they will all change names (*bersalin nama*) lest their origin become known to others (*supaya jangan bangsa kita diketahui*). After he has asked his men what kingdom is situated nearby (*di mana ada negeri yang hampir*) he gives the seemingly quite unmotivated order that on arrival in the outlying districts (*peminggir*) of Mataun they must plunder and set fire to all the villages there (*rampas dan bakar segala desa*).

The beginning of Story B is built up using the same string of type-scenes used in Story A, and it is told with much formulaic repetition of the same wording. Let us call this slot with its shared type-scenes Slot 1. Story B here only differs from A in one detail: Kelana Mesa Yuda Kusuma Indra's council with his men is not said to take place as they sit under a tree. Interestingly, in HKS to sit down under a tree on arrival somewhere or to take council there with one's men, is an action that occurs ubiquitously.³ Conceivably, for a *dalang's* recreating in performance of his *lakon's* narrative this would indeed be a useful type-scene always to have at hand.

Could this feature perhaps be an indication of influence – whether direct or indirect – of the wayang on the way HKS builds up its stories? Or should we perhaps rather connect this feature with *kidung* literature? *Kidung Sunda* (Berg 1927) contains many passages telling about stopping at or sitting under a tree, such as, for instance, the one in which the King of Sunda takes council with his *mantri* under a banyan-tree (Canto I.58a; other passages are I.59c, II.27, II.67, III.19, III.216). In the Panji story *kidung Waybanj Wideya*, too, a number of such passages may be found (Canto 1.8b, 1.9a, 1.11b, 1.12a, 2.68b-2.70b).

³ See HKS 52-56, 61-62, 64, 81, 87, 92, 122, 134, 169, 211, 243, 278, 284, 290, 300. In the course of these passages mention is made of a wide variety of trees.

That HKS here need not necessarily be tapping a *kidung*, appears from the occurrence of many such passages in the Panji story *Hikayat Misa Taman Jayeng Kusuma*, such as, for example, the following one: "Thereupon Sira Panji and his brother sat down on a stone under a shady *kemuning*-tree, waited upon by his attendants, who sat packed together [...] all the way to the fringe of the forest".⁴

Slot 2: "The object of the enemy's aggression". Resuming my comparative reading I note that in both story A and story B the action is here briefly interrupted by the introduction of the attractive main object of the aggression that is about to be committed by the princely protagonists of both stories: we are told in A that the king of Mataun has a beautiful daughter and a son, whereas in B the king of Madiun is only said to have a beautiful daughter.

We then come to Slot 3: "Panic in the market over the arrival of an enemy" when in both A and B the attack is then started. Its result: terrorized by the burning and plundering going on in the outlying districts the villagers flee to the kingdom's centre (in both A and B: *orang desa mengusir negeri besar*). There their arrival in the market with their women and children creates an uproar (*gempar*) among the traders. As both stories A and B then tell us: while the king just happens to be in audience (*sedang dihadap*) he hears the noise and sends a courtier (*warga dalam*) to find out what is going on. Only in A is that courtier given a name, namely Barat Ketiga. This name is also several times used elsewhere in HKS for a courtier who is sent to make enquiries in the market or is given the task – in that case often together with a courtier called Bambang Segara – to act as emissary or deliver a letter to one or more rulers (HKS 110-111, 193-194, 215-216, 255, 278-280).

In both stories A and B – as well as in several of the other war-episodes in HKS – Barat Ketiga criticizes the traders in the market in more or less similar wordings (*butakah tulikah? tiada diketahui sang nata sedang diadap?*) for their being unaware that by creating such a din they bother His Majesty. A closely similar passage, matching this slot in HKS, can be found in *Hikayat Misa Taman Jayeng Kusuma* in the episode in which the arrival of RIK at the border of the kingdom of Segara Gunung causes the villagers to flee to the kingdom's centre with their wives (Abdul Rahman Kaeh 1976: 124).

It should be noted that the type-scene of fleeing villagers causing a panic in the kingdom's centre is also found in a *wayang gedhog* tale, as appears from the summary in Dutch of a Panji romance published by Roorda (1864). That romance, that is found in two KITLV manuscripts, respectively entitled *Panji Gandrung Angrèni* (KITLV Or. 16) and *Panji Kuda Wanengpati klayan Klana Tunjung Seta* (KITLV Or. 17), that actually form one whole, is a *wayang gedhog* tale written in 1860 in prose and hailing from Gresik in East Java (Pigeaud 1968 II: 825-826; Roorda 1864: 27).⁵

⁴ Maka Sira Panji kedua bersaudara duduklah di atas batu di bawah pohon kemuning rampak, diadap segala kadang-kedayan, penuh sesak [...] sampai ke tepi hutan itu (Abdul Rahman Kaeh 1976: 142; for other such passages see Abdul Rahman Kaeh 1976: 90, 130, 155).

⁵ The same romance is also found in a copy made in 1801 for a Palembang nobleman, Pangeran

In Roorda's romance, when the king of Mataun, who claims the hand of Panji's betrothed, Dewi Sekar Taji (RGCK) of Kediri (Daha), is devastating the border area of Kediri, they flee to the capital, causing an uproar there. The same type-scene is used in it to describe the reaction of the population when an army led by Panji's older half-brother on its way to Kediri has set up camp in a village in its border area (Roorda 1864: 52).

In Pigeaud's *Literature of Java* Barat Ketiga is identified as one of two *patih*s who are mentioned in the Leiden palmleaf manuscript LOr. 9043 in a story in verse – presumably *tembang* – that among others involves a king of Puser Bumi. That story, which is called *Sasra Ludira* after a ring of the same name that functions in it as a mark of identification, tells a Ménak Amir Hamzah quest tale that is not found in Poerbatjaraka's "Ménak verhalen". The story is told in East Javanese idiom, so Pigeaud informs us, and the manuscript is written in East Javanese script. (Pigeaud 1968 II: 518, 1970 III:176; 364, 370, 420; Poerbatjaraka 1940b).

If Barat Ketiga is not found in the Ménak manuscripts, can he perhaps have come into HKS from some *lakon* in the *Wayang Ménak* tradition that was established by Yasadipura I (second half eighteenth century)? Or should we look beyond Java, to Bali? In the overview of dramatis personae appearing in Balinese *gambuh*-enactments of the Panji-story *Malat* which is given by Vickers (2005: 322) a certain Pun Barat Katiga is mentioned as the son of the Tumenggung of Singasari. Here it is also interesting to note the observation by Vickers (2005: 145) that in nineteenth century Bali the Ménak became accepted in *gambuh* and in traditional painting as a branch-story of the *Malat*.

However, Barat Ketiga can also be found closer to home, namely in Malay literature. In the Panji-story *Hikayat Carang Kulina* a certain Baruh Ketiga is several times mentioned as royal envoy (Marzuki Nyak Abdullah and Fatima Saleh 1994: 42-44, 56, 162). In *Hikayat Misa Taman Jayeng Kusuma* (Abdul Rahman Kaeh 1976: 25) his name is rendered as Barit Ketik.

Consulting the site of the Malay Concordance Project one also finds Barat Ketiga in *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, a work dated around 1700 (?) (Braginsky 2004: 467), under the name Barit Ketika. There he first appears as envoy of the king of Lasem. Subsequently he plays a very important role as the envoy of Seri Batara Majapahit to Melaka. He is even involved in an unsuccessful plot to assassinate Hang Tuah in Majapahit, when he and the *penjurit* Petala Bumi without being noticed slip into the compound where the Raja Melaka and his men are staying by taking the shape of a cat and a mouse (Kassim Ahmad 1975: 43, 291-297).

Barat Ketiga's occasional colleague in HKS, Bambang Segara, may be identified as Jayadratha, king of Sindhu in *Mahabharata*. Jayadratha plays an important role in *kakawin Bhāratayuddha* (Supomo 1993) and *Hikayat Pandawa Lima*. In *wayang purwa* mythology Bambang Segara was born from the

Adi Manggala, see Jakarta Ms KBG no. 185 listed in Behrend (1998: 202) as *Panji Palembang*. It has been summarized under the title "Panji (Angrèni) van Palembang" by Poerbatjaraka (1940a: 156-215).

discarded caul of Bima. Fished from the sea by a holy man and meditated upon by him, the caul then gave birth to a child, that accordingly was called Bambang Segara. He became a mighty *ksatriya* warrior, who in strength rivalled even Bima himself. Serving king Duryudana of the Korawas, he killed Arjuna's son Abimanyu and was eventually killed by Arjuna's arrow Pasopati (Rio Sudibyoprono 1991: 77-78; Irvine 2005: 236-237). It is hard to see why in HKS this character could be chosen to act as an envoy, jointly with Barat Ketiga.

Slot 4: "Report of the arrival of the enemy to the king". This slot is reached when, after this inquiry in the market by his courtier, in both stories the king receives the report of an attack by a hostile Kelana, and is enraged (*marah, mukanya merah padam*). In story A he then orders his *punggawa* to arrest that Kelana who pretends to be as innocent as a baby (*kelana tambung laku*), whereas in story B he instructs them to gather the troops (*himpunkan segala rakyat*), because it is his wish to turn out (*mengeluari*) against his enemy in person. In the *wayang gedhog* tale summarized by Roorda (1864: 27), too, the pattern of "report to the king" followed by "the anger of the king" and his "orders to counteract the perceived threat" occurs.

Interestingly, in B - but not in A - we are told of the assembled and fully-armed fighting force that its 'pennants looked like the deep-green mountains' (*tunggul umbul-umbul seperti parwata sari rupanya*). This simile echoes similar passages occurring in *kidung*. In *kidun Harṣa-Wijaya* we find 'the army marching in throngs looked like the deep-green mountains' (*bala gumyuk kadi parwata sari* (Berg 1931: Canto II, 53a). And in *kidun Ranga Lawe* it says 'the appearance of His Excellency was like the beauty one beholds in the deep-green mountains' (*warjanira śri bupati lwir langö niṅ parwata sari*) (Berg 1930: 8.6). Have the words *parwata sari* and the comparison come in via some translated Javanese original text? Or was the Malay author perhaps familiar with - or perhaps even trained in using as *dhalang* - the often arcane *basa pedhalangan* used by the puppeteer when, by singing a *janturan* with some highly poetical description he halts the action of his play to evoke the right mood for that moment? (Arps 2016: 71).

We are also reminded of a shadow-play when stories A and B then continue with what may be called Slot 5: "The king informs the queen he will do battle", the narrative of which somewhat resembles an 'inner-palace scene' (*adegan kedatonan*, Becker 1979: 222) in *wayang*. After the king has left the audience-hall and has entered his private quarters (*berangkat masuk ke dalam*, a formula endlessly repeated all through HKS), so both A and B tell us, he sits down close to the queen (*duduk dekat permaisuri*, another often repeated formula in HKS), tells her about the arrival of the Kelana and then - only in B - informs her of his intention to turn out against the foe in person.

The reaction of the Queen is to have ill forebodings about the possible outcome of this confrontation (*berdebar-debar hatinya, tiada sedap rasanya*, words repeated in many of the war-episodes in HKS). In story B this intimate *kedaton* scene is further spun out by the heavily formulaic description of the king and queen sleeping together (*beradu laki istri*) and of their performance as a couple of other ritual activities of court-life after rising, such as taking a bath, changing dress, eating breakfast, partaking of *sirih* and perfuming themselves.

In the *wayang gedhog* story, too, the scene of the king informing the queen of some new development and how he intends to react to it can be found. When the king of Bali has been told of the impending attack by a Kelana Jayeng Sari (really RIK) and in council has decided not to offer resistance to him, he enters the *kraton* and informs the queen of it (Roorda 1864: 14). Similar scenes of the king informing the queen inside the palace are found in Roorda (1864: 34, 41). That intimacy is indeed involved in the *kedaton*-scene appears from a passage in Roorda (1864: 60), where we are told that when the king of Nusa Kencana, Kelana Tunjung Seta, enters the *kraton* to inform his Queen of his intention to do battle with Kelana Jayeng Sari, she refuses to be touched by him so long as he has not killed his enemy.

In *Hikayat Misa Taman Jayeng Kusuma*, too, a *kedaton*-scene can be found, namely at the very beginning of the *hikayat*, where it does not, to be sure, take place on the eve of a battle. When Betara Naya Indra, on the orders of Betara Guru, is sent down from heaven to incarnate himself as king of Kuripan, he immediately joins his wife in the air-cooled hall (*peranginan*). There, sitting down close to her (*duduk dekat*), he takes her on his lap and kisses her. When he tells her that he has been ordered to incarnate himself in the world, she is startled and her heart begins to pound (*terkejut berdebar-debar hatinya*). When he has explained why he has to leave, he leads her by the hand to their bedchamber, where they sleep together (*beradu*) (Abdul Rahman Kaeh 1976: 2).

Then follows Slot 6: "The king's departure for the battle". In story B brief mention is made of the king ceremonially dressing himself (*memakai*) for his departure and this is followed by an emotional farewell scene (*tinggallah*) which is given considerable pathos by the request of his daughter to Daddy that he please, please, take her with him. In story A we are here told that, banning all thoughts of his wife and children from his mind (*diputuskan hatinya akan anaknya dan isterinya*) Madiun's king goes on his way (*berjalan*), seated on his elephant, his royal crown on his head, an umbrella held above him, accompanied by loud music and the cheers of his men. For this pattern in the *wayang gedhog* story see, for example, the king of Mataun dressing for battle and then marching out with his troops against Kelana Jayeng Sari (Roorda 1864: 27).

When we reach Slot 7: "The battle", the narrative goes through a series of sub-slots.

In Sub-slot a.: "The outbreak of hostilities", beside similarities, we once again note small differences of detail between story A and story B. In A we are told that Mataun's troops, after their march-off to meet the enemy, are attacked by Panji Sangulara's men as they are taking a rest under a *waringin*-tree. In B, too, the Kelana takes the initiative. In council Kelana Mesa Yuda and his five attendants, worried lest just the six of them will prove unable to deal with the numerous warriors brought into the field by the king of Madiun, decide to attack first.

About that first attack – in story A not described but only mentioned – story B tells us that Kelana Mesa Yuda and his attendants, mounted on horseback, storm the enemy. The Kelana, so story B tells us, 'drilled his painted lance'

(*angembat watang tinulis*) as he did so, and he and his men together then 'drove off and pursued [the enemy soldiers] like wild buffaloes enraged by sparks of fire' (*mengusir dan mengembat seperti banteng kalalaton*). In *kidung* poetry *watanj* is a commonly used word for lance. It is also in a work of that genre that we find our enraged wild buffaloes, as we see in the passage 'they left their spears and stabbed with their creeses like wild buffaloes enraged by sparks of fire' (*atingal watanj, aneris kaya banteng kalalaton*) in *kidung Wasej Sari* 2.43 (Zoetmulder 1982 I: 992). In both story A and B the first clash ends with the gradual yielding ground by the troops of the attacked kingdom and their being pursued by the enemy as they flee (*undur perlahan-lahan, digulung*).

In Sub-slot b.: "Man-to-man combats: The enemy's retainers vs. the kingdom's war chiefs". In both Story A and story B we are told that the kingdom's war-chiefs – its Patih, Demang, Tumenggung, Rangga, and Jaksa – in an effort to lead the fleeing soldiers back to the fray – now come forward and confront the five retainers of the Kelana in man-to-man combat. This in turn leads to the description – one after the other, in hierarchical order – of five confrontations (*bertemu*) in which these war-chiefs are all killed. In Story A the last of the five war-chiefs to die is Mataun's Patih. Dying honourably like a man (*sempurna laki-laki kematiannya itu*) he is stabbed to death by his opponent's creese, as is formulaically described by the words *ditikam terus ke belakang, darahnya pun menyembur-nyembur ke muka*, words used throughout HKS almost always when a war-chief or king falls in battle. These man-to-man combats resemble those fought between the war-chiefs in epic-historical *kidungs*.

In Sub-slot c.: "Man-to-man combat: the king vs. his enemy". In this part of the sequence we may distinguish four components.

First, we are told how (1) "The two opponents meet". In Story B the king of Madiun, the only one of the kingdom's warriors now remaining like an island in the midst of the sea, on hearing that his *patih* has fallen, comes to the fore. His opponent, Kelana Mesa Yuda, seeing this, gives his horse the spurs, and galloping towards him (*melarikan kudanya mendapatkannya*) attacks him. In Story A the king of Mataun, angry (*mukanya merah padam api bernyala*) to see that his Patih has fallen and forgetting all about his wife and children, comes to the fore, as he shoots off his arrows that fall down like a heavy rain.

(2) "The dumbfounded king has to be brought to his senses". While he is attacking the king Panji Sangulara (RIK) is not only said to drill his painted lance (*angembat watang tinulis*) but also to resemble Betara Kamajaya in his attitude. Comparisons of royalty with gods are also found in *kidungs*, both in epic-historical ones (for example, in *kidung Sunda* for Hayam Wuruk looking like Kama see Berg 1927: Canto II, 53; for the princess of Sunda looking like Ratih, see Berg 1927: Canto I, 35a) and in those that tell a Panji story (see for example, Raden Warastrasari looking like Ratih in Robson 1971: 65).

In Story A the king of Mataun for a while is totally confused on seeing Panji Sangulara, mistaking him for Betara Kama Jaya who has descended to the world to come help his opponent. Only when his Arya, seated on his elephant's head, explicitly warns him that he is under attack (*ingat-ingat,*

tuanku, inilah kelana itu datang), is he startled (*terkejut*) out of the spell his opponent's appearance has cast over him and is ready to fight him. A more or less similar story is basically told in B. Here the king of Madiun is said to be so amazed by his opponent's looks that he mistakes him for a god appearing in human form (*dewa kemanu[ng]san*), and like the king of Mataun, in order to come to his senses again (*ingat*) he must first be warned by his Arya (*ingat-ingat inilah kelana itu datang*).

The same pattern can also be observed in *Hikayat Misa Taman Jayeng Kusuma*, when we are told that Misa Jejuluk Maring Daha, in reality RGCK disguised as a man, in a battle attacks the kings of Segara Madu, Astina Jajar, and Sanggura: "All who saw the appearance of Misa Jejuluk were dumbfounded, and unaware of their impending death, saying: 'Oh, Betara Kerma Jaya has descended to earth and entered the battle!' [...] Thereupon Misa Jejuluk confronted the elephants of the three kings, bearing himself very well, [...] and the three kings were totally dumbfounded for a while and completely forgot themselves. And Misa Jejuluk jumped onto the elephant of the king of Segara Madu. Thereupon the king was startled and came to his senses again".⁶

Then, before the actual duel starts, in HKS we get (3) "The two opponents exchange challenges". In Story A the king of Mataun demands that his opponent tell him his name, and then, as also happens in Story B, he insultingly orders him to pay homage to him at his feet, threatening to kill him if he does not obey. In Story A Panji Sangulara, with a smile on his face, as befits the refined prince in control of his emotions, gives him tit for tat, replying that he must not talk so much, like a slaving old woman. In Story B Mesa Yuda retorts that it would only bring a man dishonour to pay homage to his opponent on the battlefield, and that the king had better not just talk but attack him. In both A and B the effect of this exchange of words is to provoke anger (*marah*). To demand one's opponent to say his name and then to exchange challenging words with him (*sumbar*) is a type-scene found both in the wayang and in *kidungs*.

In Arps (2016: 536, note 327) it is pointed out that in the *wayang purwa* the *sumbar* can be pronounced in battle, and is standard after one of the Pandawas has killed a giant. In the version of *lakon Dewa Ruci* which he has published we find an example in the exchange of words between Buta Cakil and Permadi (Arjuna) preceding their fight in the forest (Arps 2016: 311-312). The same convention is made fun of by Petruk and Gareng in the translation of a *lakon Karna Tandhing* published in Brandon (1993: 309-310). In Roorda's *wayang gedhog* tale, too, several examples of *sumbar* can indeed be found (Roorda 1864: 28, 59, 61, 62). In *kidunj Wanjan Wideya* examples are Canto 2, 13b-14b, where

⁶ *Maka segala yang melihat rupa Misa Jejuluk itu pun hairan tercengang-cengang, tiada sedarkan mati, seraya katanya, "Aduh! Betara Kerma Jaya turun masuk berperang" [...] Maka Misa Jejuluk pun datanglah ke hadapan gajah sang nata ketiga, terlalu baik sikapnya [...]. Maka ratu ketiga pun hairanlah tercengang-cengang seketika, tiada ingat akan dirinya. Maka Misa Jejuluk pun melompat naik ke atas gajah ratu Segara Madu. Maka sang nata pun terkejut, baharulah sedar akan dirinya [...].* (Abdul Rahman Kaeh 1976: 239).

the envoys of the king of Lasem at the court of Kediri provoke the anger of Bañak Sudira (Robson 1971: 121), Canto 2, 47a-b when Bañak Sudira and his two offenders meet on the battlefield (Robson 1971: 137) and Canto 2, 52a-54a, when Panji and the king of Lasem do battle (Robson 1971: 141)

Examples of *asumbar-sumbar* or *asusumbar* can also be found in epic-historical *kidungs*, such as a *Ranga Lawe* or *kiduñ Sunda*. When Sunda's Ken Jätiguru and Majapahit's Patih Madhu meet (compare *bertemu* in HKS) on the battlefield at Bubat, Jätiguru provokes his opponent's anger by berating him for treacherously speaking words of honey (*madhu*) to the Sundanese as an emissary to their court and yet now treacherously making war on them. Patih Madhu retorts that Sunda, not Majapahit, has acted wrongly, by not behaving like the other dependencies of Majapahit when coming to visit, as they were by obligation bound to do. This reply angers (see *marah* in HKS) Jätiguru who then starts the fight (Berg 1927 II: 130-134). Of this pattern - exchange of challenging words, anger, the start of the fight - several other examples are also found in *kiduñ Sunda* (for example, Berg 1927 II: 161-188 "The Patih of Sunda vs. Gajah Mada", 1927 II: 204-208 "The king of Sunda vs. the king of Kuripan").⁷

In *Hikayat Misa Taman Jayeng Kusuma*, too, the challenge is a familiar part of the conventional description of a battle. Thus, when the king of Segara Madu, after having been startled out of the spell cast on him by the god-like appearance of the attacking *kelana*, asks him what he is, a god or a human being, the answer he gets is that "he" is Misa Jejuluk from Daha who has come to help the oppressed who have done nothing wrong. Getting very angry, the king then retorts: "If you want to live, then pay your respects at my feet, because I take pity on you for your good looks".⁸

(4) "The king is killed by his enemy". In Story A we are told that an angry king of Mataun tries to stab Panji Sangulara to death with his lance (*tombak*) but misses. His opponent then jumps onto the head of His Majesty's elephant, kicks off the Arya, who then falls to the ground and is captured by one of his retainers and tied up. Subsequently Panji Sangulara stabs the king with his creese (*kenalalah dadanya terus ke belakang, darahnya menyembur-nyembur ke muka*) and the king falls off to the ground and is dead. In Story B we are told that Mesa Yuda with his *watang tinulis* hits the king in the chest, stabbing him *terus ke belakangnya maka darahnya* etcetera etcetera, after which the king, when the Arya turns his elephant, drops down dead to the ground. In Story B the Arya is not captured.

The bloodiness of HKS's descriptions here may remind us of *kidung* literature. In *kiduñ Wanban Wideya*, Canto 2, 48a, when Bañak Sudira kills Lasem's Tumenggung in combat with his creese, we are told that he splits his chest. The Tumenggung's blood gushes forth and he falls to the ground;

⁷ As Zoetmulder (1982 II: 1848.16) indicates, examples of *sumbar* are also found in Old Javanese *kakawins* such as *Ghaṭotkacāśraya*, *Smaradahana*, and *Bhomakāwya*.

⁸ *Jika engkau hendak hidup, marilah sembah kakiku ini, karena sayang aku akan rupamu itu* (Abdul Rahman Kaeh 1976: 239).

but before dying he is seized by the hair and beheaded (Robson 1971: 137). The way in which Panji kills the king of Lasem in Canto 2, 57b-57a is equally bloody. Stabbing him in the throat with his creese, Panji splits him open as far as the chest and, when his enemy's blood splashes all over him, he takes a ritual bath in his blood (Robson 1971: 143). Bloody descriptions of death in battle can also be found in many passages in *kidung Sunda*. To mention only one, in Canto II, 136 when Jätiguru is killed by Majapahit's Patih Madhu, his breast is said to be perforated by his enemy's sword, so that the blood spurts around (Berg 1927: 39, 108).

Nevertheless, in order to create this kind of bloody scene, the Malay writer of HKS may well have relied on a Malay rather than a Javanese work of literature. This appears from a search of the site of the Malay Concordance Project. Beyond the many times it is used in HKS – some 40 if we include small variations – the full formulaic expression *darahnya menyembur-nyembur ke muka* is found used only twice in the MCP's entire corpus of texts, namely in *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, where it tells how Hang Jebat after his treason is stabbed to death by Hang Tuah with his creese (Kassim Ahmad 1975: 347. 33; 351. 21).

With the victory of the attacking Kelanas, we come to Slot 8: "The aftermath of the battle". Here Story A is far more detailed than Story B. Story A tells that, after the enemy troops have fled and have begged him for their lives under the *waringin*-tree where he has made a stop, Kelana Panji Sangulara receives the homage of Mataun's Arya and its princes. He reassures them that their position as the rulers of the kingdom will not be changed and orders that they must simply take over their fallen father's place. He also commands the Arya of Mataun to take care of the corpses of the king and his queens and concubines, who – this has not been told to us – have all committed suicide (*bela*) after the death of the king. On his orders, the Arya burns the corpses and collects the ashes in a golden big-bellied jar which he then places in a shrine (*candi*).

From a thorough study of the historical practice of self-immolation by women in Java and Bali (Creese 2001) we learn that descriptions of *bela* are found widely in *kakawin* and *kidung* literature. In the *wayang gedhog* story, too, *bela*-scenes occur, for instance when Dewi Angrèni's maid-servant Emban Condong stabs herself after her mistress, who is to be executed in the forest by Panji's older half-brother on the orders of the king of Kuripan, has killed herself after grabbing his creese. (Roorda 1864: 7-8). When the king of Nusa Kencana is about to do battle with Kelana Jayeng Sari (RIK), his wives who have been captured by the *kelana* hope that that handsome young man, and not their husband, will survive, so that they can avoid committing ritual suicide (Roorda 1864: 59).

The basic sequence of slots used for creating war-episodes ends with Slot 9: "The enemy takes possession of the kingdom and the princess". In Story B, after accepting the surrender of the enemy troops and sparing their lives, Mesa Yuda reassures the worried princes and orders the Arya to take care of the royal corpses, and this is done by the Arya in the same way as in Story A. Then Story A has Kelana Panji Sangulara at the invitation of Mataun's Arya enter

the royal audience hall (*paseban agung*). When the prince of Mataun there is about to do homage to him, he declines accepting this gesture as inappropriate, since – so he pretends – he is merely a person of no consequence (*orang hina papa*) and therefore unworthy of such an honour. Once again reassuring the princes that they will take over the positions of their slain fathers, he gains the love (*kasih*) of everyone.

In story B, too, the Kelana, Mesa Yuda, enters the *paseban agung* at the invitation of the Arya of the defeated kingdom (both in A and B addressed by their new master as ‘uncle’, *paman*). He accepts the homage brought to him by the princes and reassures them they will retain the positions once occupied by their fathers. Finally comes what is perhaps the crowning moment in the Kelana’s conquest, his taking possession of the crown-princess of the defeated kingdom. In both Story A and Story B he enters the palace quarters for the princesses (*kenyapuri*), again at the invitation of the Arya. In B he does so as in the *paseban agung* everybody is getting drunk at a feast. In both A and B he completes his taking possession of the kingdom by sleeping with its crown princess.

Summary of the basic sequence

Slot 1: An enemy decides to attack

Slot 2: The object of the enemy’s aggression

Slot 3: Attack of the enemy on the border and panic in the market

Slot 4: Report of the attack of the enemy to the king

Slot 5: The king informs the queen he will do battle

Slot 6: The king’s departure for the battle

Slot 7: The battle

a: The outbreak of hostilities

b: Man-to-man combats: The enemy’s retainers vs. the king’s war-chiefs

c: Man-to-man combat; the king versus the enemy

(1) The two opponents meet

(2) The dumbfounded king has to be brought to his senses

(3) The two opponents exchange challenges

(4) The king is killed by the enemy

Slot 8: The aftermath of the battle

Slot 9: The enemy takes possession of the kingdom and its crown-princess

VARIATION 1: THE CONQUEST OF MANGGADA BY KELANA KUDA SEMIRANG

It should be noted that the above-mentioned schematic structure is quite flexible. Thus, instead of only one opponent, a Kelana attacking a kingdom to conquer a princess may also be given several of them. This happens in the war-episode in which Kelana Kuda Semirang (RGCK) conquers Manggada (HKS 214-223). With the necessary adaptation and amplification in some slots and type-scenes – notably in Slot 6: “The departure for the Battle” – its narrative with much repetition of now familiar elements goes through the first six slots of type-scenes.

In Slot 4 a deviation from the prescribed pattern occurs: in council with

his warchiefs the angry king of Manggada not only orders the feigning Kelana to be arrested and Manggada's troops to be gathered, but also sends Barat Ketiga and Bambang Segara to his two younger brothers, the kings of Kembang Kuning and Pakembangan, with a letter requesting their help against the aggressor. Between Slots 5 and 6, therefore, two slots are added: in the first one – more or less a variant of Slot 4 – we are told how the three kings, after – apparently simultaneously – having received their letters, angrily order the mobilization of their armies to march to Manggada.

Then there follows a slot that is a very brief variant of the “*kedatonan*” in Slot 5: the king of Kembang Kuning tells his queen about his intention to go to the assistance of his older brother. This scene is closed with the statement that the king of Pakembangan did likewise. After this they march to Manggada, where they are cordially received by their older brother, who regales them at a feast. During that feast, so HKS tells us, the two allies do something that is extremely important for a king whenever he needs to make sure of their loyalty: they declare their willingness, as his liege-men, to fight for him.

In Malay texts, where it is widespread in genres such as heroic epic and romance (Koster 1997: 109-110), this type-scene is usually indicated by the use of the word *bercakap*. I therefore call it a *bercakap* type-scene. This word means something like to declare something loudly in public and thereby commit oneself to make the words one has spoken come true. At the close of Slot 5 of the Manggada episode we are told, “Thereupon the two kings swore an oath, saying, ‘Older brother (namely the king of Manggada), look at your two younger brothers here. [They promise that] they will not feel at ease before they have severed the head of that Kelana who pretends to be as innocent as a baby’. The king of Manggada was extremely pleased to hear their declarations”.⁹ Interestingly, we find quite comparable *bercakap* type-scenes in the epic-historical *kidung Sunda*.

A quite extensive sample is Canto II, 6-13 (Berg 1927: 27, 92-93). When the warchiefs of Sunda are convening in council with the king under a *warijin-tree*, the *kidung* presents a long argumentation by the *mantri*'s for the importance of loyalty unto death for the *ksatrya*, concluding the passage by saying: “Thus spoke all the *mantri*'s, saying they would die together as sacrifices on the battle-field, with unflinching bravery, remembering the love shown to them by their lord, by means of which they had personally enjoyed the four advantages”.¹⁰ About the effect of their declarations the *kidung* tells us: “Thereupon the lion's courage of the king increased when he heard the words spoken by his ministers, and finally he said, smiling and elated: ‘Well, then, engage in combat with them when they arrive. I will be happy to die in battle in Majapahit’”.¹¹

⁹ *Maka sang nata kedua pun bercakaplah, seraya katanya, “Kakang aji, lihatlah pun yayi kedua ini, apabila bertemu dengan kelana tambung laku itu, jikalau belum yayi perceraikan badannya dengan kepalanya, belumlah sedap hati pun yayi kedua ini”*. (HKS 217).

¹⁰ *Samañkana ature mantri sadaya, abhāṣā parēṅ mati, tahura riṅ rana, tan iwañeṅ kaśūran, meñēteṅ asih nṛpati, aneṅ śārira, caturlābha bhinukti* (Berg 1927: Canto II, 12).

¹¹ *Mangkyāwēwēh kasinhanira saṅ nātha, aṅrēṅw atur iṅ mantri, wēkasan aṅucap, mesēm asmu garjita,*

In Roorda's *wayang gedhog* tale, too, we find instances of the *bercakap* type-scene. To ward off an impending attack on Kediri by the king of Mataun, who demands to be given the hand of his daughter, the king of Kediri promises to make her the wife of whoever makes his enemy withdraw. Thereupon Kelana Jayengsari (RIK) declares himself willing to die for the king if His Majesty will permit him to do so (Roorda 1864: 20-21). As Kelana Tunjung Seta, the king of Nusa Kencana, marches to the battle-field, the three remaining regents who have joined his army declare they would be ashamed if they let their king fight Kelana Jayengsari (RIK) alone (Roorda 1864: 61).

Bercakap-scenes also frequently serve to keep the narrative moving in *Hikayat Pandawa Lima*, a Malay tale created between the end of the fourteenth and the early-sixteenth century on the basis of a Majapahit version of *Bhāratayuddha*, that is, not on the *kakawin* with that name by Mpu Sedah and Mpu Panuluh (Braginsky 2004: 115-116, 143-144). To quote such a type-scene from the beginning of that *hikayat*:

Thereupon said Maharaja Darmawangsa to Betara Krisyna, "What do you have to say about the action of Maharaja Wurgadewa?" And Betara Krisyna said, "It would be best to turn out against him". Thereupon Lord Bima and Lord Rajuna and Sakula (sic) and Sadewa and Lord Setyaki and Lord Dasta Jaman and Maharaja Gatotkaca and Lord Bimanyu and Lord Kencana and all the Pandawa kings declared their willingness to fight to Maharaja Darmawangsa, all of them doing so with loud cheers and shouts.¹²

In Slot 6: "The departure for battle", we are not told of the departure of the attacked kings but of that of Kuda Semirang and 'his' troops – another case of the flexible adaptation of a traditional sequence. While the armies of the three allied kings are taking a rest under seven *waringin*-trees (*beringin pitu*) they are attacked by the Kelanas troops (Slot 7a). When the three kings hear the din of the fighting, they angrily depart from Manggada and join their armies on the battlefield, without taking leave of their queens, as they would normally have done when we are told of a royal departure, as is the case in Slot 6.

After "The outbreak of first hostilities" (Slot 7a), HKS first with convenient rapidity disposes of the warchiefs of the three kings, by having all of them killed in man-to-man combats by the seven leading warriors of the Kuda Semirang camp, who are here mentioned as the 'four courtiers and the three war-chiefs' (*empat nayaka dan tiga punggawa*). From here onward – as an expansion of Slot 7c of the basic sequence – follow the duels of the king of Pakembangan versus Raden Singapernala, the crown-prince of Tumasik; that of the king of Kembang Kuning versus Raden Jayasantika, the crown-prince of Angkar; and that of the

lah pagutana mon prāpti, sukhijsun pĕjah, tumpur ij Majapahit (Berg 1927: Canto II, 13). For another *bercakap*-type-scene in *kidurj Sunda* see Berg (1927: Canto II, 28-33).

¹² Maka kata Maharaja Darmawangsa pada Betara Krisyna, "Apa bicara kakanda akan pekerjaan Maharaja Wurgadewa itu". Maka kata Betara Krisyna, "Baiklah kita keluari". Maka Sang Bima dan Sang Rajuna dan Sakula (sic) dan Sadewa dan Sang Setyaki dan Sang Dasta Jaman dan Maharaja Gatotkaca dan Sang Bimanyu dan Sang Kencana dan segala raja-raja Pandawa pun bercakaplah pada Maharaja Darmawangsa, semuanya dengan tempik soraknya itu. (Khalid Hussain 1992: 84).

king of Manggada versus the Kelana (Daha's Crown-Princess RGCK).

Each of the royal duels is again described according the scheme that I have defined as customary in HKS and which is told with much repetition of the by now so familiar action and formulaic language we have seen used in the duels of Panji Sangulara versus the king of Mataun and of Kelana Mesa Yuda versus the king of Madiun. As in the royal battles in those earlier two war-episodes, so here, too, with all the adaptations made necessary by having three kings instead of only one as the Kelana's opponents, we see a varied repetition of the pattern of Slots 7c.1-7c.4.

The story of the aftermath of the battle with the king of Manggada and his allies, too, more or less follows the pattern of scenes of Slots 8 and 9. The *raden arya's* of the three defeated kings do homage to Kuda Semirang and beg for their lives. The Kelana then orders them to take care of the corpses of the kings and their wives who have committed ritual suicide. The *raden arya's* burn them and place their ashes, collected in in a golden jar, in a shrine. The conqueror, who refuses to be paid homage, thus maintaining his incognito, then orders the captive commoners to be collected. When the conquered princesses have mounted their oxcarts, he once more reassures the son of the king of Manggada that he will be his father's successor, and departs, having entrusted the three kingdoms to their *raden arya's*. Conveniently, the scenes of the Kelana being invited into the *kenyapuri* and of "his" sleeping with the crown-princess are omitted.

VARIATION 2: THE ATTEMPTED CONQUEST OF GEGELANG AND ITS PRINCESS THWARTED

The culmination of HKS's narrative is formed by three episodes: 1. The defence of Gegelang and its crown-princess by the disguised roaming princes against the King of Socawindu who, assisted by his five royal brothers, demands that she be given in marriage to his son Raden Jayeng Kertapati (HKS 253-68); 2. The defence of Danuraja and its Queen by the princes against the King of Panggal Jaya, who assisted by his five royal brothers wants to force her to marry him (HKS 276-290); and finally, 3. Kelana Mesa Wirapati's expedition to heaven to obtain for Kelana Edan (RIK) the items the Queen of Danuraja has demanded from him as bride-price.

Only the first two of these are war-episodes, and from these two I will discuss only one, namely the failed attempt by the king of Socawindu and his brothers to take Gegelang and its crown-princess. That war-episode opens with a council, as do HKS's stories of the conquest of a kingdom by a *kelana*, and mentions what will be the object desired in this episode. What is different, however, is that here the attacker is not a roaming knight-errant in some kingdom's border-area, but an established ruler seated in his audience hall. The king of Socawindu opens the meeting with the question: Where is there is a king with a daughter who is so beautiful that she would be an appropriate match for his son, Raden Jayeng Kertapati.

His *arya* and *patih* then inform him that, now that the princess of Daha (RGCK) has been abducted by Sukma Gelentar (Betara Kala) and the princess of Kuripan (RRW) has been taken away by a *buta* (dati Nala Prajangga), there only remains the princess of Gegelang. Her betrothed, Raden Carang Tinangluh, has left Kuripan to search for his older brother (RIK). The *hikayat's* reference to Betara Kala as Sukma Gelentar is curiously archaic. Gelentar seems to be a corrupt form of the name of the God of Death, *Kālāntaka*, that is found in the *kakawins Rāmāyana, Ghaṭotkacāśraya* and *Bhāratayuddha* as well as in *kiduj Harṣa-Wijaya* (Zoetmulder 1982 I: 772).

Undeterred by the information that she is already engaged to Carang Tinangluh, the king of Socawindu orders his Jaksa to compose a letter in which he demands that Gegelang's princess be given in marriage to his son. If the king of Gegelang does not comply, so he threatens in that letter, he and his five brothers – the kings of Camara, Pudak Setegal, Belambangan, Pudak Sewan, and Randitan – will come to get her and turn Gegelang into a green river and an ocean of blood. If Gegelang does not obey, he will certainly punish it, or his name is not that of king of Socawindu. He then orders his Tumenggung and Demang to deliver this letter to the king of Gegelang and sends Barat Ketiga and Bambang Segara to his five brothers with another letter requesting their assistance.

When the Tumenggung and Demang arrive in the market in Gegelang their appearance causes an uproar (*gempar*) among the traders. Hearing the noise while he is holding audience (*lagi diseba*) the king sends out a courtier (*warga dalam*), who upbraids them for disturbing His Majesty (*butakah matamu tulikah telingamu*). The courtier then reports the arrival of the two emissaries to the king. In the audience-hall they rudely refuse to sit down so long as their letter has not been accepted. Having listened to its contents, that have been read out by Sira Panji, the displeased king remains silent. Mesa Wirapati, whose fiancée is being claimed by another, is completely outraged. On hearing the king's decision that he will not comply with the demand of the king of Socawindu, Sira Panji (RIK), who like the other Kelanas has entered the service of the king of Gegelang, declares: "If Your Majesty is displeased with the words in the letter, your servant and his brothers will defend your kingdom, if need be at the cost of their lives".¹³

Mesa Kelana Wirapati, furious like Betara Syiwa about to burn all the world to ashes, tears up the letter and throws the snippets into the faces of Socawindu's two emissaries. Kebo Jayengpati (Semar) then throws them out of the great audience-hall. Asked by the king of Gegelang what they have to say (*sekarang bagaimana bicara anakku sekalian*), the Kelanas once more in council reassure him that they will defend Gegelang with their own lives. They tell him that the people of Gegelang need not be mobilized, because they alone will do all the fighting. They decide that next day they will lay an ambush to surprise the attackers.

¹³ *Jikalau duli sangulun tiada berkenan akan perkataan di dalam surat itu, atas nyawa patik saudara-bersaudaralah akan negeri paduka sangulun ini.* (HKS 256).

Hearing how his envoys have been humiliated and his demand has been rejected, the king of Socawindu is furious. Just then his five younger brothers with their men arrive and they are warmly welcomed by him. Three days and three nights in a row they are feasted and regaled by him, eating and drinking and making merry to their heart's content. After they have all become as drunk as a lord, they each declare (*bercakap*) their willingness to give their lives in the service of the king of Socawindu. We have seen the kings of Kembang Kuning and Pakembangan do the same in Slot 4 of the story of the conquest of Manggada.

Skipping Slot 5 – the king of Gegelang will not have to defend his kingdom, because his five recently acquired liege-men, the Kelanas, will do that for him – the narrative then takes us to Slot 6, which describes the departures for battle of, first, the forces on the Socawindu side, and then of the Kelanas and their troops. On the Socawindu side this departure is initiated with a brief *memakai* type-scene, describing what clothes the kings are wearing as they march off: “Thereupon the kings all six of them put on their complete dress-of-state and placed their royal crowns on their heads”.¹⁴

Memakai type-scenes are commonplace at every turn in *kidung* poetry, both in that of the epic-historical variant and in Panji romances. In *kidung Wayanban Wideya*, Panji, when confronting the king of Lasem in battle, is in Robson's translation described as follows: He wore breeches of *lubeṅ mihat* like honey to the eye with a white *tumpal* motif; his jacket was of green gilt. He wore ear-drops of *kostuba* jewels, a “Glow of the Sun”-kris, a “collar” in the shape of the waxing moon set with *pakaja* gems. His headband was of red gold with gems of red and green and his girdle (?) was of chased gold. He wore *kēmitan* bangles with glowing red stones, a ring with a *kostuba* stone, and noble, white arm-bands.¹⁵

A fine example in *kidung Sunda* is the very elaborate description of the state dress the king of Sunda puts on, as he prepares himself for the audience in which the envoy of Majapahit will present the letter of Hayam Wuruk, requesting his daughter's hand in marriage (Berg 1927: Canto I, 22a-23).¹⁶ In Roorda's *wayang gedhog* tale several instances of the use of this type-scene can be found, for example when, ordered to do so by her father, the princess of Bali, Andaya Prana, formally dressed for the occasion, departs to surrender herself and the kingdom to Kelana Jayengsari (Roorda 1864: 14).

¹⁴ [M]aka sang nata pun keenamnya memakailah pakaian kerajaan dengan se[b]erhana pakaiannya dan mengenakan mahkota keprabuan [...]. (HKS 260).

¹⁵ Alañcinjan lubeṅ mihat sinawan madu atumpal putih kawacanira perēmas ijo antiṅ-antiṅ kostubâduhuṅ rawiprabâpadaka sasih sumuklapaksa anayaka ratna pakaja / bēlēṅkērira mas rakta anayana binanṅ wilis karambalanira mas tatur agēḡelāṅ kēmitan alocana komala gumyar ali-ali ratna kostuba atētēbus putih amenak // (Robson 1971: Canto 2, 51a-b).

¹⁶ Interestingly, Vickers (2005: 139) has suggested that the for many Western scholars so annoying descriptions of dress in gambuh, notably in its staging's *panglangkara* – namely in the spoken or sung presentation of the major characters, delivered after their initial appearance by way of self-introduction – can be seen as an important form of character presentation.

In Malay Panji romances, too, *memakai*-scenes abound, as can be seen from the many instances we meet all through the narrative in romances like *Hikayat Misa Taman Jayeng Kusuma*. However, no matter how instructive it may be to look at *memakai*-scenes in Javanese literature and Malay Panji stories as a possible source of inspiration for HKS, the particular *memakai*-scene I have quoted above may also well have been taken from *Hikayat Pandawa Lima* (dated 1520s) or *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* (dated 1380s). This becomes clear from the many hits we get if we search for the combination of the words “seberhana” and “pakaian” on the site of the Malay Concordance Project.

Now that they are properly dressed, the king of Socawindu and his five brothers go on their way (*berjalan*) to Gegelang. In the ensuing *berjalan* type-scene each king at the head of his troops marches past, king following upon king in a more or less hierarchical order, and each is formulaically described in the same mould. I only quote HKS’s description of the first two kings:

The first to depart was the king of Randitan, who rode on a piebald elephant, its packsaddle was made of gold, his banner was multi-colored and sprinkled with gold, he sat under an umbrella of blue-green paper, and he was armed with a lance. All his war-chiefs wore official dress and were accompanied by Randitan’s commoners, amidst loud cheers and thundering music. Only then came the king of Puduk Sewan, who rode on an elephant with a frame for a packsaddle (?), he was seated under an umbrella of red paper, his packsaddle was made of gold and its framework of ivory, his banner was green and had a painting in gold on it, he was armed with a long pike, he was accompanied by the commoners of Puduk Sewan. Only then followed [...].¹⁷

Next, the Kelanas, too, depart for the battlefield amidst pomp and splendour, watched from atop a building by the king of Gegelang. This march-out is described in much the same way as is that of the troops of Socawindu and its allies, but there are also some significant differences. First, the Kelanas, contrary to the kings attacking Gegelang, all fight on horseback, and are not seated on elephants. More importantly, whereas their bearing (*sikap*) is explicitly mentioned and is likened to that of some of the great heroes from Hindu-Javanese mythology, in contrast the bearing of the attacking kings is not described.

As an example, I only quote with some abbreviation the description HKS gives of Sira Panji and of Raden Jayasukma of Jagaraga, one of the princes who have joined RIK on his quest after their kingdom was conquered by him.

¹⁷ *Pertama yang berjalan dahulu sang nata Randitan, bergajah belang, ber[e]ngka emas, tunggulnya pun belang diperciki air emas, berpayung kertas wilis biru, senjatanya tombak. Segala punggawanya memakai temandang mantri, diiringkan rakyat Randitan dengan tempik soraknya serta segala bunyi-bunyian terlalu gemuruh. Sudah itu barulah sang nata Puduk Sewan bergajah b[e]luhan, berpayung kertas merah, ber[e]ngka emas disendi-sendi dengan gading, bertunggul hijau bertulis air emas bersenjata ganjar, diiringkan rakyat Puduk Sewan. Sudah itu baharulah [...].* (HKS 260-261).

Next came Raden Jayasukma, seated on horseback, his saddle was a purplish-brown, he sat under an umbrella, he held a purple banner, on which a charging rhinoceros had been painted. His bearing was like that of Young Lord Sutama, he was accompanied by the commoners of Jagaraga. [...] Sira Panji rode his horse Singgaranggi, his saddle was of velvet ornamented with gold, he sat under a yellow umbrella with fringes, inlaid with gems, and held a purple banner ornamented with gold, on which a picture was painted of Lord Hanuman, his bearing was like that of Lord Rajuna.¹⁸

If these two names have not been taken from some lakon of the *wayang purwa*, Bambang Sutama and Sang Rajuna may well have been borrowed from *Hikayat Pandawa Lima*. However, a problem is that in *Hikayat Pandawa Lima* these two characters are in opposite camps: Bambang Sutama – Durna’s son, Aswatama – fights for the Korawa’s, and Arjuna for the Pandawa’s. In *wayang purwa* mythology – not in the *hikayat* – after the defeat of the Korawa’s Bambang Sutama is killed by Arjuna’s arrow, when in a nightly raid together with Kartamarma, after having already killed many Pandawa’s, he is about to murder Parikesit (Irvine 2005: 189). In the march-out in HKS these two references are therefore used inappropriately.

Other mythological figures mentioned here who, if not from a *wayang purwa lakon*, may well have been brought in from *Hikayat Pandawa Lima* are: Abimanyu, in the *wayang purwa* an outstanding example of the *ksatria* (Irvine 2005: 178) with whom Raden Perbatasari – who is at present disguised as Dalang Surengrana – is compared; Sang Sencaki, presumably the same as the noble, self-effacing Setyaki (Irvine 2005: 273-274) with whom Raden Singapernala of Tumasik is compared; and the war-like Srikandi, to whose bearing at the time of her battle with the Reverend Bisma, mentor of the Korawa’s (Irvine 2005: 196-198), that of the HKS’s heroine, Kuda Semirang (RGCK), is likened. It should be noted that Srikandi, too, was among the unfortunate Pandawa’s who were treacherously killed by Bambang Sutama in his nightly raid (Irvine 2005: 279).

Interestingly, HKS in its march-out of the Kelanas from Gegelang also can be seen to borrow from sources other than *wayang purwa* or *Hikayat Pandawa Lima*. Mataun’s Raden Kuda Ngaragung’s attitude is compared to that of a Sang Pralamba; Wirasaba’s Raden Jayanegara is said to bear himself like a Nilaanggada. Last, but not least, Kelana Mesa Wirapati’s bearing is compared to that of a Maharaja Jaya Lengkara (Overbeck n.d: 353).¹⁹

¹⁸ *Kemudian Raden Jayasukma berkuda, berpelana sakhlut [w]ungu, berpayung kertas [w]ungu, bertunggul [w]ungu, bertulis badak menerkam. Sikapnya seperti Bambang Sutama, diiringkan rakyat Jagaraga. [...] Sira Panji berkuda Singgaranggi, berpelana beledu beremas, berpayung iram-iram kuning, bertatah permata bertunggul [w]ungu beremas, bertulis Sang Hanuman, sikapnya seperti Sang Rajuna. (HKS 262).*

¹⁹ This type-written carbon-copy, which is kept in the National Library of Indonesia as part b (part a is the Panji story *Hikayat Temenggung Arya Wangsa*) of MS ML 531 (Kratz 1980: 99; Behrend 1998: 563), contains a transcription with corrections by Overbeck of pages 88-237 of the missing Jakarta MS Cohen Stuart 125 (Behrend 1998: 293). The carbon-copy’s pages containing the transcription of the manuscript’s pages 1-88 are missing. I thank Roger Tol for tracking

The monkey Hanuman, whose image we see displayed on the banner of one of the defenders of Gegelang, plays a prominent role in *Hikayat Seri Rama* (Achadiati Ikram 1980: 363, 366), a work that in its completed form may have been committed to writing between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries (Braginsky 2004: 68-71). Nilanggada is a combination of what are, in fact, two separate characters, namely the two monkey generals Anila and Anggada. These two characters are known from the wayang kulit (Irvine 2005: 181-182) as well as from *Hikayat Seri Rama*, a work created in the 1530's (Achadiati Ikram 1989: 279). These two monkeys are also found in *Hikayat Sang Boma* (Sang Boma 1953: 200) that was written in the fifteenth or sixteenth century on the basis of now lost archaic wayang-plays (Braginsky 2004: 154-156). Maharaja Jaya Lengka comes from the Panji romance in verse (*tembang*), *Jaya Lengka* (Cohen Stuart 1853: 44-69, 1854: 151-188; Wieringa 2008: 371-378), in which Raden Jaya Lengka is RIK's great-grandfather (Pigeaud 1970 III: 260).

Interestingly HKS's description of the departure of the Kelanas to battle shows considerable similarity to for instance *kiduṅ Sunda's* quite similarly structured description of the departure of Hayam Wuruk and his allies to Bubad to do battle with the Sundanese (Berg 1927: Canto II, 51-62). In this passage, first comes Patih Gajah Mada, described as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, then follows Hayam-Wuruk, looking like the god Kāma, next comes the king of Daha (*Gĕgĕlan*). Finally, the king of Kahuripan (*Jĕngala*), in splendour exceeding even the god Śakyamuni, marches past. From this passage I quote part of the description of the king of Daha and his men:

After him came the king of *Gĕgĕlan* (Daha), followed by his military officers. Now His Majesty sat in a decorated cubicle on an elephant, ornamented with exquisite gold, under a yellow umbrella, holding an ensign of yellow silk. // [...] // His military officers were all on horseback, sitting on gilded saddles, glittering like celestial singers, a fine sight in the shade of their umbrellas, banners rising up beside insignia, and the troops preceding them were superbly dressed.²⁰

After the long description of the march-out of the troops of the king of Socawindu and his brothers and that of the Kelanas who will defend Gegelang, we now come to the outbreak of hostilities (Sub-Slot 7a). Before the battle begins, so HKS tells us without giving any details, the armies on both sides, while standing face to face, each line up in battle-array (*mengikat perang*). A more detailed description, given elsewhere in HKS, of troops lining up in battle-array is for instance the following passage:

down the carbon-copy and for helping me to obtain a copy of the microfilm made of it which the National Library of Indonesia made available to the Leiden University Libraries.

²⁰ *Untatira śri naranātheṅ Gĕgĕlan, tinut eṅ balamantri, kunĕṅ śri narendra, wonten rĕnga niṅ liman, inuparĕṅgeṅ mas ādi, apayuṅ jĕnar, aciri sūtra kuniṅ. // [...] // Mantrinira prasama anuṅgaṅ kuda, pinalanan rinukmi, kumram twir cāraṅa, pinayuṅ anjraras, tuṅgul asandiṅ paṅawin, bala riṅ harsa, paṅaṅgone linĕwih* (Berg 1927: Canto II, 55, 57).

When they had arrived on the battle-field, the two armies stood facing each other. Thereupon the men of Pandan Salas lined up in the “Pouncing Garuda”-formation that had wings like a Garuda. When Carang Kembang (one of RPS’s *kedayan*) had seen that they had lined up in that formation, he had his men line up in the formation called the “Gaping Crocodile”.²¹

Such descriptions of battle-arrays can also be found in Panji romances such as *Hikayat Misa Taman Jayeng Kusuma* (Abdul Rahman Kaeh 1976: 403-404) and *Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati*. In the latter we are told that two armies who stand confronting each other line up in respectively a hand-shaped formation and in a battle-array called the Gaping Crocodile (*Buaya Mangu*, Rassers 1921: 101). If not from a Malay Panji story, it may also have been derived from *kidung* poetry. Thus, in *kidun Wanban Wideya*, we are told of the king of Lasem’s army:

The king’s army was so numerous that it was like an ocean overflowing. The Tumenggun and the Deman now formed the “beak”, the Kanuruhan the right wing and the Patih the left, while it was the nobles who formed the “neck”. (Robson 1971: Canto 2, 7b).²²

However, closer to home the author of HKS may also have acquired his familiarity with the *mengikat perang* type-scene through *Hikayat Pandawa Lima*. Of the many examples found throughout that work I quote the following passage:

Thereupon the Reverend Drona lined his army up in the battle-array “Dewanadenta”, that is, “the Elephant”. Maharaja Karna became the right tusk and Maharaja Jaya Darata became the left tusk, and Maharaja Baghdadata became its trunk, and Maharaja Duryudana became its body, and all the Korawa kings became its tail with Lord Dursasana.²³

Significantly, in two other early Malay *hikayats* that have warfare as a prominent theme – I mean *Hikayat Seri Rama* (1530’s) and *Hikayat Sang Boma* (Sang Boma 1953) – the *mengikat perang* type-scene cannot be found.

Having lined up in their respective formations, the two armies now clash in a fierce all-out battle, with the narrative skipping Sub-Slot 7b. with its man-to-man combats between the war-chiefs on both sides. When the soldiery of

²¹ Setelah sampailah ke medan tempat berperang itu maka keduanya gegaman itu pun berpandanganlah. Maka orang Pandan Salas pun mengikat “Perang Garuda Bertangkap”, bersayap seperti garuda. Setelah dilihat oleh Carang Kembang akan orang Pandan Salas mengikat perang itu, maka ia pun mengikat “Perang Buaya Mangan” namanya. (HKS 129). Unless it is an erroneous transcription, the word *mangan* is perhaps the same as the Modern Javanese regional word *manga* (Robson and Wibisono 2002: 465).

²² Iwir sagara rob kwehin wadwanira sri narapati makacucuk manke ken tumenggun lan ken deman ken kanuruhan sawiwi tēññ kiwa ken apatih kan makagugulu sira san para ksatriya (Robson 1971: Canto 2, 7b).

²³ Maka Danyang Drona pun mengikat perang “Dewanadenta”, ertinya gajah. Maharaja Karna menjadi gading kanan, dan Maharaja Jaya Darata menjadi gading kiri, dan Maharaja Bahgadata (sic) menjadi belalai, dan Maharaja Duryudana itu jadi tubuh, dan segala raja-raja Korawa jadi ekornya dengan Sang Dursasana (Khalid Hussain 1992: 124: 17-22).

the Kelanas begins to yield and is pursued by the men of Socawindu, Dalang Surengrana (RPS) and his five *pandaks* enter the fray, and we enter Sub-Slot 7c. with man-to-man combats between kings and Kelanas. We are then told about a series of seven man-to-man combats. The first six are those of Dalang Surengrana (RPS) vs. the king of Randitan, Kelana Mesa Yuda (RBD) vs. the king of Puduk Sewan; Kelana Mesa Wirapati (RCT) vs. Socawindu's crown-prince, Raden Jayeng Kertapati; Kuda Semirang (RGCK) vs. the king of Belambangan; Kuda Semirang vs. the king of Puduk Setegal; Panji Sangulara (RIK) vs. the king of Cemara. Each of these duels again duly goes through the pattern: 1. The two opponents meet, 2. The dumbfounded king has to be brought to his senses, 3. The two opponents exchange challenges, and 4. The king is killed by the Kelana. We reach the culmination of this series of combats in the one fought between Kelana Mesa Wirapati (RCT) and the king of Socawindu.

In the story of that duel, which goes through the same four steps mentioned above, Mesa Wirapati is fighting with particular fierceness, because he is defending his own claim to his betrothed, Raden Ratna Kumuda Agung of Gegelang. As HKS tells us, when the battle-lines of the armies of the six kings break up (*pecah perang*) and they are pursued by the enemy, the king of Socawindu enters the fray swinging his club (*gada*), acting like a Baladewa making an all-out attack on the armies of the Pandawa's. In *wayang purwa* mythology Baladewa, older brother of Kreshna, is tricked out of fighting in the Great War by Kreshna, but in *Hikayat Pandawa Lima* he plays a not unimportant role in it, fighting the Pandawas (Irvine 2005: 178; Van der Tuuk 1875: passim).

What now follows is a battle in which the two men pit their respective *kesaktian* – the magical power they have accumulated – against each other, in order to decide whose power is the superior one, something which elsewhere in HKS is called *mengadu kesaktian*. That this is indeed not a fight between ordinary men already becomes clear from a passage such as the following:

And the two clubs emitted sparkles that flamed up as they came dashing off. Thereupon the sparks of the two weapons fell flaming into the sea, which then boiled so that all the fish in it were killed. Where sparks fell in the forest it was burnt down completely by the lightning striking it from the weapons. And all the animals living in the forest ran hither and thither, fleeing to another forest.²⁴

When Kelana Mesa Wirapati kills the horse of the king of Socawindu, breaking its back with his club, we then see the King take a drastic step which elsewhere in HKS is called 'making one's magic power manifest' (*mengeluarkan kesaktian*, HKS 117-118):

²⁴ Maka daripada kedua gada itu pun keluarlah api, bernyala-nyala memancar-mancar. Maka api kedua senjata itu pun jatuh nyala ke laut, lalu mendidih, habis mati segala ikan isi laut. Yang jatuh ke hutan habis terbakar oleh kilat senjata kedua itu. Dan segala isi hutan rimba pun habislah berlarian ke sana kemari mengu[si]r hutan yang lain. (HKS 267).

Thereupon he became ever more furious, and then he immediately flew into the sky, flying without wings and then turned himself into a Garuda with seven heads, coming to seize Mesa Kelana Wirapati. When Mesa Kelana Wirapati saw that His Majesty had flown into the sky without wings, he jumped into the air without wings, as fast as an eagle, and one could no longer see him [...]. And then Mesa Kelana Wirapati turned himself into a Harpy with seven heads. Thereupon the Garuda and the Harpy took turns trying to seize each other in the air.²⁵

From a fight between a Garuda (the king of Socawindu) and a Harpy (Kelana Mesa Wirapati) the two combatants then by magic means – elsewhere in HKS they do so by performing a kind of yoga or *puja* (*berpeluk tubuh*) and by spiritual concentration (*mencita*) (HKS 91, 117-118, 289-290, 305) – turn it into a battle between a giant (*raksasa*) as big as Kumbakarna, well-known from the *wayang purwa* Rama-cycle lakons as Rawana's good-natured brother (Irvine 2005: 239-240), and an ogre (*buta*) as terrible as Wilasamba.

In Rassers's *Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati Wilasamba* is called Wila Sembah. There he is a god who has been cursed by Batara Guru – comparable to the god Jayasukma in HKS – to live as an ogre in a cave on Mount Sela Mangling. In order soon to be killed by RIK and thus to be able to return to heaven, Wilasamba, who at this juncture in the narrative fulfills the same function as does Batara Kala in HKS, abducts RGCK from Daha when, after her birth and engagement to RIK, its king has forgotten to redeem his vow to the gods (Rassers 1922: 36, 232).

As they fight, so HKS tells us in a description that reminds one of the *dalang*'s enactment of a battle-scene by waving his *kayonan* about in the *wayang purwa*, they even uproot trees, using them to hit each other so that they are all destroyed, and overturn several big mountains, throwing them at each other, thus reducing them to mere dust. Finally, the ogre, that is, the king of Socawindu, is killed, stabbed through by Kelana Mesa Wirapati with his creese, and his body crashes down like a mountain. Here the war-episode of Socawindu's attack on Gegelang ends, of course without going through Slots 8 and 9.

The Malay words for 'making one's magic power manifest' (*mengeluarkan kesaktian*) may well be a translation of the Old Javanese word *triwikrama*, which means either 'a name of Wiṣṇu' or 'to assume a frightful form' (Zoetmulder 1982 II: 2041.4). As appears from Zoetmulder's numerous references to his dictionary's corpus many examples of *triwikrama* scenes can be found in Old Javanese *kakawins* like *Arjunawijaya*, *Bhomāntaka*, *Ghaṭotkacāśraya*, *Hariwijaya*, *Rāmāyana*, and *Smaradahana*.

²⁵ [M]aka ia pun makin bertambah-tambahlah marahnya, lalu segera ia angambah jumentara, terbang tiada bersayap, lalu menjadikan dirinya garuda tujuh kepalanya, datang hendak menyambar Mesa Kelana Wirapati. Telah dilihat oleh Mesa Kelana Wirapati akan Sang Nata sudah angambah jumentara tiada bersayap itu, maka ia pun melompat ke udara dengan tiada bersayap, seperti rajawali pantasnya, tiada sempat dilihat lagi. [...] Maka Mesa Kelana Wirapati pun menjadikan dirinya walmana tujuh kepalanya. Maka garuda dan walmana itu pun sambar-menyambarlah di udara. (HKS 267).

An example from *kakawin Bhomāntaka* is the scene in which, while fighting with Bhoma, Kṛṣṇa finally manifests himself as Wiṣṇu in his terrifying, thousand-headed aspect, accompanied by a gigantic Garuda, and Bhoma assumes a supernatural body of equally gigantic dimensions (Teeuw and Robson 2005: Cantos 105-107). In early Malay literary works examples of this type-scene – making one’s magic power manifest while vying for superiority – are found in two early Malay literary works that are in different ways connected with Javanese literature.

One of these two works is *Hikayat Sang Boma*, a work that according to Braginsky (2004: 154-156) was written in the fifteenth or sixteenth century on the basis of now-lost archaic *wayang purwa* plays and not on the basis of *kakawin Bhomāntaka* (*Bhomakāvya*), a work that was composed by an unknown author in the twelfth century (Teeuw and Robson 2005). Examples of *triwikrama* in *Hikayat Sang Boma* are the fights between Boma and Krisna, Hanuman vs. Boma, Hanuman vs. Bima, Ditia Kwaca vs. Betara Guru, and Betara Brahma vs. Semar (Sang Boma 1953: 268-269, 273, 292, 297, 317).

The other early Malay work also containing several examples of *triwikrama*-scenes is *Hikayat Pandawa Lima*. Here we find *triwikrama* in the fights of Duryudana vs. Krisyna, Maharaja Mangaspati vs. Drona, Ranjuna vs. Maharaja Karna, Krisyna vs. Mahara Salya, and in the demonstration of their magic power by Krisyna, Arjuna and Bima during a feast in order to dry the sea at the request of Draupadi (Khalid Hussain 1992: 108, 142, 159, 167, 258). Krisyna’s *triwikrama* in the fight with Duryudana is, with some abbreviation, described as follows:

Thereupon Betara Krisyna manifested his magic power. And his one-thousand heads, his two thousand hands and his two thousand feet came out, and his height reached Indra’s heaven. He was so big it could not be described. His thousand heads each wore a crown. His two thousand hands each held a weapon. His eyes were red like the sun that has just risen. His mouth was gaping like a cave. His hairs were very long and from each hair a giant was hanging down [...].²⁶

IN CONCLUSION

Above I have examined the formulaic manner in which HKS (see Illustration 2: the colophon of Cod. Or. 3242) as a Panji romance of the epic variant constructs the narrative of its many war-episodes in a process of constant variation within identity. I have established the type-scenes available for use with the different slots by examining HKS’s war-episodes in both their intra-textual as well as their inter-textual perspectives. Although the *hikayat*’s war-episodes seem to tell either one or the other of two different stories, namely either 1. *Kelana conquers kingdom and princess* (11 cases) or 2. *Evil attempt at conquest of a kingdom*

²⁶ Maka Betara Krisyna pun mengeluarkan kesaktiannya. Maka keluarlah kepalanya seribu, tangannya dua ribu, kakinya dua ribu, tingginya sampai ke indera. Besarnya tiada dapat diperikan. Kepala seribu itu, seribunya memakai mahkota. Tangannya dua ribu, kedua ribunya memakai senjata. Matanya merah seperti matahari baharu terbit. Mulutnya ternanga seperti sebuah gua. Romanya panjang-panjang. Pada sehelai romanya, seorang raksasa bergantung [...]. (Khalid Hussain 1992: 108).

and princess thwarted (2 cases), I have demonstrated that, ultimately, these two stories are structurally one and the same. As I have shown, both are created on the basis of the same sequence of slots, sub-slots, and sub-sub-slots, each having their own string of concomitant eligible typescenes (see above for a summary of that basic sequence).



Illustration 2. The colophon of Leiden MS Cod. Or. 3242 *Hikayat Kuda Semirang Sira Panji Pandai Rupa*. (Courtesy of Leiden University Libraries).

The main way in which the narratives of the taking of Mataun and Madiun differ from that about the successful conquest of Manggada and failed conquest of Gegelang is that in the two latter, more elaborate, episodes, not just one but many royal opponents are pitted against each other on each side, so that a multiplicity of combatants must be accommodated in the narrative. This is done, for instance in the Manggada episode, by repeating the *kedatonan* typescene, previously used for the king of Manggada, for his two allies, the kings of Kembang Kuning and Pakembangan, after these have received his request for assistance from his messenger.

Only in the more elaborate Manggada and Socawindu episodes do we also see type-scenes such as the sending of emissaries to one's allies, the pledging of one's willingness as vassal to give one's life for the ruler (*bercakap*), the description of the elaborate dressing for the occasion of the battle by the combatants (*memakai*), the march-out (*berjalan*) of the allied forces in hierarchical order with pomp and circumstance, the battle-arrays in which

the troops of both sides line up (*mengikat perang*) when they stand face to face on the battlefield. Finally, at the peak of the narrative, we find the *triwikrama* type-scene in which two opponents try to outdo and defeat each other while demonstrating their magic power (*mengadu* or *mengeluarkan kesaktian*).

Another question I have tried to give some answers to is on what other literary genres or works HKS may have drawn for its composition. Obtaining a surprisingly rich harvest, I was able to relate the *hikayat* to many older Javanese texts, notably the Panji stories *kiduṅ Waseṅ Sari* and *kiduṅ Wanṅban Wideya* and some epic-historical poems, namely *kiduṅ Sunda*, *kiduṅ Harṣa-Wijaya*, and *kiduṅ Rangka Lawe*. HKS also has proved to be connectable to more modern Javanese literary genres such as *wayang purwa*, *wayang gedhog*, and possibly also *wayang ménak*, as well as to a Panji story called *Jaya Lengkara*.

I have also found important intertextual relations with Malay literature, some with more recent texts and others with ones that are quite old. Older works of Malay literature of which traces can be found or with which connections can be perceived in HKS are *Hikayat Pandawa Lima*, *Hikayat Sang Boma*, *Hikayat Seri Rama*, and *Hikayat Hang Tuah*. In particular *Hikayat Pandawa Lima* may well have been considered a suitable model because it tells the history of the Pandawa kings who were believed by later Javanese kings to have been their ancestors and the rulers of Java before them.

Many connections were also traced to modern Malay Panji stories such as *Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati* and *Hikayat Misa Taman Jayeng Kusuma*. What the rich palette of possible intertextual relations I have traced makes clear, is that HKS can only be a retelling or recreation (*saduran*), produced with much adaptation to established Malay literary taste, and can therefore not be a mere translation of a Javanese Panji tale.

ABBREVIATIONS

HKS	<i>Hikayat Kuda Semirang Sira Panji Pandai Rupa</i>
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
MCP	Malay Concordance Program
RBD	Raden Brajadanta (Kuripan)
RCT	Raden Carang Tinangluh (Kuripan)
RGCK	Raden Galuh Candra Kirana (Daha)
RIK	Raden Inu Kertapati (Kuripan)
RPS	Raden Perbatasari (Daha)
RRW	Raden Ratna Wilis (Kuripan)

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