“Panji Malay Manuscripts, a Common Heritage”

By:
Prof. Dr.-Ing Wardiman Djojonegoro
Expert to the National Library Indonesia
PANJI: popular since mid 14th Century

• Panji tales was already popular during mid 14th century.
• This was discussed by Poerbatjaraka (1968:404-405), Berg (1928:65-71)
• At the Pendopo terrace at the Candi (Temple) Panataran (1375) several reliefs showed Panji tales.
• At the Candi Mirigambar (1388) the Panji tale “Panji Wasengsari” depicted in the reliefs. (Lydia Kieven (2013/2014)
• The Panji culture began as an oral culture and when written material became available, a Panji literature blossoms, followed by various performing arts.
• The written materials are: palm leaves (lontar), daluwang (pounded bark of mulberry tree), paper.
Candi (Temple) Panataran

Built 1197 and finish 1375. Further built to 1454; It is the biggest temple in East Java; and regarded as the official temple of the Majapahit Kingdom. King Hayam Wuruk visited it several times; Some reliefs depicted Panji tales
Candi (Temple) Panataran
Candi (Temple) Mirigambar – Finished, 1388.
According to Zoetmulder and Lydia Kieven the reliefs in the Temple depicted the tale “Panji Waseng Sari”
East Java, where PANJI tales began
PANJI: The Cultural Hero

• The stories of Javanese cultural hero, Prince Panji Inu Kertapati, dating from the 13th century, mark the development of a truly Javanese literature that was no longer overshadowed by the great Indian epics, the Ramayana and Mahabharata.

• Set among the eastern Javanese kingdoms, the stories tell of Panji’s search for his beloved Princess Candra Kirana, experiencing many adventures, before the two lovers are happy-endingly reunited.

• During the Majapahit empire from the 14th to 15th century, the Panji stories became extremely popular, spreading from Java to Bali, Lombok, Sulawesi, Kalimantan and Sumatra.
Spread of Panji literature to other parts of Indonesia, coincided with the growth of Majapahit Empire.
Spread of PANJI

The Panji tales were spread by merchants along the trading routes, and became one of the most popular forms of literature in Southeast Asia during the 17th and 18th centuries, and in the 19th century crossed the ocean to the Malay region where they are known as “Hikayat”. The tales further spread to Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar and Cambodia. The Panji influence is described by renowned scholar Adrian Vickers as “a Panji civilization in Southeast Asia.”

PANJI : Unique Phenomena

Panji tales are unique as there was no single author; the tales were written by diverse authors, each bringing in their version of the story and in their local languages. For instance, Bali calls the Panji character Malat and varied Balinese customs can be found in the stories. In Malaysia Panji is called “Hikayat” and in Thailand and the neighboring countries, the character of Panji is known as Inao or Eynao, and his lover as Bossaba.
Spread of PANJI Literature to South East Asian Countries
PANJI - romance: The Story

• There is no specific Panji storyline. Generally, the story is about Kuripan’s Prince Raden Inu Kertapati, who is engaged to his niece Dewi Galuh Sekartaji from childhood. However, the mother of Dewi Galuh Sekartaji plans to marry her to another prince. Sekartaji escapes to the forest where she experiences adventures and disguises herself as varied characters including a warrior who conquers other kingdoms.

• Prince Inu Kertapati begins his search and enters the woods. He goes through a wide range of adventures that encompass meeting with ogres, amorous scenes, going through numerous disguises, re-incarnations, and waging wars. At the end, the two lovers are reunited. The love story and the adventures are popular among all layers of society.
Writers and Scholars on PANJI

Oldest report:
• Isaak de St. Martin (1696) from (De Haan (1900)
• No. 1: Javanese Tale, which is translated into Melayu language, titled: “tsiarang Kolijna” = “Hikayat Carang Kulina (another name for Candra Kirana)
François Valentyn (1666-1727) a Dutch writer who wrote “Old and New East-India”, a 5 volumes encyclopedic book.

In Volume 3 writing about Ambon, he wrote about a Melayu manuscript he owned: Misa Gumitar:

“The history of Misa Gumitar which I got in Batavia. Corripan =Kuripan which describe about princes and princesses in Java in a beautiful manner.”
Thomas Stamford Raffles: In his book “History of Java” (1817), mentioned Panji:

“...the exploits and adventures of his son, Panji Inu Kerta Pati....and who under the name of Panji, become the most renowned Hero of Javan story.”
Books by Historians

Poerbatjaraka

Robson

Adrian Vickers
In the Future: Digitalization

Panji Tales Manuscripts

Included in the Unesco Memory of the World Register

Panji Tales Manuscripts

On Panji tales
Panji stories relate the adventures of Prince Panji Raden Inu Kertapati and his sweetheart Candra Kirana who are separated and then must overcome many intricate hurdles before managing to reunite. There are many versions of this core tale with variations in locations, persons, and names. Metamorphoses, disguises, sex changes, and all sorts of supernatural events abound in the narratives. They are indeed essential elements of Panji tales.
From the earliest beginning of scholarly interest in Indonesia, Panji tales have been subject to academic studies because of their attractive literary and referential narratives. Apart from influencing many oral and written literatures, Panji tales were also influential in performing arts.
Uniqueness of PANJI: A Colorful Kaleidoscope

Unique characteristic of PANJI, is the multiple variations found in its expressions:

- **Stories**: multiple plots, characters and names
- **Many authors**: which explains the multiple plots, characters and names
- **Language**: local authors wrote in local language and used local culture as background
- **Material of manuscripts**: lontar (palm leaves), daluwang (pounded tree bast), European paper;
- **Performing arts Genre**: dances, theater, wayang, oral tradition, literature, masks.
The popularity of Panji stories, is further spread by performing arts, like:

- Dance performances, where every region develop their own dance style and used the local popular Panji story.
- Theater performances with Panji stories.
- Various wayang performances: wayang beber, wayang krucil, wayang jelantur.
- Masks that existed before Panji, is widely used in the performing arts and create their own Panji masks, that again is local oriented. The famous Cirebon Dance in West Jawa is inspired by Panji culture.
- Panji tales was also prominently displayed in the reliefs in Temples in East Java.
Panji Manuscripts inscribed in the Memory of the World UNESCO (October 2017)

• The Panji manuscripts are unique and meet the requirements as a World Heritage. In 2016 Panji manuscripts were nominated to UNESCO to be inscribed in the Register of Memory in the World (MoW);
• In 2017, the Panji Tales manuscripts was accepted to be inscribed in the MoW.

Nominated are collections from:

- Indonesian National Library : 76 manuscripts;
  - State Library Malaysia : 5 manuscripts;
  - National Library Cambodia : 1 manuscript;
- University of Leiden Library : 260 manuscripts;
  - Support from British Library.
PANJI manuscripts from Libraries (MoW)

University of Leiden Library

• Total 252 manuscripts, written in 8 languages:
  • Javanese/Balinese 144 manuscripts,
  • Javanese 37 manuscripts,
  • Malay 28 manuscripts,
  • Balinese 26 manuscripts,
  • Sasak 8 manuscripts,
  • Acehnese 4 manuscripts,
  • Sundanese 3 manuscripts,
  • Buginese 2 manuscripts
• Oldest Malay manuscript in the collection ca. 1800
Nomination by the National Library Malaysia

• Total 5 Malay manuscripts:
  • Hikayat Kelanan Jayeng Seteru
  • Hikayat Misa Prabu JJaya
  • Hikayat Cekel Waneng Pati
  • Ceritera Panji
  • Hikayat Misa Jejuluk Sira Panji

• Nomination by the National Library of Cambodia
  • Total 1 Khmer manuscript, Title: Saravan tejo
PANJI manuscripts from Libraries (MoW)

**Indonesian National Library**

- Nominate total 32 titles and 76 manuscripts,
  - Malay: 15 titles; 27 manuscripts
  - Java: 11 titles; 29 manuscripts
  - Bali/Lombok: 6 titles; 20 manuscripts
  - Palm leaves/ lontar: 13 manuscripts

- Mention by British Library on their collection:
  - Java 8 manuscripts
  - Malay 10 manuscripts
  - Balinese 2 manuscripts
Highlights of the Nomination to MoW:

- It was impossible to nominate only one manuscript that represents the Panji Collection.
- The authors didn’t put their name or year of writing at their work,
  - because of humidity the manuscripts are easily decayed, and must be copied.
  - besides that there hundreds of Panji stories with many languages.
- Therefore it was practically impossibly to choose one story that represent of the whole Panji literature.
- Also impossible to find the oldest manuscripts, as practically all manuscripts were copied.
- Consequently it was decided to nominate all manuscripts in the collection of Libraries.
- These manuscripts represents great variations in:
  - Age/Year
  - Content
  - Script
  - Language (8 local Indonesian languages, and SE Asian languages).
  - Material: palm leaves, pounded wood bark/daluwang, European paper.
Indonesian Manuscripts

• Around 500 ethnic groups, and more than 700 local languages in Indonesia.
• Writing tradition is not spread out, but confined to courts and religious schools.
• Writing tradition are strong in: Java, Melayu (Sumatera), Bali, Sunda, Bugis, Makassar, Aceh, Minangkabau (West Sumatera). Material of manuscripts: Madura, Sasak, Bima, Lampung, Rejang, Mandar.

Material of manuscripts:

• Stone: (inscriptions on stone); bones; wood or mashed wood bark (daluwang); in batu (prasasti), tulang, kayu, bamboo.
• Most of the manuscripts are written on palm leaves (lontar), and European paper.
• There are still daluwang (pounded wood bark) manuscripts in collection.
• The tropical climate, which is hot and high humidity, decayed the manuscripts fast. Accordingly no old manuscripts can be found, the existing manuscripts are copied.
• Old manuscripts could be found in Europe, brought by collectors to Europe and maintained properly.
**Malat (Bali)**
- Or. 3721
- Oldest Malat manuscript (1725)
- Language Jawa-Bali
- Script Bali

**Cilinaya (Datu Daha), (Sasak)**
- Or. 3593
- Datu Daha of Cilinaya
- Sasak (Lombok Island)
- From the 19th Century (?)
**Panji Jaya Lengkara (Jawa)**
- Or. 1871
- 1830 Surakarta > Koninklijke Akademie, Delft > (after 1864 > UB/ University Leiden
- Copied for C.F. Winter from a manuscript in the Library of the Surakarta Palace

**Hikayat Cekel Waneng Pati (Melayu)**
- Or. 1709
- 1821, Batavia
- European paper;
- Used by Panji Experts as reference (Poerbatjaraka etc)
**Panji Ngron Akung** (Jawa)

Material: Daluang (pounded tree bark)
- Or. 2138 (2)
- 1823 Gresik > Collection of Taco Roorda > 1874 UB Leiden

**Serat Panji Murtasmara** (Jawa)
- Or. 1825
- 1808 Surakarta > Koninklijke Akademie, Delft > setelah 1864 > UB Leiden +
- Or. 6751. Serat Panji Murtasmara
- Transcription by Th.G.Th Pigeaud (1899-1988)
**Panji Anggraeni** (Jawa)
- KBG 185
- National Library RI
- Copied: 1801
- Illustrated manuscript, which is very rare;
- Material: European paper;

**Hikayat Cintabuahan** (Aceh)
- Or. 8102
- 1873
- Collection of: C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936)
Cekele (Bugis, South Sulawesi)
• NBG Boeg 86
• Script: Bugis (lontaraq script)
• Written about: 1870
• Adaptation from Hikayat Cekel Waneng Pati.

Inav Puspa (Khmer)
• National Library of Cambodia
• Language: Khmer
• Script: Khmer
Digitalizing the Manuscripts ensures preservation

https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/panji
Panji in Malaysia

When did PANJI Tales came to Malaysia?

• An exact date could not be defined when Panji came to Malaysia. AR Kaeh (1983:54) wrote that in Hikayat Hang Tuah, influences of Panji are found, and in Sejarah Melayu (1612) influences of Hikayat Hang Tuah are found. Winsted (1969:54) made the conclusion that Panji was known in Malaka at the 15th century.

• Panji tales, which was believed to be earlier in Malaka, came to Siam, because of the long relationship between South Siam and Malaka, which facilitated the coming of Panji into Siam. Mubin Sheppard, (1972: 56) wrote about a dinner at the Patani castle in 1612, qhwew Ma’yong was performed, and Rattiya Saleh (1979: 86) is of the opinion that in the dinner Panji stories were performed
According to V. Braginsky (2004:158-159)

“Tales about Panji make up one of the most important and numerically largest branches of traditional Malay literature, which exercises great influence on the literary prose and poetry, traditional historiography, and even SUFI literature of the Malays”.
PANJI Malay literature

- The German scholar Overbeck (1938:305-9) made the assumption, that tales about Panji and Pandawa, were specially written in the Malay language and exported to countries overseas countries, as a Majapahit propaganda to demonstrate the spiritual superiority of Javanese rulers.

- This theory is refuted by Robson (1992).

- Teeuw 1966:xxiii; Robson 1969:8: Many Panji-romances were composed directly by Malay authors and dalang.

- Robson believes that the dissemination of Panji tales was performed by the Malays themselves, particularly by those who lived in Java (mostly in the coastea/pesisir area) and were well versed in Javanese literature, arts and especially the wayang theatre. According to Robson, it is most probable, that the translation, adaption and performance by Malay connoisseurs of Javanese language and theatre, in which Panji tales occupied a special place. The prestige of Java, both political and cultural, that make these tales so attractive in the eyes of the Malay audience.
PANJI Malay literature

• From Malay records early 16\textsuperscript{th} century; Sejarah Melayu (published by Winstedt) and Hikayat Banjar, Robson discussed the centres of Malay culture, in which Malay-Javanese contacts normally took place. The Historian mention besides Banjarmasin and Palembang, but, also the importance of Malacca, the contemporary and competitor of Majapahit, where different kinds of Javanese literature and performances, including wayang, were popular.
The big number of Manuscripts in Libraries or private owners in many countries attested to the popularity of Panji tales.

Abdul Rahman Kaeh (1977; 15-6, 174-80; 1983, 1); Harun Mat Piah, (1980: 179-206) wrote that in Malaysia there are ca.eighty Panji manuscripts at different Libraries, and estimated 116 manuscripts at foreign libraries.

One of the most voluminous manuscript is The Hikayat Jinatur Jaeng Kesuma, which consists of seven volumes and of 1,326 pages, this do not include Volume IV, which was not found yet.(MS 4PUM). Another lengthy manuscript is Hikayat Misa Prabu Jaya with 678 pages. MS 66(a) PDBP). A Javanese manuscripts Panji Jayakusuma has 876 pages, and palm leaf/lontar manuscript of Malat from Bali has 701 leaves. (AR Kaeh, 1983;13).

During the writing of the nomination to MoW UNESCO, 5 libraries cooperate together to propose the Panji manuscripts in their collection, as a Memory of the World (MoW) of UNESCO.
PANJI manuscripts
in the collection of 5 Libraries
(MoW Nomination)

- Indonesian National Library: 76 manuscripts (Malay ms: 27).
- State Library Malaysia: 5 manuscripts; (Malay ms: 5).
- National Library Cambodia: 1 manuscript; (Malay ms: 0).
- University of Leiden Library: 260 manuscripts; (Malay ms: 28)
- Support from British Library: 20 manuscripts. (Malay ms: 10)
INFLUENCE OF PANJI TALES

• The influence of Panji tales can be traced in Sejarah Melayu Braginsky (2004:120).

• Van der TUUK (1866:99) and C. Hooykaas (1947: 227) were the first scholars who pointed to this influence.

• Hooykaas wrote: “it was the Kirana Langu episode (Story 9 in Winsteds’s recension of Sejarah Melayu) that was particularly saturated with characteristic motifs of Panji-romances as well as those from the tale of Damar Wulan (which is more dubious):
  • The first part is prince Kirana Langu who had been shipwrecked and landed in Java.
  • The second episode relates about Sultan Mansur Syah of Malacca
• For Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati and Sejarah Melayu, see appendix.
FROM Braginsky (Page 139; Note 36; The motifs which coincide Hikayat Cekel G (CWP) with Sejarah Melayu (SM), are as follows:

1. Raden Inu has two brothers and a sister;
2. Candra Kirana has a sister Raden Galuh
3. Raden Inu believed to be dead
4. The servant find the body of their Master and revive him to life by pouring water
5. Raden Inu pretends to be a “forest dweller”
6. The Ruler of Daha arranges a sayembara
7. CWP arrived in Daha with the Princess rescued by him
8. After CWP rescues Candra Kirana, there appears a new claimant
9. CWP describes voyage of Gunungsari
10. The demonic Nini Muni demands CWP trays of food
11. Candra Kirana gives birth to CWP son, Mesa Tanderaman
12. On the evening of the meeting with Raden Inu, hisd father sends a messenger
13. Motifs of storm and sea battle, not only in CWP and SM, but also in Panji Anggraeni and Jayakusuma.
Richness of PANJI Tales

• Barginsky (199, Note 12)
• Robson (1992:32)

As far as Malay society is concerned, for this principal message of Panji tales was the richness, sophistication and high aesthetic standards of Javanese culture, as well as the refined life-style of Javanese nobility. Robson assumes that the function of dissemination of Panji tales was performed by the Malays themselves, particularly by those who lived for long time in Java (mostly in the pesisir area, that is on the northern coast of the island) and were well versed in Javanese literature, arts ND and especially the wayang theatre. According to his opinion.
Braginsky (2004;119)

The problem of the appropriation and adaption of Javanese tales about Panji by the Malays in the early Islamic period deserves special consideration. Although the earliest chronicles do not mention the titles of particular works of this kind, a deep influence of the latter on historical writing will allow us to reconstruct the type and partly even the plot of those Panji-romances, which were known to Malay chronicles, as well as one of their principal functions in Malay literature of the fifteenth century.