

CARVING OUT A NEW FUTURE:
WAYANG KULIT CRAFTSMANSHIP IN CENTRAL JAVA, INDONESIA

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Kristina L. Tannenbaum

Dedicated to:

my parents

Joni and Kenneth Tannenbaum

who are wonderful parents and have always supported my dreams

my sister

Laura Tannenbaum

who is the best person I know and always inspires me to be better

my best gal pals

Nadine Whaley, Cayley Watson, and Kimi Lung

for the endless hours of support and laughter that helped me get through this

and

Catriona Martin and Devika Wasson

whose lives were cut short but whose memories continue to inspire us all.

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ABSTRACT

Wayang kulit puppets hold an intriguing position as not only a principle element or ‘actor’ in a major theatrical form but also as a marketable handicraft in Indonesia. This dissertation focuses on creating a cohesive history of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship in Central Java and analyzing how growing tourism in Central Java is shifting the creation process, aesthetics, and use of *wayang kulit* puppets in the region. Using an interdisciplinary methodology that combines influences from theatre, material culture, and oral history the project is broken down into four main sections: the history of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship and modern adaptations in the process; an analysis of how tourism and policy have influenced these changes; the development of business and puppet typologies; and finally, a larger analysis of how changes in craftsmanship might affect *wayang kulit* as a whole. This dissertation not only provides a history of traditional puppetry craftsmanship but examines and documents the current processes of *wayang kulit* production in Central Java, Indonesia. This includes innovations in training, materials, design, tools, carving, and painting. Additionally, this work examines how growing tourism has affected the methods, creativity, and business models of *wayang kulit* craftsmen in the area. Outside of creating a cohesive craftsmanship history, the ultimate goal of this research is that the new typologies developed in this work might be used more broadly in discerning how craftsmen’s views of tourism and tourism-induced changes to their art play into the view of ‘authenticity’ in handicraft markets, how tourism might drastically affect the future of puppetry, and how tourism might play a part in preventing some art forms from diminishing across Southeast Asia.

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ABBREVIATIONS, ALTERNATE SPELLINGS, AND SPELLING NOTE

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| <i>Bapak</i> | Indonesian term for “father.” When used as a formal form of address for a man, similar to Mr., it is abbreviated to <i>Pak</i> |
| <i>Bron</i> | A gold powder with a hint of bronze used for painting particular areas of a <i>wayang kulit</i> puppet. Alternate spelling: <i>brom</i> |
| DIY | Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, or Special District of Yogyakarta |
| ISI | <i>Institut Seni Indonesia</i> , a performing arts university with campuses in both Yogyakarta and Surakarta |
| <i>Kraton</i> | The Indonesian word for “palace.” Alternate spelling: <i>keraton</i> |
| <i>Pak</i> | See Bapak. |
| Solo | A nickname for the city of Surakarta |
| Rp. | Abbreviation for the Rupiah, the currency of Indonesia |
| Yogyakarta | Common alternate spellings of Yogyakarta include the historical Romanization, Ngayogyakarta, and the more modern, Jogjakarta. |

SPELLING NOTE

Indonesian Plurals-

Plurals in the Indonesian language are represented mostly through context clues. Many times, plurals are marked by a group or numeric word. Examples of using group words In Indonesian include “*berberapa dalang*” (some puppeteers) or “*banyak dalang*” (many puppeteers). Numeric words can also be used to mark plurals, an example of this is “*dua dalang*” (two puppeteers). Plural Personal Pronouns (they, them, etc.) are also common as a plural marker. Therefore, the same process is followed when using Indonesian words in this dissertation. The word “*dalang*” can be used to refer to a singular puppeteer or multiple puppeteers. Context clues will be the key to deciding if an Indonesian word in this dissertation is plural or not.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this dissertation is to provide an updated history and documentation of the processes of craftsmanship and puppet manufacturing for *wayang kulit*, or shadow theatre, in Central Java, Indonesia. This updated history will include innovations in training, design, tools, materials, carving, painting, and business models that *penatah*¹, those who craft *wayang kulit* puppets, have developed since the 1970s. *Penatah* literally translates to ‘carvers’ in Indonesian. *Wayang kulit* craftsmen have also been referred to as *empu*, or masters, in texts and by fellow Indonesians. However, *wayang kulit* carvers will be referred to as *penatah* throughout this work. I have chosen to use this term as the majority of this work focuses on the specifics of being a pure *wayang kulit* puppet carver compared to a master or *dalang*, puppeteer, who works on other aspects of *wayang kulit*, like performance. The *wayang kulit* puppets themselves hold an intriguing position within the theatre community and in Indonesia in particular, as not only a principle element or ‘actor’ in a major theatrical genre but also as a handicraft or physical commodity. Over the last few decades the art of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship has been significantly impacted by dramatic increases in tourism and globalization. Therefore, included in this updated history will be a discussion on how tourism has been and continues to be one of the largest influences on the shifts in craftsmanship and how it has affected the methods, business strategies, and creativity of *wayang kulit penatah* in Central Java. In the conclusion of this dissertation the place of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship will also be compared to and placed within the larger framework of performance in Southeast Asia and the Pacific as a whole in order to discuss methods of both preservation and exploration in the field moving forward.

¹ Please see the note in ‘List of Definitions, Abbreviations, and Spellings’ in regard to plurals in the Indonesian language.

1.1 JUSTIFICATION AND PURPOSE

The *wayang kulit* theatre of Indonesia was designated by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2003². UNESCO considered *wayang* puppet theatre to be a form so crucial to Indonesian culture that it developed a program entitled the Safeguarding Project that ran from 2005 to 2007. This project was established in order to train both new *penatah* and puppeteers, or *dalang*, to help perpetuate the art of *wayang* craftsmanship and performance. More importantly, *wayang kulit* has long been revered by the Javanese as a part of their collective consciousness and soul. The art form of *wayang kulit* is considered by many to be an expression of Javanese values and attitudes, as well as a reflection of Java's history and cosmology. The form has been used throughout history in a multitude of fashions: as a ritual form to provide blessings and protection; as entertainment; and as a way to disseminate ideas and information to the public from kings, city leaders, and local organizations. It is still used in all of these capacities in contemporary society³. This continued use of *wayang kulit* performance in comparison to other puppetry forms in Southeast Asia, e.g.: Thai shadow puppetry, that have faced severe decline is further reason to research and explore ways to prevent this form of puppetry from commencing decline in the future. *Wayang kulit* as a whole reflects the variety of cultures and countries that have influenced Indonesian history, including its indigenous ethnic groups, India, the Middle East, and the West. These elements make *wayang kulit* a living cultural treasure and a large part of the complex Indonesian history and its craftsmanship deserves to be documented.

While *wayang kulit* is a major cultural theatrical form, current research in English lacks updated and complete information on the physical act of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship, as well as information on the histories and current circumstances surrounding its *penatah*. The majority of scholarly works available on *wayang kulit* commonly focus on the literary and linguistic elements of the form; the origins of performance; or the history and training of male *dalang*⁴. Discussions on craftsmanship do exist but are generally consigned to a few pages or more often

² This UNESCO declaration included *wayang kulit*, *wayang klitik* and *wayang golek*.

³ See Brandon, Cohen, Foley, Groenendaal, Irving, and Mrázek for more information on *wayang kulit* in recent history and its modern uses and adaptations.

⁴ While the majority of scholarly works do focus on men, a few new works on female *dalang* have recently been published. For more information on female *dalang* in Bali or Central Java see works by Jennifer Goodlander or Ashley Robinson, respectively.

to a few paragraphs of information within larger studies. Existing scholarship on *wayang kulit* craftsmanship tends to focus on documentation of the puppets themselves as images in photographic collections or on the idea that craftsmanship has declined—due to issues such as economic hardships and globalization—without a focused examination of the *penatah* themselves or the extensive history of the craft and its techniques.

In the past several years, scholars such as Jenny Cave, Kristen K. Swanson, and Dallen J. Timothy have called for more in-depth studies of crafts in general. My dissertation answers this call by adding new scholarship on *wayang kulit*'s artistic craftsmanship and its community. Cave has compiled a thorough multi-disciplinary study of ethnic crafts and how commoditization and tourism may participate in preserving traditional art forms. However, Cave has also called for continued studies on how tourism can prevent art forms from dying off, how communities benefit from “tourism-induced” art forms, and artisans’ views regarding “tourism-induced” changes (2009). Part of my research addresses these issues in regard to Central Java and *wayang kulit* craftsmanship; including how production of *wayang kulit* souvenirs may affect the *wayang kulit* community. Timothy and Swanson in their 2012 article, *Souvenirs: Icons of Meaning, Commercialization and Commoditization*, also call for an examination of how crafts play into the socio-cultural process from a geographical “place perspective”. My research on the *penatah*'s perspectives regarding innovation and change within their craft will play a part in filling this gap in scholarly research as well.

In sum, the aim of this work is to provide an updated history of the current craftsmanship processes of *wayang kulit* in Central Java, notating innovations in training, design, tools, materials, carving, painting, and business models *penatah* have developed. Together with an updated and detailed history, this study will also cover potential growth and risks facing the art form of *wayang kulit* in the future. To accomplish this the following research questions will be addressed throughout this dissertation:

1. Historically, what is the creation process of *wayang kulit purwa* puppets and how has that process evolved?
 - What supplies have changed (tools, leather, paint, handles, etc.)? If a change exists what prompted the adoption of the new material/supply?
 - What shifts in design, shape, and size have occurred? What prompted these evolutions?

2. What role has tourism played in the production process and business development and management of *wayang kulit* puppetry craftsmanship since the 1970s?
3. Can the *wayang kulit* puppets, *penatah*, and puppetry businesses be categorized? If so, what characteristics of their business models distinguish them?
4. What do these shifts mean for the future of *wayang kulit* puppetry in Central Java?
5. Can similarities be drawn to other Southeast Asian and Pacific nations who have faced growing tourism and globalization in regard to their theatre and craft markets

1.2 RESEARCH SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

The preparation and fieldwork for this dissertation began at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa with my introductory library research in 2010. I continued my preparation in the summer of 2012 in Central Java at Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana (UKSW) in Salatiga, Indonesia. While this first trip to Indonesia in 2012 was not an official research trip it did provide an opportunity to improve my language skills through a certificate program in advanced Indonesian by means of a collaborative language learning program with UKSW and the Consortium of Teaching Indonesian (COTI) in Salatiga. It also allowed me to explore potential research locations, solidify relationships with potential contacts, and attend several *wayang kulit* performances in both Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

My official field research was conducted from April 2014 to April 2015 in Yogyakarta, Surakarta, and its surrounding municipalities. My research was supported during this period through a Fulbright U.S. Student Full Research Grant. The following sections will provide accounts of the research locations; a list of the *penatah* interviewed, and craftsmanship organizations collaborated with; a description of how participants were chosen; and a description of my research methodology and its applications.

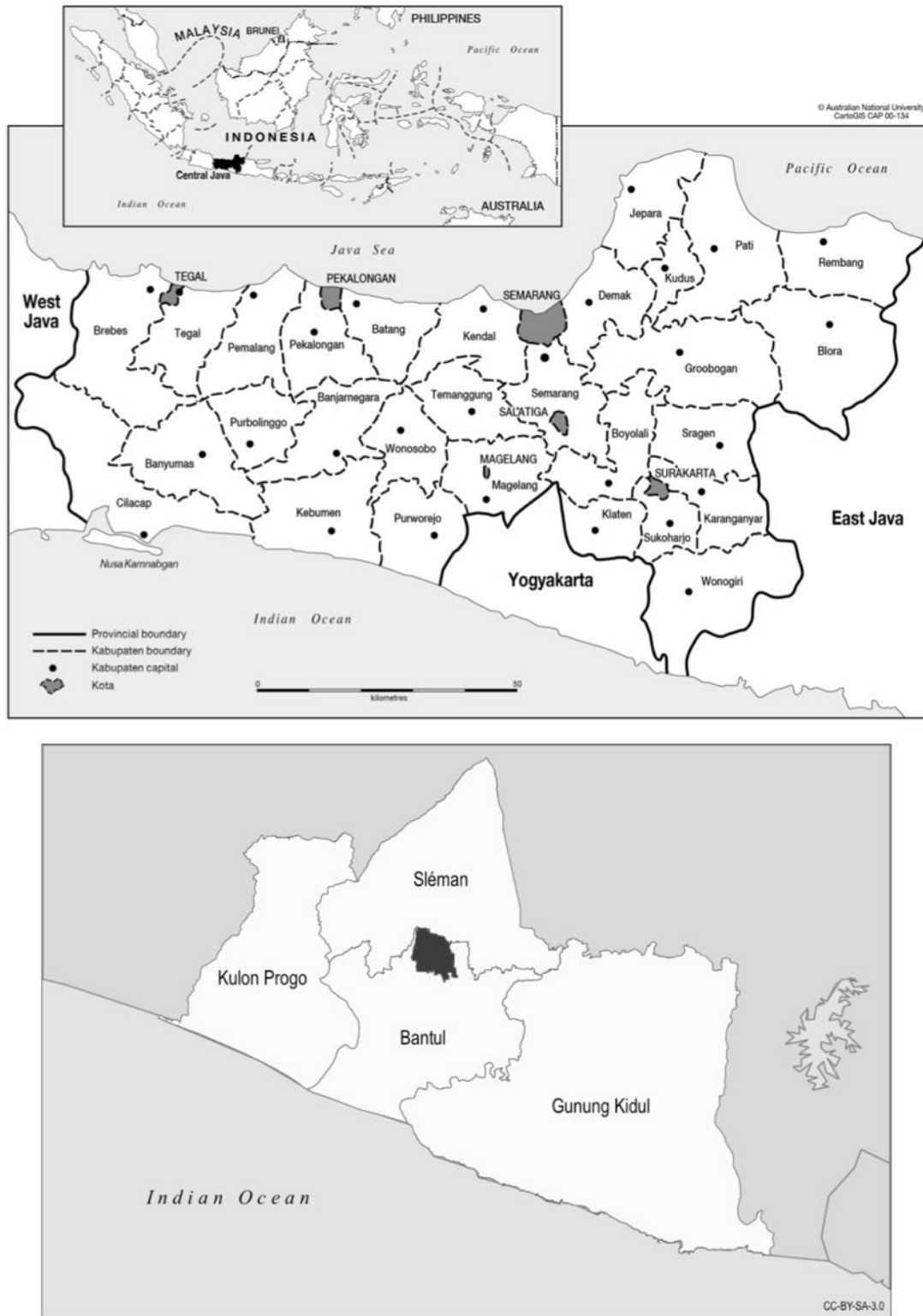
RESEARCH LOCATIONS

Central Java was chosen for this research project as its two major cities, Yogyakarta and Surakarta, are both considered cultural and artistic centers in Indonesia and are both historically important to the formation of *wayang kulit*. When referring to “Central Java” for the rest of this

work I will be referring specifically to the Special Region of Yogyakarta (*Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta* or DIY) and its surrounding regencies, as well as the metropolis of Surakarta, and its surrounding regencies. DIY consists of Yogyakarta city proper and four surrounding regencies: Sléman, Gunung Kidul, Kulon Progo, and Bantul. Surakarta is surrounded by six regencies: Sragen, Karanganyar, Sukoharjo, Klaten, Boyolai, and Wonogiri. Mention of several of these regencies and sub-districts within these regencies will be discussed in this dissertation, please refer to Figure 1-1 below for location and orientation of the two major cities and their surrounding regencies. While Central Java is larger than these two cities and their surrounding regencies due to time, travel needs, and funds I chose to focus this work on aforementioned areas. The two larger cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta were not only chosen for their central roles in the history of *wayang kulit* but also for the *kratons*⁵ located in each city. Both cities boast current and thriving *wayang kulit* communities, and tourism is on the rise in these areas as well. The surrounding regencies were included in this study to give a scope of the *penatah*'s working conditions in both metropolitan and rural areas, as well as to analyze how far tourism and globalization have actually spread within the *wayang kulit* community. I felt it was important for this study to investigate if tourism is merely a phenomenon affecting *wayang kulit* in the cities or if its influence has reached significantly into rural communities as well. However, due to the time limits and the scope of this research only one regency from Yogyakarta (Bantul) and one from Surakarta (Wonogiri) were chosen. Each regency was chosen based on its large population of working *wayang kulit penatah*, a level of interest in developing *wayang kulit* craftsmanship, and the number of *penatah* willing to participate in a study of this nature. I believe these two regencies are fair representations of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship in the area due to the similar rural characteristics in comparison to the other regencies surrounding the urban centers and also for the regencies' larger clusters of *wayang kulit* communities.

⁵ *Kraton* is both the Indonesian and Javanese term for "palace." Variant spellings can be found in the List of Abbreviations and Alternate Spellings.

Figure 1-1. Maps of Central Java



SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

Many *wayang kulit penatah* work together in large workshops or communities of *penatah* both in metropolitan areas and in more rural areas across Central Java. When approaching *penatah* for this research it became clear that within these workshop settings, one *penatah* was generally deferred to—whether by virtue of knowledge or comfort—when discussing *wayang kulit* and their craft. This individual would function as a type of spokesperson for the workshop or area. As interviews were scheduled and conducted with this initial informant, a groundwork of trust was built and more *penatah* would occasionally volunteer to participate in the research. However, in many cases the one representative would speak for a larger number of *penatah* who were not comfortable speaking to a researcher and/or who felt they did not possess the skill to truly articulate the history or process or their craftsmanship. Therefore, one participant in this study nearly always represents a whole workshop or even a whole village of artisans. The *penatah* that did participate in this study work as a representative sample of *wayang kulit penatah* in Central Java and have varying degrees of training, education, popularity, and connection to *wayang kulit* tourism. Certain personal histories of individual *penatah* have been highlighted throughout this work, as they were the individual members of the community who felt most confident sharing their histories for this research. Several *penatah* in each locale (Pak Hadi Sukirno, Pak Sagio, Pak Sutarno, and Pak Kawi) also kindly gave me nearly unlimited access to their crafting process, stock, and storefronts. However, information gathered from all of the *penatah* interviewed has been combined with observations and textual support to form the collective history, analysis, and arguments found in this dissertation. A few members of the *wayang kulit* community who are not *penatah* were also interviewed, including scholars and professors who have written one or more of the available articles and books in Indonesian that discuss *wayang kulit* craftsmanship in Central Java. A list of the main participants can be found below⁶.

⁶ Further information on the participants in this study can be found in Appendix A.

Table 1-1. List of Main Participants, Locations, and Specializations

| Name^a | Town | District |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Kusmandi | Wonogiri | Central Java |
| Mantan | Wonogiri | Central Java |
| Saleh | Wonogiri | Central Java |
| Sagio | Yogyakarta | DIY |
| Krt. Sihhanto di Puro | Surakarta | Central Java |
| Sudiman | Bantul | DIY |
| Sukawi (Kawi) | Surakarta | Central Java |
| Hadi Sukirno | Yogyakarta | DIY |
| Sutarno (Sutar) | Wonogiri | DIY |
| Suyono | Bantul | DIY |
| Suyoto | Bantul | DIY |
| Tugiman | Yogyakarta | DIY |
| Waluyo | Bantul | DIY |
| Wijayanto | Surakarta | Central Java |

^a All of the *penatah* and participants in this study have given their informed consent to be included in this dissertation.

INTRODUCTION TO METHODOLOGY

During my time in Indonesia I used several methodological approaches to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. However, as my research focuses on creating an updated history and analyzing current cultural practices in the *wayang kulit* craftsmanship community, I primarily took an ethnographic approach with this work. This approach was heavily influenced by Glasser and Strauss' grounded theory⁷ in which research focuses on being rooted or "grounded" in data collection and observation. While this work did not fully prescribe to all

⁷ For more information on grounded theory see Glasser and Strauss 1967 and Oktay 2012.

aspects of grounded theory it did draw on its principle tenants of theoretical sensitivity, constant comparison, and theoretical sampling. Julianne Oktay succinctly describes these tenants as “components [that] work together in a multistage process that builds theory” (2012: 53). The first component, theoretical sensitivity, involves the researcher’s ability—through their personal, professional, and theoretical background—to gather data and begin coding interviews to identify early patterns and concepts. The researcher then uses constant comparison to generate concepts from the coded data. Theoretical sampling is then used to guide the next stage of data gathering and to “further develop and verify the concepts” (2012: 53).

Using this methodology, I began the interview process with semi-structured interviews to first develop a rapport. This allowed for the participants to become comfortable in the interview environment and for me to gather necessary base line data. I then moved forward to open interviews which allowed for the participants to direct the interview process and for key concepts in their oral histories to develop naturally. This process allowed me to not only develop a way in which to approach the oral histories of these *penatah* but to also organize and analyze them post-field work. The core concepts that came from these interviews were then combined with observation of *penatah* in their workshops, and support from library research and textual analysis to further discern patterns. These patterns then became the base of both my findings on the current *wayang kulit* craftsmanship community and predictions for its future.

Interviews and Observation

During the first official meeting with a participant, specifically a *penatah*, I would always begin with a semi-structured interview of the same fourteen main questions⁸. This first interview focused on the types of tools and methods in which they were trained and if they had changed any of those tools or methods over time. This approach was taken in order to gather base line data for all participants of their training methods, tools, and techniques. However, to create a relaxing and non-intimidating experience, if the *penatah* wanted to steer the interview in a different direction I would always follow their lead and discuss the elements of their craft they were passionate about. Due to this relaxed atmosphere and freedom to take an interview in many

⁸ The full list of questions can be found in Appendix B.

directions, each participant was generally interviewed a minimum of two times in order to ensure each of the thirteen original interview questions were covered and the base data could be easily compared. However, I and many *penatah* themselves encouraged more interviews as they had an abundance of stories to tell and, as previously mentioned, many times a single *penatah* was the representative of his entire workplace or village and additional interviews were needed to cover the varied histories and experiences. After the initial semi-structured interview, dialogue opened into a far less structured nature to allow *penatah* to give personal insight and opinions on *wayang kulit* craftsmanship. This also permitted the *penatah* to share their histories in the same manner *wayang kulit* traditions have always been passed down: orally. Speaking in this manner encouraged a certain level of comfort and permitted for what each *penatah* felt crucial to *wayang kulit* craftsmanship to become prominent during the interviews. As discussed, this enabled me to garner the central concepts and important issues across the spectrum of participants and to see where new methods, opinions, and tactics might vary from historical records. Whenever possible these stories, training techniques, and histories were then further researched, fact checked, and reinforced through public records, newspaper articles, books, and other written sources⁹. However, due to the fact that the majority of knowledge surrounding *wayang kulit* has been passed down in oral tradition the main source for both the history and current lives of the *penatah* in Central Java has come from their own recollections.

My research also involved observation, specifically of *wayang kulit* puppets being carved and painted. For the purpose of this dissertation I commissioned five separate Kresna puppets. Kresna, in the Mahābhārata legend, is an avatar or incarnation of the Lord Vishnu. In Javanese *wayang kulit* he is predominately shown as the King of Dwarawati and a respected advisor of the Pandawa family (Sunarto and Sagio 2004). Throughout my initial interviews, it became apparent that one of the major changes to how *wayang kulit* creation is handled is the varying “levels of quality” that were offered to *dalang* and tourists alike by individual *penatah* or at store locations. Detail on each of these levels will be discussed in chapter five. Due to this discovery, I commissioned the five Kresna puppets from a single store and observed how each of the puppets was carved and painted to better understand the differences in levels as well as in training, lifestyle, location, and methods that might have affected the “quality” of each level. While these

⁹ Found sources came from library research in Universities and *kraton* libraries in Yogyakarta and Surakarta, as well as through library research University of Hawai'i.

puppets were commissioned from one store, only level 1 was made in the actual store by the workers who work out of the store's workshop. Levels 2 through 5 were outsourced by the store and made by craftsmen in other locales, who occasionally work for the main store when lower levels are commissioned. During the year I spent in Central Java the majority of my interviews took place while a *penatah* was actually working on a piece for his own stock or on an order for a customer. Throughout the course of this yearlong research process, I observed several full puppets being carved and the portions of hundreds of others at various stages of completion.

Development of Typologies

During my research it became apparent that there were clear distinctions between different types of *wayang kulit* businesses and the workshops run by *penatah*. No typologies or groupings were initially placed on *penatah* or their businesses prior to the research but, rather, core concepts in *wayang* business models revealed themselves through the interview process. These core concepts lead to the development of six specific *wayang kulit* business typologies and five puppet typologies. These burgeoning typologies were then later reinforced through Eric Cohen's existing typologies of ethnic crafts and tourist ribbons; the works of Michel Picard and Philip Frick on Bali; and the history of *wayang kulit* itself (Brandon, Groenendaal, Holt, Irvine). As discussed, initial interviews were semi-structured, while follow-up interviews remained more open. This allowed for core concepts in the business models to present themselves through the *penatah*'s telling of their own stories. These concepts, once clear, allowed for the organization and division of *penatah*'s business models into six distinct groupings. It is the aim of this dissertation that these typologies will not only make clearer the current development of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship in Central Java but also assist in predictions for future trajectories of craftsmanship and tourism in the area. A detailed description on how these new typologies were developed and can be applied is found in chapter five.

1.3 LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH

As noted, Central Java was chosen for this research due to its historical link to *wayang*

kulit; the access to and number of *penatah* working in the area; and the importance of the area to contemporary *wayang kulit*. While knowledge of the larger history, religions, and theatrical advancements in Indonesia (for example: changes and progress in the Balinese arts *and tourism*) are important, the main thrust of this dissertation focuses on Central Java and the *penatah* of that area alone. Additionally, my research does not and could not deeply examine all *penatah* from Central Java but, rather, focuses on the *penatah* mentioned above as representatives of Central Javanese *wayang kulit* craftsmanship.

During my research, I opted to hire two research assistants to assist with the gathering of information and to work as interpreters during interviews. Agnes Pranugrahaning worked as my assistant for the first half of my research and Agnes ‘Gita’ Cahyandari filled in as my assistant for the second half, when Ms. Pranugrahaning needed to step away to complete her own research. Not only were these women able to help with transcripts, translations, and dictation in Indonesian they were also both fluent in Javanese, a language I do not speak. Javanese is the primary language of many of the older *penatah* who participated in this research. At times these *penatah* would complete full interviews in Javanese or would slip from Indonesian into Javanese during the interview process making it necessary for Agnes and Gita to translate. It was also discovered that when either of my assistants, both of Javanese descent, initially approached a possible participant, the *penatah* was far more likely and far less intimidated to work with a foreign scholar than if I had approached them myself. Due to this finding, each of my assistants approached several possible participants with my government research permissions and academic credentials to initiate interviews and worked as intermediaries for scheduling purposes throughout my research. Both Ms. Pranugrahaning and Ms. Cahyandari were not only chosen for their language skills in Javanese and Indonesian but also for their prior academic training and interest in *wayang kulit*.

1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW

As mentioned in the above sections, this dissertation aims to fill a gap in scholarly research on the history and creative methods of *wayang kulit* carving in Central Java, while also adding to scholarship on how tourism and globalization are shaping the future of the art form. I

do, however, want to stress that the lack of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship scholarship is not necessarily due to a lack of interest in the craftsmanship itself; this topic has, presently, rarely been the main thrust of an academic study concerning *wayang kulit*. Many scholars and historians writing in English discuss the incredible skill needed to create these pieces of art but the description and history of its creation is relegated to only a few paragraphs or a few pages. However, while there is still room for more scholarship on *wayang kulit* carving, it does need to be noted that this dissertation could not have been accomplished without the works of previous scholars in the field of *wayang kulit*.

WAYANG KULIT CARVING

There are several works on *wayang kulit* that include small but significant histories of craftsmanship or craftsmanship skills including works by Walter Angst, Claire Holt, David Irvine, Edward C. van Ness, and Shita Prawirohardjo. These works address the basic skills needed to create *wayang kulit* puppets and touch on the history of creating the physical form. One of the most important works that discusses carving in a bit more detail is R.L. Mellema's book entitled *Wayang Puppets: Carving, Colouring and Symbolism*. This book is comprised mainly of a translation of the experiences of a revered *penatah*, Pak¹⁰ Sukir. In 1920 the Dutch-led Commission for Folk Literature published a treatise, in Javanese, by Pak Sukir that described his experience in the carving and painting of *wayang kulit* puppets. This document was named 'Treatise no. 244'. This initial document has since been lost but a new edition of the original was published in 1935 and Mellema's book contains a translation of that copy. However, due to the loss of the original copy and the 1935 version making no reference to the older document, Mellema notes that it would be very difficult to know if this version remained unmodified. Nonetheless, this 82-page book works as a solid starting point for research into *wayang kulit* craftsmanship as it gives the basic steps and outlines some of the patterns needed to carve a *wayang kulit* puppet. In addition to this book, three main Indonesian texts, *Tuntunan Ketrampilan Tatah Sungging Wayang Kulit* by Widodo (1984), *Wayang Kulit Gagrag*

¹⁰ The term 'Pak' comes from the word '*bapak*.' See the List of Abbreviations and Alternate Spellings for more information.

Yogyakarta: Morfologi, Tatahan, Sunggingan, dan Teknik Pembuatannya by Sagio (1991), and *Seni Tatah Sungging Kulit* by Sunarto (2008) have also been used as a base for the history of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship in this dissertation. Pak 12 Sagio's book, *Wayang Kulit Gagrag Yogyakarta*, was originally published in 1991 in black and white; it was also released in late 2014 in a color version. The book begins by describing basic carving patterns and moves on to describe the specific patterns for face shapes, noses, eyes, hands, feet and the patterns for dress styles and ornamentations. The largest and final part of the book contains pictures of the most popular characters in *wayang kulit* carved by Pak Sagio and information about who each character is. While the largest portion of this book focuses on documenting Pak Sagio's style through drawings of the most popular characters, roughly the first third discusses his methods of *wayang kulit* carving. The publications by Widodo and Sunarto also cover similar carving methods found in Sagio's book without the large section of character drawings. Each of these books also contains small references to events in *wayang kulit* history which, in combination with the histories of *penatah* I have interviewed, and sections of several general *wayang kulit* history publications have created a starting point for compiling a more complete history of the form.

GENERAL WAYANG KULIT HISTORY

In order to fully comprehend the meaning and history behind the carving and painting processes a foundation in general *wayang kulit* history is needed. James R. Brandon's works on Southeast Asian theatre include: *Theatre in Southeast Asia* and *On Thrones of Gold: Three Javanese Shadow Plays* and are crucial introductory works for anyone studying Indonesian theatre and *wayang kulit*. *Theatre in Southeast Asia* provides a great deal of information about a typical *wayang kulit* performance as well as the fundamental, and generally accepted, history of *wayang kulit* itself.

Jan Mrázek's works, titled *Phenomenology of a Puppet Theatre: Contemplations on the Art of Javanese Wayang Kulit* (1998) and *Javanese Wayang in the Times of Comedy* (2002) focus on the influences and shifting trends in *wayang kulit*. Both of these works influenced my research as many current *wayang kulit penatah* represent shifts in modern *wayang kulit* tradition.

Mrázek's article on *wayang* in the *Times of Comedy* is especially helpful as he informs the reader of several new technological advances made in Javanese *wayang kulit* around the end of the twentieth century. Understanding why these elements became popular and how they were first introduced helped in deciphering current shifts in *wayang kulit* craftsmanship.

1.5 DISSERTATION OVERVIEW

This work consists of an introductory chapter, chapter one, and five main chapters that encompass the major findings of this research. Chapter two focuses on assembling a cohesive history of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship in Central Java. To begin, the chapter briefly describes *wayang kulit* performance itself. This, in a way, sets the stage for appreciating how *wayang kulit* performance flows and for understanding why Central Javanese *wayang kulit* puppets are created and carved the way they are. Secondly, the chapter moves on to cover the theories of *wayang kulit*'s origin and how the performance and its structure has evolved into the performance that is known today. This section of chapter two also discusses the importance of oral transmission in both *wayang kulit* performance and craftsmanship histories. Moving forward, the chapter examines major documented developments in *wayang kulit* craftsmanship history and how these major adaptations to carving may have affected the overall form. Finally, the chapter closes with a brief introduction to *wayang kulit* iconography, to be further discussed in chapter three, and discussions of regional styles and variations across Central Javanese *wayang kulit*.

Chapter three provides a detailed description of the process of carving a *wayang kulit* puppet. The chapter is divided into two main sections: the traditional process of carving a *wayang kulit purwa* puppet and modern adaptations to the process. This chapter covers both the history of and changes to leather processing, carving, painting, adhering gold elements, sealing, and handle creation. Furthermore, the chapter examines the traditional and modern processes of attaching the handles and limbs to the body of the puppets. In comparing the historical and modern methods of *wayang kulit* creation processes the introduction of and reasons for new materials, tools, and methods are also recorded. This documentation also allows for a later analysis of how these changes to craftsmanship have affected *wayang kulit* performance. Exploring these adaptations also sets the stage for a comparison between *wayang kulit*

craftsmanship and other craft and theatre forms in Southeast Asia and the Pacific in chapter six.

The development and growth of governmental attitudes and policies on tourism and culture will be covered in chapter four of this work, particularly, the use of culture and tourism as a tool to develop Indonesia professionally and financially. The history of tourism policy will be traced from the Dutch Occupation of Bali in 1906 and into the current, at time of writing, era of President Joko Widodo. A particular focus will be placed on the policies post-1970 as President Suharto's Five Year Development Plan and Lieutenant-General Ali Moertopo's ideas on how culture could be shaped and used for Indonesia's economic benefit were still crucial in how Indonesia views tourism and culture at the time of this research. This chapter will close with a discussion of growing tourism in Central Java and an analysis of the benefits and consequences of creating *wayang kulit* and *wayang kulit*-based souvenirs for the tourism market in Central Java.

Chapter five begins with an introduction to the division between *dalang* and pure *penatah*. It is noted in the majority of, if not all, *wayang kulit* histories that *dalang* carved their own puppets for performance. This chapter adds to this history and lays out a theory for the origins of a division between members of the *wayang kulit* community who both carved and performed with puppets, *dalang*, and those who purely carved the puppets but did not perform with them, pure *penatah*. Included in this theory is a discussion on what the Central Javanese *wayang kulit* community believes to be the qualities that make for a "good" *dalang*. Following this, the chapter includes a discussion on the changing economic, social, and physical demands of *wayang kulit dalang* in Indonesia and how these shifts could have influenced the divide between *dalang* and *penatah*. The chapter continues with a discussion on the perceived earning potential for a *wayang kulit* craftsman in Central Java and the development of *wayang kulit* souvenirs and businesses. Finally, this chapter will cover the development of typologies for *wayang kulit* businesses and puppets. Creating these typologies allows for not only an analysis of how modern adaptations to their craft and tourism affected the formation of their businesses but also for clearer predictions for their futures.

To conclude, chapter six summarizes the major findings in this work with a brief overview of the history of the craft; the role of culture and tourism policy in *wayang kulit* craftsmanship; the path *wayang kulit* puppets have taken from *purwa* to tourism puppets; and the *wayang kulit* typologies developed in this work. The chapter includes an exploration of the future

of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship and ends with an analysis of how these changes to craftsmanship and the *wayang kulit* community may shape the future of *wayang kulit* performance in Central Java. The projections of *wayang kulit*'s future are strengthened through comparison with how the form fits in the larger framework of performance in Southeast Asia and the Pacific and how theatrical forms in the region have handled large influxes of tourism in regard to their traditional art forms. The chapter culminates in a discussion of potential future studies in *wayang kulit* craftsmanship as well as those places where tourism, performance, and craftsmanship meet in Central Java, Indonesia and, more broadly, Southeast Asia as a whole.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Theatre was created to tell people the truth
about life and the social situation.

-Stella Adler

2.1 SETTING THE STAGE

Wayang kulit is a traditional Javanese shadow theatre that is performed by a single puppeteer, or *dalang*, using carved-leather puppets as the main ‘actors,’ or performers. A traditional performance of classical *wayang kulit* is also known as *wayang kulit purwa*. In Javanese ‘*purwa*’ translates to ‘past’ or ‘the very beginning.’ The term ‘*wayang purwa*’ can be translated as ‘shadows of the past.’ Colloquially *wayang kulit purwa* is also referred to as ‘old *wayang*’ or ‘classical *wayang*.’ *Wayang kulit purwa* performances present stories from both the Mahābhārata and the Ramayana Indian epics. These performances take place in the evening which allows a small oil lamp to illuminate the carved puppets against a thin white screen (*kelir*). This screen is approximately 5 meters long and 1.5 meters tall featuring embellished borders that run the length of both the top and bottom of the screen. A set of banana logs (*debog*) run horizontally along the base on this screen. Before a performance begins, puppets from the *dalang*’s collection that will not be used in that evening’s story will be arranged on the far right and far left sides of the screen leaving a roughly 1.5-meter staging area in the middle. The puppets’ main handles are placed into the banana log, and the puppets are arranged from largest to smallest with the largest puppets on the outer edge of the screen and the smaller, more delicate puppets, closest to the staging area. The more virtuous (*alus*) puppets are placed on the right, while the less virtuous (*kasar*) puppets are positioned on the left (see Image 2-1).

To begin a typical performance, a *dalang* will sit down cross-legged in front of the screen. Directly to his left will sit his puppet box (*kotak*) and on his right the lid of the puppet

box with all the necessary puppets arranged, with the first to appear on top and the last to appear on the bottom. Suspended on the outside of the puppet box there will be small metal plates that the *dalang* can strike with his right foot to add sound effects, emphasis, and punctuation to the performance. In his hand, or on occasion between his toes, he will hold a small wooden mallet (*cempala*) that he uses to give musical cues to the orchestra (*gamelan*) arranged behind the *dalang*.

Image 2-1. *Wayang kulit* performance set up



Taken in Wonogiri, Central Java, Indonesia

Performances begin with the *kayon* puppet¹¹, also known as the tree of life. This beautifully ornate puppet is placed in the very center of the staging area and represents life and the cosmic order of the universe. To cue the performance, the *dalang* will move the *kayon* to the side to symbolize that the performance has now entered the realm of the shadows¹². This movement begins the evening's *lakon*, or story. In a traditional *wayang kulit* production each *lakon*'s structure can be broken down into three separate sections, or *pathet*, which each

¹¹ The *kayon* puppet can also be called the *gunungan*.

¹² For more on *kayon* and setting see Keller, Irvine, Sears.

symbolize a different portion of an individual's life. For a typical performance, the first section (*pathet nem*) will last from about 9 p.m. till midnight and represents a person's youth. The second section (*pathet sanga*) continues from midnight to around 3 a.m. and represents a person's adult life with its internal struggles between good and evil. The third, and final, section (*pathet manyura*) continues from approximately 3 a.m. until sunrise and represents the final portion of a person's life (Ulbricht 1970). An individual *wayang purwa* performance in Central Java would commonly tell a portion from one of the Indian epics, the Mahābhārata or Ramayana. These classical Indian epics arrived in Java around the first millennia CE. Modern *wayang kulit* performances still perform portions of these great tales but have also branched out to portray local legends or modern stories as well.

2.2 WAYANG KULIT CARVING HISTORY

Very little is known about the precise beginnings of *wayang kulit* due to the age of the form and the lack of physical historical documents. Traditionally, the history of both *wayang kulit* carving and the form itself were passed down orally from one practitioner to another. In addition, any older documents that might have existed have since succumbed to time and the tropical climate of Indonesia. However, tracing the etymology of the term “*wayang kulit*” itself can begin to tell us a small amount about the origins of the form. R.L. Mellema notes that the word ‘*wayang*’ originally could have been translated as ‘ancestor’ (1988: 5). While other scholars, for example H. Ulbricht, have observed that ‘*wayang*’ has the same root as the Javanese word ‘*bayang*’ or ‘shadow’ (1970). Mellema also notes that the word for ‘*wayang*’ in high Javanese, ‘*ringgit*,’ has a closer meaning to ‘sharply cut’ alluding to the carving of puppets themselves (1988: 5). James Brandon and several other scholars have discussed early Javanese stone carvings from 840 CE and one from 907 CE that mentions ‘*mawayang*’ which could have meant several different types of *wayang* performances (1970: 2). Each of these etymological elements describes one, if not multiple facets of what today is colloquially understood as ‘shadow puppet performance.’

As for the exact time and place of origin of *wayang kulit*, scholars have varying ideas concerning both. In regard to place, some scholars argue that *wayang kulit* is a borrowed

theatrical form from India, while others suggest that *wayang kulit* is purely Javanese. The argument for Indian origins is largely rooted in the popularity and continued use of Indian story materials, the Mahābhārata and Ramayana, in *wayang kulit* (Holt 1967: 124; Irvine 1996: 2- 15)¹³. The theory of Javanese origins focuses primarily on the idea that *wayang kulit* is based in traditional ancestor worship and the connection between the real and mystical world through shadows in Javanese society (Brandon 1967: 42; Holt 1967: 124; Irvine 1996: 14; Mellema 1954: 5; Ulbricht 1970: xv). Religious observations, such as ancestor worship and other spiritual practices, in Java were marked by storytelling. Through this practice it is argued that the role of the *dalang* in *wayang kulit* developed out of the role of local shaman priests or village elders who were skilled storytellers. To strengthen the claim of pure Javanese origins, scholars point to the fact that *wayang kulit* contains no technical terms of foreign origin. They argue that if the form had been adopted from a foreign form, one would expect to find a number of borrowed technical terms (Mellema, Rassers). For the purpose of this dissertation, I take the stance that both Java and India contributed to the creation of Javanese *wayang kulit*. While I follow in the footsteps of scholars that believe the origins of *wayang kulit* to be Javanese, Indian influences have clearly played a major role in the overall development of the art form.

Due to the lack of historical records, the exact time period in which *wayang kulit* began also remains under debate. James Brandon places the development of puppetry in Java several centuries before 1000 CE citing a temple carving from 840 CE which recorded several kinds of possible *wayang* performances (1967: 42). Another relief from 907 CE mentions dances, epic recitations, and *mawayang*—which may have meant shadow theatre (Brandon 1970: 2; Irvine 1996: 130). Some Javanese scholars believe that the Javanese were using a form of *wayang* for ancestor worship as far back as 3,000 years ago (Irvine 1996: 129). As previously mentioned, it is theorized that *wayang kulit purwa* grew out of traditional Javanese ancestor worship, in part, due to the Javanese esoteric understanding of creation and its links to the shadows.

In Javanese mythology, it is believed that the world came into being out of an invisible matter, sometimes described as chaos. When the divine pierced this chaos, it began to continually condense and slowly form the known world. Eventually beings, or humans, created

¹³ Holt and Irvine are not necessarily on the side of purely Indian origins but, rather, have discussed in great detail in their histories of the form that many scholars have argued this point. For more on the possibility of Indian or Javanese origins their works are crucial reading.

in the likeness of God¹⁴ appeared. However, human beings are born into a mortal body that decays and, therefore, man and his spirit are not yet seen as a final result of creation. They are in a “transitory stage” and the period of one single life cannot provide them with enough time or opportunities to reach either the earthly perfection of the soul or the divine. So, a soul is born repeatedly on earth until perfection is finally reached. It is said that man first appeared on earth in transparent form and developed over time into a physical, solid form. Later, once earthly perfection is achieved, a human will return as a *dewa*, or a deity, in the heavens. These deities evolve past the human body but still remain corporeal and therefore their powers are limited compared to God who has no corporeal form. It is worth noting that both humans and deities have physical forms so they each have representations in *wayang kulit*. However, God has no form and therefore casts no shadow. Consequently, there is no *wayang* puppet to represent God (Ulbricht 1970).

It is hypothesized that *wayang kulit* began as a nighttime performance for two main reasons. One being that the Javanese traditionally believe that the spirits are more active at night. The second being that shadows, as two-dimensional objects, are both visible and non-material things. Thus, the shadows are a link between both the visible and non-visible worlds. This in combination with milestones being traditionally marked with storytelling gives a picture of how shadow theatre could have formed in early Javanese society (Brandon, Irvine, Ulbricht). No one date marks the introduction of Hinduism in Java or Indonesia. The introduction of the religion and its political systems remains a bit of a puzzle for scholars. The earliest Sanskrit inscriptions found in Java suggest that a Hindu kingdom, Taruma, existed around the fifth century CE and it is known that the Shivaite Hindu dynasty existed under King Sanjaya in the middle of the eighth century (Irvine 1996: 4). What is known is that, in the first 400 years of the Common Era Hinduism took a strong foothold across Java and eventually became an integral part of the Javanese court systems (Irvine 1996: 4). Javanese rulers were greatly attracted to the Hindu concept of a divinely ordained king. This concept was well loved by the elite as it could be used to legitimize a ruler’s place on the throne. Javanese rulers would further legitimize their elevated place in the courts through the epic and increasingly popular tales of the Mahābhārata and Ramayana. Once these epics were introduced, somewhere between the third and fifth century CE (Irvine 1996: 16-17), they became widely popular in both the courts and rural areas

¹⁴ God is named Sang Hyang Tunggal in *wayang purwa*.

and eventually became the core story material for *wayang kulit purwa*. Over time, further additions were made to these epics which localized them by integrating elements from Javanese histories, stories, and culture. With the introduction of these epics many of the Javanese deities who had corresponding Hindu gods were assigned the Hindu names and several new Hindu characters or deities were also introduced into Javanese mythology (Brandon, Irvine, Ulbricht). Javanese deities who did not have a corresponding deity in the Hindu pantheon retained their Javanese names (Ulbricht 1970). There are no historical sources documenting a shift in puppet craftsmanship to adapt to these new epics. However, with an early form of *wayang kulit* already being performed at this time, the introduction of these stories would have presumably inspired craftsmen and *dalang* to create new puppets to represent these new characters. In this way *dalang* could properly represent these new tales.

The epic stories of the Ramayana and Mahābhārata are just that, epic. They are extraordinarily long sagas that were ultimately broken down into smaller portions, or individual stories, over time. These stories were then formatted to fit the length of a *wayang kulit* performance. While there is a large gap in the records of *wayang* performances, beginning with the carvings dating from 840 and 907 CE spanning until the 11th century, it is believed that the puppets that were created for *wayang* performances before the 11th century were fairly simple, non-jointed and made of water buffalo hide (Sunarto 2004).

Accounts of *wayang kulit* being performed regularly appear in court records as early as the 11th and 12th centuries. These records make no note of exact carving processes of the puppets but do state that *wayang kulit* was being performed frequently during this period (Irvine 1996; Brandon 1970). Later records indicate that the puppets during this period were still non-jointed, made of water buffalo leather, and operated by a single *dalang*. Since no puppets remain from this time period more specific details on the actual physicality of the puppets during this period remain unknown. However, it is suspected that, in accordance with Hindu concepts of art at the time, the puppets would have been given a more realistic “human” appearance in comparison to the puppets we know today (Angst 2000: 215; Brandon 1970: 40; Ulbricht 1970: 28). David Irvine argues that, like the carvings of the time, *wayang kulit* puppets of this period most likely had their heads facing forward so the entirety of the face was visible and not portrayed in profile or semi-profile, as they are now (1996: 131). Further support for this argument can also be found in the suggested beginnings of the form. As previously discussed,

many scholars believe that early *wayang* performances were used as a method of ancestor worship and as a way to connect with the spiritual world. So, presumably puppets would have resembled the human form, or the form of their ancestors. In summation, while not much is known about the early period of *wayang kulit* puppetry—as leather naturally decays and no original puppets from this period exist—these are the existing, educated hypotheses in regard to what the puppets might have looked like both before and throughout the Hindu era.

Additional insight as to how *wayang kulit* puppetry evolved into a form more closely resembling the puppets most would recognize today can be found in the late 13th to 16th century CE, particularly with the introduction of Islam later in this period and shifting powers within Central Java. One such significant change that occurred due to the introduction of Islam was the dramatic revision of the genealogy of the gods and characters in *wayang kulit*. The concept of one true god directly clashed with the Javanese and Hindu mythology being told through the *wayang kulit* repertoire at the time. This was resolved by integrating the Javanese and Hindu gods into the Islamic creation story. For example, the ‘old’ gods were humanized by making them descendants of Adam and Eve which in turn put them under the one God (Irvine 1996: 21). While this was originally present in the formation of *wayang kulit* and the epics told in performance it can be argued that less of this is seen in modern times. Despite the introduction of Islam at this time and the shifts in genealogies, *wayang kulit* continued to develop and relate Hindu stories. In the year 1439 CE Raden Patah of Demak converted to Islam and subsequently changed his name to Sultan Sah Ngalam Akbar. The Sultan was a noted fan of *wayang kulit* and even commissioned a special set of puppets featuring internal carving for his court in 1525 CE. When referring to internal carving I mean the intricate carving inside the puppets such as facial features, decorative flowers, clothing patterns, etc. Internal carving refers to all carving on a *wayang kulit* puppet that is not the external outline. With the request from Sultan Akbar, we have the first written record of internal carving in *wayang kulit* puppets, whereas prior to this instance all known documentation only existed detailing carving of the external outline of the puppet. However, it is generally believed that despite the lack of earlier documentation some internal carving was probably employed before this period. What is known is that Sultan Akbar’s new puppets had the eyes, ears, and mouths “indicated by incisions” (Ulbricht 1970).

Although Sultan Akbar was an admirer of *wayang kulit*, it is believed that over time the former enthusiast began to see *wayang kulit* as falling outside of the teachings of Islam. Due to

his interpretation of religious doctrine Sultan Akbar eventually outlawed *wayang kulit* altogether. Yet, the popularity of *wayang* performances in his empire eventually won out and, according to Ulbricht, the form was reinstated thanks to the continued guidance of his advisors, or *wali*. However, with this re-introduction of the form, his advisors apparently reduced the puppets down to the basic outlines of characters thereby convincing the Sultan that these simple objects could not be construed as representations of men and were therefore acceptable under the teachings of Islam (1970:30).

While the Sultan's story is a singular example of Islam's influence on *wayang kulit*, many scholars argue that a more significant correlation exists between the introduction of Islam and the formation of the current form of *wayang kulit* puppets we know today. Scholars believe that the exaggeration of specific features of *wayang kulit* puppets during this period is linked to Islamic teachings and rules regarding art (Brandon, Holt, Irvine, Moerdowo, Ulbricht). Islamic art generally does not include the representation of lifelike human beings or other living creatures as instructed in both the Qur'an and the *hadiths*. While the Qur'an does not explicitly condemn the representation of human figures it does highly denounce idolatry. When discussing human representation in the *hadiths* it explicitly states that humans should not attempt to 'create' another being as that is purely the work of God (DIA 2001, Ulbricht 1970). With the introduction of Islam and aniconic views, it seems *wayang kulit* stretched the boundaries of this notion by literally stretching the puppets themselves. It is argued that *penatah* in this time period elongated the arms, legs, neck, and certain facial features of the puppets to prevent them from looking too "human." The introduction of elaborate paint and gilding, which was also established during this period, could have also been an effort to further exaggerate the puppets and remove them further from resembling the human form (Irvine, Ulbricht).

However, there are two other theories in regard to the exaggeration found in *wayang kulit* puppets. Jan Mrázek proposes that using Islam to explain the exaggeration of *wayang kulit* puppets lends itself to over-simplification and distracts from looking closer at the pictorial representation of the puppets themselves. Mrázek claims that *wayang kulit* puppets have been designed using a rationale similar to one involved in creating a movie montage. He describes that in a filmic montage you may see a "long shot" of a character, then a close up of their face in profile, and then perhaps a close up of their eyes. Mrázek asserts that we see a *wayang kulit* puppet in a similar fashion. When one looks at a *wayang kulit* puppet they see a puppet as a

whole but also see specific elements “close up” or at a particular angle. This, he argues, makes up the montage of a *wayang kulit* puppet (1998: 42). Mrázek describes this as a creative process in which *penatah* and *dalang* over time have decided which elements of a *wayang kulit* puppet needed to be highlighted and which elements could be downplayed. Mrázek also likens this process to how road maps are designed and displayed. A map may show an area at different scales because important places, like large cities, need more in-depth detail than other areas. For example, the face is of extreme importance for a *wayang kulit* puppet, as it shows both the temperament and overall character of a puppet. Mrázek’s concept of montage— showing more of what is important—appears to clarify why a typical *wayang kulit* puppet’s head is nearly twice as big as it would proportionally be on a human. A larger head lends itself to more detail in the carving and can show more expression (1998: 41-46). This concept of montage could also explain why other elements of a puppet became highly exaggerated over time. For instance, the length of the arms of a *wayang kulit* puppet has often been noted as one of the most exaggerated elements, as they are far longer than they would be on an actual human. Arms on an average *wayang kulit* puppet nearly reach the puppet’s toes. While it is possible that the arms were elongated to avoid similarity to a human arm in order to fit within the rules of Islamic art, it could also be claimed that the arms were exaggerated by *penatah* for purely pictorial reasons or requested by *dalang* for theatrical reasons. The latter is a strong possibility as the movement of the arms in both storytelling and battle scenes have become one of the most important elements of the puppet and the performance itself.

The concept of altering the shape of the puppets for performance enhancement also ties into the third theory explaining *wayang kulit* puppet exaggeration. Walter Angst posits that the limbs of *wayang kulit* puppets were, perhaps, exaggerated mainly for the benefit of audience members. Angst notes that audiences at a *wayang kulit* performance were often sitting at least 10 meters from the screen. Lengthening the limbs on the puppets would have allowed audiences to have a clearer view of more precise movements (Angst 2000: 215). In addition to allowing for greater audience visibility, this modification may have encouraged further experimentation by the *dalang* who could then try and introduce more intricate movement patterns to entertain their guests. Whether or not the proportionate exaggeration of certain elements of *wayang kulit* puppets was mostly due to Islamic influence or due to *penatah* and *dalang*’s artistic choices over time may never be truly known. It is quite possible that all three theories played into the

development of *wayang kulit* puppets concurrently.

Moving forward to the mid 1500s and early 1600s, members of the ruling class had once again provided several more documented evolutions to the form. The performance of *wayang kulit* was incredibly popular with the noble class and royal courts in Central Java at this time. Due to its favored status, several noble individuals and Sultans took measures to aesthetically refine the appearance of the puppets themselves. Competition between the Yogyakarta and Surakarta courts during this time, as Walter Angst describes it, was an “incentive for making the puppets more sophisticated, more elaborately painted, and richer in their accessories of clothes and jewelry (2000: 215).” During this period sultans, as well as members of the nobility, added new details and adornments to *wayang kulit* puppets to adapt to Islamic teachings, modify the form slightly to their own personal tastes, and generally enhance the sophistication of their court’s version of *wayang kulit* (Angst 2000: 215; Ulbricht 1970: 30-31). The known advancements and changes to the puppets during this time are seen in the Table 2-1¹⁵ below. Of note, one might find different dates cited for these advancements in *wayang kulit* in other sources, due to the fact that the Javanese notated their years in accordance with the Shaka era. The Shaka year 1 equates to year 79 CE and all dates in this dissertation have been adjusted to reflect their CE equivalent.

¹⁵ Unless otherwise noted these advancements are sourced from H. Ulbricht’s 1970 book *Wayang purwa; shadows of the past*, pgs. 30-34.

Table 2-1. Major historical changes in *wayang kulit* craftsmanship

| Year | Adaptation or Change in Craftsmanship |
|------|---|
| 1555 | The Sunan ^a of Giri ordered a non-realistic set of puppets with further defined facial and ornamental features and had his puppets gilded (Brandon 1970: 6-7; Irvine 1996: 132; Moerdowo 1982: 14). |
| 1558 | The clothing of the <i>wayang kulit</i> set made for the coronation of Sunan Ratu Tunggal of Mataram was gilded. |
| 1608 | Sultan Adyawidjaya called for puppets representing human characters to be “dressed” ^b according to their ranks. |
| 1619 | Panembahan Senapati Ing Ngalaga ^c of Mataram requested a <i>wayang</i> set to be made with more definition and attention paid to the hair and head ornaments. He is also credited with adding the <i>kris</i> (knife) as a decorative piece to some characters (Ulbricht 1970: 31; Moerdowo 1982: 14). |
| 1641 | Sultan Agung Anyakrakusuma ordered his <i>wayang</i> puppets to be made with heads bowed and wider eyes ^d . |
| 1683 | Sunan Mangkurat of Kartasura requested that certain characters be represented by more than one puppet to mark different periods in their lives (Ulbricht 1970: 31; Moerdowo 1982: 14-15). |
| 1730 | Pangeran Adipati Puger of Kartasura gave the giants dress according to their ranks. |
| 1786 | Susuhunan Paku Buwana III of Surakarta made the faces of <i>wayang</i> puppets look upwards again. |
| 1794 | A crown was given to all kings. |

^a Sunan is the shortened version of Susuhunan, or an honorific title for monarchs similar to sultan.

^b The term “dressed” in this context represents painted to resemble clothing.

^c Panembahan Senapati Ing Ngalaga is also sometimes written as Panembahan Senopati (Moerdowo 1982: 14).

^d This is said to have been done to conform with the Sultan’s own personal opinions of beauty (Ulbricht 1970: 33).

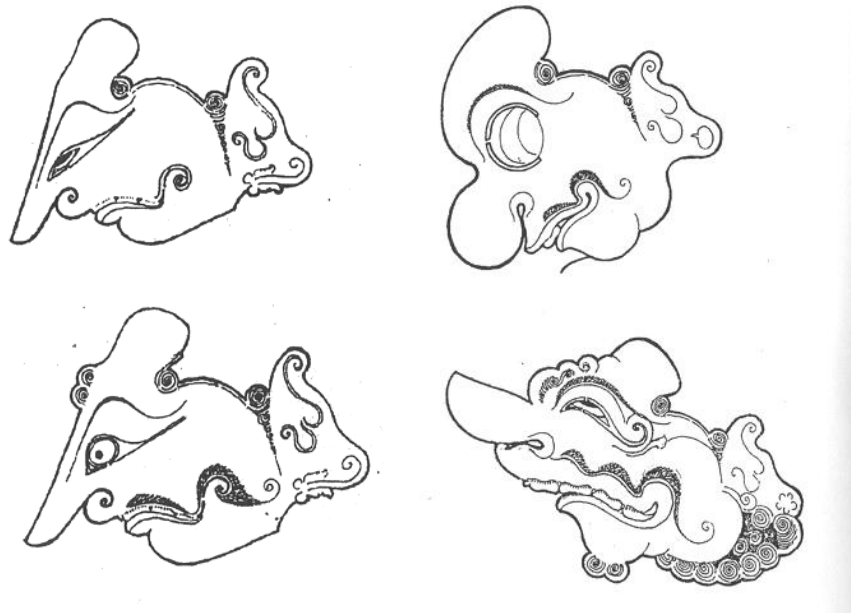
While all changes made to the *wayang kulit* puppets during this period were significant in the formation of what we know now as traditional Central Javanese puppets, the modification that made the most impact to the way *wayang kulit* is performed was the addition of jointed,

moveable arms. James Brandon stated that these jointed arms are said to have been developed by 1630 CE at the Mataram court (1970: 7). However, Ulbricht credits *Susuhunan* Anyakrawati with ordering a puppet set for his court that had moveable arms around the same time (1970: 31). The introduction of articulation to the puppets, no matter who first introduced them, would have been a complete revolution for *wayang kulit* performance as it would have created advancements in not only general movement but performance structure as well. Moveable arms on *wayang kulit* puppets would have allowed for dynamic additions to the form but in particular to the battle scenes. It is also possible this addition led to the practice of having more characters on screen at once as it easily became clearer what character was talking on screen and to the lengthening of battle scenes.

While a great deal has been discussed here of changes that happened in the courts during this period, it is also important to note that *wayang kulit* was not solely a popular court entertainment but was also incredibly popular with the general public across Central Java¹⁶. This can be inferred from the tax *Sunan* Mangkurat of Mataram placed on *wayang kulit* performances in the mid- to late 1500s with an expectation of bringing in additional funds (Ulbricht 1970:33). By the mid 1750s the iconography within *wayang kulit* carving began to solidify and many characters could be classified and identified by roughly twenty-five specific physical features including: body size; stance; head tilt; eye size and shape; nose size and shape; hair; and by style or number of adornments (Angst, Brandon, Irvine, Mellema, Sagio, Sunarto). Traits such as these can be used to classify characters and also indicate various levels of refinement. Various combinations of these different attributes can be used to create the hundreds of human, ogre, and divine characters from the most *alus* or “refined” (e.g.: Arjuna, one of the infamous Pandawa brothers. An incredibly refined and popular character in *wayang kulit purwa* tales) to the *kasar* or “coarse” (e.g.: ogres).

¹⁶ *Wayang kulit* was popular in rural locations and the courts throughout its history. Information on Eastern Javanese, Western Javanese, and Balinese *wayang kulit* and their differences can also be found in Angst 2007.

Image 2-2. Central Javanese *wayang kulit purwa* facial iconography examples



(Sunarto and Sagio 2004)

Changes to *wayang kulit* also came about with the split of the Mataram empire after the death of the ruler Pakubuwana¹⁷ II in 1749 CE. His son Pangerang Adipai Anon (official title: Pakubuwana III) took control of the empire under the protection of the Dutch in Surakarta. Meanwhile, Mangkubumi, the half-brother of Pakubuwana II, also proclaimed himself heir to the Mataram empire in the town of Ngajogjakarta (later known as Yogyakarta) (Groenendael 1985: 9). While differences and competition between the courts existed before this split; this event precipitated the beginnings of solidified Surakarta and Yogyakarta regional styles. While main characters can still be identified by the main iconography other differences began to take shape. As an example, the height and width of some characters shifted but the internal carving remains close but decorative patterns may be minimized or denser. Distinctions of these regional styles and why both the Yogyakarta and Surakarta styles remain two of the most dominant styles in *wayang kulit* will be covered in the next section of this chapter.

Following the development of the Surakarta and Ngajogjakarta courts, records of the specific iconography for regional styles began to be collected and held in their respective *kraton*. Following this, at the end of the 19th century Pakubuwono X, the *Susuhunan* of Surakarta (1893-

¹⁷ Pakubuwana is sometimes split into two words and written as Paku Buwana.

1939 CE), made these records available to the public and they could be manually copied by *penatah* and *dalang*. Not long after, the Yogyakarta court followed suit (Sindung 24 Oct 14). Once these records were made public there seems to have been a near halt in changes or alterations made to the overall carving techniques and physical designs of *wayang kulit purwa* puppets in Central Java. Regarding the patterns of *wayang kulit* characters, some small decorative alterations or singular elements have been added by individual *penatah* to their personal designs of characters. However, the general design patterns for these *wayang kulit purwa* characters have remained relatively unchanged across Central Java. This is not to say that *penatah* have not been experimenting with new designs and new characters that use innovative patterns and design concepts outside of *purwa* puppets. However, as mentioned this dissertation is focused on traditional characters or those that would be found in *wayang purwa* performances. The exact reasoning for the halt in further development in *wayang kulit purwa* puppets is unknown. However, it is possible that the authority of the *kraton*, the *kraton* artists, the popularity of *kraton* style, or a combination of all three influenced this solidification of styles.

Other documented major innovations to *wayang kulit* performance came during the 19th century when rulers in both Surakarta and Yogyakarta began providing more financial assistance to keep *wayang kulit* thriving (Irvine 1996: 9-11). This growth in capital investment in *wayang* possibly came about out of a desire to protect their culture under colonialization or as a means to express what power the courts still held (as the Dutch seized control over the administrative and economic areas of government). Despite the underlying reason, the attention and monetary support given to the arts to continue to perform during this time led to a more refined and polished *wayang kulit* performance.

The 20th and 21st century brought yet more fundamental changes to Central Java and *wayang kulit*. In 1942 Indonesia entered World War II with the Japanese occupation of the islands. It wasn't until 1945 that Indonesia saw the Japanese surrender and the end of the war. That same year Indonesia declared their independence from the Dutch and then soon followed the presidency of Drs. (or Ir.) Kusno Sosrodihardjo, known as Sukarno (1945-1967). Throughout the Sukarno and subsequent Suharto (1967-1998) regimes, *wayang kulit* was used as a tool to spread government policies and propaganda (Blackburn 2004: 15-30, 89-112). *Dalang* were strongly encouraged (either monetarily or otherwise) to include government policies in their performances—public or individual sponsorship of a performance did not make a difference in

whether or not propaganda was encouraged. However, despite these hardships and major changes occurring in Indonesia *wayang purwa* remained a favorite form of entertainment across Central Java.

Significant elements continued to be added to *wayang kulit* performance in Central Java in the late 20th century and into the 21st. Some of the most recent additions include the introduction of microphones, speakers, electric lights in the place of oil lamps, and a variety of other electronic elements. These modern additions are added to not only enhance performances but allow for performances to be heard and seen by larger audiences (Mrázek 2005). *Wayang kulit* performances are now broadcast on television and radio; recorded on DVDs for later sale; used in numerous marketing campaigns; and performed as shortened versions in large tourist areas in both major cities and weekly at the Yogyakarta *kraton*. Social media platforms are also being used to spread *wayang kulit* to even larger audiences. In mid-2014 I watched a performance—a *lakon* from the Mahābhārata—that was performed in Surakarta by Ki Purbo Asmoro (and translated into English by his protégé Katherine Emerson) live on YouTube from my room in Yogyakarta. I have since been able to watch several more *wayang kulit* performances on YouTube from my home in Hawai‘i. Globalization, technology, and growing tourism are all continuing to add to the development of the form and to the practice of *wayang kulit* puppet creation.

2.3 CENTRAL JAVANESE REGIONAL WAYANG KULIT STYLES

As mentioned above, *wayang kulit purwa* in Central Java can be divided into distinct regional styles. These unique forms are not only distinguished by the physical puppets themselves but also by the actual performance of *wayang kulit* itself. Even so, the remainder of this chapter will focus solely on the regional differences in materials, carving, and painting of the puppets, and not their differences in performance. For the purpose of this section both historical and current Central Javanese regional styles will be discussed. However, due to the limitations and focus of this dissertation only the regional styles that have been proven to have influenced the Yogyakarta or Surakarta *kraton* styles, or the approved and widely circulated styles released by each *kraton* at the end of the 19th century, will be discussed. While other regional styles do

exist, they are beyond the scope of this research. It is also of note that, similar to the rest of *wayang kulit* history, it is difficult to precisely place and date the beginnings of older styles. What is known about these styles is found in the remains of textual records and any existing puppets, as well as through oral history passed on through *penatah* and *dalang*.

For the grouping of these regional styles, I have based the criteria on Walter Angst's typologies developed in his 2000 book *The Fantastic World of Indonesian Puppet Theatre*, the Indonesian texts mentioned in my literature review, and my own observations. The criteria for categorizing these regional styles include:

1. Individual characteristics of specific puppets need to be universally the same within the region but different from the corresponding characteristics in other regions. E.g., the height of Bima puppets differs between Surakarta and Yogyakarta versions.
2. Individual puppets that may deviate from the standard remain the exception and not the rule.
3. Density of carving patterns remains similar across the region. I.e., the density of particular pattern in a Wonogiri Kresna is visibly different from that of the density of the same pattern in a Surakarta Kresna.
4. A regional style can include puppet(s) that are specific to that region.
5. The size of a set of puppets within the region is relatively the same. E.g., Kedu sets contain roughly 120 puppets.

Using these criteria, I have gathered information from both English and Indonesian sources to define the regional styles that have led to and defined the modern Yogyakarta and Surakarta styles. For a reminder of the location of the districts in Central Java see Figure 1-1.

KEDU REGIONAL STYLE

Developed in the Temanggung district of Central Java, the Kedu style is one of the oldest discernable styles of *wayang purwa* puppets in Central Java. Several of the Kedu puppets in Walter Angst's collection date back to the late 1800s, however, the style is believed to have been created before this period. Pak Sagio and Pak Samsugi credit the creation of the Kedu style to a

puppet maker named Atak in the mid- to late 1700s (1991: 14). Puppets are no longer being created in the Kedu style. Those that do exist are rare, making it difficult to discern much from the remaining puppets. One such element of the Kedu style puppets that can be detected is that they are the smallest version of *wayang kulit purwa* puppets. Both the head and stance of the Kedu puppets also appear more exaggerated than other regional styles (Angst 2000: 171, 176; Sagio and Samsugi 1991: 14). Didik Nuryanto, the Head of the Tourism and Culture Department in Temanggung city, additionally describes Kedu puppets as “fatter” and less ornamental than other styles (Suyitono 2015). One of the easiest characteristics of Kedu puppets to recognize is found in puppets that have the *praba*, or backwing. As you can see in Figure 2-4 the main branch in the *praba*, in both the Yogyakarta and Surakarta style, forks into multiple smaller branches; these smaller branches can often branch into yet smaller branches as well. In the Kedu example the branch only forks into two new branches and those branches have no further sub-divisions. In some Kedu style puppets there is only one branch on the *praba*. A distinctive blossom can also be found in the middle of the main fork. The remainder of the *praba* is covered in the leaf, or *patran*, pattern.

Image 2-3. Example of the *patran* pattern



(Sunarto and Sagio 2004)

Another unique characteristic of the Kedu style is the direction of the upper arm bracelets. By way of illustration, the serpent bracelet on the back arm faces forward, where in all Central Javanese styles that follow, the bracelet on the back arm faces backwards (Angst 2000: 174-176). Apart from being the smallest puppets within the regional styles, the average set of Kedu style puppets is also the smallest at an average of 120 puppets per Kedu style set. The

reason for the smaller average size of the puppet sets is probably due to the wide variety of *wanda*, or mood, found in other styles. For example, an Arjuna puppet in Yogyakarta or Surakarta could have up to five or more separate *wanda*. In Kedu there apparently were fewer *wanda* per puppet, resulting in a smaller overall collection. Angst also notes that the Kedu sets often contain fewer individual characters comparatively speaking. As an example, he notes that while many other regional styles contain seven of the 100 Kurawa brothers, the Kedu sets only contain five. (2000: 175). The Kedu regional style is important as the precursor to the following Central Javanese styles in this chapter. For a genealogy of the Central Javanese regional styles discussed in this chapter see Figure 2-5.

Image 2-4. Examples of *praba* styles from Kedu, Surakarta, and Yogyakarta



(Angst 2007)

YOGYAKARTA REGIONAL STYLE

The Yogyakarta regional style developed out of both the Kedu and the Mataram style. Little is known about the Mataram style except that it is believed to have come about sometime during the reign of Raja¹⁸ Mataram II¹⁹ during the second half of the Mataram Empire (Angst 2000: 218). As previously mentioned, at this point the Mataram court split into two factions, the Surakarta and Ngajogjakarta courts. It is rumored that when the court split a single puppet collection was split between a husband and wife *dalang* team, with the husband relocating to Surakarta and the wife to Ngajogjakarta. Consequently, the *wayang* set may have been split, and it is said the husband ended up with the clown character Petruk in Surakarta while the wife had Bagong in Yogyakarta. Hence, the *dalang* performing in the Surakarta style have been giving performances without Bagong and performers of the Yogyakarta style have been giving performances without Petruk from that time on (Groenendael 1985: 67-68; Moerdowo 1982: 15). Angst does state that Bagong does make an occasional reappearance in Yogyakarta style *wayang kulit* performances around the 1900s but Petruk still remains the preferred clown of Yogyakarta style (2000: 186). Mataram II has also been credited with creating eleven separate *wanda* for eleven separate characters, including: Kresna, Baladewa, and the clown Petruk (Sagio and Samsugi 1991: 8). It is possible that the Mataram style of *wayang kulit* was developed by a carver at Mataram II's court and a relative of the *penatah* Atak, named Jayaprana. As you can see on the chart in Figure 2-5, the Yogyakarta style is a direct descendant of the Kedu and Mataram styles and this may be why Pak Sagio and Pak Samsugi credit him as the "Father of Wayang Kulit Yogyakarta Style" (1991: 14-15). Despite the links made between the Mataram and Yogyakarta styles by modern *penatah* and scholars, there are no physical puppets remaining in the Mataram style. Therefore, not enough is known about the style to categorize it using the above criteria into its own separate regional style. So, following in Angst's footsteps, the Mataram style is used here primarily to show its historical place as precursor to the Yogyakarta style rather than as its own regional style.

It is possible that the Yogyakarta puppets grew slightly in size over time as the average Yogyakarta style puppets fall between the size of a Kedu and Surakarta puppet (Angst 2000: 183, 218). It is also possible Surakarta puppets shrank. Among the easily perceived differences

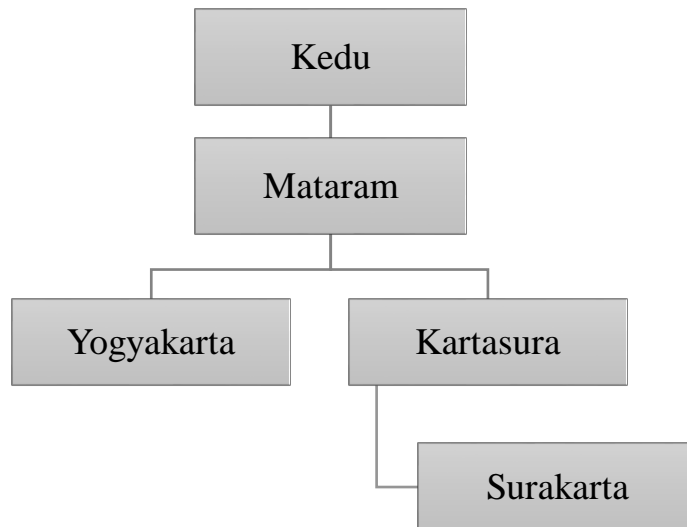
¹⁸ 'Raja' translates to 'king' in both Indonesian and Javanese.

¹⁹ Alternate name: M Raden Mas Jolang.

between the two styles, aside from their height differences, are the density of the carving patterns and the length of the arms. Yogyakarta style is less “dense”, or with more space between individual incisions, than the Surakarta style (Angst 2000: 194; Sutarno 4 Jul 2014). This can be seen in larger patterns, like those covering large areas of clothing, as well as in smaller patterns like the *emas-emasan* or the *mas-masan*. An example of this density can be seen above in the *praba* images in Figure 2-4.

The other major important difference is found in the length of the arms. In Yogyakarta, the two sections of a puppet’s arm are of equal length, whereas in Surakarta the bottom part of the arm is slightly longer (Angst 2000: 190). Other small differences include: monkey warriors or large *raksasa* are shown in semi-profile, female puppets have the tip of their *kain*²⁰ pointing forwards, and the colors tend to be more “vibrant” than those in Surakarta (Angst, Sagio, Samsugi, Sihhanto, Sunarto). Puppet sets from both Yogyakarta and Surakarta have more individual puppets than any other regional styles in Central Java. A complete set will include more than 200 puppets, while larger collections can consist of around 300 (Angst, Kawi, Samsugi, Sagio, Sunarto, Sutarno, Ulbricht).

Figure 2-5. Timeline of regional styles in Central Java



²⁰ See the fourth example in Image 3-17 for an example of a *kain*.

SURAKARTA REGIONAL STYLE

Similar to the Yogyakarta style, the Surakarta style has a historical precursor in the Kedu and the lesser known Kartasura style of *wayang kulit* puppets. Little is known about the specifics of the Kartasura style, but it is presumed to have begun at the same time as the Mataram style when the Surakarta court was moved to Kartasura in 1681 (Angst 2000: 219). Sagio and Samsugi credit the origins of the Surakarta style to Jaka Penatas, another relative of Atak, the supposed creator of the Kedu style (1991: 14). Regardless, there is no known physical documentation detailing the exact time period in which this style began or further documentation on who exactly created it. It is unlikely, similar to the Kedu and Yogyakarta styles, that one single *penatah*, *dalang*, or noble can be credited with the entirety of the style Surakarta. As addressed in the previous section multiple individuals have contributed both large and small additions to the various regional styles over the years, and it is this amalgamation of individual contributions that eventually culminated in a regional style. Despite this, the royal courts are arguably the most responsible for why the Yogyakarta and Surakarta styles have become so well defined and remain so well documented to this day. Court notations reveal more information on individual elements than can be found in any of the more rural regional styles.

A primary identifying characteristic of the Surakarta style is the height of its puppets. As previously mentioned the Surakarta puppets are the largest of the regional styles but are also slimmer than their Yogyakarta counterparts. Other notable attributes include: all puppets, including monkey characters, are viewed in profile; the *kain* of female puppets is facing backwards; and the clown Semar is mainly black, whereas in Yogyakarta he is predominantly gold (Angst, Kawi, Sagio, Samsugi, Sukirno, Ulbricht).

SIMILARITIES ACROSS REGIONAL STYLES

Despite their differences, there are several elements that all of these regional styles seem to share. Firstly, the clown characters appear to have the most stylized regional variations. Angst asserts that this may have come about because the clown characters are incredibly popular with audience members and that they can easily identify with these personae since the clowns are the only individuals speaking the language of the audience. In Indonesia, currently, the language of the majority of an audience would be Indonesian. One of the main jobs of clown characters is to

translate the higher levels of Javanese an audience may not understand into a language the audience can comprehend. As an example, in America, the clowns have been known to speak English. Another shared characteristic is that within regional styles there are often signature elements of individual carvers found in *wayang kulit* puppets. Such as when the signature of a *penatah* is found in the solid band between a character's feet. However, smaller signature elements can exist within the carving patterns as well. For instance, Pak Kertiwondo from Yogyakarta carved the toe nails of characters almost completely straight. This trait can also be seen in the works of those *penatah* who later studied under Pak Kertiwondo (Angst 2000: 231).

Lastly there are smaller differentiated forms produced under both the Yogyakarta and Surakarta regional styles. For example, the carvers I interviewed in the village Kepuhsari feel that their own village has a very distinct style (Sutarno 4-6 Jul 2014). However, these smaller styles do not fully meet the four criteria set up by Walter Angst to be a larger regional style. Angst refers to these smaller styles as sub-styles. I, however, feel a better term for these categories are branch-styles. Several of these branch-styles will be referred to in chapter five and six. The distinction between these regional styles are rather important as they speak to the history of the region they were created in as well as the heritage of craftsmanship in that area. Recognizing the existence of these distinct styles will become more relevant later in this chapter as well as in chapters four and five as the influences of tourism and globalization are further analyzed.

2.4 CHAPTER OVERVIEW

In this chapter, the foundations of *wayang kulit* performance and the way in which the form and the puppets developed over time have been discussed, hopefully allowing for the reader to develop a greater understanding of *wayang kulit*'s evolution as an art form. This chapter has covered the known information about the formation of *wayang kulit*, the introduction of the main story material from India, the connections between storytelling and the Javanese world order to *wayang kulit* performance, and regional variations in the form. Several documented changes to the physical form of the puppets was also discussed, including how the addition of moveable joints to the puppets changed both performance of *wayang kulit* and the construction of the puppets themselves. Also introduced in this chapter were the theories on why and how *wayang*

kulit puppets have ended up with their exaggerated but still relatively human-like designs. This dissertation has taken the stance that, similar to other historical elements of *wayang kulit* performance and puppetry design that it is likely multiple elements, cultures, and personae had a hand in the overall shaping of the *wayang kulit* designs cemented by the late 19th century. This multidimensional formation of the puppets physical forms is particularly evident when you consider the development of the various regional styles. The understanding of the complex history of both the form and the physical puppet's development provides the historical and social context needed for understanding how both the shifts in modern puppet creation and the growth of the tourism market have the potential have to affect the art form in the future.

CHAPTER THREE

WAYANG KULIT CARVING METHODS

Thus, do puppet and puppeteer disappear.
In reality there is no puppeteer.
In actuality there is only the puppet and its movements²¹.

- *Suluk* verse

As discussed in previous chapters, uncovering the history of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship can be rather challenging. This difficulty stems from the fact that the majority of historical knowledge was transmitted orally and what little had been physically documented was written on palm leaves, or *lontar*, and these have since deteriorated or vanished. Even more, recent written materials on *wayang kulit* craftsmanship are sparse. Making the oral histories of the craftsmen interviewed that much more crucial. In this chapter, the oral histories of the craftsmen who work and live in Central Java today, whom I interviewed for this project, have been cross referenced against other craftsmen's remembrances in several Indonesian sources and with existing historical documents.

3.1 TRADITIONAL WAYANG KULIT CARVING METHODS

TRADITIONAL LEATHER WORKING

History of Leather Processing

Similar to other aspects of *wayang kulit* history the practice of leather processing was passed down orally from *penatah* to *penatah*. According to *penatah* and *dalang* from both the

²¹ Cohen 2002: 180

Yogyakarta and Surakarta areas, the hide of the water buffalo has always been the preferred leather for making *wayang kulit* puppets (Sagio 11 Jul 2014; Slamet 22 Nov 2014; Suyoto 05 Aug 2014, 24 Sept 2014). Water buffalo hide is favored for several practical and aesthetic reasons. The resulting hide is thicker than other types of hide, such as cow or goat. *Penatah* prefer this as it gives them many more choices when deciding which character to create out of a particular hide. The thickness of the leather is of particular importance as the sturdiness of an actual *wayang kulit* puppet is crucial to its stability in performance (Sutarno 5 Jul 2014; Suyoto 24 Sept 2014). The large surface area of a water buffalo hide also allows for the *penatah* to cut a much larger puppet from the hide. An ogre character, being quite sizable, would be nearly impossible to cut from even a large goat's hide. However, buffalo hide is not only preferred for large puppets, *penatah* generally state they prefer water buffalo hide for carving puppets of all sizes (Kawi 08 Dec 2014; Sagio 11 Jul 2014; Sihhanto 30 Aug 2014; Sutarno 5 Jul 2014; Suyoto 24 Sept 2014). This may partially be due to the levels of fat on a buffalo hide versus a cow hide. According to Pak Suyoto there is a thicker layer of fat found in a cow hide and this extra fat can cause paint on the *wayang* puppet to peel off easily (Suyoto 24 Sept 2014). Popularity of buffalo hide could also be due to the prominence of water buffalo in Java. Sunarto notes that the popularity of water buffalo skin cannot be separated from the large scale of animal husbandry and domestic livestock across Indonesia. Water buffalo are highly respected utility animals across Central Java. They are particularly useful during the rice planting and harvest seasons (2008: 1-7). Such abundance and availability of raw material and the cultural weight of the animal could have also easily led to water buffalo being the preferred choice for puppets used for such an important form as *wayang kulit*.

Initial Processing of Leather Hides

The initial step in prepping an animal hide for *wayang kulit* creation is, of course, acquiring the material itself. As mentioned, buffalo leather is the traditional choice for *wayang kulit* puppets and was and still is acquired from butchers and farmers (Suyoto 18 Jul 2014; Sutarno 4 July 2014). When choosing a piece of leather there are certain qualities and characteristics craftsmen look for in the leather generally and certain qualities for specific characters. Generally, craftsmen look for leather from a young male water buffalo that has a

slight tint of blue, a bit of transparency, and a lack of large blemishes or dark patches (Suyoto 18 Jul 2014). Male hides are preferred because it is said the process of breeding female water buffalo has a tendency to leave the hide with a “stretchy” quality that was not preferable for carving. That ‘stretchy’ quality could also lead to a more brittle sheet of leather once treated and dried. The hide from an animal that was only two to three years old is preferred as the fibers of an older animal could similarly become hard or brittle (Sanjata 1969, Sunarto 2008: 10). When producing large characters, such as an ogre, it is imperative that the entirety of the leather be blemish-free as a larger space is needed to draw out and carve the sizable character. However, when creating smaller characters, such as a human female, a much smaller portion of the leather will be used and small blemishes can be worked around and cut off after processing. The cut-off pieces that remain could be used for other purposes such as: small leather goods or food. Commonly, these untreated leather scraps can be sold to vendors who use them to make the meal *gudeg* (Sutarno 21 July 2014; Suyoto 18 July 2014).

As mentioned, thickness is an important aspect taken into account when choosing the correct hide. A *penatah* checks to see if the thickness of the skin was comparable to the weight of the actual hide (Sunarto 2008). A *penatah* can determine this by roughly following the grade in the following chart for an average adult male buffalo hide:

Table 3-1. Grade and weight of water buffalo leather hides

| Grade | Weight |
|-------|--|
| A | Leather weighing 0-3 kg per sheet ^g |
| B | Leather weighing 3-5 kg per sheet |
| C | Leather weighing 5-7 kg per sheet |
| D | Leather weighing 7-9 kg per sheet |
| E | Leather weighing 9 kg+ per sheet |

^g A “sheet” refers to the hide of an average adult male water buffalo.

After a specific piece of leather is chosen it is then soaked in a body of water, for example a river, and left for a specific period of time. The size and weight of the leather would determine

the length of time needed for soaking. In an interview with Pak Suyoto he noted the best place to soak leather is in the running stream by his house. If the leather soaks in standing water it can obtain a very strong and unpleasant smell, so running water was and is the preferred choice (18 Jul 2014). The process of soaking the leather allows for it to become more pliable, thus making it easier to stretch later on. For a full adult water buffalo hide soaking overnight is recommended. The leather is then removed from the body of water and stretched on a large wooden or bamboo frame called a *gawangan*. This procedure not only produces the most surface area possible out of a hide but also gives the craftsman a taut and flat surface which makes the subsequent steps easier.

Image 3-1. Leather hide on a bamboo frame.



To prepare the leather for the stretching process, small holes are cut with a knife around the outside of the leather. These holes are made about half an inch from the edge. Rope is then woven through these holes and around the frame, pulled taut, and then tied off. Craftsmen utilize the same frame to stretch different sized pieces of leather; the length of rope would simply need to be longer for a smaller piece of leather. According to Ki Marwoto Panenggak Widodo the leather should have been pulled tight enough on the frame that when tapped it “will sound

'bung-bung' or 'deng-deng.' (1984: 15).”

Once the leather is firmly stretched on the frame it is placed in the sun to dry for anywhere from five hours to a few days depending on the leather’s size and thickness (Sutarno 21 July 2014; Suyoto 18 Jul 2014; Sutarno 21 Jul 2014). Now having removed the moisture from the leather the scraping process begins. A *penatah* uses a sharpened scraping tool, a *kapak* or axe, to remove excess hair, fat, and thickness from the hide. These tools are made of a sharpened stone attached to a wooden handle (Widodo 1984: 17). This process is ultimately done to create a completely smooth and flat surface for carving (Suyoto 18 Jul 2014; Sunarto 2008, 102-104; Sutarno 21 Jul 2014). Widodo suggested a *penatah* should always have two axes sharpened and prepped for this work. This way if one axe becomes dull a second one is at the ready and a *penatah* does not have to stop working (1984: 17).

Image 3-2. Traditional leather scrapping tools



L to R: Sharpening block, two smaller scrappers, and a large ax for scrapping

Depending on the thickness of the leather, the scraping process can take up to two days to complete as breaks would need to be taken as the work can be tiring (Suyoto 18 July 2014). At

this point in the process, a *penatah* would need to consider what character the hide will be used for, if they had not done so already. Female *wayang* characters are particularly small and the leather should be quite thin, approximately 0.5mm. However, an ogre character would require a much larger piece of leather, which needs to be thicker to support the size and movement of the puppet during a performance. Therefore, for a larger character, like an ogre, the leather is rendered approximately 2.5mm thick (Sutarno 21 July 2014; Suyoto 18 Jul 2014). It is also crucial at this point that the leather be worked to achieve a completely even and flat surface. A perfectly flat surface is necessary both for carving (as a puppet that sits flat is easier to carve on) and crucial for rendering puppets that will have moving parts. Should an uneven portion of hide be used for the shoulder or upper arm of a puppet it would hinder the overall smooth movement of that arm. Likewise, if the remainder of the puppet is not smooth and flat, this could also cause a moving arm to catch or become stuck across the body mid-performance. While discussing hampering of a puppet's movements, it is also worth noting that if the shoulders of a puppet is too thinly built they would not be strong enough to support arm movement and could bend (Mrázek 1998: 93-95). Small areas of unevenness could be sanded down and smoothed later, of course, but it is the goal of a craftsman to have an overall smooth, even, and flat surface at this preliminary stage. After the leather has been scraped to the appropriate thickness it is then smoothed to make sure the piece is completely free of dust or debris. The modern tool for this process is sandpaper and to date I have found no historical notations on the traditional tool for the smoothing process. However, one can deduce that the same tools used to smooth and remove rough edges from a fully carved puppet such as an emery stone (Mellema 1954), a shell, or glass (Hadi Sukirno 14 Aug 2014) could have historically been used during this step of the process. Once the leather is smooth, it is wiped with a damp cloth or even a small amount of water and a craftsman's hands to remove any new dirt, dust, or other residue from the hide. The leather is then left in the sun to dry again for a short period, up to twenty minutes, as any unsealed leather left even slightly damp might grow mold (Sutarno 21 July 2014; Suyoto 18 Jul 2014).

The final step in the preparation of the leather is to remove the hide from the wooden or bamboo frame. A sharp knife is used to cut open the leather holes on the outside of the hide to remove it from the rope rather than cutting or damaging the rope (Suyoto 18 July 2014, Sunarto 2008, Widodo 1984: 17). The perforated area of the leather is then removed from the rest of the hide leaving one solid piece of workable leather. The prepared hide is now ready to be carved

into a *wayang kulit* character.

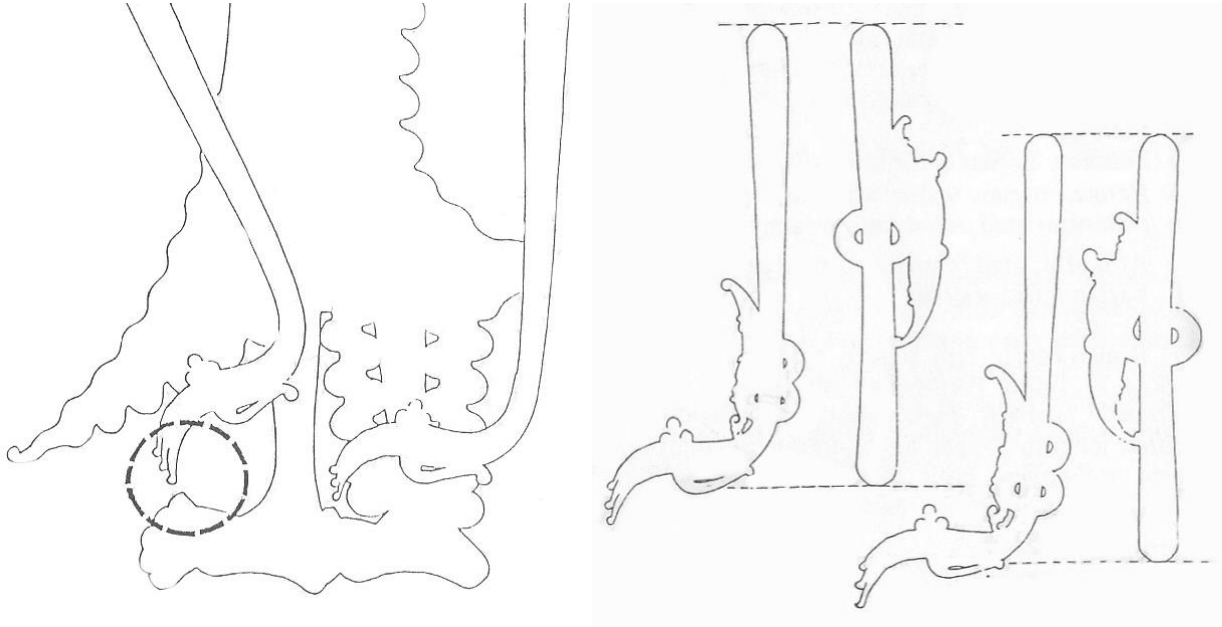
THE TRADITIONAL CARVING PROCESS

Character Outlines

After deciding which character is going to be carved out, the first step for a *wayang kulit penatah* is to draw the outline of the character onto the piece of leather (Mellema 1954: 12). Traditionally a *penatah* would draw the outline of the character completely from memory. This is a skill taught to *penatah* during his training as traditionally *penatah* would practice each character from the *wayang kulit* repertoire until they could reproduce each one from memory. This generally includes all standard characters normally found in their own regional *wayang kulit* sets. Each character has a general height and width set by tradition and there are certain rules regarding proportions that must be followed, for example the top section of each arm must be equal to the bottom portion. This became especially true at the end of the 19th century after, as discussed in the previous chapter, the Surakarta and Yogyakarta *kratons* made the court approved drawings of *wayang kulit* puppets public. Generally speaking however, the proportions and characteristics of each character have been established since at least the mid-18th century, or the end of the Mataram Empire.

The length of the arms is an example of established appropriate proportions found on *wayang kulit* puppets. As mentioned in chapter two, the length of the arms is among the most exaggerated elements found on a *wayang kulit* puppet. Whether the exaggeration of the arm length was intended to show the importance of the arm itself through montage, to improve range of movement for the audience member's sake, or in accordance with Islamic doctrine regarding the arts—certain proportions have been set over time and then solidified in the late 19th century. Yogyakarta style dictates the upper and lower portions of each arm are to be equal in length, while the specific length of the arms will depend on the individual puppet. Pak Sagio notes that specific head positions tilt the angles on the shoulders. While many human characters' shoulders have a relatively straight line across, those whose heads are angled up have shoulders that tilt downwards towards the back. With this shift in shoulder angles, the back arm will need to be shorter so both hands are equidistant from the feet. For each arm, the correct distance from the tip of the first finger to the top of the toes is about 1mm (Sagio, Samsugi, Sunarto).

Figure 3-3. Example of proper arm length for a *wayang kulit purwa* puppet.

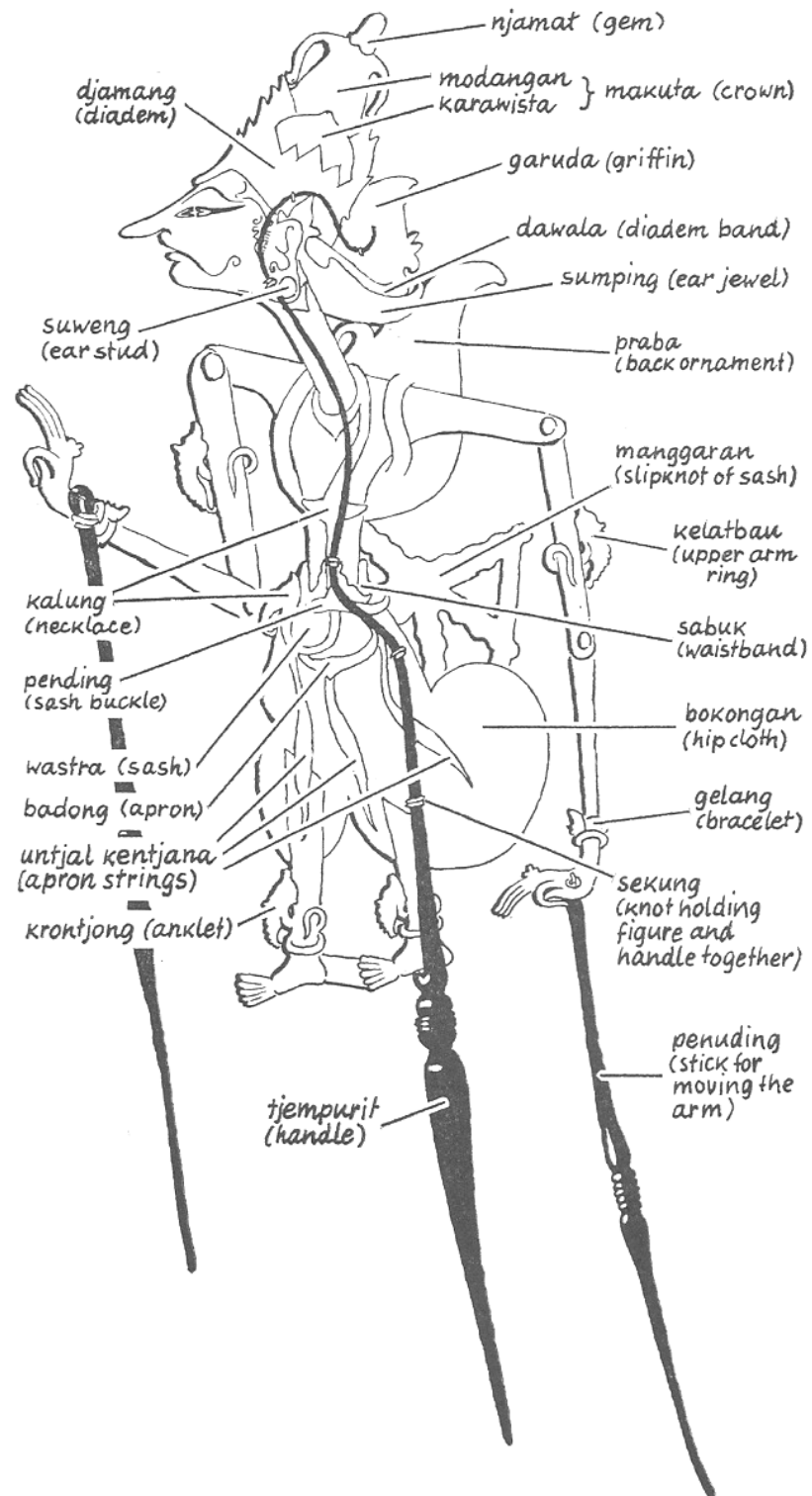


While the total length represents both Surakarta and Yogyakarta styles here, the proportions of the two parts of the arm's length is an example of the Yogyakarta style. (Sunarto and Sagio 2004)

Traditionally a *penatah*'s father, a close relative, or a *penatah* from the *kraton* would train new *penatah* in these rules, proportions, and guidelines associated with each of the hundreds of characters of *wayang kulit* (Sagio, Sihhanto, Sutarno, Sukirno, Suyoto, Tugiman). When Pak Sihhanto of Balai Agung in Surakarta was first learning, his teacher would give him pre-drawn characters or pieces to carve and practice with before he learned to draw the characters himself (30 Aug 2014).

In order to mark the chosen outline of a character on the leather, a *penatah* scratches the design using metal carving tools or chisels known as *tatah*. One *penatah*, Pak Mantan, age 70 from Wonogiri, said that he was trained by *penatah* who would begin by using their saliva to trace out the pattern of their puppets. This process was done as a "first draft" before the more permanent lines were etched onto the leather with the *tatah*. Pak Mantan said *penatah* would often do this so they would only mark the leather with a shape they were truly happy with (5 July 2014). When the complete outline is finished the puppet would be removed from the excess leather with a chisel. This process was called *anggebing* or "to cut out."

Figure 3-4. Outline of *wayang kulit* Kresna puppet and its parts



Drawn by H. Ulbricht in Ulbricht 1970

Internal Carving Process and Patterns

Once the puppet is cut from the main portion of leather, the next step is to begin the internal chisel work. An artisan's tools for this work consist of a variety of small metal, craftsmen claim these tools were and are iron but they are most likely an alloy or some combination of. These chisels have varying tip sizes that are used to create the different sized cutouts. Along with the previously mentioned small chisel that is used to etch the initial outline, all the chisels a *penatah* owns are referred to as *tatah*. The number of chisels a *penatah* has in his collection ranged, on average, from fourteen to thirty-three. Some *penatah* own multiple versions of the same chisel in case one dulled or did not feel right at a particular moment. However, there are fourteen main chisels needed to create all of the patterns required for the complete *wayang kulit* repertoire, with the smallest chisel being about 1mm in diameter and the widest 1.5 cm (Sanjata 1969, Widodo 1984: 18-19). The smallest of these chisels is called the *tatah bubuk* which is used for the smallest carving pattern of the same name. Most *penatah* generally keep their *tatah* for a very long time, as Pak Sagio has noted “[the] older the *tatah*, the more comfortable (11 Jul 2014).” The *tatah* are kept sharp for the length of their lifespan by sharpening them against a stone (Sudiman 17 Nov 2014).

Figure 3-5. Proper chisel use for carving *wayang kulit* puppets



To begin carving, a *penatah* needs to first learn the proper technique to hold a *tatah* and the hammer, *ganden* in Javanese or *palu* in Indonesian, that is used to tap the chisel. In the figure above you can see the correct position of the hand on the chisel using the index finger, little finger, and thumb. The thumb holds the chisel in place, the little finger marks where the chisel should be placed, and the index finger moves the chisel. Also shown is the correct position of the *penatah*'s other hand on the hammer. The index finger here is used for stability when striking the chisel. The hammer is typically made of wood and not iron or any other heavier material because if it was too heavy it would lead to rapid fatigue for the *penatah* (Sutarno 4 Jul 2014; Widodo 1984: 19). A *wayang kulit penatah*'s hammer also has a small amount of wax, or *lilin*, on top. This wax is used as a lubricant if any of the chisels begin to stick in the leather.

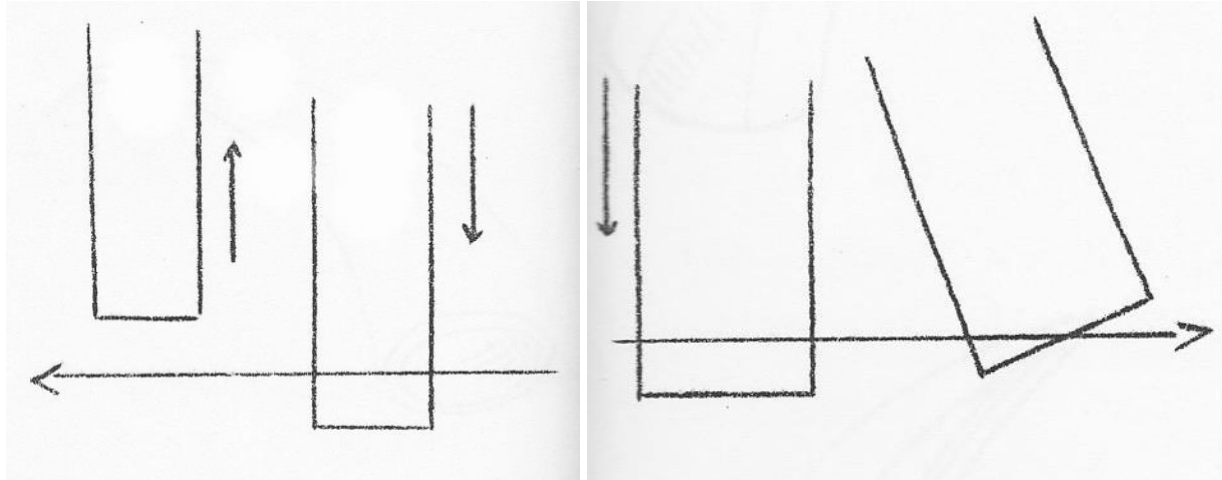
Image 3-6. Main *tatah*, or carving tools



To begin, a *penatah* makes the *tatah* enter the leather hide completely upright. When making holes that are longer than the width of the chisel a *penatah* does not fully remove the chisel from the original hole but rather only removes it partially, moves it forward slightly, and continues to carve. This is done to make it look like the hole has been carved by a knife in one continuous motion, and how the *penatah* would have previously removed the *wayang* character

outline from the larger section of leather (Sagio, Sanjata, Sudiman, Widodo).

Figure 3-7. Correct insertion and movement of *tatah*

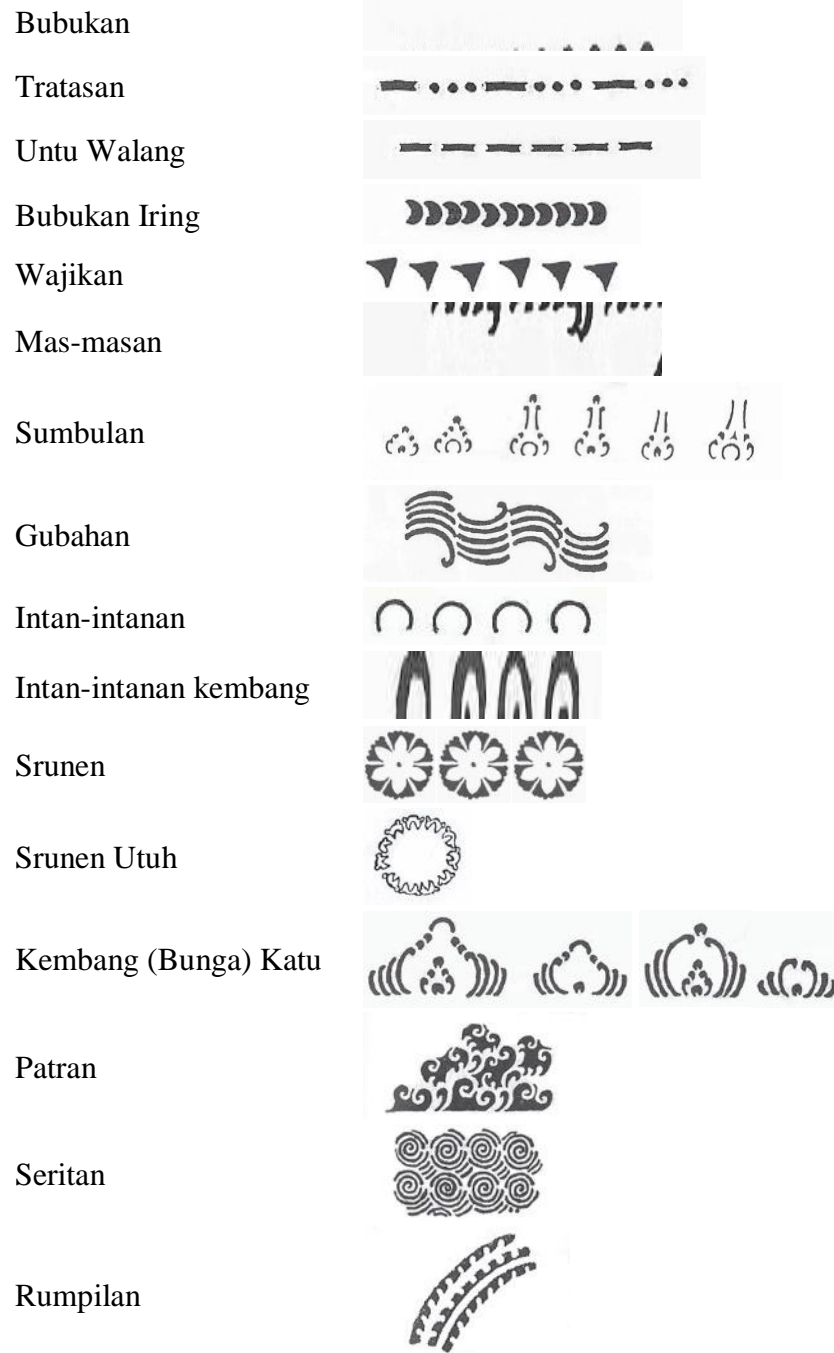


Left: Incorrect method - Right: Correct method. (Sanjata 1969)

Once the main outline of the character is completed the carving of the interior could begin. Some *penatah* may have cut out the arms of the puppet at this time as well. I have yet to find any historical documentation for when arms were carved, but Pak Sagio has said several times that, as with much of *wayang kulit* carving, it depends on the mood of the *penatah* and whether or not they believed they can do a good job drawing/carving them at a given moment. During training, each *penatah* learns sixteen basic carving motifs, or *tatahan*, that in various combinations form every pattern or motif found in *wayang kulit* carving²². When a *penatah* has mastered these sixteen main motifs they move on to learn commonly used combinations of these main carving patterns. Moving forward these new combinations can then be combined to create even larger motifs.

²² Images for *tatah*, *tatahan*, and iconography taken from Haryanto 1991; Kawi 2014; Mellema 1954; Sagio 2014; Sanjata 1969; Sunarto and Sagio 2004; Sutarno 2014, Widodo 1984

Figure 3-8. Sixteen main carving motifs for *wayang kulit purwa* puppets



(Sagio and Samsugi 1991; Sunarto and Sagio 2004; Widodo 1984)

Image 3-9. Larger *tatahan* motifs examples

Gubahan sruni



Unchal intan-intahan



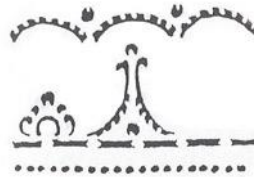
(rotated 90 degrees to the right to fit within table)

Unchal sruni gubahan



(rotated 90 degrees to the right to fit within table)

Rumpilan ningrat



Rumpilan non-jarik



Srunen kembang jeruk



Srunen Kawaten



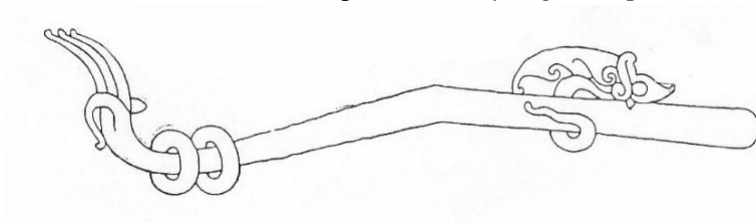
Semen



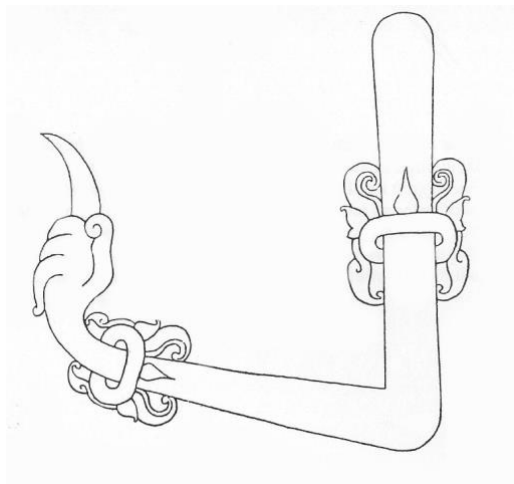
(Sagio and Samsugi 1991; Sunarto and Sagio 2004; Widodo 1984)

Once a *penatah* has mastered these more difficult motifs, the next step is to learn the individual segments that make up the larger basic iconography of *wayang kulit* puppets. This would involve learning the various individual body parts or the defining characteristics that made up individual characters. Varying design combinations of eye, nose, mouth, teeth, hair style, arms, hands, legs, feet, accessories, and distinct clothing patterns make up each *wayang kulit* character. The specific patterns can be seen in Images 3-10 through 3-20.

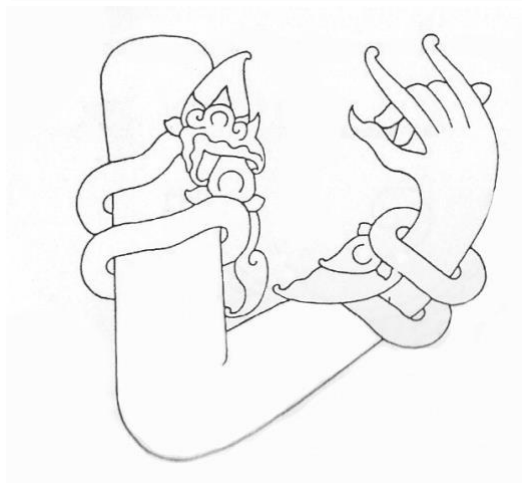
Image 3-10. *Wayang kulit purwa* arms examples



Arm with simple bracelets and upper arm naga mangsa.



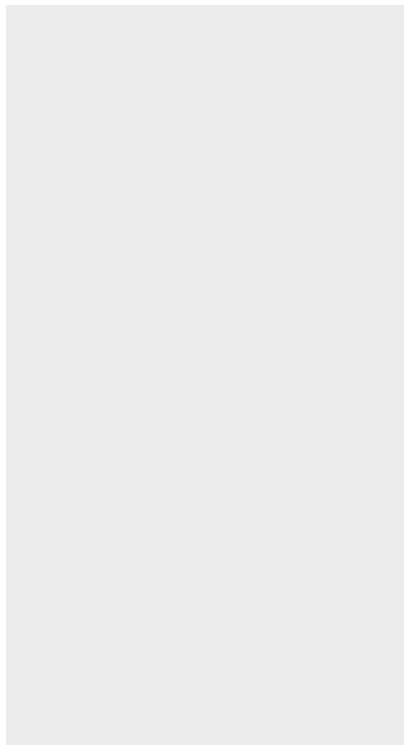
Bent arm with *candrakirana* bracelet style. Hand with fingernail.



Large arm with large naga mangsa upper arm decoration.

(Widodo 1984)

Image 3-11. *Wayang kulit purwa* bracelets placements



Deities, princes, ministers

Deities, priests

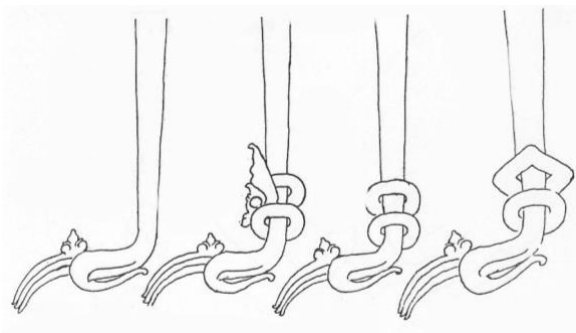
Deities, kings, princes, ministers

Kings, princes, ministers

Princes, ministers

(Mellema 1988)

Image 3-12. *Wayang kulit purwa* hands and bracelets 1

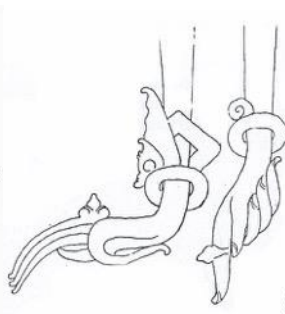


1

2

3

4



5

6

1. Arjuna
2. Knight, king
3. Knight
4. Knight, minister
5. Fanged king
6. *Punakawan*, apprentice

(Widodo 1984)

Image 3-13. *Wayang kulit purwa* hands and bracelets 2

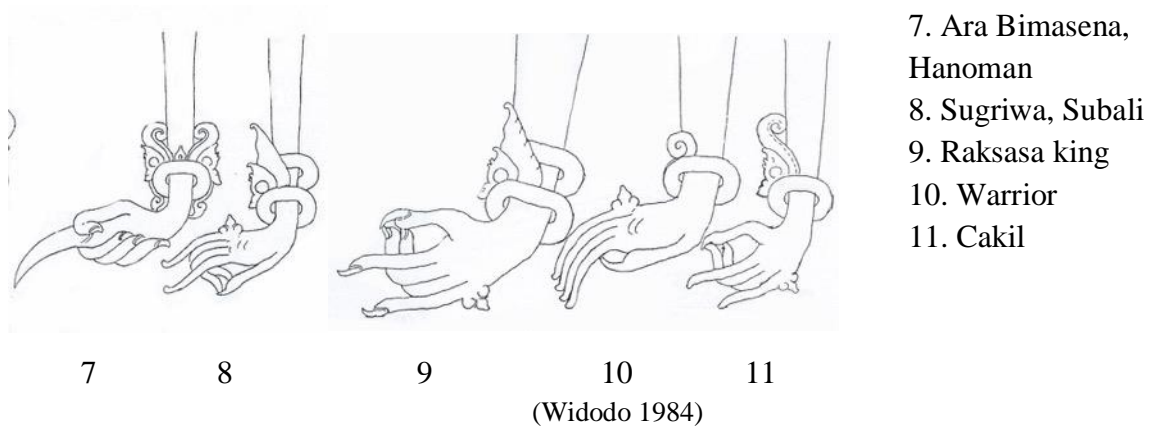
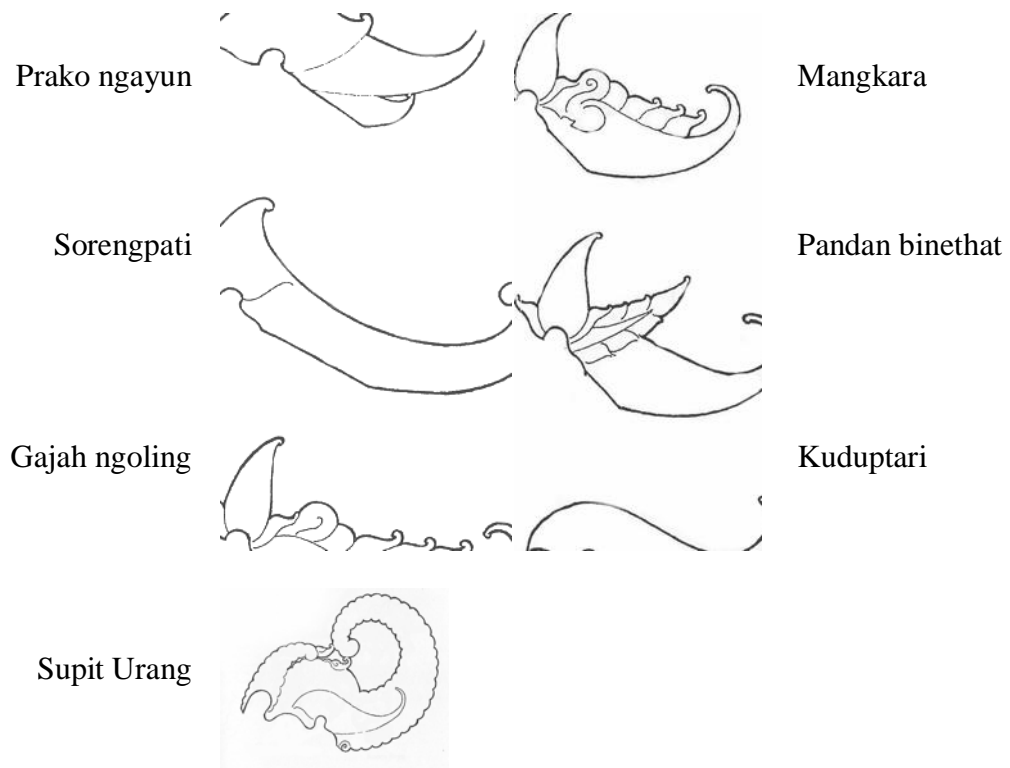
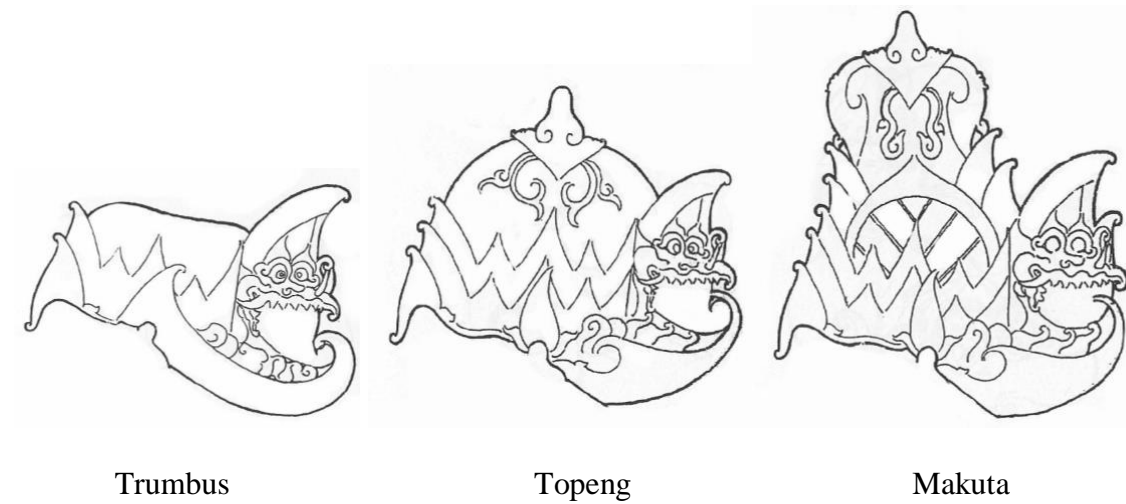


Image 3-14. Examples of *Wayang kulit purwa* hair



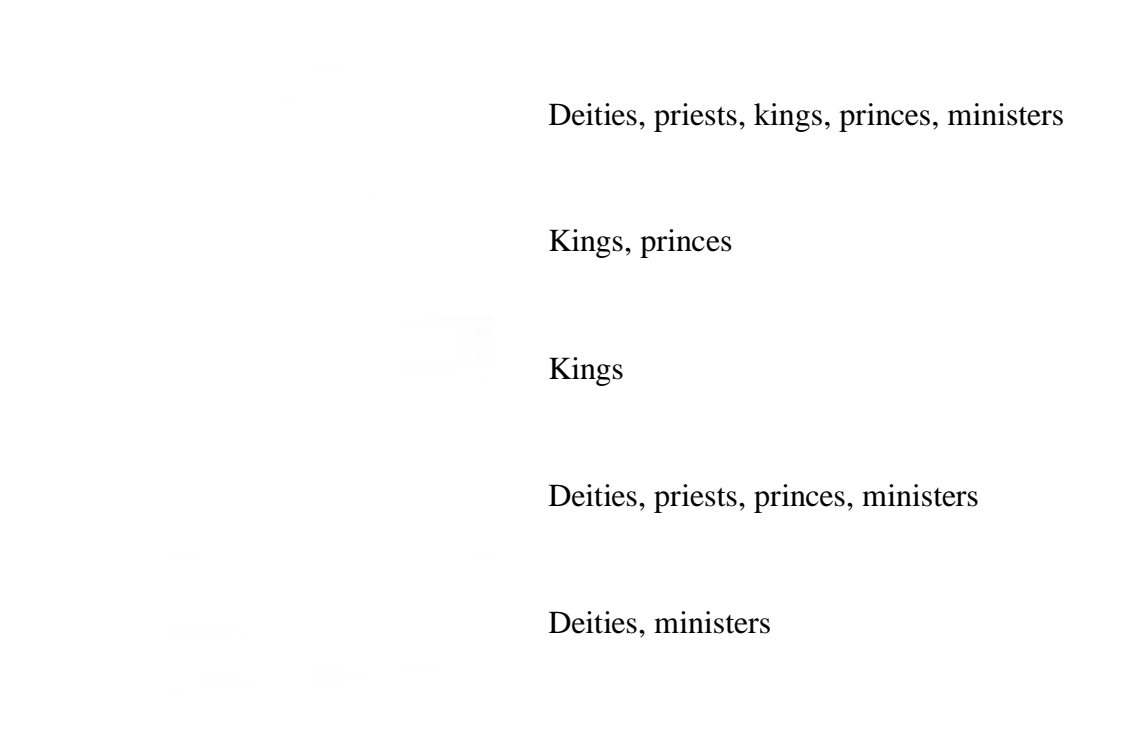
(Sunarto and Sagio 2004)

Image 3-15. Examples of *Wayang kulit purwa* headdresses



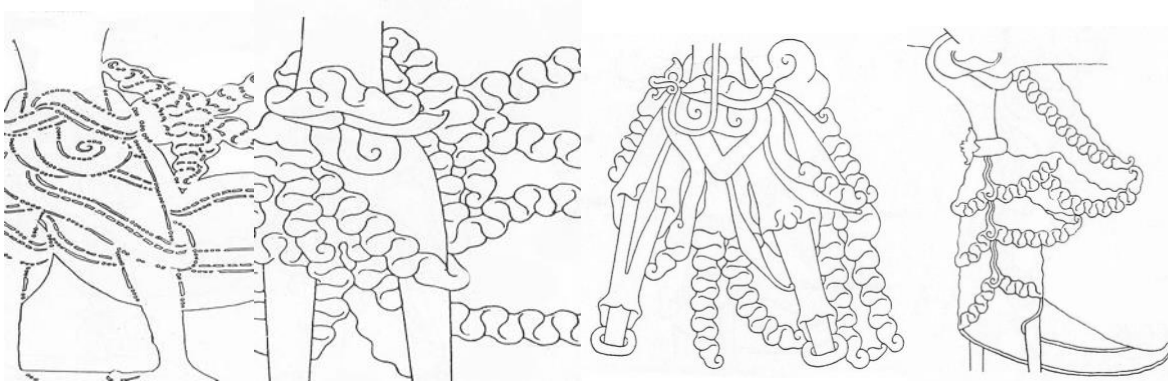
(Sunarto and Sagio 2004)

Image 3-16. *Wayang kulit purwa* leg decorations placement and meanings



(Mellema 1988)

Image 3-17. Examples of common clothing shapes in *wayang kulit purwa*



Sarong

Bokongan

Royal dodot

Female dodot

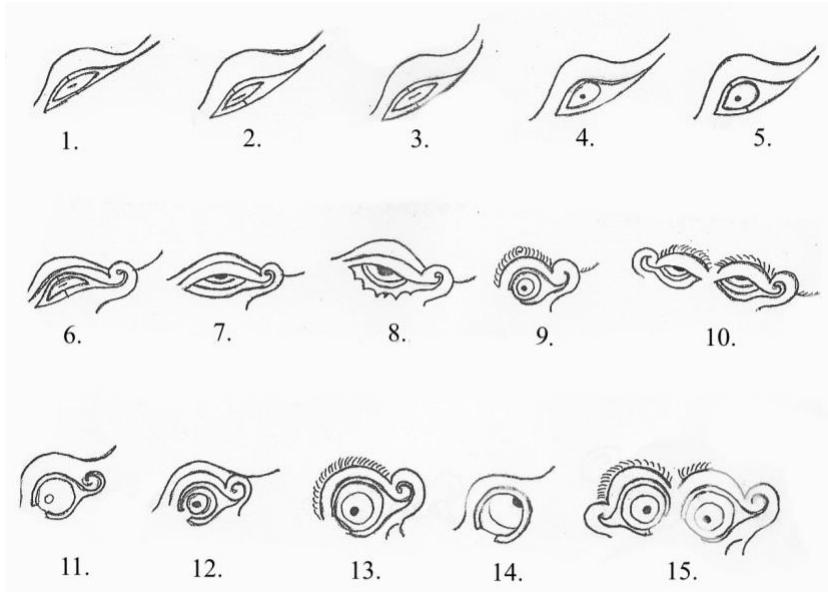
(Sunarto and Sagio 2004)

Once an artisan is ready to begin the internal design of the puppet, he etches it onto the leather (Sagio 15 Jan 2015). As mentioned above, a *penatah* is taught, over a period of months or years, how each of the basic 16 motifs and larger patterns all work together alongside the facial features, hands, feet, and clothing to produce each individual character. Every *penatah* needs to commit the details of hundreds of characters, in addition to any possible variations of those characters, to memory over the course of their apprenticeship. Certain characters may have many variations depending on what story they are used for or even a particular portion of a story. A character like Arjuna, from the Mahabharata, could be represented by multiple puppets throughout a *wayang kulit* performance.

To draft the internal design, thin outlines are etched on the leather using one of the narrowest chisels. This method of etching out the internal design before carving is referred to as *gebingan* (Mellema 1954: 12). A *penatah* may choose to etch out one small area at a time as he works or to etch the entire puppet at once. The reasoning for choosing any particular method could result from the *penatah* not feeling mentally prepared to finish the whole puppet or simply a desire to finish one section before deciding on other aspects of the puppet. For instance, if certain features of a puppet came out exceptional or quite poorly a *penatah* could then alter the remaining design to create a more harmonious puppet (Sudiman 17 Nov 2014). As previously mentioned, while the general design of a puppet was set by tradition, small details may be

changed by an artisan to create a puppet with a design that flows pleasantly. Precisely where a *penatah* would begin carving is unknown prior to the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. The *penatah* Sukir noted, in his 1920 Commission for Folk Literature, that a very old *penatah* told him the ear must be cut out first, followed by the ear ornament, and so forth but always leaving the face for last. Sukir said the logic behind this recommendation given by the old and trusted *penatah* was that this order mimicked human's own lives. That when a child is born it becomes capable of perceiving the world in three ways: first through the ear, then through the nose, then the mouth. He went on to explain that the eye was cut out last as it served as a witness to everything. Sukir also mentions that whether or not this is true he will leave up to personal judgment as he cannot be sure (Mellema 1954: 30). However, several *penatah* I spoke with, for example Pak Sudiman of Yogyakarta or Pak Kawi of Surakarta, were trained to carve the crown or headdress first and were informed this was just the way it has always been done (2015). What is known is that the face and especially the eye(s) were the very last elements to be carved. This has been a consistent concept amongst *penatah* and scholars, including Sukir. Sukir wrote that the finishing of the face was the most important aspect of carving and that the face would "give life to the puppet." This process of giving life to the character is called *ambedah* or "to break open." Sukir went on to explain that even if the rest of the puppet was completed in an expert manner, if the face was not done well the puppet would be worth very little. However, if the face of the puppet was expertly carved the rest of the chisel work could be done "somewhat carelessly" and the puppet would still be considered satisfactory.

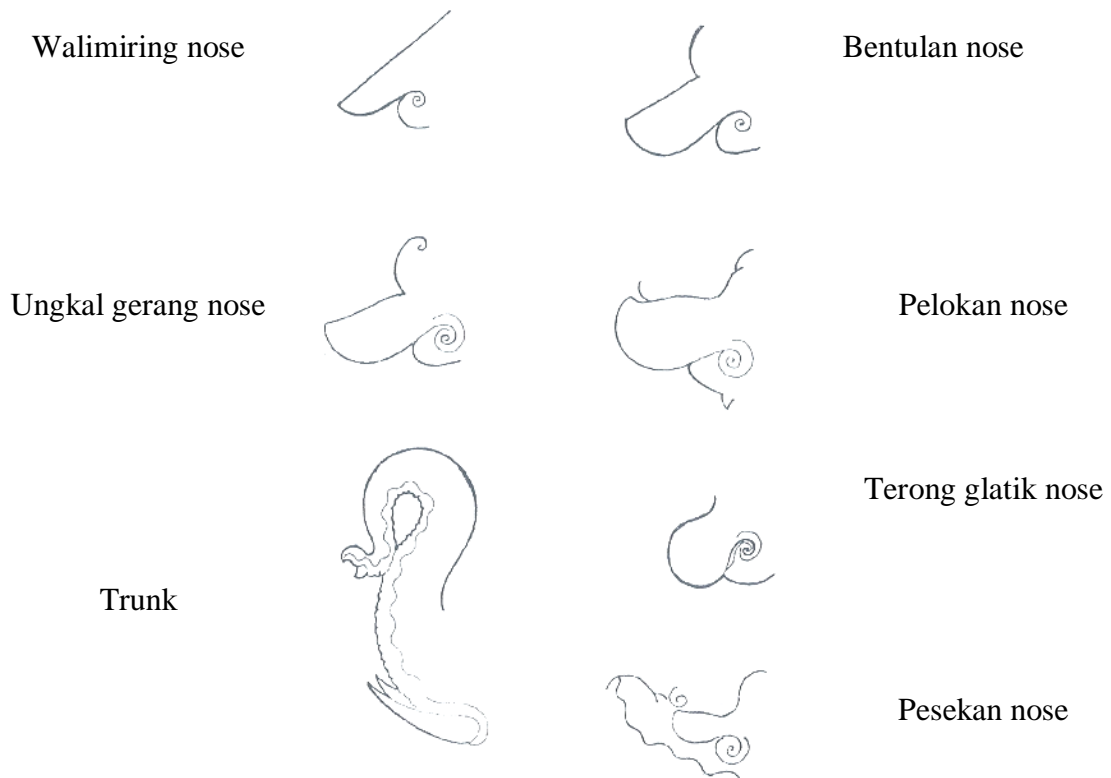
Image 3-18. *Wayang kulit purwa* eyes



1. Rebes
2. Barak ngirit
3. Jaitan
4. kedelen
5. kedondongan
6. Krilipan
7. Kelipan
8. Rembesan
9. Pilikan
10. Plerokan
11. Kelengan
12. Pehihilan
13. Plelengan
14. Keran
15. Belis

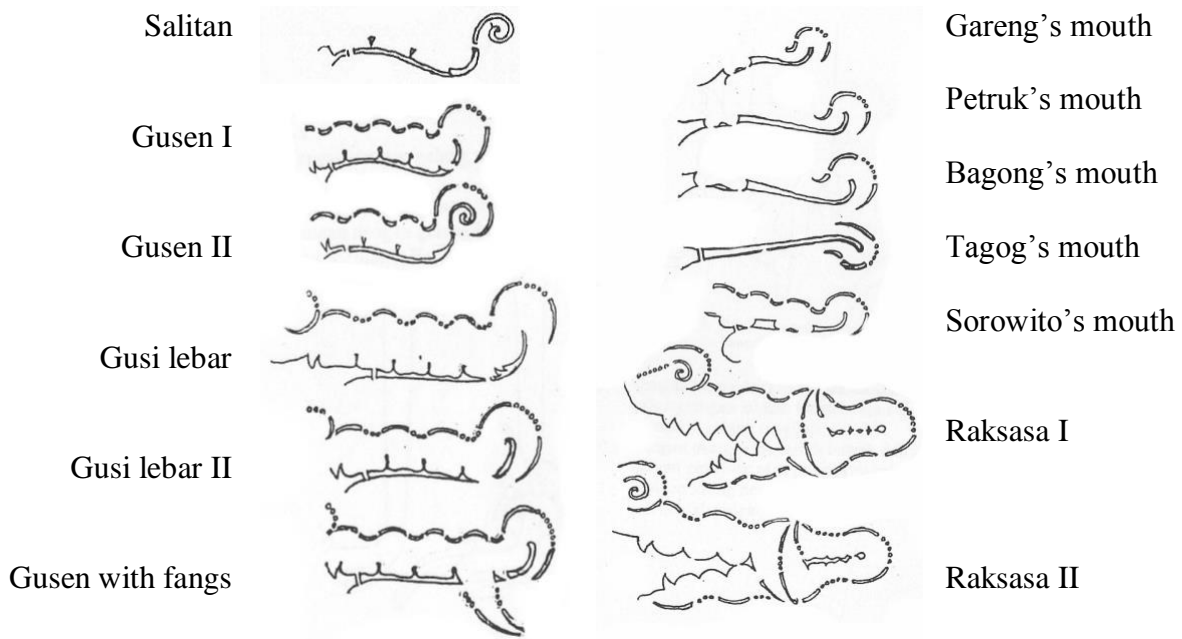
(Sanjata 1969)

Image 3-19. *Wayang kulit purwa* noses



(Sanjata 1969)

Image 3-20. *Wayang kulit purwa* mouths and teeth



(Sanjata 1969)

Smoothing Process

Once a puppet is completely carved and the *penatah* is pleased with it, the puppet is smoothed again before it is painted. Any rough edges remaining from the carving process can ruin the application of the paint and make the embossing of gold leaf, when needed, more difficult. Traditionally an emery stone (Mellema 1954: 32), a shell, or glass (Hadi Sukirno 14 Aug 2014) was used to remove any rough patches from the puppet. This is also said to remove any excess debris or oils that may remain on the leather and might prevent paint from sticking (Mellema 1954: 32). Modern artisans avoid these issues by smoothing the puppets with sandpaper. Then, when a *penatah* is mentally and physically ready and feel they are prepared to do a good job, they move on to painting the puppet.

Image 3-21. Kresna puppet before paint is applied



TRADITIONAL PAINTING

Painting Process

While there are more modern paint processes in use at the time of the publication of this research, I will first outline the earlier, traditional methods. Of note, there are craftsmen in modern times who only paint and do not carve. It is also possible that pure painters existed traditionally as well. These craftsmen could be referred to as *pelukis*. However, as the majority of craftsmen I interviewed both carved and painted, and for continuities' sake I will refer to craftsmen under the blanket term *penatah* going forward.

Prior to beginning the painting process, a *wayang penatah* would traditionally first need to acquire the materials required to make the paint for a *wayang kulit* puppet. As far as has been

notated in Javanese and Indonesian²³, as well as English sources²⁴, traditionally the paints were made of powdered pigment that were mixed with *ancur* or glue. *Ancur* is type of glue made from wood shavings and sometimes lye (Mellema 1954: 31). The wood shavings for *ancur* were most likely derived from easily available sources or common types of wood in the area. Available sources simply notate them as “wood shavings” or “wood glue” and the particular type of tree or wood is not mentioned. There are two types of *ancur*, the first being *ancur mateng* which translates loosely to boiled glue. *Ancur mateng* was used for red, yellow, and blue paints. To make *ancur mateng*, wood shavings were first boiled in a large container with water until the mixture became thick. This combination needed to be boiled multiple times to obtain the desired thickness. The wood shavings would eventually be removed from the final mixture and a *penatah* would just be left with a thick glue-like substance. The second, *ancur mentahan* or non-boiled glue, was used for white and black paint colors and was made using wood shavings that are dissolved in water but not boiled. *Ancur mentahan* was used for white and black because the boiled glue variation would result in a non-pure white and a hazy black (Mellema 1954: 31, Sanjata 1969). Once the glue, of either variety, was finished it was mixed in a small bowl with the desired ground pigment and lye-water to create a particular paint color. The lye-water was only used to thin the glue out to the appropriate tack to adhere to leather. To achieve white, black, red, yellow, and blue colored paint the following pigments were ground to be mixed in with the glue mixture:

²³ Sagio and Samsugi 1991; Sanjata 1969; Sukir 190; Sunatro and Sagio 2008; Widodo 1984

²⁴ Angst 2007; Mellema 1954

Table 3-2. Colors and ingredients for traditional *wayang kulit* painting

| Color | Ingredient/Pigment ^h |
|--------|--|
| White | Charred animal bone |
| Black | Chinese lampblack ⁱ |
| Red | Chinese red ^j |
| Yellow | Yellow ocher ^k , <i>atal</i> stone (<i>watu atal</i>) |
| Blue | Indigo |

^h Pigment sources: Angst, Mantan, Mellema, Sagio, Sanjata, Sutar, Widodo.

ⁱ Chinese lampblack is made from burning oil, fat, or resin at a wick, generally in a shallow pan to create a 'lampblack' or a form of black pigment or ink for writing or painting (Winter 1983).

^j One may assume that 'Chinese red' here meant red pigments shipped in from China. An assumption may also be made that this would consist of a mixture which included a fair amount of hematite, which had been used by Chinese craftsmen in decorative paints since the Neolithic age (Jin 2010).

^k Ocher is defined as "an earthy usually red or yellow and often impure iron ore used as a pigment" (Merriam-Webster 2016).

With these five base colors a *penatah* can then mix them together to create any other desired colors acceptable for painting a *wayang kulit* puppet. For example, mixing white with a small amount of red created 'rose' and adding a small amount more of red created 'light red'.

Other acceptable traditional colors included:

Table 3-3. Mixture of colors for traditional *wayang kulit* painting

| Desired Color | Mixture |
|---------------|-----------------------------|
| Rose | white + a little red |
| light red | rose + a little red |
| light blue | white + a little blue |
| bright blue | light blue + a little blue |
| violet | red + a little blue |
| lavender | white + violet |
| light yellow | white + yellow |
| light green | yellow + a little blue |
| dark green | light green + a little blue |
| orange | yellow + a little red |
| dark orange | orange + a little red |
| brown | red + a little black |
| light brown | white + a little brown |
| grey | white + a little black |
| dark grey | grey + a little black |
| black ink | black + a little glue |

To begin painting a *penatah* coats the entire puppet in a light layer of white as a base. This primer would allow for more vibrant colors than if other colors were just painted directly onto the leather surface itself (Kawi, Mellema, Sagio, Slamet, Sudiman, Sutar). The base coat most likely also functioned as a way to seal any imperfections or pores in the leather to create a smoother surface for the rest of the layers of paint. Next the large areas of black would be painted on the puppet. These areas included the hair, the straps of the back wing (*praba*), the outer edges of the sash (*unchal wastra*), and the face if the particular character called for it. Black would be applied at this point as well if it was needed as large portions of background in any clothing pieces (Mellema 1954: 32).

Following the black, the *penatah* then starts painting with the reds, yellows, and then the blues on the puppet. Sukir noted that after painting the layer of white, rose was his chosen first color in the red shades to be used (Mellema 1954: 34). He gave no reason as to why the reddish hues were the first color used and Pak Sugianto, who also began with rose on the Kresna puppet he made for me, stated that he began with rose because that is how his teacher said it had always been done (Sugianto 05 Jan 2014).

Image 3-19. Example of gradations found in *wayang kulit* painting



One practical reason that the lightest color, rose, was used first could have been that it is far more difficult to paint a lighter color over a darker color, whereas dark red would easily cover rose later in the process. Rose, like many of the colors in *wayang kulit* painting, was used for the gradation of colors in specific areas. Red gradation includes, in order: rose, light red, and red. For a very skilled *penatah* brown could have also been used at the end of this gradation. Rose would be painted on the following carving motifs: the ends of the *mas-masan*, the *sembuliyen* and the *intan-intanan* motifs or specific elements such as the crown (diadem), hair ornaments, or jewelry.

Light yellow traditionally be added to the puppet next. Yellow was used for both the gradation of green and orange. Green gradation included yellow, light green, and finally dark green. The yellow/green gradation can be found in the *mas-masan* motif, *sembuliyen* motif, ear ornament, diadem, hair ornaments, collar, and tails of clothing or *unchal*. The yellow/orange gradation included yellow, orange, dark orange, and occasionally dark red or brown. It could be found in similar areas to the yellow/green gradation. If violet and lavender were needed for a particular character they would be added last and are found on necklaces, the face of the *garuda*, diadem band, and long pants (Mellema 1954; Sagio 2004; Sugianto 2014). Grey would have been used for any detail work on top of solid black areas, for example to paint the ear details on top of a black body or face of a *wayang* puppet.

After all of the gradation areas were painted a *penatah* would have started on the clothing. Many clothing pieces would have been shaded using the *sungging cawi* (*cawen*) technique. This technique, is a series of very fine lines in a chosen color (Mellema 1954; Sagio 2004; Sugianto 2014). The *sungging tlacapan* or *sungging sawtan* techniques are also reserved for clothing and resemble small and narrow triangles. This technique was generally reserved for decorative tails that flow at the end of certain clothing items. The *cinden* style is also rather popular for clothing. This painting technique resembles a checker-board pattern, see Image 3-21 for an example of the *cinden* style. Next the *sungging dremjemam*, or stippling, was applied to the remaining areas of the *mas-masan* and *intan-intanan* motifs, the *patran* or leaf patterns, and any other area the *penatah* found appropriate for stippling decoration, see Image 3-22 for both fine line detailing and stippling examples. The next step in the painting process would be any fine detail work on the jewelry or hair ornaments, and any floral work on capes or on other accessories (Sagio 2004; Sugianto 2014). These techniques, like the *sungging bludiran* (*kembangan*), can be seen in Image 3-20.

Image 3-20. Common painting styles found in *wayang kulit purwa* puppets

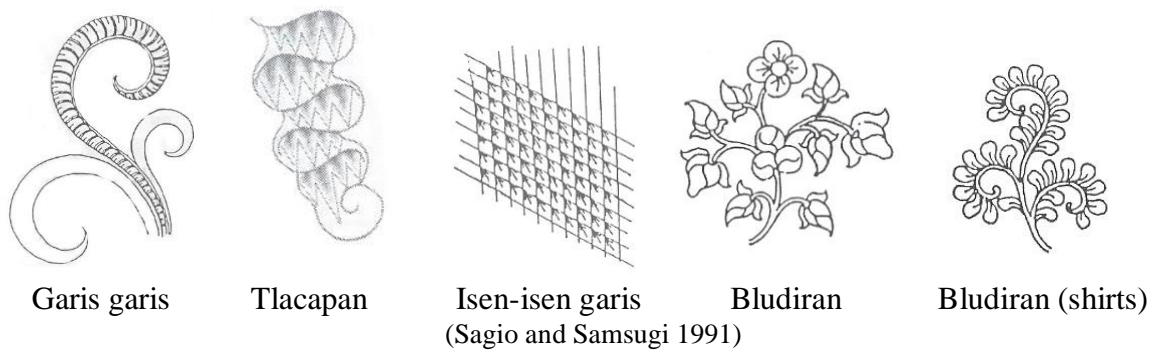
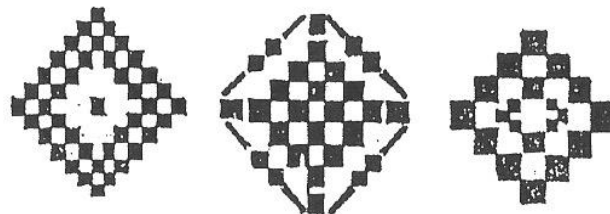


Image 3-21. Examples of the common *cinden* painting style



(Sagio and Samsugi 1991)

The final step in the painting process would have been the facial detail. Similar to the carving process, painting the face was crucial and a *penatah* would only paint the face when he felt a sense of readiness within himself or was mentally prepared to do so (Sugianto 5 Jan 2015). Facial detailing would begin with the face being painted red, black, gold, or white depending on the specific character and the particular *wanda*, or mood, of that character (Sagio 2004). Once the face was painted the puppet would then be sealed or varnished.

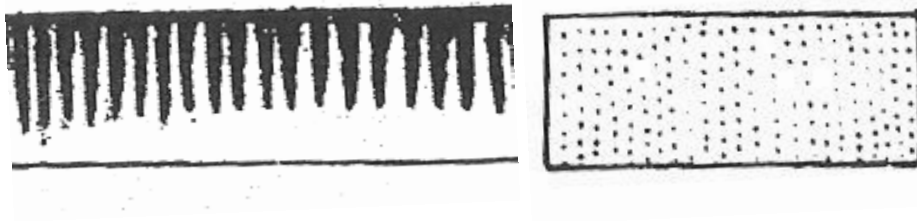
Gold Adornment

Gilding or gold leaf was added to *wayang kulit* puppetry during the Mataram Sultanate, 1584-1755 AD, to add to the beauty and splendor of the art form. Popular belief holds that originally the gold leaf used came to Indonesia from China (Kawi 12 Aug 2014; Sagio 5 Jan 2015). If needed for a particular puppet, gold leaf was added prior to any other decorative paint colors such as red, green, or blue. However, it is not entirely known if craftsmen would apply gilding before or after the larger portions of black were painted on. Sukir mentions that gilding was done following the black paint (Mellema 1954: 33-34) but Pak Sugianto stated that this would not be practical. Any gold leaf that stuck outside of its intended place would ruin the black you had already painted. Then a craftsman would have to go back and repaint, and therefore the gold should have been done before the black (Sugianto 6 Jan 15). Regardless of when the gold was applied it seems to have been applied in the same manner. Any area where gold leaf was to be applied would first require a base coat of paint act as a primer. According to Sukir, in an effort to preserve the embellishment, a puppet that required gilding would be painted with a white primer, and then also receive an application of yellow in any areas treated with gold leaf. The reasoning behind this being if any gold leaf were to crack or fall off during the life of the puppet the yellow underneath would somewhat camouflage this (Mellema 1954: 33-34). Once the gilded were painted yellow and allowed to dry, a layer of *ancur* was painted over the yellow. Extreme care would be taken to only paint the areas where the embellishment would be applied, as the gold would adhere to any area with *ancur*. The gold leaf came prepared on a small, thin piece of square paper. Taking care not to touch the actual gold leaf, a *penatah* would lift the square and dip it into a small amount of water, paper side down, to wet the gold leaf. Excess water would be wiped away from the paper side using the *penatah*'s own arm or the table top,

while still not touching the actual gold leaf. Wetting the gold leaf was not only done to give it some weight and stickiness but also so it would not be blown away during the process as a *penatah* might prepare multiple sheets of gold leaf at once. During application, the glue is left to set for a few moments to reach the correct level of tackiness. The exact timing for this would be determined by the thickness of the layer of glue itself and also be tested by touch. If the glue was too wet the gold leaf would not stick or if it did stick it could bubble as it dried, while if it were too dry the gold leaf would not stick all. Once the tackiness was to the *penatah*'s liking, the gold leaf was placed, leaf side down, over the glue and slight pressure applied to the back or paper side. The backing was then peeled away slowly leaving only the gold leaf on the puppet (Sugianto 05 Jan 2015). With the gold leaf ideally only sticking to the places where glue had been painted some gold might have remained on the backing and any gold leaf that remained could be kept for use on another area of the puppet. Any area where gold stuck outside of the desired design, once dried, would have been painted over with white. This process of applying gilding to a puppet is called *anggembleng*.

After paint and/or gilding dried the final detail work would have been drawn on the puppet using a very fine brush and black paint. Depending on the character this could have included: a mustache; eyebrows; whiskers; hair tendrils; outline on the lips, teeth, neck creases; nails or hand details; and foot details. Certain characters, like *raksasa*, would also have had warts, nose hairs, hairs on the limbs, and other specific elements drawn in at this point as well (Kawi, Mellema, Sagio, Sugianto, Sutarno). Stippling details on top of *mas-masan* and *intan-intanan* as well as fine line detailing on clothing patterns were also drawn on with the same black paint. The final detail rendered in black paint would have been the pupil of the eye. Similar to the attention to detail concerning the face, extreme care was taken with this detail.

Image 3-22. Black line detailing and stippling examples



(Sunarto and Sagio 2008)

Sealant

Once the puppet has been painted, gilded, and given its finishing touches a *penatah* will protect his work with a protective layer or a varnish. Sukir, for instance, mentions in his writing from 1920 that he used glue or *ancur* to seal his puppets (Mellema 1954: 39). Other *penatah* have noted that in the past egg whites or a mixture of egg whites and *ancur* were used to seal puppets as well as used as a ‘glaze’ to add shine to the paint colors (Sagio, Sihhanto, Sukirno, Sunarto). This use was noted as one of the reasons the *kratons* air out their puppets once a week. Specifically, the older puppets kept in the *kraton*’s collection which had been coated in egg whites must be checked for normal wear, mold, and necessary repairs but also checked for any insects that may have been attracted by the egg whites (Sukirno 14 Aug 2014). Checking for bugs weekly was necessary as they could do serious and permanent damage to *wayang kulit* puppets rather quickly. The hassle of dealing with insects eating the puppets, tied with the introduction of newer paints and gold products, could be why *penatah* switched to using glue instead of egg whites to seal their puppets. While all areas covered in paint were sealed, any area of the puppet covered in gold leaf would not have received a protective layer of either *ancur* or egg whites as either coating would diminish the shine of the gold leaf (Sunarto and Sagio 2004: 89-90).

HANDLE CREATION

Material Origins and Preferences

Handles, or *cempurit*, for a *wayang kulit* puppet were traditionally carved out of water buffalo horns. As to why this was the chosen material the reasoning given is similar to the preference of buffalo leather: that it is just how it has always been done. However, one main

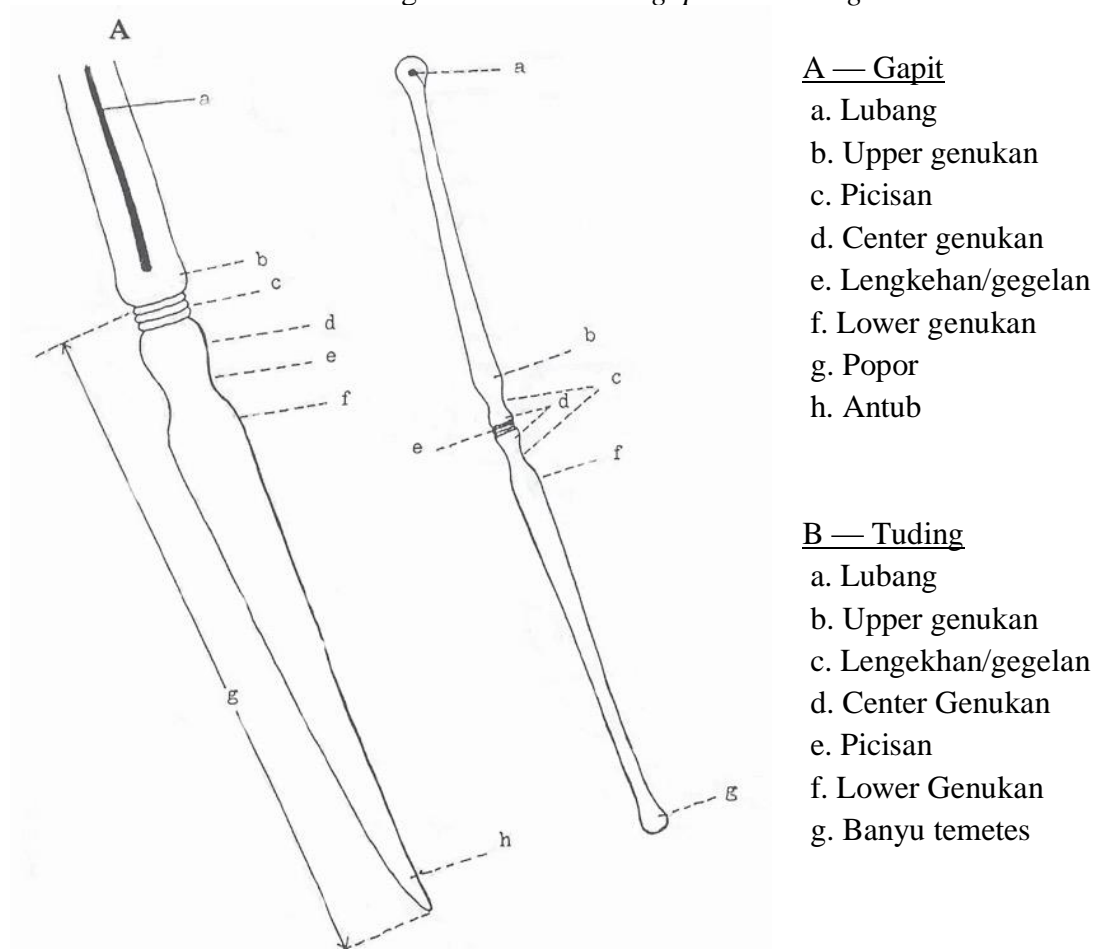
practical reason may be the physical strength and density of the horn itself. When describing why buffalo horn was preferred over cow horn Pak Sagio noted that it is “not hollow” compared to cow horn, making it stronger (1991: 170-176). Additionally, while buffalo horn is a naturally sturdy material it can become very pliable when heated (Sutarno 4 Jul 2014). Besides these ideal qualities, buffalo horn was also most likely chosen because it could be purchased from the same supplier as the hides which was both convenient and meant less of the animal went to waste. Buffalo horn normally found in three colors: brown, black, and white. White horn is found only on the albino water buffalo. Among the three, white has been regarded as the most aesthetically pleasing, perhaps due to the understandable rarity of albino buffalo horns (Kawi, Sagio and Samsugi, Sanjata, Sutarno).

Crafting and Attaching Handles

There are two different types of handles created for a *wayang kulit* puppet: the larger main handle, or the *gapit*, and the smaller handles for the arms, the *tuding*. Both handles are fashioned in a similar manner except the *gapit* needs to be much larger to support the full weight and movement of the puppet, while the *tuding* needed to be strong enough to support the arms and any quick movements but slim and light enough to move with ease and not be in the way. By way of example, it would be difficult to maneuver and perform the quick and precise movements in battle if the *tuding* were too large and heavy. This is particularly true of the flips and turns the *dalang* performs during battle scenes.

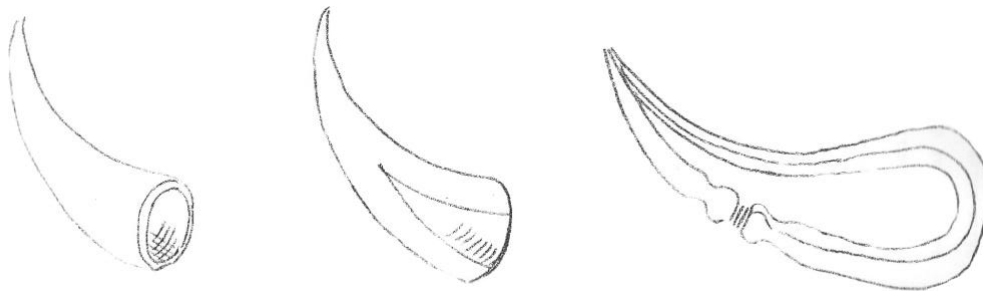
Work on a handle is begun by selecting a large buffalo horn that has already been removed from the water buffalo and then cutting the horn in half from tip to base. The intact horn is cut with a traditional saw known as a *patar* (Sutarno 5 Jul 2014) and sawed starting from the base (*antub*), where it was removed from the animal, curving down towards the tip of the horn and the returning to the base. The shape of the handle is then carved from that piece of horn. Visual examples of these processes are given in Figure 3-24.

Figure 3-23. Labeled *gapit* and *tuding*



(Samsugi and Sagio 1991)

Figure 3-24. Manner in which a horn is cut to form a *wayang kulit* handle



(Sanjata 1969)

When shaping the handle into the desired form the *penatah* utilizes a much smaller saw, called a *goroh*, to make the curves and any inner markings. One such example of where the

goroh would be used is in the creation of the *picisan* decoration shown in Image 3-23. Another tool, the *gergaji*, could also be used to create any other smaller details needed on the handle (Sutarno 5 Jul 2014).

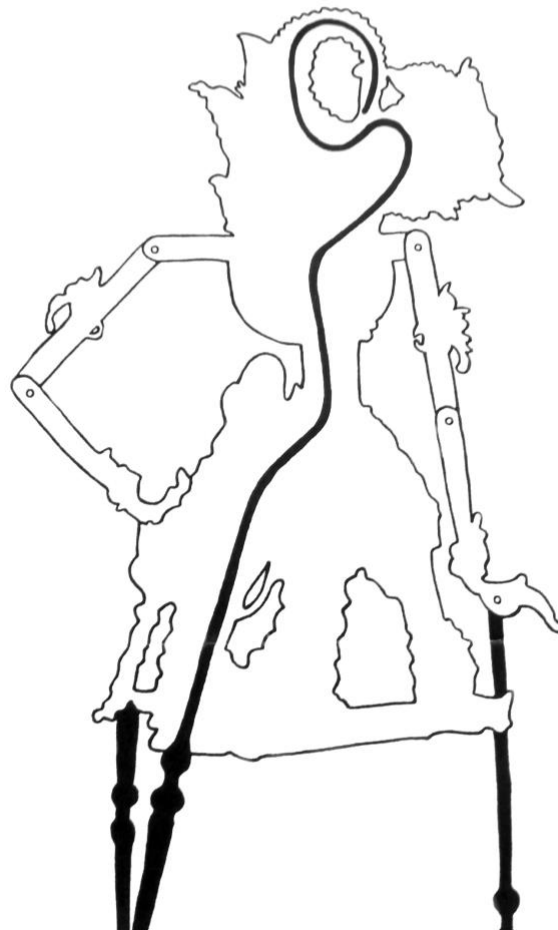
Image 3-25. Saws used for handle creation



The primary handle, or *gapit*, is divided into two segments: the *genukan atas* above the *picisan* and the *genukan bawah* below the *picisan*. The *genukan bawah*, is just wide and curved enough at the top to make for a comfortable grip in a *dalang*'s hand and then narrows into a point at the bottom so the handle can cleanly enter a banana log when placed there during a performance. The upper portion of the *gapit*, the *genukan atas*, narrows to nearly a millimeter at the very top. The combined length of the entire *gapit* depends on the height of the puppet itself as support is required from the base to tip of the puppet. In order to fully support the top portion of the puppet the *genukan atas* is split directly down the middle till just above the *picisan*. This is done so one side of the *genukan atas* attaches to the front of the puppet while the other side is fixed to the back, allowing for maximum support without disrupting the intricately carved designs.

To mold the upper portion of the handle to the shape of a *wayang kulit* puppet low heat is applied to the horn. When oil lamps became widespread in Indonesia they became the preferred method of heating buffalo horn as they produced a low and easily controllable fire. During this process, the horn is held over the low fire just long enough to make it pliable, and the time required for this varies depending on the thickness of each particular portion of horn (Kawi, Sutarno, Sagio). The first indication that a handle has become overheated is a smell similar to that of burning hair, due to the large amounts of keratin, a protein that forms the main structure of hair, claws, and horns (Sagio and Samsugi 1991: 171). Once removed from the heat the horn is slowly bent into the desired shape by hand. An example of the curvature a handle might take is seen below:

Figure 3-26. Example of handle path



Prior to attaching the handle to a puppet, the handle needs to first be smoothed. These handles are the only portion of the puppet a *dalang* normally touches so a rough handle does not allow for a comfortable or safe performance. In order to remove any sharp points and/or jagged areas from the handle artisans traditionally used *daun rempelas*, the leaves of a local tropical evergreen shrub, to rub the handle smooth (Sagio Samsugi 1991: 172). These leaves may also have been used as a form of ‘sandpaper’ for the leather portion of the puppet as well, but I have yet to find mention of use of *daun rempelas* on any area but the handles of *wayang kulit* puppets.

Once the handle is smoothed into the exact shape the *penatah* requires, white string is used to attach the handle to the actual puppet. Before being used the string is dipped in wax to make it stronger and prevent it from fraying over time (Kawi, Sagio Samsugi, Sutarno). The handle is attached to the torso of the puppet in two to three places, depending on the size of the puppet, and then in multiple locations at the top of the puppet where the handle curves more and is under more pressure. Only existing holes found in the carving pattern are used to attach the handle. No new holes are added at this point so the intricate carvings and paint already in place are not disturbed. To attach the *tuding* to the hands of the puppet the same wax-dipped string is used. For this process, the *penatah* cuts a small amount of string and wraps it multiple times around the upper portion of the handle, then feeds both ends through a small hole at the top. Finally, these strings are then looped through the hand of the puppet and tied off.

Figure 3-27. Example of string attachment on *gapit*

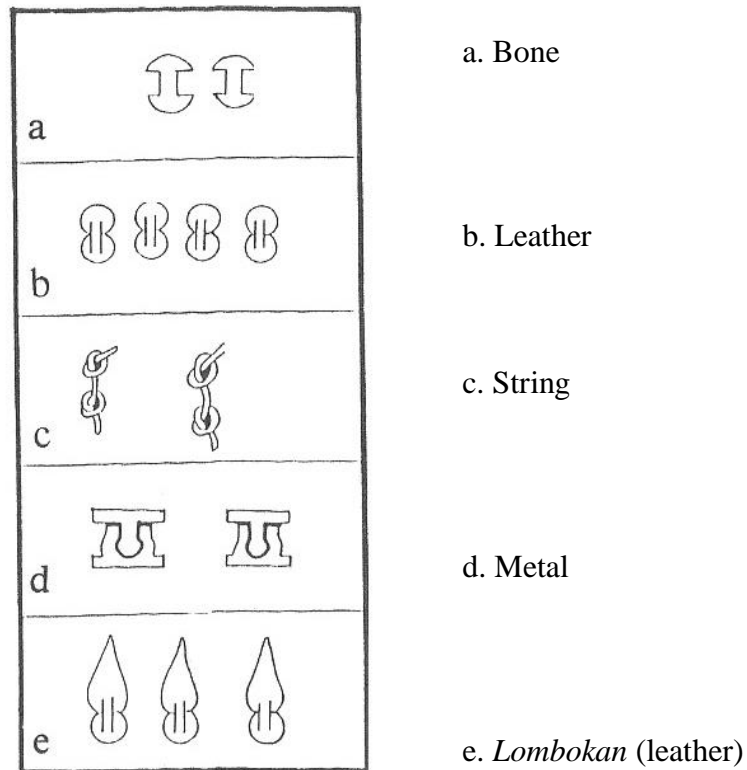


JOINTS AND MOVEMENT

Material Origins and Preferences

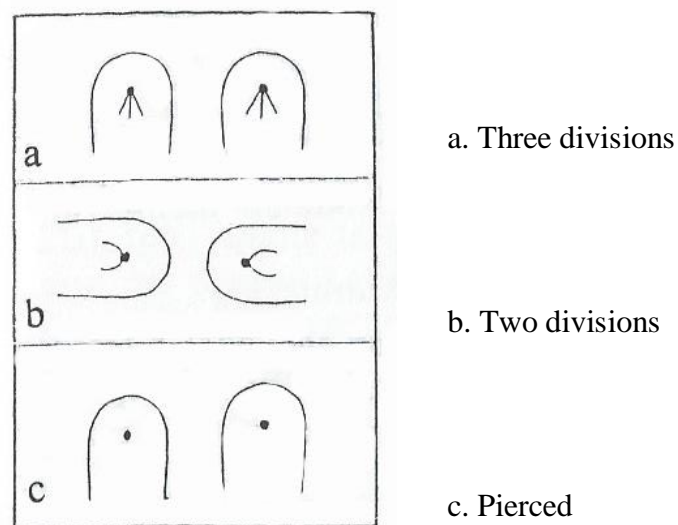
For the joints, or *gegel*, in the shoulders and arms of a *wayang kulit* puppet the bone of the water buffalo was traditionally used. Bone was used for its strength, and again for the ease of obtaining it, since a *penatah* would already be obtaining the hide and horns of a water buffalo from a farmer or merchant (Kawi 12 Aug 2014, Sutarno 5 Jul 2014). Gold and high-quality silver were also eventually used in joints for valuable and precious puppets (Angst 2007: 38). No exact timeline is known for the introduction of gold and silver as a joint material. However, due to the high cost of the metals it is presumed, by *penatah*, that it was introduced through puppets gifted to royalty or someone of a high level of respect and primarily for *wayang kulit* collections in the *kraton* (Sagio 11 Jul 2014; Sagio and Samsugi 1991). These rare “collection” puppets were primarily displayed and not used for performance. Depending on the type of material used for the joints, the holes created in the leather are formed differently to create the strongest joint possible. Demonstrations of how each joint would be formed, inserted, and secured can be seen in Image 3-28 and 3-39. *Penatah* have stated that the choice of joint material could have been based on who the puppet was for, what materials were available, or perhaps even completely arbitrary (Sutarno 5 Jul 2015).

Image 3-28. Traditional joint materials for *wayang kulit purwa* puppets



(Sagio and Samsugi 1991)

Image 3-29. Types of joint holes



(Sagio and Samsugi 1991)

Table 3-4. List of traditional materials for *wayang kulit purwa* puppets

| Traditional Materials for <i>Wayang Kulit Purwa</i> Puppets | |
|---|--|
| Leather (<i>kulit</i>) | -Buffalo |
| Carving tools (<i>tatah</i>) | -Metal |
| Buffing material | -Emery stones -Shells -Glass -Leaves (handles only) |
| Paint (<i>cat</i>) | -Powder/Pigment |
| Gold (<i>emas</i>) | -Pure gold leaf (<i>prada</i>) |
| Sealant | -Egg Whites -Glue |
| Handles (<i>cempurit</i>) | -Buffalo Horn |
| Joints | -Leather -Bone -Metal -Gold |
| Ties | -String |

3.2 MODERN CARVING TECHNIQUES AND ADAPTATIONS

Similar to several other aspects of modern *wayang kulit*, craftsmanship has adapted and changed with the times. New materials, methods, and styles have arisen over time and through contact with other nations and people. Beginning from roughly the 1970's, one of the greatest external influences in Central Java has been the growing number of tourists, both domestic and international, coming to Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Several of the changes associated with tourism and the production of *wayang kulit* puppets will be discussed in this chapter, however, a more in-depth look at the economic and cultural impacts of tourism on *wayang kulit* craftsmanship will be covered in the following chapter. This section will predominantly cover changes in materials, tools, and techniques used in the creation process.

MODERN LEATHER WORKING

Leather Processing

The processing of leather is one of the phases of *wayang kulit* puppet craftsmanship that has remained virtually unchanged from its early documentation till 2014-2015 (Kawi, Sagio, Sunarto, Suyoto). While leather processing for other goods such as belts, wallets, and bags may have adapted to the times by adding machines or chemical processing, creating leather for *wayang kulit* puppets has, to date, not incorporated the use of modern manufacturing equipment. Explanations for the continuation of traditional processing are varied. Primarily, the reasons given for the lack of modern advancements, such as chemical processing, have ranged from “because it is tradition” to “if it was changed the scraps could not be sold for *gudeg*.” Whatever the reason, each *penatah* I interviewed claimed their methods for leather cleaning and processing (or their suppliers’ methods) have remained completely traditional, and I have found no evidence in modern scholarship on craftsmanship that proves otherwise (Kawi, Sagio, Sunarto, Suyoto).

However, while the method of preparing the hide has not changed, the options for appropriate leathers have grown over time. It is uncertain when cow and goat hides also grew in popularity amongst *penatah* but they have certainly become a popular choice during the 21st century. The earliest written documentation of leather beyond water buffalo I have found in my research is a mention of deer hide being in a doctoral dissertation on *wayang kulit* in 1969 and then not until Sagio and Samsugi in their 1991 book, *Wayang Kulit Gagrag Yogyakarta*, where they mention cow and goat. Two of the most frequently given explanations for the popularity of cow and goat as alternative hides are their affordable price and availability. While goat skin is the cheapest leather available it is also the thinnest and smallest, making it unsuitable for many larger *wayang kulit* puppets. Cow hides are more expensive than goat but the size and the thickness of a standard hide lends it to be a good substitute for water buffalo leather as the base material for many sizes of *wayang kulit* puppets (Kawi, Pak G, Sagio, Sudiman, Sutarno, Suyoto). On the downside, the excessive residual fat in cow hide requires a longer soaking period and/or a more intensive scrapping process than that of buffalo hide. Also, to be considered, is the additional possibility of these alternatives requiring more paint touch-ups throughout the puppet’s life span. In spite of these issues, *wayang* artists still find cow hide to be solid substitute for buffalo hide. However, water buffalo hide is still widely preferred, and it can, in some areas like Wonogiri, cost five times as much as cow hide (Sutarno 21 Jul 2014). Thus, for several *penatah* cow hide has become the norm as it is what they can easily afford and still use for a variety of puppets. Buffalo hide, for many *penatah*, is now reserved for special orders

(Mantan, Saleh, Sutarno, Yudi). The price of cow and goat hides also make them the economic choice for creating any *wayang kulit* souvenirs or puppets that will not be used in *wayang* performances as they do not need to stand up to vigorous movements or constant travel. More on souvenir production will be discussed later in this chapter.

MODERN CARVING PROCESS

Character Outlines

For the drawing and etching portion of the process two major elements have emerged in the last few decades. While most *penatah* still etch out their templates using one of their chisels some now also use pens or pencils to draw a colored line on the leather to have a clearer indication of where they will be carving (Saleh, Sugianto, Sutarno, Yudi). One major change in laying out the design of *wayang kulit* puppets on leather comes from a more technologically advanced item, the photocopy machine. Many *penatah* are currently using this technology to copy pictures of *wayang kulit* characters from books, enlarging them to scale, and printing them out. A *penatah* would then place the photocopied *wayang kulit* character image underneath their leather of choice so they can see the outline through the leather. The craftsman would then trace the outline and internal designs onto the leather, rather than drawing out the forms and details from memory (Sagio, Saleh, Sutarno, Suyono). Many *penatah* now are finding this new technology to be hugely beneficial for its speed and that some *penatah*, no longer have the knowledge or ability to draw the entire repertoire of *wayang kulit* characters from memory. It is unknown which came first, the current technology or the reduction of training in this particular knowledge/skill to draw from memory, but what is certain is this is slowly becoming the standard for training new *penatah* in areas like Wonogiri and Imogiri (Kawi, Saleh, Sutarno, Sagio, Suyono). Pak Suyono leads an organization of *penatah* at the Wayang Kulit Center of Imogiri, which according to his estimates has more than 800 active *penatah*²⁵, to preserve *wayang kulit* in the area. Due to varying skill levels, and the *penatah*'s lacking the ability to draw from memory, Pak Suyoto photocopies images from books on *wayang* characters and distributes them to *penatah* in the area so everyone can create a character with the same level of design

²⁵ This number is Pak Suyono's own estimation, this number could not be substantiated during the time allowed by this research.

detail (Suyono 11 Sep 2014). In Wonogiri the photocopies are used for similar reasons. If orders for multiple puppets of the same character are made and there are varying degrees of skill level amongst the *penatah* working on the project, a shared photocopy of the character would result in identical outlines and internal designs for each puppet, thereby guaranteeing customer satisfaction (Saleh 11 Sept 2014; Yudi 4 July 2014).

While this method is certainly quicker and lends itself to uniformity across the board, there are two major potential drawbacks. One is the phasing out of *penatah* learning to draw from memory. Due to the ease of this method and its acceptance by leaders in their communities, *penatah* no longer need, or perhaps want, to commit hundreds of characters to memory and it is very possible they will no longer have the ability or the desire to pass that knowledge down to the next generation. The second potential drawback is the loss of knowledge of regional styles and their variations. When asked what books were chosen for photocopying, the *penatah* in Wonogiri had several different books they had acquired or that had been given to them. These consisted of books on Yogyakarta style, Surakarta style, and a very large book from Jakarta that covered styles from Yogyakarta, Surakarta, and Cirebon. When asked how they choose each photo, Pak Yudi responded that he chose based on what the customer wanted or whichever photo seemed best for the particular order in question. He noted that the particular regional style did not really play into his decision (Yudi 5 Jul 2014). While this lack of focus on the specific styles of Central Java has, for some *penatah*, led to much more experimentation within the art form it has also led to a decline in knowledge in individual craftsmen I interviewed on what makes each style unique. Pak Sagio has stated that the lack of *penatah* knowing how to distinguish between styles, and specifically to draw Yogyakarta style puppets, was a large reason for wanting to write and publish his 2004 book, *Wayang Kulit Gaya Yogyakarta*. He wanted to ensure that the historical methods used to create puppets were preserved and not be forgotten. Pak Sagio mentioned to me in an interview at his workshop that he was approached by members from the finance department in Yogyakarta's government and asked to write this book. The government officers told him "if we do not create a book, in twenty-five years there will be no one who knows about *wayang*" (Sagio 11 Jul 2014). However, in an interesting and perhaps ironic turn, his book is now one of the ones used in both Wonogiri and Imogiri to photocopy drawings, potentially aggravating the loss of knowledge of those smaller regional styles.

Internal Carving Process

While the physical process of carving a traditional puppet has not changed drastically over the years, *penatah* still use *tatah* (chisels) to carve the same main sixteen patterns that combine into larger motifs. The basic iconography and proportions are also still in use, with a small change occurring in the form of the *tatah* themselves. A majority of the *penatah* I interviewed stated that while the shape and size of the *tatah* have remained relatively the same and are technically made of the same material as their current tools, an alloy, had almost all been made from recycled bike spokes from old motorbike wheels or other such recycled materials (Kawi, Saleh, Sihhanto, Sudiman, Sutarno, Tugiman). Another innovation, according to Pak Sudiman, is the use of modern cooking oil to treat his chisels before he sharpens them on his soap stones (17 Nov 2014). The addition of this oil makes it easier for him to sharpen the metal without chipping either the stone or *tatah* compared to the naked or untreated metal. However, a clear concession on why cooking oil, of all the commonly available oils, was used could not be reached across the various regions.

Smoothing

Adaptations have been made for smoothing the edges of the unfinished leather, which was previously achieved using a shell, emery stone, or glass shards. Sandpaper is now used almost universally instead. No *penatah* I interviewed could remember exactly when sandpaper became the norm but Pak Sihhanto recalls using sandpaper on his puppets by roughly 1974 (Sihhanto 30 Aug 2014). The earliest mention I could find in published material was in Ki Marwoto Panenggak Widodo's 1984 book, *Tuntunan Ketrampilan Tatah Sungging Wayang Kulit*, where he notes that sandpaper was one of the necessary tools needed for carving *wayang kulit* puppets. Consequently, by 1984 it could be assumed it had been in regular use for a decent amount of time to be deemed as “necessary” to the process. The ease of acquiring sandpaper—which is now readily available at any home goods, paint, or neighborhood store—has also contributed to it replacing shells and emery stores as the preferred material. Using sandpaper is also much more efficient than other prior methods for smoothing large areas of leather.

MODERN PAINTING

The Process of Painting

One of the most time efficient adaptations in the crafting of *wayang kulit* has been the adoption of ready-made paints, with acrylic being the most popular. I have yet to find documentation of exactly when premade paints entered Indonesia or when *penatah* as a whole began using them. When I asked the majority of *penatah* count not remember exactly when acrylic paints became popular in *wayang kulit* craftsmanship as most *penatah* I interviewed were trained using acrylic as their primary paint. One craftsman I interviewed, however, Pak Manten, the 70-year-old *dalang* from Wonogiri, remembers his training from as early as 1957 and he was trained with only powdered paints (5 Jul 2014). Whether this was due to acrylic or pre-made paints not being available in Central Java as a whole, or just in his remote location in Wonogiri, at this time is unclear. Pak Sagio, however, does remember the exact moment he began using acrylic paints. In an interview Pak Sagio told me about a trip he took to Paris, France in 1977 to exhibit his works at a cultural exhibition. He did not bring any of his paints with him to France but upon arrival realized that he would need some. Pak Sagio could not, as one might expect, purchase what he needed to make his traditional, powdered paints in Paris so he bought what was readily available. He liked the quality of the acrylic paint, due to its vibrancy, and decided to continue to use it once he returned to Indonesia. He also saw long term benefits after switching to acrylic as the vibrancy of the color and the paint itself lasted far longer, compared to traditional paints, without chipping and needing repair (11 July 2014). The first mention in print I found of the use of acrylic or pre-made paints for use in *wayang kulit* creation at large was also in Pak Sagio and Pak Samsugi's 1991 book *Wayang Kulit Gagrang Yogyakarta*. Although Pak Sagio began using acrylics in the late seventies it is possible that by this time, around 1991, the use of acrylic paints had spread to such a degree that he felt comfortable describing the painting process in his collaboration work with Pak Samsugi as using only acrylic paints. Pak Sagio himself now uses acrylic exclusively, even on puppets meant for the *kraton*.

Utilizing acrylic paints saves a *penatah* a significant amount of time during the creation process. Now to create paint a *penatah* no longer has to boil *ancur*, grind pigments, or mix up his own colors. They can simply drive or walk to a local paint, craft, or home goods store and purchase a supply of needed colors. A *penatah* may choose to purchase only white, black, blue, red, and yellow and mix their own versions of the remaining colors to save money but they also

have the option to purchase a variety of pre-mixed colors.

Two other mentionable benefits to ready-made paints for *wayang kulit* artisans are the relative speediness of their drying time and the remarkable integrity of the paint over time. According to Pak Sugianto the drying time for acrylic paint is very fast, far faster than pigment. With the quicker drying times, he can continue on with a new color much sooner and switch to the reverse side of the puppet quicker as well. Acrylic paint also has a longer “shelf-life” both as a product and on a puppet and is more vibrant and requiring much less maintenance over time (30 Sept 2014). For this reason, puppets that are not needed for performance or that are given as gifts can be painted with gold acrylic rather than coated with gold leaf as it saves time and will last without touchups for much longer. The lesser amount of maintenance required over time is also one of the main reasons why clear acrylic paint has replaced egg whites or glue to seal painted areas of puppets. Happily, for the *penatah*, acrylic paint also attracts far fewer insects than egg whites.

Other types of paint have also been introduced in both Yogyakarta and Surakarta. While acrylic paint is the preferred choice and readily available it can be quite expensive for some *penatah* and their households. Some frugal-minded *penatah* have switched to using house paint for their puppets since they can buy a few colors in bulk and mix specific colors in smaller containers for much less money (Sutarno, Suyono, Waluyo). Others have found a way to stretch their purchased paint and add a special effect to the finished puppet. *Penatah* do so by adding gasoline to either their acrylic or house paint. The addition of gasoline to paint not only makes the batch of color last longer but adds a glossy appearance to the *wayang kulit* puppet, even once dried (Sukirno, Suyono, Waluyo).

When it comes to actually applying paint all *penatah* who I interviewed said that there is no difference in using powdered paint compared to using acrylic. I believe this was meant mean they all attempted to paint the patterns with the same colors and using the same methods. However, it is likely that there is indeed a different feel to using powdered paint compared to the smooth, pre-made acrylic paints. It not in texture than for sure in the thickness or weight of the paint. To begin painting, most, if not all, *penatah* still begin as previously discussed with a full base layer of white or yellow paint. The main exception to this rule is when a *penatah* paints a small souvenir piece, like a keychain. For these pieces, they begin straight away with red, blue, yellow, or any other colors desired for that particular piece (Sutarno 21 Jul 2014). Where the

penatah start painting on the puppet and what color they start with, after the initial base layer, varies from *penatah* to *penatah*. Pak Sugianto, who painted one of my Kresna puppets, stated that he begins with the color red because that is how his teacher taught him and it is tradition. However, he varies the particular spot he begins on depending on his mood (Sugianto 5 Jan 2015). For areas that require gradation, modern *penatah* still begin painting with the lightest colors first and allow that to dry before moving onto darker colors. For example, when working on my Kresna puppet, Pak Sugianto painted the full base colors and then moved onto painting all the areas that required pink. When the pink dried he moved on to a slightly darker pink, then red, and finally a deep red. This process of painting from light to dark in all areas that call for gradation is still done for the practical reason that painting a light color over a dark color will not show. Whereas dark will cover a lighter color and even hide any mistakes one may have previously made. The number of colors or layers in a gradation is dependent on the skill level of a painter. While the most skilled painter can reach up to five layers of color in a single gradation, a less skilled one might only accomplish three. Intensity, or layering, in these gradations can also depend on who the puppet has been commissioned for. If a puppet has been commissioned for a tourist even a very skilled *penatah* might only paint 3 layers to save time and effort despite being fully capable of painting more. Aside from saving time in general this is done because the customer may not notice, or care, that the extra effort was taken.

Also, while greater experimentation has evolved in this more globalized modern era, nearly all the *penatah* I spoke with said they stick to traditional painting patterns, placement, and color when making full sized *wayang kulit purwa* puppets. This mindset changes when craftsmen are creating a full-sized puppet that was commissioned for a tourist, an innovative puppet that has been specifically commissioned, or if they create a “tourist sized” or “souvenir sized” version of a puppet. Since the *penatah* is aware that the future owner of the puppet may not know the “rules” of each puppet, more liberty might be taken with the color placement and general experimentation may happen across the board.

Gold Adornment

There are currently three types of materials used for the application of gold on a *wayang kulit* puppet in Central Java. Gold leaf is still commonly used and is viewed as the highest quality

gold embellishment you can add to a *wayang kulit* puppet. However, packets of gold leaf are rather expensive. A single pack²⁶ sold for approximately Rp 450.000,- or \$35.00 in 2014²⁷. While one standard of packet of gold leaf would be enough to fully cover one male, non-ogre, *wayang kulit* puppet the cost is still exceedingly expensive. Particularly if one considers that a *penatah* could buy an average sized, fully formed white buffalo handle from another *penatah* for Rp 300.000,- or \$23.00²⁸ in 2014. For this reason, the majority of *penatah* I spoke to said they reserved gold leaf only for those customers or *dalang* who specifically requested it. However, the cost of the gold leaf also means few people, *dalang* included, request it (Sutarno 4 July 2016; Sugianto 6 Jan 2015). The average customer chooses acrylic gold paint to keep costs down but stay within traditional color schemes.

The next two gilding options are somewhat problematic, as it is difficult to track down any real evidence of when they came into practice and equally as hard to determine when they became popular or were in regular use. The use of gold acrylic paint in place of gold leaf most likely came into fashion at the same time as the other colors of acrylic paint. Whether or not it met more resistance than the other colors because it was not as shiny, vibrant, or rare is unknown. Some resistance is plausible though, as gold acrylic is still seen today as less desirable than gold leaf. Regardless, it logically would have arrived as a viable option at the same time as other acrylic paints. One particularly pleasing feature of gold acrylic paint is that it's the only available option that can be painted over with any form of varnish and not ruin the product itself or it's vibrancy; making it the longest lasting option. The third, and perhaps most unreliable of the golds is *brom*²⁹. A gold powder with a hint of bronze, *brom* is mixed with *ancur* or glue and painted on a *wayang kulit* puppet similar to powdered paints. Some *penatah* say *brom* is a traditional element that has been in use for as long as they can remember. Pak Sukirno of Yogyakarta claims *brom* to be a classic element used before acrylic was ever used in Indonesia, and even went on to tell me about how he had used *brom* and an egg white coating together. In this anecdote, he described how the egg white varnish would make the *brom* powder smear and you would ruin both your paint job and *brom* application. Since he has not personally used egg

²⁶ Average packets of gold leaf sold in Central Java contain 25 individual sheets of gold leaf which are about 10cm x 10cm or 4in x 4in.

²⁷ Today gold leaf is imported from both China and Germany (Angst, Kawi, Sagio, Sutarno).

²⁸ See Table 3-6 for modern prices of other handle colors and sizes.

²⁹ Alternate spelling- *bron*

white coating for decades, and remembers using *brom* and egg whites together, he believed *brom* to be in use before acrylic (14 Aug 2014). Pak Sutarno of Wonogiri has stated he does not recall when *brom* came into popularity in *wayang kulit* craftsmanship since *brom* is so old that “people don’t use it anymore” (4 Jul 2014). This concept logistically makes sense seeing that the powdered gold form could have fallen out of fashion with the introduction of acrylic gold paint the same way powdered paints were made nearly obsolete with the introduction of pre-made paints. The main issue is no one can exactly remember when *penatah* began using *brom* and the first mention of it being used in scholarship is from 1969. When discussing a gold color or *emas* in relation to *wayang kulit* puppets, any written work before 1969—including Pak Sukir’s 1920s publication—only mentions *prada*, and many specifically mention *prada* in leaf or paper form. However, this alone cannot definitively rule out the use of *brom* dating back to 1969 for numerous reasons. *Penatah* and scholars, when writing about *wayang kulit*, might have only felt it necessary to record the highest quality products they used on their puppets, and since *brom* does not give off the same shine or carry the same value as *prada* it may have simply been left out. There is also the issue of translation. When *prada* or “*emas*³⁰” was found in original Javanese texts it could have been assumed they meant gold leaf as many sources do not specify what form the gold coloring comes in (i.e., paper or powder). Given that the original Javanese sources are near impossible to track down, or simply gone, scholars can only rely on the translations that remain. Officially we know *brom* is currently reserved for the lowest level of *wayang kulit* puppets, it is the least expensive, and is far less vibrant than either of the other choices for gold coloring (Kawi, Sanjata, Sunatro).

³⁰ *Emas* is the word for gold in both Javanese and Indonesian.

Image 3-30. Gold Adornment Examples



L: *Brom* powder inside its container's cap. R: Real gold leaf after initial use on a puppet

Sealant

According to the craftsmen I interviewed the vast majority of contemporary *wayang kulit* craftsmen use some form of clear acrylic paint to seal their puppets. Not only is it reasonably priced, its ability to keep a puppet looking fresh is far superior to any other option available at the moment. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, it also has the added benefit of not attracting insects. A select few craftsmen do use a mixture of furniture varnish mixed with petrol to seal their puppets, and as an added bonus, the addition of petrol gives the puppet a lovely sheen when dry. This method however, would not be used on higher level puppets as acrylic is preferred for those levels (Kawi, Sagio, Sutarno, Waluyo).

HANDLE CREATION

Material Origins and Preferences

Buffalo horn is still the preferred material of choice for *wayang kulit* handles in both Yogyakarta and Surakarta despite the addition and availability of several new materials. However, some *penatah* have now adopted the use of a power sander to sand or buff a handle instead of forming it solely by hand. Not only is this method physically easier on a craftsman, the sander also helps to speed up the production time, since buffalo horn handles are in extremely high demand (Sutarno 21 Jul 2014). Horn handles are deemed necessary if the puppets are being

made for performance use. *Dalang* are still most likely trained with traditional puppets that have traditional handles. Therefore, if a *dalang* were to use a puppet with a handle made of a different material it could throw off the weight of the puppet and affect how comfortable a *dalang* would be performing.

Table 3-5. Average purchase price^a for finished *wayang kulit* handles

| | White Horn | | Black Horn | |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------|---------------|---------|
| | Rupiah | USD | Rupiah | USD |
| “Normal” sized handle | Rp 300.000,00 | \$24.00 | Rp 200.000,00 | \$16.00 |
| Raksasa sized handle | Rp 500.000,00 | \$40.00 | Rp 100.000,00 | \$8.00 |

^a The purchase price in American dollars was calculated using the average exchange rate during my research period of 12,500 rupiah to the American dollar.

There are several alternatives *penatah* can choose from when constructing a handle. These include two natural options: rattan and bamboo. These two natural products are typically used for puppets that are not going to be used in any type of performance. While rattan and bamboo are easily accessible, and therefore cost effective, they are far too light and not necessarily strong enough to be used in performance. Should either of these materials be used in a performing puppet an extra step to completely seal the handles would need to be taken, minimizing the chance of splintering and harming a *dalang* mid-performance. For these reasons, anything from the wood or grass family are generally not used for *wayang kulit* performance puppets. However, these lightweight materials do make for an excellent selection when producing souvenir or display puppets. Pak Sutarno has noted throughout the years more tourists prefer a puppet with handles to one without because they have “a more authentic feel” (Sutarno 21 Jul 2014). For these types of puppets bamboo and rattan make an excellent choice as they are cost effective, easy to work with, and readily available to *penatah* in both Yogyakarta and Surakarta (Kawi, Sutarno, Suyono, Waluyo).

Two common man-made materials used for modern handles are plastic and fiberglass. While these materials are more cost effective than buffalo horn, they are more expensive than bamboo or rattan. Either can be easily formed into different shapes and are both strong and

lightweight. They can be made denser to be nearly the same weight as a horn handle but will always have a different feel. Pak Sutarno even mentioned that for certain *dalang* a fiberglass handle could cause their hands to itch, which would obviously not be ideal while performing. However, some young *dalang* who are just starting out may purchase plastic handles to begin with until they can afford to upgrade their puppet's handles to more expensive materials (Sutarno 21 Jul 2014). Plastic and fiberglass handles are also commonly used for "tourist items."

JOINTS AND MOVEMENT

Most joints for modern *wayang kulit* puppets are handled in nearly the same fashion today as they were a hundred years ago. A certain material is fashioned to be larger on the ends and then slipped through a hole in the jointed areas of a puppet. Bone, metal, and leather remain popular choices, while gold or silver are still used for special puppets given to high ranking members of society and dignitaries as gifts. However, plastic is quickly rising in popularity as material for joints on *wayang kulit* puppets thanks to its cost, accessibility, and ease of manufacturing. Most recently, two surprisingly repurposed forms of plastic seem to have made their way into *wayang kulit* craftsmanship: the plastic from cotton swabs and the used ink cartridge from pens. Exactly when these two elements came into use in *wayang kulit* craftsmanship is unclear. Most *penatah* want to claim the invention for themselves, a close relative, or at the very least for someone from their village. Pak Sutarno from Wonogiri remembers using the plastic portion of a cotton swab for his joints beginning from at least 2012 (21 Jul 2014). Pak Kawi from Surakarta recalls using them, but could not recollect when he first began to do so. However, he remembers originally having the idea to use cotton swabs because there was no stock of animal bone when he tried to order it and he already had cotton swabs on hand (Kawi 12 Aug 2014). Despite their unknown origins, the use of these repurposed components has quickly grown in popularity and has spread across the Yogyakarta and Surakarta areas. Besides the materials being easy to find and very cost effective, Pak Sutarno mentioned repeatedly his admiration for their functionality.

He always carries a few cotton swabs to performances in case a joint on a puppet breaks mid- performance as he can easily replace the joint with a cotton swab. To create a joint from a cotton-swab a *penatah* simply cuts off the cotton on each end, melts one end and places it against

a flat surface to create a flat end. He then pushes the non-melted end through the puppet joint, trims, and then melts and flattens the other end. This process only takes one or two minutes and, with the nature of a *wayang kulit* performance a lighter or other source of heat is never far away. Multiple members of the crowd, *gamelan*, or even the *dalang* himself will have a lighter to smoke a cigarette or two. Thus, the process of creating a joint out of these types of plastic materials is always quick and cost effective, even in the middle of a performance.

When choosing the type of joint to use for a puppet the decision could be completely up to the mood of the craftsmen or, as mentioned above, it could be based on the puppet's intended use or who it is going to. A high-quality puppet, made with real gold leaf, and painted by the best *wayang kulit* painter in the area will probably not be put together with plastic joints. On the opposite end, a puppet made with goat hide, low quality paint, and finished with a rattan handle will definitely not be fashioned with gold joints. A customer can also request specific joints. I personally requested plastic joints for several of the Kresna puppets I ordered from Pak Sagio as it was cost effective for me and I had never seen those particular joints made or attached. Use of the puppet is also crucial in deciding the type of joint to use; a puppet that will be frequently used for battle scenes would most likely need strong joints. Despite this, plastic seems to still be popular for all types of puppets, and even if it cannot hold up to vigorous fighting sequences it can easily be replaced cheaply and quickly.

Table 3-6. Comparison of Modern and Traditional Materials for *wayang kulit Purwa* puppets

| Material | | |
|--------------------------------|--|---|
| | Traditional | Current |
| Leather (<i>kulit</i>) | -Buffalo | -Buffalo -Cow -Goat |
| Carving tools (<i>tatah</i>) | -Metal | -Metal |
| Buffing material | -Emery stones -Shells -Glass -Leaves (handles only) | -Sandpaper |
| Paint (<i>cat</i>) | -Powder/Pigment (<i>bubukan</i>) | -Powder (rare) -Acrylic -House Paint |
| Gold (<i>emas</i>) | -Pure gold leaf (<i>prada</i>) | -Pure gold leaf (<i>prada</i>) -Gold leaf (<i>kertas grenjeng</i>) -Gold paint powder (<i>brom</i>) |
| Sealant | -Egg whites -Glue | -Varnish -Acrylic paint -Acrylic paint mixed with gasoline |
| Joints | -Leather -Bone -Metal -Gold or silver | -Leather -Bone -Metal -Gold or Silver -Plastic |
| Handles (<i>cempurit</i>) | -Buffalo horn | -Buffalo horn -Fiber/Plastic -Bamboo -Wood |
| Ties | -String coated in wax | -String coated in wax |

Overall the process of creating *wayang kulit purwa* puppets has not drastically changed since the middle of the 20th century. The most significant alterations have come about with the advent of modern materials (plastic, acrylic paints, etc.) and with the desire to speed production of *wayang kulit* puppets to meet increasing demand, particularly among tourists. The broader impact of ramping up production speed and the tourism trade will be discussed in detail in the next several chapters.

3.3 CHAPTER OVERVIEW

This chapter has covered the main changes and adaptations to the process of *wayang kulit* puppetry craftsmanship over the past several decades. The knowledge of these changes and when they came about will be helpful in understanding the following chapters and the typologies developed in this work. These changes to the puppet making process have mainly come about due to one of three reasons: the practicality of the change, price, or influences from outside cultures. Many of the changes to the process of shadow puppet creation in Central Java came about due to the practicality of newly introduced products. Two prime examples of this is the introduction of both sandpaper and acrylic paints. Both sandpaper and acrylic speed up the over process of creating an individual puppet. Sandpaper is quick and efficient and comes in a range of grades (how large or small the grit on the paper is) to speed a variety of jobs. Whereas the traditional items, e.g.: a shell, is not adaptable to the level of sanding or refining needed. A *penatah* would simply needed to spend more time sanding a more difficult or coarse area of leather. Acrylic paints speed up the process by coming “pre-made,” which cuts out the process of creating ancur, grounding down materials into powder, and mixing individual colors altogether. Clear acrylic used as sealant, the use of house paints, and electric sanders use on buffalo horn can also be classified as under change for practicality’s sake. An example of materials or process changing in the name of price is the introduction and use of buffalo and goat leather for *wayang kulit purwa* puppets. New base material for the puppets was mainly introduced due to the price increases seen in Central Java for water buffalo hide. This was determined because all *penatah* interviewed for this work would still choose to work with water buffalo hide for all projects if it was available and cost effective. However, this leather choice is not always within a customer’s budget or it would be too expensive to use when a purchasing guest would have no concept of its importance in *wayang kulit* or Javanese society. This brings us to the third reason adaptations came about in the process of *wayang kulit* puppet creation: tourism and outside influences.

The growth of tourism and introduction of external market guests willing to purchase *wayang kulit* puppets as souvenirs inspired many changes in the handiwork process; most notably the creation of small or souvenir sized *wayang kulit purwa* puppets. These puppets not only shifted the designs of the puppets but also introduced materials that tourists may not notice as not traditional or may not care that they are not entirely traditional if they do indeed notice. A prime example of this is the use of photocopy machines for quick turnaround in production.

While there is an argument for ‘productivity’ being the driving force behind the use of photocopy machines in the *wayang kulit* production process it has been made clear by the *penatah* interviewed for this work that the primary reason for the introduction of this process was the desire to produce more puppets to sell to tourists and middle-men at a quicker rate. The fact that regional variations are of little to no consequence in this method also supports this theory. Another change that falls under this category is the introduction of non-horn handles. These materials were primarily introduced for puppets not being sold as performance puppets as the lighter weight and possibility of injury or irritation found in wood, grasses, or plastic handles makes them a non-practical choice for *dalang* and performance.

The use of plastic joints, uniquely, falls in all three categories. It was introduced not only for its practicality, as plastic can be found nearly anywhere in Indonesia, but also because the product is very inexpensive, plastic makes for strong joint substitute, and made a very cost-effective choice for tourism puppets. The initial reasoning for its widespread use is unknown and therefore this adaptation currently resides in all three categories.

CHAPTER FOUR

CRAFTSMANSHIP AND TOURISM

4.1 INTRODUCTION TO TOURISM IN INDONESIA

While this dissertation focuses on Central Java, to fully understand what has happened to the arts in this region since the 1970s, one must first have an understanding of tourism and the policies that affected its development within Indonesia as a whole. Bali was, for many years, used as a model to develop tourism in Indonesia. While Bali naturally has many major differences when compared to Central Java, one can learn from how Bali's handled the influx of tourism in relation to the island's arts and crafts. When discussing the possible future of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship and performance, an understanding of the programs, policies, and community efforts, whether they were successful or not, will be useful.

Indonesia has long been viewed by many as a jewel of the international tourism industry, with Bali being a particularly desirable destination. When discussing Bali, terms like "paradise" are often used by both those who have been and those who wish to visit the island. Bali is noted as being called the "last paradise" by foreign visitors as early as the 1930s (Picard 1990: 40). This regard for the island of Bali is no accident. The growth of tourism and worldwide reputation of the island as a beloved tourist destination has a great deal to do with the formation and implantation of cultural and tourism policies dating back to Dutch Colonial rule. Bali played host to hundreds of foreign guests in the 1920s which grew to thousands of foreign tourists in the 1930s (Picard 1990: 40). The development of international tourism in Central Java can also be linked back to these Dutch-era policies and has been greatly influenced by government policies and interventions post-1970.

To clarify, I am not at this point stating that tourism is entirely new to Central Java, rather that it merely grew at a far more gradual rate. In fact, in 1908 the Dutch Official Tourist Bureau

first opened in Batavia (now Jakarta). The goal of this organization was to promote tourism in the Dutch East Indies, with their initial focus on Java. However, the bureau quickly expanded to include Bali and described it as “the Gem of the Lesser Sunda Isles” (Picard 1990: 40-41). While Bali eventually became the primary focus of Dutch and later Indonesian policy, Central Java has experienced a rise in tourism as well. Since the late 1970s and 1980s, the area has seen exponential growth in foreign arrivals who are now prioritizing Java as part, or even the main focus, of their journey to Indonesia.

Therefore, the main focus of this chapter will be on the history of tourism, as well as on tourism and cultural policy in Bali and Indonesia as a whole. chapter four will then close with an analysis of tourism growth in Java and Central Java more specifically. This brief focus on the history and policy of the islands is necessary to understand the process of adaptation and commercialization of Javanese *wayang kulit* puppets since, as Eric Cohen describes, “commercialization is not a single process.” Cohen continues by explaining that there exists a variety of processes which affect commercialization and crafts, including economic, religious, cultural, and political factors. What is more, these factors all differ significantly in their economic and cultural consequences. According to Cohen, these processes are “complex and neither isolated nor uniform” (Cohen 161-162). Therefore, to fully grasp this process in terms of Central Java and the assortment of elements affecting *wayang kulit* puppets there is a necessity to comprehend where these elements came from and how they formed.

4.2 TOURISM AND POLICY IN INDONESIA

COLONIALISM AND THE BEGINNINGS OF BALINESE TOURISM

While the initial focus of the Dutch Tourism Bureau, as mentioned above, was intended to be on Central Java, it quickly shifted to the island of Bali. Due to Bali becoming of such importance to the tourism industry in Indonesia, a great deal of Indonesian policy has been shaped by how it would affect the island. The beginnings of tourism in Bali can be traced to the introduction of and eventual conquest by the Dutch. By the time the conquest ended, between

1906 and 1908, the overthrow had resulted in horrendous bloodbaths, with the Rajas of Bandung and Klungkung and their followers choosing brutal deaths over surrendering to the invaders, also known as *puputan*³¹ (Nordholt 1996: 160-168, 217; Picard 1990: 40-41). The dreadful events surrounding the conquest were seen as massively embarrassing for the Dutch (Picard 1990: 40-41). In reaction to this, or at least partially so, the Dutch developed the so-called “Ethical Policy” in 1908. This policy established a vision of upholding and preserving the Balinese culture in order that it might be presented to the world. Whether or not this “enlightened”³² colonial policy singularly succeeded in preserving the culture of Bali during this time is difficult to discern and hotly debated. This is especially true since the Dutch, at this point, had not yet firmly defined what “culture” entailed. To be clear the Dutch in this moment were attempting to define the word culture and not to define the Balinese. Regardless, this policy demonstrates an early understanding of the marketability of Bali and its culture to an outside world. In the same year they established their “Ethical Policy”, the Dutch government set up the Official Tourist Bureau with the express purpose to present and grow the idea of tourism in the Dutch East Indies.

Following this promotion of tourism in Bali, the number of visitors to the island grew exponentially. Among these visitors in the 1930s were several famous anthropologists and artists whose interest in and descriptions of Bali contributed to the “brilliant image of Balinese culture” the government hoped to present (Picard 1990: 40). This take-off of foreign tourism in the early 1900s sparked multiple debates and conferences on tourism, culture, and political policy in Bali and other parts of Indonesia.

Beginning in 1935 and through 1939 Indonesians were involved in debates regarding *Polemik Kebudayaan*, or the Polemics on Culture. This East/West debate, brought on by the growing influence of Western culture in the East, provided the spark for years of political discussion and policy in Indonesia. This conversation centered on those advocates calling for Indonesia’s “static” society to shift into a “dynamic” society. Presumably, this shift could be accomplished by adopting Western attitudes and practices into Indonesia’s traditionally eastern society (Picard 1990: 41-47; Holt 211). Those opposing this adoptive stance, like Sansui Pane, felt that the historical continuity of a society was far more important than adapting external

³¹ The term ‘*puputan*’ is a Balinese term for choosing to performing mass ritual suicide in preference to facing the humiliation of a surrender.

³² Quotation marks here are taken directly from Picard. The original text reads as the policy was in fact not that enlightened.

qualities into a culture. Claire Holt, in her 1967 book *Art in Indonesia*, described this conversation around *polemik kebudayaan* as the “great debate.” Quoting Pane, Holt states:

As for the potential influence of the West, “European culture flourishes on materialism, intellectualism, and individualism,” [Pane] said. “Its economy expands by developing industry, trade, and modern imperialism... Individualism breeds boundless competition in the economic sphere. In art, the goal is *art pour l’art*” ... “in the East...materialism, intellectualism, and individualism are not needed so much. Man is not forced to combat nature in trying to master it. He feels himself in unity with the world around him...” The highest attainment aspired to in India as well as in Indonesia...was mystic: “Man in unity with the universe denies his physical desires and purifies his spirit.” The West, stressing physical welfare, forgets the spirit... The East cherishes the spirit, forgetting the body, “it is like Ardjuna meditating on Mt. Indralika.” (212)

Pane asserts that, in his point of view, what composed culture was spiritual in nature and not an object that could be traded or have a monetary value arbitrarily placed on it. The benefits and detriments in this debate surrounding welcoming Western cultural practices would continue amongst Indonesians and the Dutch government through the late 1930s and would eventually set the stage for the first cultural Congress in Indonesia in 1948 (Kesimpulan-Kesimpulan 1950; Jones 2013: 79).

The landing of the Japanese military in 1942 and subsequent expansion of World War II onto Javanese soil “spared the Dutch” (Picard 2009: 41) from having to determine any solid definition of culture or establish a consistent tourism policy for Bali. Both the global economic effects of World War II and the physical invasion of Indonesia by the Japanese meant tourism came to a standstill for the remainder of the war. Following the conclusion of World War II, the Dutch resumed their development of culture and tourism policies for Indonesia. Early in 1945 the Dutch shifted the management of tourism from the Official Bureau of Tourism to what was then known as the Department of Education and Culture. After attaining their independence, the Republic of Indonesia retained this structure and tourism remained under the purview of this department until 1988.

Indonesia intensified its fight for independence from the start of 1945. Later that year, on August 17, 1945, the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence was read. This marked the beginnings of both political and armed rebellion against the Dutch for Indonesian independence on Java. Despite the clamor for independence, the debate on how to define culture and how

tourism or foreign influences affected culture persisted. In 1948 Indonesia held its first cultural congress. This congress focused on the definition of culture and how it tied into the East/West debate. It was decided in these proceedings that Indonesia's definition of culture would "include all aspects of humankind's life in society (both physical and spiritual). Not just art" (Kesimpulan-Kesimpulan; Jones 2013: 79). Independence was eventually declared in Indonesia on December 27, 1949 with Kusno Sosrodihardjo (Sukarno³³) and Mohammad Hatta becoming the nation's first president and vice president, respectively. Following this invigorating political transformation, attention to cultural policy and tourism increased drastically over the next several decades.

INDONESIAN TOURISM POLICIES POST-INDEPENDENCE

In 1950 and 1951, Indonesia held a cultural conference and a second cultural congress. The cultural conference of 1950 was organized by the newly formed *Lembaga Kebudayaan Indonesia* or the Institute of Indonesian Culture. The theme of this conference was "National Culture and its Relationship with the Cultures of Other Nations" (Jones 2013: 79). Stemming from this conference, the previous cultural congress of 1948, and growing concerns over the definition of culture, the issue of "institutional development" emerged. Shortly after, the second cultural congress held in 1952 focused on cultural policy, copyright, film censorship, literature, and art criticism. While it is not clear how this congress influenced the debate on whether or not culture is truly something that can be bought and sold, this conference did encourage a progression in the discussion on how to manage the growth of the production of cultural goods (material or immaterial) for sale, especially to foreign peoples.

A third cultural congress was then held in 1954. Ted Jones notes in his book *Culture, Power, and Authoritarianism in the Indonesian State* that this congress, in contrast to the first and second congresses, "promoted increasing state intervention, control and leadership" (83). The idea of intervention into culture and art would continue throughout Sukarno's tenure as president. This approach, part of a larger concept known as "Guided Democracy", would carry over into the New Order regime as well. As doctoral candidate, Katherine Bruhn, pointed out in

³³ Sukarno, the nickname of Kusno Sosrodihardjo, is sometimes also notated using the Dutch spelling: Soekarno.

her presentation at the Remapping the Arts, Heritage and Cultural Production conference at the National University Singapore, one might think that this could have cultivated an environment that motivated the growth of creativity and a creative economy in Indonesia. Particularly when you consider government mandates being implemented that state that “the government shall advance Indonesian culture” (UUD 1945, Clause 32). However, this period of Indonesian history led to the exact opposite with the production of culture and art being heavily controlled by the government. These policies limited creativity in artistic communities in Indonesia by heavily limiting creativity and expression (2017). Furthermore, the use of culture, stemming all the way back to the Dutch in 1908, as a means to control, mold, and bolster tourism and the economy greatly strengthened during this period. The government continued to focus on growing tourism on Bali specifically. One major government initiative, the construction of Ngurah Rai International Airport, significantly increased the number of foreign tourists in the 1960s. During this period Sukarno also named Bali as his favorite retreat and often used Bali as a “showplace” for state visitors during his time as president (Picard 2009: 41).

However, the 1950s and 1960s also saw monumental shifts in how the arts were funded in Indonesia and caused ripple effects in artistic communities that would be felt even into the new millennium. The struggle for independence followed by political unrest and economic hardships generated a critical time for the classical arts in Indonesia. This was particularly true for those areas of Indonesia where the arts had strongly been funded by royal courts and the noble elite (Picard 2009: 46).

As discussed in chapter two, *wayang kulit* was traditionally funded by individuals sponsoring an event or through the royal court systems, with the court systems being the greater influence, both artistically and financially. Indonesian independence caused a shift in power from the regional royal court systems to a centralized Indonesian government, located in Jakarta. This caused a particular dilemma for *wayang kulit* in Central Java, as the court systems no longer had the same ability to financially support the arts as they once had prior to the Colonial period. At the same time, growing tourism in the 1960s provided a rotating audience of both foreign and domestic tourists willing to pay to see *wayang kulit* performances and own puppets. A constant influx of new audiences, as Picard notes, “undeniably provoked a stimulation of the performing arts” (2009: 46) and would eventually cause a departure for many *wayang kulit* artists from how they previously funded their livelihoods. Due to this economic shift both *dalang* and *penatah*

began to reevaluate how, when, and perhaps even why they were creating *wayang kulit*. From tourist demand eventually came the supply of tourist performances, puppet displays in hotels, and the production of “tourist puppets”, as seen in chapter three. The shift to a centralized national government in Jakarta was also accompanied by further development of tourism through the official establishment of a “national culture.” This selection of cultural items or practices that represented the “national culture” was and still remains problematic for Indonesia, a nation made up of many islands with individually distinctive cultures. In contrast to the royal court systems who were careful to maintain, cultivate, and elaborate on their own distinctive styles, the Indonesian government was deliberately centralizing, normalizing, and standardizing the performing arts for use as a marketing tool (Picard 2009: 47).

Indonesia’s second president, Army General Hajji Muhammad Suharto³⁴, known colloquially as Suharto, was elected in 1967. Once in office President Suharto and his New Order Regime further promoted opening Indonesia to the West. A primary example of this effort is shown in the implementation of his Five Year Development Plan (1969/1974). Part of this plan called for a promotion of international tourism, largely to help address the pressing issue of the national debt (Picard 2009: 41). International tourism was seen as one of the best ways for the government to address the deficit. Bali, thanks to its previously discussed international renown, was chosen as the key element of the development plan.

A major player in the evolution of government-mandated tourism and cultural policies in the 1970s and early 1980s was Lieutenant-General Ali Moertopo, whose text *Strategi Kebudayaan*, or *Cultural Strategies*, lays out a particular argument related to the goals of cultural development. Greg Acciaoli summarizes Moertopo’s book as:

a full-blown theory of cultural evolution, which situates the ‘developmentalism’ of the New order Indonesian state [...] as the teleological realization of a process of cultural evolution that has characterized Indonesian society from its archaic beginnings. (2001: 8)

Tod Jones further describes that Moertopo believed Indonesians at this time were not yet adequately developed in economic, technology, and information issues (2013: 122). Moertopo

³⁴ Suharto is also often noted using the Dutch alternative spelling, Soeharto. Suharto can also be seen listed in documents as H. Muhammad Suharto, Hajji Suharto, Muhammad Suharto, and just Suharto.

wanted these elements to be the focus of an ‘acculturation,’ or cultural borrowing, and a process that would raise Indonesians to the level of ‘humanity’ required by the international climate. Moertopo made development in these areas the primary goal of cultural development. In other words, Moertopo was calling for the creation of idealized modern subjects who could contribute economically to Indonesian society. The state’s economic priorities overrode all other possible elements, such as cultural identity or traditional knowledge and lifestyles (Jones 2013: 122 – 123). The central thrust of *Strategi Kebudayaan* was to plan the future changes in Indonesian culture so as to build human capacity and national strength.

Moertopo’s understanding of culture was linked to the aforementioned views on the evolutionary development of humanity and greatly affected his beliefs and policies for the New Order government. He defined culture firstly as a form of ‘strength’ which he later defined as ‘human resources potentials’ and finally as the process of ‘humanization’ (2013: 122). For him, culture was shaped by human agency in conjunction with outside influences. A key element of *Strategi Kebudayaan* was the identification of cultural deficiencies in Indonesia’s cultural evolution. As quoted in Jones, Moertopo argued:

The New Order must be capable of finishing the huge task that faces it, that is to make Indonesia into a stable subject, a strong subject, by the standards of world development. The New Order must be able to execute cultural tasks that are very important, executing cultural borrowing (acculturation) in the passage of world history both now and in the future. This is the cultural nucleus that we must formulate now. This includes thoughts and planning connected to scientific and technological progress, economic development, the development of social systems [. . .] progress in language and the arts and development connected with religion. (2013: 122)

According to Moertopo, the New Order regime needed to ‘save the historical process’ of national evolution by directing culture towards his priorities of development (Jones 2013: 123). William R. Liddle argues that the modernizing intellectuals in Indonesia, including Moertopo, adopted this ideology of development that had, at its heart, “a sharp distinction between traditional and modern societies” while praising the modern and condemning the traditional (1973: 181). Moertopo, using this hierarchy between modern and traditional, legitimized an authoritarian approach to culture. He advocated for a process of ‘enculturation’ by national leaders that would protect selected elements of Indonesian culture. Moertopo insisted that culture, including theatre

and crafts, could be used as an ideological tool which the government could wield when it proved economically beneficial; even if the economic possibilities remained ambiguous at the time (Jones 1977: 124).

Bali continued its own development of tourism policy during this period. As noted above, with the construction of Bali's own international airport, tourism continued to thrive through the 1960s, and by the 1970s, arrivals reached upwards of 30,000 foreign tourists a year (Picard 1990: 40). In 1971 Bali held another seminar on culture, named the "Seminar on Cultural Tourism in Bali". Through this event, the island adopted a policy of *Pariwisata Budaya*, or Cultural Tourism (Picard 1990: 41-42). The primary focus of this seminar was to review which elements of tourism were seen as harmful and those elements that were perceived to be beneficial. Influencing this debate was the fact that Bali's unique culture itself was drawing large numbers of foreign tourists and their wallets. However, this was also seen as a direct threat to their culture through exposure or "cultural pollution" (Picard 42). What the members of this seminar feared the most was that growing tourism would lead to Bali becoming a "touristic culture" or a culture that blurred the lines between the values of culture and tourism. The "Cultural Tourism Policy" developed at this seminar was seen as, minimally, a step towards fixing this dilemma (Picard 1990: 42). This policy focused on marking the distinctions between "cultural expressions and performances designed for outsiders" compared to those "designed for the [Balinese] themselves" (Bruner 1986: 44).

When Michel Picard wrote his article "Cultural Tourism in Bali: Cultural Performances as Tourist Attraction" in 1990 he noted that Balinese authorities at the time believed the Cultural Tourism Policy had been successful. Tourist money had not only supported Balinese artists but had even revived Balinese interests in their own traditions and stimulated Balinese artistic creativity (1990: 47, 50, 71). One such example of this is seen in the creation of specific Balinese dances, *sendratari*. Although these dances were originally created for non-Balinese audiences and eventually reached official recognition as a Balinese dramatic genre. In 1984, the director of the Academy of Dance in Bali presented a paper at the "Seminar on the Contribution of Balinese Cultural Values to the Development of the National Culture" in Denpasar advocating for continued use of *sendratari* across Bali as this genre was the most qualified to "insure the conservation of Balinese cultural values" (Picard 1990: 72-73). The "Cultural Tourism Policy" would have a direct effect on Balinese policies going into the 1980s and beyond. This was a

policy change that did not reject tourism but chose to work within tourism structures would prove useful as tourism climbed from 30,000 foreign guests annually in the late 1960s to a staggering 600,000 by the end of the 1980s (Picard 1990: 41).

Lieutenant-General Moertopo was eventually excluded from power in 1983. This move was part of a Suharto “clean-out” that was suspected to be an attempt to squash rivalries between political elites within the regime (Pangaribuan 1995; Jones 2013). While this meant Moertopo was no longer directly involved in policy making. His views on modernization, development, and of culture as a developmental tool still played an important part in forming government policy into the new millennium (Jones 2013). This would prove particularly true of Moertopo’s policies and preferences on moving towards a “modern” and “professional” society. Moertopo’s main goal in “fixing” Indonesia was a focus on directing culture towards the priorities of development. Aspirations in metropolitan and eventually rural Indonesia shifted from blue to white collar work, and even extended to include women’s roles in Indonesian society. In Indonesian advertisement, the image of femininity shifted from the mother working at home to a business woman with a phone to her ear in the late 1980s and 1990s (Hughes-Freeland: 218).

One can imagine that when these modern development plans and professionalism ideologies eventually reached those in Central Javanese rural communities things became rather problematic. Individuals living in rural Javanese communities did not necessarily have an “occupation” but rather maintained a set of complex, often occasional, occupational roles (Jay 1969; Hughes-Freeland 218). According to the members of Imogiri and Wonogiri I interviewed, these roles might include that of a farmer, harvester, builder, teacher, market seller, etc. Members of the community took part in the multitude of roles that kept the village running and their families sustained (Sutarno). When examining the roles of Indonesian artists in terms of professionalism and Indonesia’s drive towards industrial, scientific, and modern development multiple incongruities can be found. As Felicia Hughes-Freeland describes in her article *Performers and Professionalization in Java: Between Leisure and Livelihood*, there exists a “fundamental conflict between the ethos of professionalism and the artist, because professionalism is linked to commercial activities that are given a use value” (220). This is particularly true in the instance of Indonesia, where a centralized government now desires to control, mold, and define its idealized versions of court traditions, and prescribe what is considered art (Hughes-Freeland; Jones 2013). More will be discussed about this particular issue

in the breakdown of business typologies presented in chapter five.

The Indonesian government continued enforcing the culture and tourism policies put in place in the 1970s and 1980s until the resignation of President Suharto in May of 1998. Significant political upheaval followed Suharto's resignation with the buildup to the *reformasi* (reform or period of reforms) period and the national economic crisis that followed. Substantial inflation coupled with dwindling tourism numbers due to fear of political uncertainty in the country created a difficult situation for many Indonesians and artists in particular (Hughes-Freeland 225). This time period was particularly challenging for those artists who created and performed traditional arts, such as court dances and *wayang kulit*. As previously mentioned, following the loss of the majority of court funding once Indonesia won its independence, court artists eventually found funding in the private sector and through tourism. In the wake of Suharto, the political upheaval and economic crisis threatened their new-found patronage in the private sector due to considerable inflation, making it difficult for patrons to be able to afford artistic services. Funds available via tourism also suffered as international arrivals dropped due to fear, and domestic tourism waned in the face of the rising cost of travel due to inflation (Hughes-Freeland 230). The Bali bombings in the early 2000s would have a similar effect on artists and tourist-driven industries. This, along with the potential shortcomings of relying on the financial stability of tourism-based industries and artists, will be discussed in further detail later in the chapter.

INDONESIAN TOURISM POLICIES IN THE NEW MILLENIUM

Two seemingly insignificant culture and tourism policy changes occurred at the beginning of the *reformasi* period, consisting of several departmental reassignments of responsibility for tourism and culture within the government. In 1999, following the fall of the New Order Regime, the Ministry of Tourism, Art, and Culture was formed. This shifted the responsibility of both tourism and creative elements of the economy away from the Ministry of Education and Culture which had been overseeing these elements during the New Order era. Shortly after, in 2001, the department shifted yet again to become the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and fell back under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education (Jones 2013). While it has proven difficult to ascertain from government documents the reasoning as to why these

particular shifts occurred, they seem to indicate a somewhat incongruent and inconsistent application of the terms “culture” and “tourism” within the government and its central bodies. The moves also created confusion amongst the various government offices as to what would be the best approach to control and govern both culture and tourism. However, unchanged throughout this period was the understanding of culture as a tool and commodity that could be used to “sell” Indonesia to further grow international tourism and the economy.

This concept was further defined in 2009 when Susilo Bambang Yodhoyono, then president, issued the “Presidential Instruction 6/2009”. His declaration called for the creation of programs that would foster a “creative economy” in Indonesia. By 2011, the purview of tourism and the new creative economy would once more be shifted away from the Ministry of Education and be subsumed by the new *Kementerian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif* (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy), known colloquially as PAREKRAF (Global Business Guide). Significantly, culture was once again paired with tourism under a single ministry until 2014 and continued to be used as a commodity that could be molded and sold to the outside world.

Finally, the most recent juridical shift over culture and tourism occurred in 2014 with the election of President Joko Widodo, known in Indonesia as “Jokowi.” The new government formed under President Jokowi split the responsibility of tourism and creativity into two separate organizations. Tourism to be governed by the Ministry of Tourism and creativity by the new *Badan Ekonomi Kreatif (BEKRAF)*, or the Agency for Creative Economy. This latest shift highlights yet again what has been discussed throughout this chapter, a pervasive confusion and continual reevaluation across each of the governing parties concerning why and how culture should be commodified and sold. Despite the growth in tourism numbers, the persistent transfer of authority regarding culture and tourism as well as the ongoing conversation about how to define culture (or creativity) points to prolonged bureaucratic disorganization that has led to uncertainty in the understanding of development, professionalism, cultural, and tourism policies up to the election of President Jokowi.

4.3 THE RISE OF CENTRAL JAVANESE TOURISM

Since Indonesia first began to actively encourage international travelers beginning with

the first Five Year Plan, and thanks to their sustained focus on economic growth through tourism development, tourism in the country has grown tremendously. The number of foreign visitors to Indonesia grew from the hundreds of thousands in 1975 to over 9.5 million in 2014, the year field research for this dissertation began. See Table 4-1 below for a closer look at how tourism grew between 1975 and 2016.

Table 4-1. Tourism Growth in Indonesia

| Year | Number of Foreign Visitors ^a | Percentage Growth |
|------|---|-------------------|
| 1970 | 313,452 | - |
| 1975 | 366,293 | 16.86% |
| 1980 | 561,178 | 53.205% |
| 1985 | 749,351 | 33.53% |
| 1990 | 2,177,566 | 190.59% |
| 1995 | 4,324,472 | 98.59% |
| 2000 | 5,064,217 | 17.11% |
| 2001 | 5,153,620 | 1.77% |
| 2002 | 5,033,400 | -2.33% |
| 2003 | 4,467,021 | -11.25% |
| 2004 | 5,321,165 | 19.12% |
| 2005 | 5,002,101 | -6.00% |
| 2006 | 4,871,351 | -2.61% |
| 2007 | 5,505,759 | 13.02% |
| 2008 | 6,234,497 | 13.24% |
| 2009 | 6,323,730 | 1.43% |
| 2010 | 7,002,944 | 10.74% |
| 2011 | 7,649,731 | 9.24% |
| 2012 | 8,044,462 | 5.16% |
| 2013 | 8,802,129 | 9.42% |
| 2014 | 9,435,411 | 7.20% |
| 2015 | 9,487,745 | 0.56% |
| 2016 | 10,570,287 | 11.41% |

^a Statistics taken from Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) 2016; Laporan Perkonemian 2015; Laporan Perkonemian 2016.

Government policy on tourism and culture, tied with the popularity and world renown of Bali as a “paradise” helped bring more international tourists to Indonesia post-1970. Although certain policies and projects have, undoubtedly, played a major role in the overall growth seen in Java, what has directly brought growing numbers of tourists to Central Java in the same period is

disputed. While the majority of years in Table 4-1 above show steady increase in tourism arrival numbers there are several outliers where tourism either dropped or grew significantly. Regions that experienced a fall in arrival numbers may have done so due to hindrances by government policies, or by events outside the realm of government control. A particular example of the latter scenario occurred in 2005 following the devastating Bali Bombing of 2004. These particular events which caused a decline in tourism are discussed in great detail in chapter five as they had direct and immediate effect on *wayang kulit* businesses.

One of the largest cultural projects to take place in Central Java since Indonesian independence was the International Campaign to Safeguard the Borobudur Temple. This project would eventually prove to greatly increase the world view of Central Java as a tourism destination. While work on Borobudur had begun originally with a Commission of Antiquities (Oudheidkundige Commissie) in 1901, and a small portion restored between 1907 and 1911 (Jones 2013: 45), UNESCO did not step in to assist until 1967. The archeological portion of the project to safeguard the temple began in late 1970 and continued until 1983 (Jones 2013; UNESCO 1985). Reconstruction and conservation work on the temple were important for several reasons. First, it set a precedent for future World Heritage sites³⁵ in Indonesia and facilitated the beginnings of a strong relationship with UNESCO. At the time survey work began in the 1960s, UNESCO identified that urgent repairs were required to prevent Borobudur from completely collapsing. Structural work commenced in 1972 and the project was completed in 1983 (Jones 2013: 163-164). Besides providing a precedent for future national archaeological programs in Indonesia, the Borobudur project also reinforced the importance of Javanese heritage with the New Order regime and Indonesian cultural policy (Jones 2013: 162; UNESCO). This project unquestionably drew the focus of tourism and cultural policy to Central Java. Such a large undertaking—both physically and financially—required not only substantial support from UNESCO but also the continuous attention of the central government in Jakarta (Jones 2013). Borobudur's designation as a World Heritage site put Central Java on the map as a worthy tourist destination in Indonesia. Even at the time of my field research in 2014, one could step into any large hotel or backpacker's venue and book one of many trips to both Borobudur and Prambanan temples. Numerous tourism agencies, separate from hotels or hostels, also run half-day or full day trips to one or both temples. These historically significant temples could also

³⁵ Indonesia currently has eight UNESCO World Heritage sites (UNESCO).

be seen in several of the “Visit Indonesia” campaign commercials that played around the world. Such commercials, run by the Wonderful Indonesia campaign, began in 2011 and the Wonderful Indonesia campaign continued into 2016 and 2017 (indonesia.travel). These monuments were highlighted in physical marketing in hotels, hostels, airports, and tourist locales across the country in 2010, during my first visit to the country, and were still hugely prominent throughout the entirety of the research performed for this dissertation.

Further development of Indonesian tourism policy included the designation of several UNESCO World Heritage sites in Central Java; promotion of the royal courts in the region; and the fostering of traditional arts, crafts, and performances, all of which resulted in continued growth of tourism between 1970 and 2016. Even though, historical statistics of foreign visitors to the regions of Central Java and DIY are harder to trace than those of foreign visitors to traveling to Indonesia as a whole. Considering the number of ports and means of travel across the country (car, motorbike, train, domestic flights, etc.), it is particularly difficult to discern how many visitors were traveling into Central Java and DIY, or how long tourists stayed in each locale. Beginning in 2010 sample data have been taken regularly for both regions, but as of yet few historical statistics are found. Specific statistics for foreign travelers to both DIY and Central Java have not been consistently recorded in the same way statistics for foreign visitors to Indonesia as a whole have been recorded. For this reason, this study focuses on tourism statistics for Central Java as a whole with the understanding that the available statistics cannot perfectly reflect individual tourism in Yogyakarta city, Surakarta, and their municipalities. However, overall growth and tourism patterns can still be gleamed by the data each region.

According to Hill and Mubyarto, between 1970 and 1975 international tourism in Indonesia as a whole jumped from 313,452 to 366,293 visitors. In that same period, the District of Yogyakarta saw international visitors increase from an estimated 65,800 to 128,200. However, no further substantiated and regular statistics for DIY and the region of Central Java could be found until the 2000s. See Table 4-2, below, for an overview of the tourism statistics³⁶ available from the regional offices from each district.

³⁶ Statistic for Indonesia taken from: Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) 2016; Laporan Perekonomian Indonesia 2005; Laporan Perekonomian Indonesia 2015; Laporan Perekonomian Indonesia 2016. Statistics for DIY and Central Java taken from: Badan Pusat Statistik (PBS); Deparpostel; Dinas Pariwisata Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta; The World Bank 2015; and Hill and Mubyarto 1978.

Table 4-2. Number of foreign visitors to Indonesia, DIY, and Central Java

| Year | Number of Foreign Visitors to Indonesia | Number of Foreign Visitors to DIY | Number of Foreign Visitors to Central Java |
|-------------|--|--|---|
| 2005 | 5,002,101 | 103,488 | 74,700 |
| 2010 | 7,022,944 | 152,843 | 55,900 |
| 2014 | 9,435,411 | 254,213 | 419,584 |
| 2015 | 9,729,350 | 308,485 | 375,166 |
| 2016 | 10,570,287 | 355,313 | 578,924 |

What has been recorded in official regional documents in a more regular fashion is the growth in the number of hotels and room-occupancy rates in both regions. While we cannot know precisely how many rooms were occupied by foreign guests versus domestic travelers, we can at least examine the strength of tourism. Both Yogyakarta and Surakarta have seen significant growth in the number of hotels being built in the new millennium. Yogyakarta has seen several large resort-style hotels built since the 1970s, as well as a particularly accelerated boom in hotel construction between 2014 and 2016 (Badan Pusat Statistik; Dinas Pariwisata Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta). Despite the growing number of hotels in each city, the room-occupancy rate has remained stable or even increased from year to year since 2000. See the table below for further statistics.

Table 4-3. Hotel Room-Occupancy Rates (ROR) by District^b

| Year | Central Java | DIY |
|------|--------------|--------|
| 2000 | 42.82% | 39.47% |
| 2001 | 40.57% | 40.00% |
| 2002 | 40.94% | 40.61% |
| 2003 | 47.99% | 40.52% |
| 2004 | 46.89% | 40.38% |
| 2005 | 43.16% | 39.20% |
| 2006 | 43.47% | 36.92% |
| 2007 | 45.55% | 37.60% |
| 2008 | 50.07% | 37.79% |
| 2009 | 49.94% | 39.71% |
| 2010 | 47.03% | 41.01% |
| 2011 | 50.86% | 44.22% |
| 2012 | 55.45% | 55.45% |
| 2013 | 56.48% | 56.48% |
| 2014 | 54.96% | 57.38% |
| 2015 | 46.13% | 59.38% |
| 2016 | 44.38% | 56.04% |

^b Badan Pusat Statistik; Deparpstel; Dinas Pariwisata Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta; Laporan Perekonomian Indonesia 2005; Laporan Perekonomian Indonesia 2015; Laporan Perekonomian Indonesia 2016.

From the tables and information presented above we can understand the Central Javanese perspective that tourism and the tourism industry are indeed growing and show potential to continue to grow in the future. Although the exact numbers of tourists cannot be discerned from room occupancy rates shown above, what can be seen is a steady growth in tourism in Central Java, particularly in DIY. If tourism was not growing or even stayed relatively the same, as more rooms were built in the regions occupancy rates would decline. This growth and the potential for further growth in tourism, coupled with the government's push for economic development and

professionalization which shifted artistic funding primarily to the private sector, has led many *wayang kulit* carvers to reconsider their place in the economy and the arts. Some *penatah* have chosen to leave the arts all together. Those that remain in the trade of *wayang kulit* creation, or have recently completed their training, must now evaluate how, why, and for whom they create puppets.

4.4 CRAFTSMANSHIP, TOURISM, AND BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES IN CENTRAL JAVA

Considering that Indonesia experienced a relatively consistent³⁷ increase in foreign arrivals year after year between 1970 and 2016, it is no wonder that many traditional artists began to see tourism as a major business opportunity to augment their income. The ruling governments of the country have regularly stated that tourism and culture are important economic tools in one form or another since 1908, and advocating for tourism growth has consistently been seen as a means of economic advancement. Traditional artists across Central Java have begun investigating the ability of tourism and its subsequent industries to fund their artistic endeavors, particularly after independence when funding for the arts shifted away from being predominately provided by the courts. Since then artists have sought patronage through state ceremonial events, educational displays, individual sponsored events and performances designed for corporate events. Small numbers of *wayang kulit* artists also found patronage outside of state- and tourism-sponsored events through continued patronage with wealthy patrons. However, the tourist industry has proved the most promising avenue for traditional artists seeking greater funding possibilities through commercials, hotel shows, and dinner and short shows designed for domestic and foreign tourists (Hughes-Freeland 1989: 219). The appeal of the tourism industry is especially relevant for artists in Central Java given the increasing numbers of visitors flocking to historical sites and the frequency of tourism-related events post-1970.

³⁷ Tourism in the country has seen a positive growth in tourism each year since 1970 with the exception of the years directly following *reformasi* and following the Bali bombings in the early 2000s.

This could be viewed as the beginnings of what Bourdieu described as the hardening of the demarcation between artists and commercialization (Bourdieu 1993: 112-13). As early as the 1980s some artists began departing from creating entirely for their internal market (*dalang* and other *wayang kulit* artists) to creating for both the internal and an increasingly external market. The external market here can be defined as both foreign and domestic tourists/buyers who have no intention of using their puppets for their original purpose, a *wayang kulit* performance, but rather as gifts or for display. This group can further be defined as individuals who may not understand the intricacies, hundreds of years of history, and cultural meanings found within each individual puppet. Over time some *wayang kulit* artists began producing puppets purely for the external market. Producing for external buyers was seen as quicker and cheaper, generating a higher return than producing for purely the internal market or even producing for both internal and external. More on the shift in production models, business typologies for *wayang kulit penatah*, and the effects those models and typologies have had on the puppets themselves will be discussed in chapters five and six.

Tourism certainly presented itself as a bountiful opportunity for traditional artists to supplement funding for their arts. However, as Felicia Hughes-Freeland has discussed, the tourism industry often offers exaggerated expectations of financial security (1998). Tourism does provide a major form of patronage in Yogyakarta, with many hotels and aristocratic households producing classical dance or theatre events. It is worth noting, though, that these hotels rarely cast such events with professionally trained artists as a way to keep costs down. Generally, actors, dancers, and performers with less training are willing to work for lower compensation than those with more advanced degrees or classical training in the arts. By way of example, Hughes-Freeland discusses the *Ramayana* dance ballets being performed in Yogyakarta hotels. These larger hotels frequently present performances using dancers who, at best, may have completed secondary school. Whereas, by contrast, an individual aristocrat might only now and then call for or employ high-status troupes with classically trained dancers for an event. Due to this, what initially appeared to be a ripe opportunity in the tourist industry may not have necessarily lived up to that promise in every instance. In addition, precious little of the money paid by tourists for these performances goes to the performers themselves. In August 1999, the

normal earnings reported by performers holding Bachelors of Dance in the were in the range of Rp 2,500.- to Rp 12,000.- (\$0.20 to \$0.96). Less qualified dancers reported fees of Rp 2,000.- to Rp 3,000.- (\$0.16 to \$0.24) (220-221). Dancers also spoke of other financial issues in 1999, including the growing trend of middle-men, dominating the Yogyakarta dance scene, where they took up to sixty percent of a dancer's fee in some cases, leaving nearly nothing for the actual performers. Struggle to find work placement in the tourism industry, the presence of middle-men, and a lack of any wage protection system meant that artists resorted to undercutting each other for work in this period. As mentioned, in the 1980s and 1990s there were no professional artists' associations and no minimum wage to protect traditional artists, making tourism an alluring but challenging business to be in (Hughes-Freeland 1998: 221). Regardless, possibilities still existed and tourist patronage continued to be sought after. Especially in those circles of artists who were creating physical forms of art that could be sold as souvenirs to the visiting tourists.

Individual artists in Central Java began to find that tourism was drastically changing how their arts were funded and, furthermore, had also begun to shape how their arts were performed. This is not a phenomenon unique to Central Java, nor even to Indonesia. Researchers have been studying the effects of tourism on traditional or ethnic crafts for decades. Scholars such as Eric Cohen, Kristen Swanson, Dallen Timothy, Jenny Cave, and others have specifically been examining how tourism changes traditional crafts as the manufactured items become souvenirs. Their observations indicate that with exposure to the outside world, including foreign tourists, artists began to change their crafts from utilitarian items to tourist art, or art based on the tourists' expectations of what souvenirs should be. In this process, the forms, meanings, symbolisms and even functions of the items changed as well. This has resulted in what critics refer to as 'tourist art', 'airport art', or 'kitsch' (Cohen 1989; Graburn 1976; 1984; Tedman 2010; Timothy and Swanson 2012). Inevitably, following the changes in the physicality of the crafts, the historical knowledge and expertise needed to fashion them in their authentic form begins to disappear. Due to the loss of importance placed on traditional knowledge as being necessary to produce these objects, crafts then begin to be made by people unskilled in traditional craft techniques and who have little to no understanding of the object's history and underlying meanings. Similarly, those

making the souvenirs had no real connection to the historical or cultural elements portrayed in the objects. For many of these emerging craftsmen producing souvenirs was viewed as an opportunity, just a job and not a way of life. Lastly, authenticity was almost always questionable in these commercialized crafts. Aside from the lack of training, non-local materials were often introduced, along with modern techniques and tools. Adoption of these new elements was partially necessary to speed the crafting process along so more crafts could be produced in a shorter period, resulting in higher income per hour worked. Eric Cohen also notes that since, as mentioned above, a basic separation exists between the tastes of the internal market and that of the growing external market, craftspeople begin to search for new materials, colors, sizes, designs and functions of the craft products to attract customers by making theirs stand out amongst other crafts. For these reasons commercialization often lends itself to traditional details being ignored or the use of embellishments that would have never appeared in the original craft (Cohen 1989, 1999; Timothy and Swanson 2012). As the income generated from these new products increases, their cultural significance for both the artists and their community can gradually decline (Cohen 2013: 165). Ultimately, from what Dallen Timothy and Kristen Swanson have observed, these new crafts can falsely assume the mantle of being a genuine representation of the traditional culture of an area. These changes put forth in the new “traditional crafts” can then skew tourists’ perceptions of the locale and its culture in “ways that are inaccurate and stereotypical” (495).

Similar observations have been made about how tourism has affected changes in traditional dance performances in Indonesia. As discussed previously, Felicia Hughes-Freeland perceived that larger hotels saw both the lucrative potential of tourist performances and the cost-effectiveness of hiring dancers with less training for their abbreviated, touristic dance performances. Also, when describing the traditional dance performances of *bedhaya*, Hughes-Freeland noted that the once lengthy performances have been shortened over time. *Bedhaya* performances were reduced to just sixty-five minutes, a mere portion of their original length, for tourist performances in 1994. The dances were once again scaled back, in early 1999, to just thirty minutes long (227). Modern, abbreviated performances even began to replace traditional dances at some royal court events in the 1990s. As an example, in 1996 the Sultan of Yogyakarta

replaced the traditional dances of *wayang wong* and *bedhaya*, that were normally given for his birthday celebration, with newer and more modern *sendratari* dances. In part, this was most likely done thanks to the sultan's well-known desire for his court to become not only a center of national culture but of international repute and interest as well. Thanks to this desire the sultan began to diversify and sponsor different forms of art and theatre outside of the traditional genres for various court events, including his birthday celebration.

Many of the consequences of modernization and tourism described above have also affected *wayang kulit purwa* puppets. The results of these influences, both beneficial and harmful, can be seen with greater clarity when *wayang kulit* makers and businesses are divided into specific typologies, especially since not all consequences are, or have the potential to, affect *wayang kulit* makers in the same manner, particularly in the division between urban and more rural *wayang penatah*.

4-1 *Wayang kulit* inspired souvenirs



4.5 CHAPTER OVERVIEW

In this chapter, the complexities of Indonesian policy in regard to culture and tourism and the beginnings of tourism and the growth of the tourism market were shown and discussed. This was necessary in order to understand how tourism has affected the *wayang kulit* market and why tourism and souvenir creation is such a draw for contemporary *wayang kulit penatah*. It is also necessary to understand *wayang kulit*'s past and present relationship with tourism and the souvenir market in order to theorize about the future creation of *wayang kulit* puppets and the future of the performance form, which will be discussed in the following chapter. *Wayang kulit* puppet's relation to tourism and its future will be discussed and analyzed through the introduction of divisions of both *wayang kulit* puppet businesses as well as divisions of the puppets themselves.

CHAPTER FIVE

WAYANG KULIT COMMERCIALIZATION AND TYPOLOGIES

*In Javanese wisdom, it is called
'welas tanpa alis,' it means 'I have a will but
I have no way. The financial crisis made me
lose a lot of workers and to find new ones is
very difficult. But, what can I do? Wayang is
refreshing for me. So, I take it not as
difficulties but as challenge...
I have to survive.*

- Pak Sagio, 11 July 2014³⁸

5.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE DIVISION BETWEEN DALANG AND PENATAH

It is noted in the majority of, if not all, *wayang kulit* histories that *dalang* carved their own puppets for performance. This was not entirely the case during my research in Indonesia between 2010 and 2015 and continues into 2018. In the 21st century, many *dalang* no longer have the time or the desire to craft their own puppets; *dalang* who are just beginning their professional careers often no longer have the skill sets needed. What is more, almost none of the craftsmen interviewed for this work also performed *wayang kulit*. A few of them were trained in and capable of performing *wayang kulit* but have chosen not to. An example of this is Pak Suyoto, who stopped performing when he realized that he was able to make just as much if not more money by just preparing leather and occasionally crafting puppets (18 Jul 2014, 5 Aug 2017). For those *dalang* who do not have the time or skill to craft can outsource to craftsmen like

³⁸ Personal interview with Pak Sagio, in his home. Translated by myself and Agnes Pranugrahaning.

Pak Sagio. Pak Sagio, also located in the Yogyakarta area, crafts puppets for a variety of *dalang* from all over Java, including Jakarta, Surakarta, and Yogyakarta. At the time of this dissertation research a whole new generation of carvers were also being taught to carve but not perform in both larger metropolises and in the surrounding rural communities as well. Pak Sagio's carving school is an example of this. He notes specifically that he teaches his students to carve but not perform (11 Jul 2014).

There is no known time period when a divide formed between *dalang* who both carved and performed versus *penatah* who solely focused their energies on carving. What has been discerned from this research is that by at least the 1970s and 80s there were several established and growing communities of *wayang kulit* craftsmen in the areas of this research: Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Wonogiri, and Bantul (Sagio; Sukarno; Kawi; Suyono; Waluyo). These communities are not limited to the four areas mentioned here. Both larger and smaller communities of *wayang* craftsmen have also been noted in other areas in Central Java. However, those areas will not be discussed in this work due to the limitations this research. It is possible that there has always existed a division between craftsmen who do not perform and those who do. *Abdi dalem*, those who work in the court, and *penatah* from both Yogyakarta and Surakarta courts remember and note the use of pure *penatah* (those who only carve and do not perform) within the *kraton* dating back several generations (Murjilah; Suyoto; Sihhanto; Wicoro). However, there is no existing historical documentation of *penatah* working outside of the courts before the 1920s, and what is taken from material around the 1920s is merely conjecture. The idea of *penatah* outside of the courts is taken from Sukir's 1920s manuscript. It is understood by R.L. Mellema that this treatise was meant as a kind of guide book for *penatah* in the area as the tone of the work appears to be written with other craftsmen, besides Sukir himself, in mind. The intended audience can be deduced through the tone of Sukir's writing because *penatah* within the court system would have had training and resources available to them and would not necessarily need this treatise and from the fact that it was published and distributed across Java and not purely within the courts.

Lacking an abundance of historical documentation notating a separation between *dalang* and *penatah* it is currently impossible to know the exact details behind the transition. It is worth noting that the lack of documentation could, in part, be due to the fact that scholarly research in the past has predominately focused on *dalang* rather than on *penatah*. The majority of *wayang kulit* scholarship in English, as noted in chapter one, focused heavily on *dalang* and performance.

These works note that *dalang* traditionally made their own puppets and that their knowledge would be passed down to the following generations. Therefore, it was presumed, or at least presented as if carving skills were intrinsically linked with the knowledge and skill sets needed to also perform with these puppets. This is not meant to suggest a lack of interest by previous scholars in singular *penatah*, but rather that they fell outside of the scope of the majority of historical English language scholarship on *wayang kulit*. In addition, while the fields of material culture and cultural anthropology have covered the creation and social significance of Javanese batik, *kris*, bronze, and silver work in Javanese society they have yet to fully cover the creators and creation process of *wayang kulit* puppets. From this lack of scholarship, we can draw one of two conclusions: that there was little demand for research on *penatah* who were not also *dalang*, or that the growth of the *wayang kulit* community to include larger numbers of pure craftsmen is a relatively new phenomenon. I take the position in this dissertation that it is indeed the latter. Given that there is no written documentation on when certain members of the *wayang kulit* community began to focus primarily on puppet creation and not performance, I have relied heavily on trust in the oral histories of the craftsmen who participated in this study to draw this conclusion. Their remembrances indicate that the largest growth of *penatah* in Central Java began in the mid-twentieth century.

There are two key reasons for the increase of active pure *penatah* outside of the court systems across Central Java during the early twentieth century. The primary cause being shifting performance demands on and the growing status of Javanese *dalang*. As seen in the previous chapter, growing influence from the West introduced numerous western elements to Central Java during the twentieth century. Outside of the effects of government policy, one of the most notable elements within the entertainment world are Western forms of entertainment like radio, film, and television. Since the introduction of Western entertainment, it has been common for scholars to scrutinize the negative ramifications of both Western influences, and in turn globalization, on the arts in Indonesia. However, while the rise of radio, film, and television in Indonesia may have affected the arts overall or even influenced what is considered popular entertainment by your average Javanese citizen, it has not devastated *wayang kulit* in the ways some scholars might have suggested. Every week during the dry season you can find numerous performances of *wayang kulit* across Central Java. As a result, some *dalang* are now so busy they have stopped crafting their own puppets. *Wayang kulit* performances are still held in Central Java

for births, marriages, deaths, community celebrations, company openings, and other special occasions, as well as for general entertainment. Together with these traditional live performances, *wayang kulit* can also be found performed on various television channels and multiple radio stations that are dedicated to *wayang* and/or *gamelan* performances. Throughout my research period, it was not uncommon to get in a taxicab where the driver had *gamelan* music playing on the radio. Similar to other Southeast Asian societies, television, movies, and radio have undoubtedly had a measured effect on the overall popularity of traditional theatre in Indonesia. Although some scholars have argued that this is a negative influence on traditional theatre, modern media have also had some positive effects for *wayang* and especially for selected *dalang*.

Some *dalang* have embraced new or modern forms of entertainment and technology, using them in innovative and creative ways to attract audiences. This has been a particularly popular tactic when attempting to draw in the younger generations (Angst 2007: 240). The popularity of radio, television, and the internet have helped usher in what some Javanese call the “era of the star *dalang*.” A number of *dalang*, Ki Purbo Asmoro and Ki Manteb Soedharsono for example, have thousands of followers on each of their individual Facebook and YouTube accounts. These superstar *dalang* perform repeatedly on both radio and TV stations, maintain busy live performance schedules throughout the year, and retain large followings on various social media platforms and in person. Ki Purbo Asmoro posts his upcoming schedule on his website³⁹ every month so his fans and the general public can keep track of his future performances. During the high season, he is often scheduled for up to four performances a week. These performances are not restricted to Central Java either. A star *dalang* might perform in Jakarta one week and then in Surakarta the next. Adding to their already busy schedules, star *dalang* are also occasionally invited to perform internationally, both in Asian and Western countries (Sagio 11 Jul 2014), adding to their renown and star status upon their return to Indonesia. However, not every *dalang* reaches such celebrity status, and out of the hundreds training and performing across Indonesia only a select few ever achieve stardom. Over the past several decades the economics of becoming a *dalang* have shifted a great deal due to both modernization and changing tastes within the Javanese community. These same shifts have impacted the growth of the pure *penatah* community as well. Still, to understand how these

³⁹Pak Asmoro’s website: <http://www.purboasmoro.com/>

changes in *dalang* performance and popularity have affected the *penatah* community we must first look at the ‘star *dalang*’ phenomenon in more depth. In particular, how a *dalang* can reach star status.

I once overheard in a casual conversation about *dalang* in Indonesia a statement that roughly translates to “not all good *dalang* become famous, but all famous *dalang* must be good.” So, what makes a *wayang kulit dalang* “good?” This is a rather difficult question as “good” can be a rather abstruse concept on a large scale and an individual’s opinion of “good” can vary from audience member to audience member. Certain qualities of “good” can also change with the times. Regardless, there are a few general elements or qualities a *dalang* must always have in order to be considered “good” in Central Javanese society. First and foremost, a *dalang* must know the stories they will be asked to present. A solid understanding of the *wayang kulit* repertoire (*parama sastra*) is necessary to portray each story, but also as a means to understand the individual characters in the stories. A deep understanding of each individual character is needed in order to perform their precise movements and voices accordingly. A *dalang* must also be a skilled linguist in order to appropriately portray the various levels of characters. They need to be able to skillfully create prose in all thirteen levels of Javanese and in modern Indonesian to properly give voice to the variety of characters in a *wayang kulit* performance. A *dalang* must also be skilled in the vocal requirements (*antawacana*) and physical movements (*sabetan*) of each of the individual characters. Moreover, in order to cue a performance a *dalang* must be skilled in and knowledgeable of the musicality of a performance. A *dalang* must have a robust understanding of the *gamelan* and its workings in order to cue the musicians throughout the performance. They must then be a skilled singer, with a strong vocal ability, in order to perform the various songs required throughout (*amardawa lagu*).

Additional qualities needed to be considered “good” include the ability to be a skilled playwright, actor, improviser, and director. As discussed in chapter two, while the majority of Javanese *wayang kulit* performances are based on a specific structure and a particular story from within the *wayang kulit* repertoire, there are no set scripts. *Dalang* create complex and unique tales each night based on a particular *lakon*, but they can, and often do, develop a story further based on a sponsor’s request, audience reactions, or for the specific occasion for which the *wayang kulit* is being performed. In other words, no two *wayang kulit* performances will ever be the same.

Finally, a *dalang* must be a strong overall entertainer. In order for a *dalang* to be considered “good” an audience must enjoy their time at a performance. Encompassed in being a strong entertainer for the Javanese is being a knowledgeable historian, witty social commentator, and a skilled comedian. What makes the quest for *dalang* stardom even more challenging is that while some of these skills can be easily taught, others are much harder to teach to an individual. As an example, most individuals can be taught a story or the history of that story. However, some *dalang* may have far more natural talent than others at delivering that story in an entertaining and comical way. Comedic talent, the ability to read an audience, and a quick wit, are much harder, or even impossible to teach, but are all necessary for reaching *dalang* stardom.

In addition to a *dalang*’s perceived performance quality, their training or lineage may also play into their popularity. Today there are three methods of training typically used by *wayang kulit dalang*. The first method is father/son training, in which *dalang* would traditionally be trained by their father or another older male relative who was already a *dalang*. The knowledge and history of *wayang kulit* would generally be passed down this way through an uninterrupted line of succession. A long line of *dalang* within one’s family would have been seen as a strong source of power (one that increases with each generation) and an excellent justification for their right to hold such a powerful and prominent position within Javanese society (Groenendael 1985; Headley 2000). Furthermore, this method allowed members of a single-family line to keep specific techniques or a specific movement style within the family (Ness 1980). A child would begin their *dalang* training at a young age, generally around age seven. However, since they were learning from a family member they normally would have lived with a closeness to *wayang kulit* from birth. A member from a non-*dalang* family could also petition to train with a *dalang* in a similar manner. Obviously, it would be left to the *dalang* to decide if training this student was a worthy endeavor (Groenendael 1985). In this way, the chosen student would then live and train with the *dalang*. The way in which a *dalang* is trained is comparable to how *penatah* are trained as well. Pak Sihhanto, of Balai Agung in Surakarta, learned to carve *wayang kulit* puppets in a similar fashion. He petitioned and then went to live with a *penatah* in Surakarta when he was a child (Sihhanto 30 Aug 2014).

The second most common method for a *dalang* is in a group learning environment within a *sanggar*, or community practice space (Goodlander 2014: 187). The teaching methods here are similar to the style described above, although far less intensive. As this is a community learning

center the student would not live in the space or with the *dalang* that trains them, and students are therefore free to come and go as they wish. In this method, multiple students may be taught at once by a single teacher or in individual lessons. Craftsmen, to compare, have also begun to adopt this system. Pak Hadi Sukirno (Yogyakarta) uses this method to train new craftsmen who wish to join his business. Pak Sutarno (Wonogiri), Pak Suyono (Bantul) and Pak Sihhanto (Surakarta) also use this method of teaching carving skills to new *penatah* and even refer to their businesses as a *sanggar*. For example, Pak Sutarno's business is named *Wayang Kulit Sanggar "Rama."* Pak Sutarno (Wonogiri) not only teaches his son in the traditional manner but uses funds gathered from the community to teach other children if they wish to learn in a similar "*sanggar*" method as well.

The third option is through a *pedalangan* (the art of being a *dalang*) program in an official school or university setting. *Pedalangan* departments have their roots as far back as Dutch arts institutions in the nineteenth century. The Dutch introduced formal schooling for *dalang* as a way to standardize *dalang* training. As mentioned in chapter four, the standardization of Indonesian culture as a means of promoting the islands as a tourist destination has deep roots in Indonesia. At the time of the formation of these schools, the Dutch even encouraged practicing *dalang* to enroll and re-train fully or to improve certain skillsets (Sears 1996, Keeler 1987). Currently, smaller *pedalangan* programs exist in some scattered secondary schools, like at the Sekolah Menengah Pertama (SMP) in Wonogiri (Sutarno 4 Jul 2014). Several universities across Indonesia have also established *pedalangan* departments, like Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI) in Surakarta. However, despite there being regional traditional styles in *wayang kulit purwa* performances, *dalang* still acknowledge that a semblance of a personal performance style must be developed in order to be considered "good" or "significant." The *wayang kulit* community has developed the term "*dalang pelajar*," or student *dalang*, to refer to a *dalang* who performs too rigidly and perhaps relies only on performance texts (Keeler 1987; Robertson 2016). Despite this, university *pedalangan* departments continue to see young men and women enrolled in their *pedalangan* departments (Robertson 2016).

One training method is not necessarily preferred over another when it comes to popularity and how talented or "good" a *dalang* is considered by the community. There have been many popular *dalang* who have long family lineages and many who are the first *dalang* in their family. Robert Peterson, in his 2001 article on the legacy of Ki Nartosabdho, discussed how

Ki Nartosabdho became a self-taught *dalang* by watching performances and reading books. He later went on to be one of the most famous *dalang* in Central Java. Peterson goes on to describe that, during his fieldwork in 1997, it was the new and innovative *dalang* that were the most popular and, therefore, most requested *dalang* in Banyumas at the time. He specifically noted that none of the “major puppeteers” came from performance families during that period (106). It appears that one crucial element in deciding if a *dalang* becomes popular can be what the current *wayang* community and sponsors in a particular area deem important at the time.

A sponsor may choose a *dalang* based on their lineage or a style that is currently popular as described above. While those elements are largely out of a *dalang*’s control, there are elements a *dalang* can take charge of to encourage their own popularity within the *wayang kulit* community as well. This is especially true for *dalang* who take advantage of the social media culture that is currently thriving in Indonesia. As Andrew Weintraub describes:

The *dalang*’s popularity and star quality do not simply emanate from his personal merits and individual talents. However important his personal style, a *dalang* must also rely on an extensive social network to bolster his image and popularity, as well as to help produce, promote, and circulate his ‘product.’ (2004a: 16)

Star *dalang* have used social media to cultivate large followings that bolster their perceived popularity and worth. Over the past three to five years craftsmen have also begun using social media, like Facebook and Instagram, to gain both followers and customers. Other factors that can affect a *dalang*’s popularity include collaborating with popular singers (*pesinden*) and musicians; their connection to their immediate community; the number of performances they hold annually; performances at popular festivals; and the quality or status of guests at their performances (Robertson 2016: 77-81).

Given the long list of qualifications seen above and the amount of work that goes into cultivating popularity within the *wayang kulit* community, it is easy to comprehend why few *dalang* reach the lofty status of “star *dalang*.” Due to this, it can be difficult for a lower status *dalang* to commission a larger number of performances without the name and status of “star” (Sindung 24 Oct 2014). This can make it difficult for a *dalang* to provide for themselves and a family by performing as a *dalang* alone. Over the past few decades this has led to some trained *dalang*, like Pak Suyoto, shifting to work solely as a *penatah*. Understandably, this has also

caused younger individuals with an interest in *wayang kulit* to focus on training to carve rather than perform, as it seems like the more financially stable route. These individuals then undertake to learn only carving from a family member or enroll in a carving school or *sanggar* (Sagio, Sutarno). Additionally, this shift can be partially attributed to the rapid growth of tourism and increasing demand for souvenirs in the country and the lofty ideal of a higher income if an individual focus on craftsmanship.

“Star *dalang*” themselves are also creating a demand for *penatah* in the *wayang kulit* community itself. During a discussion on *wayang kulit* in Central Java, Pak Sindung, a professor of *wayang kulit* at UGM and an avid puppet collector, mentioned that with their busy schedules most popular *dalang* may still craft a little but they have less and less time to do so (24 Oct 2014). Popular *dalang* now require the skills and availability of full-time *penatah* to carve new puppets and to fix damaged puppets for them. Pak Kawi (Surakarta), Pak Sagio (Yogyakarta), and Pak Suyoto (Bantul) all frequently discussed the commissions they have fashioned for celebrity *dalang* who do not have the time to fix or create the puppets themselves.

5.2 EARNING POTENTIAL FOR CRAFTSMEN

The second element that has helped fuel the growth of *wayang kulit penatah* in Central Java is the perceived earning potential in carving for tourists. As mentioned in the previous chapter, artisans in several traditional arts have long seen the tourism market as an opportunity to fund their artistic endeavors. This also rings true for *wayang kulit* craftsmen. *Penatah* in both rural and metropolitan areas of Central Java began noticing tourism’s possibilities as early as the late 1960s but more notably into the 1970s. This was especially true for metropolitan areas like Surakarta and Yogyakarta, which first experienced the burgeoning effects of tourism. Pak Hadi Sukirno (Yogyakarta) developed the idea that he could support himself through carving *wayang puppets* at a young age. He saw a few older craftsmen in the late 1960s supporting themselves through puppet sales and thought that it could, one day, bring him “money, food, and a prosperous life” (14 Aug 2014). Pak Hadi Sukirno began working in a *wayang* shop on the popular tourist thoroughfare Jalan Malioboro in Yogyakarta at some point, to the best of his

recollection, in the late 1960s to early 1970s. Then, when he felt he had the opportunity to open his own place he left and opened a shop a few streets away from the Yogyakarta *kraton* in 1973 (14 Aug 2014). Pak Sihhanto (Surakarta) also saw *wayang kulit* craftsmanship as a potential way to support himself. He began carving in 1972 when he initially left his home to train with craftsmen in Sukoharjo, one of the regencies surrounding Surakarta, eventually moving on to the Surakarta *kraton* to refine his skills as a Surakarta style carver (30Aug 2014).

While a few early pioneers of the *wayang kulit* tourism craftsmanship market struck out in the 1970s it was not until the late 1980s and early 1990s that craftsmen increasingly turned to souvenir making and tourism-based business. The years between the late 1980s and 1995, as shown in Table 4-1 in chapter four, witnessed a sizable swell in foreign tourists' to Indonesia. This influx was also felt by craftsmen in Central Java. Pak Sagio says he began to notice tourist traffic in the late 1970s and that their presence rose significantly again from 1988 till the fall of Suharto in 1998 (11 Jul 2014). Due to this rise in tourism, other members of Pak Sagio's community began to see the earning potential of craftsmanship and tourism as well. Capitalizing on the growing desire of individuals in his community to work as a *penatah*, Pak Sagio trained multiple individuals from the surrounding area in his style in the 1980s. The number of craftsmen in his workshop eventually grew significantly to 50 individuals (11 Jul 2014). Tourism had generated such a demand that it was during this time Pak Sagio invented the small "tourist puppet" in his shop. His new puppets were rendered in half the size of a traditional puppet. Pak Sagio noted specifically that in the past *wayang kulit* puppets were only created for performance in his shop. Such was the demand during this time for puppets that he shifted his thought process to meet tourist's desire for highly prized puppets, like the large *gunungan* (tree of life), but which were too difficult to carry home. So, Pak Sagio developed small *gunungan* puppets as well as a variety of character puppets, bookmarks, fans, and other tourist products over this period (11 Jul 2014). Pak Kawi (Surakarta) also noted that the late 1980s to 1998 were a bustling time for the *wayang kulit* souvenir market. Pak Kawi ran his own business in Surakarta that sold both traditional and souvenir puppets during this time. He states that his sales were comprised of roughly fifty percent traditionally sized puppets and fifty percent smaller "tourist puppets" during this period. He also explained that visitors would purchase both full sized and small puppets, as some guests desired the "traditional size" which felt more "authentic" (12 Aug 2014). Overall, the strength of tourism and the success of shops like Pak Sagio's, Pak Hadi Sukirno's,

Pak Sihhanto's, and Pak Kawi's in both Yogyakarta and Surakarta helped spread the idea that creating *wayang kulit* puppets, particularly for tourists, was a stable way to make a living.

However, as discussed in chapter four, a tourism-driven market often offers an exaggerated sense of security (Hughes-Freeland 1998). After the fall of the Suharto regime, tourism, both domestic and foreign, decreased significantly across Indonesia. According to Pak Sagio, "[a]fter the falling of Suharto, there were no tourists, [a] financial crisis, and bombs everywhere. Because of all those circumstances, everything was broken" (11 Jul 2014). *Penatah* also noted the decline of tourism in Surakarta as well. Pak Kawi specifically stated that "after the '97 crisis, there was lots of chaos, demonstrations, etc. [...] Especially in Solo, there were a lot of demonstrations, [and] the numbers of tourists decreased" (12 Aug 2014).

Due to the decline in the number of guests visiting Pak Sagio's Yogyakarta shop after 1998 he was no longer able to support the fifty people who worked there. Necessity forced him to release several workers and the number of craftsmen working in his shop quickly declined to twenty-five. The number of workers then continued to drop into the early years of the next decade. Pak Sagio also noted that during this period his customer demographic changed and he began to see a higher percentage of international guests versus domestic tourists. He stated that seventy-five percent of his guests from 1998 and through the financial crisis were foreign (11 Jul 2014). This decline in local tourist numbers is most likely the result of the financial crisis that followed the end of the Suharto regime and the severe inflation in the wake of the political upheaval. Inflation caused Indonesians to spend far less on non-essentials and therefore they traveled far less, even within their own country. This period of decline following the fall of Suharto eventually forced Pak Kawi (Surakarta) to close his shop completely (12 Aug 2014).

Many craftsmen engaged in *wayang kulit* production found themselves out of work following the end of the Suharto regime. Although tourism ebbed and flowed between 1998 and 2005, many craftsmen stated that they did not notice a rebound in tourism again until 2004 (Kawi, Sagio, Suyono). Despite low visitor traffic, Pak Kawi took over running his brother's *wayang kulit* shop in the *alun-alun* at the Surakarta *kraton* in 2001. However, due to the initial drop in tourism with the financial crisis and the first Bali Bombing in 2002, it was not until 2004 that Pak Kawi saw a recovery in tourist purchases in his shop (12 Aug 2014).

Despite the brief recovery tourism would once again prove to be an unsteady foundation for a business. The Bali Bombing of 2005 shook the tourism industry across Indonesia.

Unfortunately, with this being the second bombing in a brief span of time and both having targeted large tourist destinations on Bali, foreign arrivals took a significant hit⁴⁰. Craftsmen in both metropolitan and rural areas felt this decline in tourism and have stated that it negatively affected their businesses as well. Craftsmen would not see a large-scale rise in tourism business again until 2010 and in some areas not until 2014, depending on the locale. Stores in Yogyakarta experienced a rise in tourism purchases in 2010 and Surakarta and the regencies began to see a rise in late 2013 and early 2014 (Kawi, Sagio, Sutarno, Suyono).

Early indicators of recuperating tourism showed themselves in small bursts of arrival activity in Bantul and Wonogiri in the early 2000s. However, with the dips in tourism following the Bali Bombings and then the 2006 earthquake in Bantul, significant tourism traffic, domestic or foreign, did not reach the regencies of Yogyakarta and Surakarta until 2013 (Kawi; Sutarno; Suyono). This is not to say that tourism had zero effect on *wayang kulit* craftsmanship in the regencies during the slower years, but rather that these areas did not see large numbers of tourists in their locations until around 2013. Not only is this rise in tourism noted by several craftsmen in each area but it is also reflected in the formation of several puppetry workshops by craftsmen in both Bantul and Wonogiri. Craftsmen have collaborated in these areas to create support networks to help strengthen craftsmanship and develop artisans in these areas starting in 2014. More on the specifics of these support groups will be discussed later in this chapter.

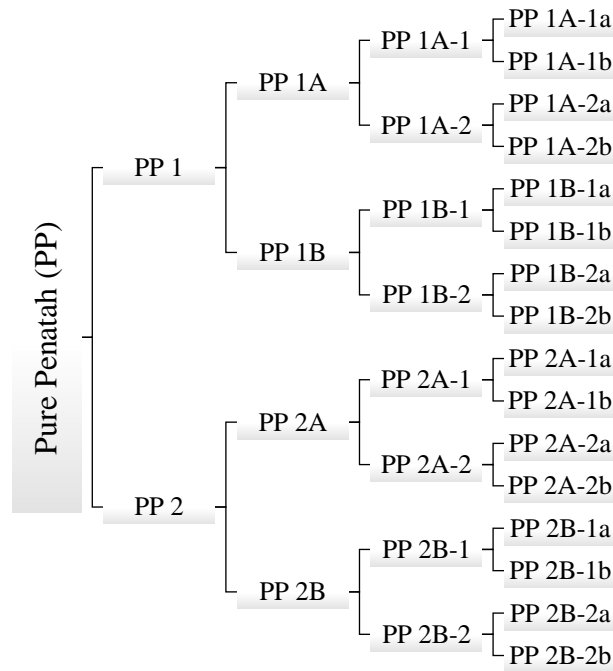
These bursts of tourism in Central Java not only spurred the creation of “tourist sized” puppets but also led to a stronger division between the levels of puppet quality in terms of placing a strong market value and quality division on these levels. Along with the growth of *wayang kulit* puppet-based businesses came the demand for puppets produced in a variety of sizes, and likewise, puppets that would fit the varied budgets of *dalang* and tourists alike. Normally, if a *dalang* were to order a puppet for their own use they would find a craftsman whose style they liked and who created puppets they could afford. As an example, Pak Sagio was trained in and exclusively carves puppets in the Yogyakarta *kraton* style. These are incredibly refined puppets and they take several days to complete. The traditionally sized, *kraton* quality Kresna puppet I ordered for this work, that was created in Pak Sagio’s shop, cost close to \$200.00 at the current exchange rate in 2014. Pak Sagio often works for the Yogyakarta *kraton*

⁴⁰ Statistics and tourist information taken from Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) 2016; Laporan Perkonimian 2015; and Laporan Perkonimian 2016.

and his work is considered a good representation of style and price of a *kraton* puppet. Obviously, not every tourist has the budget or the willingness to spend \$200.00 for a souvenir. However, as Pak Kawi stated, many tourists still desire a full-sized or traditional *wayang kulit* puppet as a souvenir, as they are viewed as more “authentic.” This led to many shops diversifying the puppets they sold in their store to include a variety of puppet levels. These levels are divided by the quality of the overall puppet as well as the materials used. Often this involved outsourcing puppet carving and painting to *penatah* in areas farther from Yogyakarta or Surakarta or *penatah* who were not trained in the refined *kraton* style. For example, the level five Kresna puppet I ordered from Pak Sagio was purchased from Pak Sagio’s shop but carved and painted in Bantul. In this instance, a store owner would generally then take a portion of the purchase price for themselves and give the rest to the *penatah* who created the puppet (Hadi Sukirno; Sagio).

To summarize, the two main elements in Indonesian society that have affected the growth of *wayang kulit* craftsmen in Central Java are shifts within the *dalang* community and the growth of tourism tied to the perceived earning potential in *wayang* craftsmanship. Firstly, the rise of *dalang* who are too busy or who were never trained in puppet carving creates a demand for carvers. Additionally, intertwined with this, is the development of a perceived need for carvers in the *wayang kulit* community. As more individuals are trained solely in the skillsets required for carving, the number of members of the *wayang kulit* community who can only pass on carving skills continues to grow. Particularly when those craftsmen open schools or *sanggar* and are passing on carving skills to multiple individuals each generation. See the figure below for an example of this growth.

Figure 5-1. Example of the growth of *wayang kulit* carvers over the generations



Secondly, tourism has generated a desire in *penatah* to capitalize on the seemingly ideal situation of supporting themselves through carving for the tourist market. Even when tourism takes a hit due to political, financial, or terrorist activity the allure of the tourist dollar and catering to that market remains strong amongst the Central Javanese. Store owners continue to create even during tough economic times and continue to hire and train new *penatah* when tourism booms again. Despite the often-dramatic fluctuations in arrivals discussed above, more craftsmen continue to be trained, schools continue to open, and areas have recently begun to develop tourism villages based in *wayang kulit*. Such villages, located in the surrounding regencies of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, view bringing tourism to them as the best way to support themselves and their community (Sutarno). All of these elements combined have created an environment in Central Java since the 1970s ripe for the establishment of more *wayang kulit* shops and carvers.

5.3 TYPOLOGIES

While the elements discussed above have affected the overall *wayang kulit penatah* community, they have not always affected individual *penatah* or businesses in precisely the same manner. To garner a deeper understanding of how these elements have driven change in the various *wayang kulit penatah* communities it is necessary to divide *penatah* and their businesses into distinct typologies. As mentioned in chapter one, the typologies for this work were created in the field through a version of grounded theory in which no typologies or groupings were placed on *penatah* or their businesses prior to the research. Rather, core concepts in *wayang* business models were made clear through the interview process and those lead to the development of specific typologies. These core concepts resulted in the organization and division of *penatah*'s business models into four distinct typologies. In order to refine these typologies, I have relied heavily on Eric Cohen's typologies of ethnic crafts and commercialization. I have also drawn inspiration from general *wayang kulit* histories written by Brandon, van Groenendael, Holt, and Irvine; the works of Picard and McKean on Balinese tourism and the arts; Erik Cohen's work on tourism ribbons; and used observation of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship in the field in Yogyakarta, Bantul, Surakarta, and Wonogiri.

Cohen, in his article, "The Commercialization of Ethnic Crafts", describes the common practice of intellectuals to "bemoan" the debasement of ethnic crafts through commercialization and to complain about the negative influences tourism has on these arts, without fully understanding all the elements that play into said issue. Cohen goes on to discuss that commercialization is not a single process as it often gets boiled down to, rather, it is shaped by a broad array of economic, religious, cultural, and political factors. These new divisions have been established in order to better understand the current changes in the Central Javanese *penatah* community, as well as to help predict future developments in the art form through comparison with other traditional crafts of Indonesia and Southeast Asia.

To organize different forms of commercialization of ethnic crafts Cohen uses two principal factors in his construction: the health or relative vitality of the local culture and the source of initiative for commercialization. These are then broken down into subcategories that are influenced by a combination of economic, religious, cultural, and political factors. In regard to the vitality of the local culture, Cohen notes that it is important to distinguish whether at the outset of the commercialization process the culture was vital and flourishing—meaning the craftsmen were producing for use by local populations or the "internal audience" from now on

referred to as the “internal market”—or whether commercialization set in during conditions of general decline in the local culture where crafts were deteriorating or disappearing all together. I am still using Cohen’s definition of “internal audience” in this work. However, the term “internal audience” can be rather confusing when discussing a craft that is originally for use in a theatrical production in front of an audience. Therefore, this term has been replaced with “internal market” but is used in the same context. Through these factors Cohen developed four groups of commercialization in ethnic crafts:

Table 5-1. Erik Cohen’s Typologies for the Commercialization of Ethnic Crafts

| CULTURE | SOURCE OF INITIATIVE | |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | Spontaneous | Sponsored |
| VITAL | (A) Complementary Commercialization | (C) Encroaching Commercialization |
| DECLINING | (B) Substitutive Commercialization | (D) Rehabilitative Commercialization |

COMPLEMENTARY COMMERCIALIZATION (A)

Cohen describes this typology within the larger crafts market as when native craftsmen continue to produce their crafts for a predominantly internal market but begin to occasionally sell to outsiders and tourists, or the external market. However, craftsmen within this typology, more or less, continue to produce for the internal market. Over time, with this type of commercialization, members of the internal market may begin to distinguish between the items produced for the internal market versus those produced for the external market. However, according to Cohen, this form of commercialization appears to little disturb the culture and social relations linked to the production of the native crafts. This remains true as long as there exists some level of quality control of the products for sale. Without this, products for sale can quickly deteriorate into cheap souvenirs. This process originates in craftsmen beginning to notice that their new customers, the external market, have little to no understanding of the qualities or

“criteria of appreciation” customary in the native culture (2014: 162).

SUBSTITUTIVE COMMERCIALIZATION (B)

In this typology, native craftsmen begin to produce for the external market due to missionary intrusion, political upheavals, or penetration of industrial goods as a substitution for the native crafts. Due to these events, numbers of craftsmen decline, the quality of work deteriorates, and specialized knowledge begins to be lost. In this environment, good craftsmanship becomes less and less appreciated and the younger generations, seeing no future in craftsmanship, look for work elsewhere. However, when these communities engage in more communication with the outside world, either through the tourists directly or through individual middle-men, they begin to see an alternative outlet for their crafts. This, as Cohen notes, can breathe new life into crafts that may have died out otherwise.

However, similar to Complementary Commercialization, without strongly maintained quality control or a connection to the native culture’s canons of style, products made by native craftsmen can begin to undergo changes to the patterns as they adapt to the tastes of the external market. Such changes can occur partially due to the initial economic benefits of producing for the external market. Rapid growth in income for those producing for the external market can then attract more craftsmen to do the same or inspire those without any training in the art form to begin producing as well. Unfortunately, this can lead to both a saturation of the market as well as a decline in the quality of products. Poor quality can lower demand and lead to less money for producers over all. In order to continue making a living, craftsmen, in this form of commercialization, tend to increase the speed of production and quality in order to make ends meet, which can further shrink the market. The market will eventually stabilize at a very low level or die out altogether (162- 163).

Yet, in a minority of cases a development in the exact opposite direction can take place in Substitutive Commercialization. Some skilled craftsmen, whose work is distinctive and of a higher quality than that of the majority of crafts in the market, can attain a recognized status as revered folk artists. This can push their work to be seen as ‘art’ rather than as ‘crafts’ by the external market (Cohen 2014: 163).

ENCROACHING COMMERCIALIZATION (C)

Native craftsmen in Encroaching Commercialization work in an environment where ethnic crafts still flourish. These craftsmen are typically employed to make marketable products by a sponsoring agency. This is referred to, by Cohen, as “indirect tourism” or when a group that is relatively isolated and lacks direct access to the tourist market is given that connection through a middleman or sponsoring agency (163). In the beginning, cultural impact from this form of commercialization is minimal. However, destructive encroachment and commercialization can develop when the sponsoring agency, working from monetary motives, seek to exploit the local craftsmen. This can lead to the acceleration of production and the standardization of the local crafts. Over time, the crafts can develop into something that has little or no resemblance to the original ethnic crafts.

Cohen states that at the time of his article he believed this to be the most uncommon form of commercialization in the modern world. Cohen developed this estimation based on his observations and on the fact that areas where vital native crafts flourish are increasingly rare and usually very remote. Hence, this usually makes for an unprofitable equation for businesses looking to develop souvenirs in the crafts market (2014: 163).

REHABILITATIVE COMMERCIALIZATION (D)

In this form of commercialization, crafts are revived by a sponsoring agency for external markets. Cohen believed, at the time of the article, this form of commercialization to be less pernicious than that of Encroaching Commercialization (2014: 164). While a sponsoring agency will generally attempt to rapidly commercialize ethnic crafts to the point that the market and available craftsmen permit, the impact is far less than Encroaching Commercialization as there is far less to destroy since the vitality of the culture had already dropped so low in these environments. Rehabilitative Commercialization can lead to substantial changes in the appearance and uses of the ethnic crafts in question but also may lead to a revival of the crafts and help keep the craft alive. Support from the sponsoring agency can lead to the re-training of senior craftsmen for the external market and may also spur the training of new craftsmen who had never been trained for the internal market.

This form of commercialization can also be far less damaging compared to other forms as

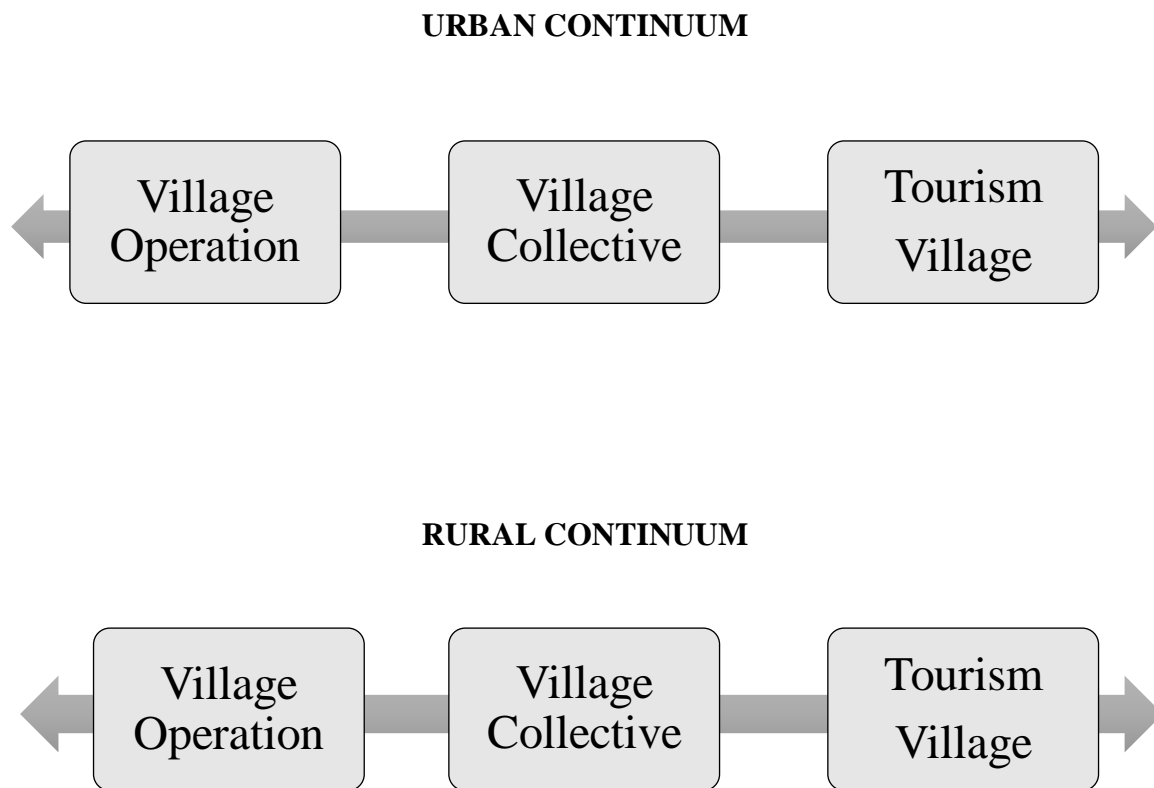
a sponsoring agency normally is capable of taking care of the gradual exposure of market goods by helping to invent new crafts or new uses of old crafts, thereby preventing oversaturation of the market. The sponsoring agency can also establish quality controls. However, this can have positive and negative outcomes. On the one hand, it prevents the products' quality from declining to what has been described as mere trinkets. It can also lead to the standardization of crafts and loss of knowledge, though. An example of this is when the sponsoring agency creates a catalog of goods made by the local craftsmen. This encourages uniformity as guests will want to purchase the same item they saw in the catalog (Cohen 2014:164-165).

5.4 WAYANG KULIT CRAFTSMANSHIP DIVISIONS

It is important to note at this time that Eric Cohen's typologies of ethnic crafts do not perfectly match up with the typologies of *wayang kulit* businesses and communities I have developed in this work. Also, of note is that there is a fine line between business and community in Central Java as many *wayang kulit* business are built out of a single *wayang kulit* craftsmanship community. These typologies still focus primarily on the businesses themselves but aspects of the particular community it grew out of cannot be ignored and are often included in or the basis for the business and therefore typology. Regardless, Cohen's observations and understanding of how commercialization develops in craftsmanship communities were vital in solidifying these groupings. The core difference between Cohen's typologies and my own is the importance of the vitality of the culture at the time of commercialization. While Eric Cohen's typologies can be formed into a table divided by both cultural vitality and the source of initiative, my typologies all fall under a declining vitality due to the cultural, political, and economic issues that have impacted craftsmanship over the past century. These typologies are mainly divided by the source of initiative of commercialization and a rural versus urban divide. These typologies have also been formed along two continuums based on their locale (rural or urban), rather than in a table based on cultural vitality. This divide also took inspiration from Cohen's research on tourism ribbons in his article "Touristic craft ribbon development in Thailand," published in 1999. This article focused on how well touristic crafts and craftsmanship fared based on their location within tourist ribbons. In this work Cohen describes different segments of the souvenir or tourist market that formed into a variety of marketing chains, differing in length and

composition. These ribbons or tourist roads form similarly to tributaries that form off a main river. These tributaries, or ribbons, form based of the strength of tourism or market possibilities in the areas they exist. Cohen describes these as the touristic craft ribbons. Cohen also goes on to describe the strength of through middle-men, traders, wholesalers and exporter networks involved in these Thai ribbons. Cohen's use of locale and descriptions of middle-men and trader networks were of great help refining me typologies and will also be used in the future hypotheses in chapter six. My typologies are divided as seen below in Figure 5-2.

Figure 5-2. Typologies of *Wayang Kulit* Craftsmanship Businesses



COMPLEMENTARY BUSINESS

This group of *wayang kulit* craftsmen is based on past businesses as well as Eric Cohen's Complementary Commercialization. Similar to Eric Cohen's typology, this grouping is made up

of craftsmen in larger cities, like Yogyakarta and Surakarta, who originally may have employed a few craftsmen to collaborate with them in their home or workshop; one example being a star carver may have employed painters or someone adept at creating handles. These craftsmen primarily created puppets for *dalang* and local *wayang kulit* collectors. In other words, they nearly exclusively created for the internal market. While they may have begun creating puppets for external market visitors, these were few in number. Also, the puppets created for the external market and those created for the internal market would have been nearly identical to each other. The quality and materials of a puppet sold to a tourist would have been the same as if it were made for use by a *dalang* in a *wayang kulit purwa* production. Overall, the production for the external market had little to no effect on the culture and social relations within this particular business/community of craftsmen.

Several City Store Front businesses, like Pak Sagio's (Yogyakarta) and Pak Sihhanto's (Surakarta) stores, originally started out in this division of *wayang kulit* businesses. However, due to political shifts, economic instabilities, and the growth of the external or tourism market they have shifted into a City Store Front model. None of the craftsmen I interviewed for this work fell under this division of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship businesses. Some individual craftsmen may fall under this vision, as they might craft puppets predominately for *dalang* or internal collectors who understand the meaning and qualities of *wayang* puppets. These artisans may be commissioned, on occasion, to create for tourists. However, this will generally not be the main source of income for a craftsman. As Central Javanese craftsmen have stated throughout several interviews, it is far too difficult to support oneself by making puppets solely for *dalang* and internal collectors in the current economic and cultural environment in Central Java (Kawi; Sagio; Sunarto; Sutarno; Sihhanto).

CITY STORE FRONT

In this division, *wayang kulit* craftsmanship businesses have found tourism and the external market to be a strong alternative to the internal market to support their craftsmanship and businesses. These businesses are located in a larger metropolis and the day-to-day business runs out of a physical store or store front. Examples of business in this group are Pak Sagio's store "Griya Ukir Kulit" and Pak Hadi Sukirno's store "Hadi Sukrino's Leather Work & Handycraft" (Yogyakarta). In Surakarta, Pak Sihhanto's store "Balai Agung" is an example of this grouping as well. These store fronts may or may not be attached to the head craftsman's home or personal workshop. There is, however, always a large workshop area for craftsmen to gather and work on puppets and projects. There will be one primary owner of the business who controls the financial aspects, owns the physical building(s), and delegates the workload to other

craftsmen. On occasion this “managerial” work load could be distributed between the store owner and a member of his family, as in the manner of dividing responsibilities between a manager and assistant manager.

Due to the upheavals following the fall of Suharto, political calls for professionalization development in Indonesia, governmental policy developments that put a strong emphasis on tourism growth, and the overall growth of the tourism market, many *wayang kulit* craftsmen had to shift their business models or simply began their business with a focus on tourism and the external market. As in Eric Cohen’s Complementary Commercialization, these businesses still create *wayang kulit* puppets for the internal market and their standard, or full-sized, puppets may not differ greatly from internal market to external market sales. However, due to the aforementioned processes of political and economic upheavals, the numbers of craftsmen over time have diminished and a struggle to survive over time commenced. Both Pak Sagio and Pak Hadi Sukirno (Yogyakarta) mentioned the large drop in the number of craftsmen they could support following the fall of Suharto and the economic crisis that followed. The tourism market, although small at this time, was seen as a viable alternative to continue crafting and supporting their businesses. As Pak Sagio mentioned, during this time 75% of his customers were foreign individuals who did not let the political upheavals scare them and traveled to Indonesia anyways (4 Jul 2014).

Within the City Store Front grouping, businesses strongly focus on the preferences of the external market to determine what they stock and sell in their stores. This was true for Pak Sagio, Pak Tugiman, and Pak Hadi Sukirno (Yogyakarta) and Pak Kawi and Pak Sihhanto (Surakarta). Pak Tugiman mentioned that when he worked for the Hotel Ambarrukmo, now the Royal Ambarrukmo Yogyakarta, he would predominately stock characters from the Ramayana Ballet that many tourists who stayed in the hotel had seen. These were the characters tourists were asking for and the characters that would, for them, represent their trip to Indonesia in souvenir form (13 Jan 2014). The City Store Front typology in Central Java is supported by a customer base consisting of roughly 50-75% external market buyers.

A City Store Front business will continuously have a supply or stock of puppets on hand for tourists to purchase as well as work on commissions. The stock will consist of popular or “good” characters that both domestic and foreign customers would likely purchase (Sagio, Sihhanto, Hadi Sukirno). Shops that fall under this typology have begun to hire workers that are able to create a range of puppets while also varying quality levels, which allows for the most economic gain. In terms of *wayang kulit* businesses this means employing artisans that can carve or paint a puppet at expensive, *keraton* level standards (level 1), as well as workers that carve at a lower, and therefore less expensive, level (Level 5). This allows the shop to offer the same character but at varying levels of quality and therefore at varying purchase prices that can fit any

tourist's budget. Craftsmen who produce the lower levels generally work from their homes and not out of the business locale itself. More on the precise differences and distinctive qualities of the five levels will be discussed later in this chapter.

Although the level or quality of a puppet may vary, the style (Yogyakarta or Surakarta) remains the same in a City Store Front business. These shops, at this time, choose to specialize in their regional style as they find the specialization currently draws more of the internal market to their shops (Hadi Sukirno, Sagio). Indonesia has a strong culture of giving gifts to your family and relatives when you return home from travel outside of your home city, and such gifts are known as *oleh-oleh*. Traditionally it is quite similar to the concept of Japanese *omiyage*. Travelers are expected to purchase gifts for family and friends from places they visit. These gifts are normally small and inexpensive but are representative of the area they are visiting. A certain town will often have a specific food item, like a candy that is only made there, or small trinket that is considered the normal *oleh-oleh* from that town. This mentality is also present in the internal market when buying *wayang kulit* souvenirs. Internal market buyers want their *wayang kulit* puppets or souvenir *wayang* items to reflect the locale they were visiting (Hadi Sukirno, Sagio, Sihhanto).

Merchants in the City Store Front typology have also begun to keep stock of souvenir or novelty items that range in price and quality as well, and such novelty items are usually created by craftsmen who have the skillsets in producing levels 4-5. This practice has been adopted since the small size of the souvenir items makes it incredibly difficult to render the more refined details and most guests buying these items are unaware of or do not expect the fine detail. Additionally, this leaves the artisans capable of carving or painting higher level puppets free to work on more specialized projects when the shop receives such requests. Souvenir items can also be requested in bulk or even personalized, and an example of a common request is for wedding favors featuring the bride and groom's name carved into each gift. A small list of souvenir items that may be kept on hand in these stores includes: fans, bookmarks, miniature puppets with handles, small framed puppets without handles, and keychains.

In light of their focus on external preferences and buyers, these stores are readily accessible to tourists through a variety of methods including the store front itself, a store phone number, the owner's personal phone number, or email address for international ordering. Many of these merchants have also expanded their reach by creating websites to grow domestic and international ordering as a way to increase their customer base without having to open additional doors. Profits for this model are distributed among craftsmen based on the number of orders they complete, with a portion going to the proprietor. Supplies are purchased by the owner, housed in the store's workshop, and divided among craftsmen on a needs basis. Employees generally own their own tools and prefer working with those. Should craftsmen opt for using their own

supplies, pay can be adjusted by the store owner to reflect these purchases.

This category of *wayang kulit* craftsmen shares the majority of its qualities with Eric Cohen's Substitutive Commercialization, such as the decline in numbers due to political and economic issues, and craftsmen eventually finding the external market as an alternative to support their businesses. Therefore, it should stand to reason that some of the positives and the challenges of his Substitutive Commercialization may also be applicable to City Store Front businesses. In the wake of political and economic obstacles such as the economic crisis in the late 1990s, younger generations of craftsmen, who would have normally followed in their father's footsteps, looked for work in other businesses and even other cities (Sagio 4 Jul 2014). However, starting in 2014, some City Store Front locales have seen growth in the number of workers they are able to sustain after focusing on the external market, creating a new life and even a desire for new craftsmen to learn the craft. As seen in Pak Sagio's carving school that started in 2014 and continued into 2015-16. Also in 2014, many City Store Front locales have noticed the growth of middle-men and tour guides influencing their business, similar to Cohen's observations in Thai craft ribbons. Pak Hadi Sukirno discussed in great detail in one interview the effect tour guides and middle-men have had on his business. Some tour guides request 50 percent of any sales a *penatah* makes if they bring a tour group to their store. If a *penatah* refuses this type arrangement, a guide might no longer bring tour groups to their store front. Likewise, a middle-man may choose to purchase stock from a more accommodating *penatah*. More on this will be discussed in chapter six.

In alignment with Cohen's observations, without strongly maintained quality control puppets produced in this City Store Front category of businesses can undergo changes in patterns, materials, and meanings over time as they are adapted to the external market. Some of this can already be seen in City Front Store locales as they have begun to realize that many external market buyers cannot differentiate between an incredibly high-quality puppet and one that took far less time to create. Therefore, businesses may begin to create lower quality puppets faster to generate a higher return on their products. Of particular concern regarding a shift to lower quality puppet-making is that the initial profitability of doing so draws larger numbers of less qualified craftsmen into the market. Unfortunately, not only could this lower the quality of the puppets even further, but also results in oversaturating the market with puppets. This decline in quality can eventually lead to lower demand for puppets and therefore lower profits for *penatah* and City Store Front businesses (Cohen 1989; Timothy and Swanson). As Cohen noted, the market can eventually stabilize but it normally does so at a very low level or worse, will die out altogether.

TOURISM STORE FRONT

The next group, Tourism Store Front, lies in those store fronts who cater nearly entirely to tourists, where 80-100% of their visitors are external market guests. These shops are similar to stores found on Jalan Malioboro in Yogyakarta that sell predominately souvenirs and cheap trinkets like miniature Borobudur statues and shot glasses. While there are stores who sell Level 5, the lowest quality puppets, in their grouping, there are not yet any purely *wayang kulit* puppet businesses that sell exclusively to external guests. Regardless, this is a likely next step if the path of *wayang kulit* puppet commercialization continues. Many craftsmen and *wayang kulit* scholars in Central Java, Pak Sunarto being one of these, fear that without some quality control or protection on a grander scale, *wayang kulit* puppet creation might fall to a purely souvenir level or possibly be lost completely (Sunarto 12 Nov 14). A high percentage of these locales also work with middle-men and tour guides to both sell and advertise their goods. A large number of the *wayang kulit* products in these locales will have been obtained through middle-men (Sagio, Sukirno, Suyono, Waluyo). Example of Tourism Store Fronts can be found along the tourism street Malioboro in Yogyakarta or streets surrounding the *kraton* in Surakarta.

VILLAGE OPERATION

The Village Operation division consists of a small village or several small family or extended family units operating in a rural area, out of non-commercial locations such as their homes. Some of the homes may have a small kiosk located directly in front or commit to use a small area of their home as their designated “show room” to demonstrate to potential clients what they are capable of creating. The clientele that would order from these small kiosks are predominately from the internal market: local *dalang*, local collectors buying for themselves, or middle-men. As the *penatah* working in these locations belong to the same family unit, or a small village, they are generally trained by the same individual or another artisan trained in the same style. As a result, the level and style of the individual puppets are very similar, if not the same, from *penatah* to *penatah*. The size of the village and the level of demand for puppets in the particular location will determine the quality of the materials used (leather, paint, gold, etc.). Village Operations do not keep a large stock of puppets but, rather, enough to show what they are capable of creating. Profits from this model are kept within each family unit and supplies are purchased on a needs basis by each unit as more puppets are ordered/created.

Craftsmen in this type of business might also occasionally work for particular middle-

men or for City Store Front owners in larger cities, and this practice is reminiscent of models in Cohen's Encroaching Commercialization. While the culture of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship may not necessarily be vital and thriving in these areas as it is in Cohen's model, the immediate external interference in their crafts is low as the middle-men or City Store Front owners work as the mediator between the external market and the Village Operation members. Their regional styles and the quality of their carving is not directly influenced by tourists or the outside market. Meaning, tourists and the middle-men are not yet influencing design changes to the puppets craftsmen in this grouping currently design, but simply order specific characters in the style these craftsmen normally carve. Although, "pernicious encroachment," as Cohen calls it, can eventually develop if mediators begin to push for more puppets at a faster pace or a change in style. Pak Waluyo, who made my Level 5 Kresna puppet, stated that he began making the leather thinner in order to carve more than one puppet at a time when he realized he could sell more puppets to middle-men faster (30 Jan 2015). This motivational factor ultimately lowered the quality of both the leather and his carving as he began to carve faster and with less attention to detail.

Village Operations have also, through the years, felt the ups and downs of political and economic crisis in Indonesia. However, since tourism had not reached these areas, except for indirectly through middle-men, until the late 1990s they did not experience quite the same change in customer base as those businesses located in the city. They did see a drop in the numbers of middle-men as there were fewer tourists to purchase from them and from local buyers as inflation affected what people could and would buy (Kawi; Sagio; Suyono). However, they did not see the same decline as city locations that were easier for tourists to access.

VILLAGE COLLECTIVE

The term Village Collective describes multiple *penatah* or family units of *penatah* in a rural area working as an organized group whose goal is to improve craftsmanship and increase sales within the collective. This typology is similar to the Village Operation; these craftsmen also work out of non-commercial spaces and in rural locations. However, the members of this grouping have come together to create a sort of union to support each other and further the goals of the union. The main reasoning for the formation of these unions is to keep *wayang kulit*

craftsmanship alive through continued practice of their craft, to keep workloads and costs manageable, to distribute earnings equally throughout the collective, and to encourage more puppet sales. Membership in these collectives is open to any *penatah* in the local area willing to participate and pay dues. Within the collective there can exist a variety of skill levels dependent on the members and their individual training histories. This indicates that the quality of supplies in each collective will vary as well. While the level of carving may vary from *penatah* to *penatah*, the members of a collective generally work in the same style of puppetry (i.e., Yogyakarta or Surakarta style). Such collectives commonly distribute work from a single large order among multiple members of similar skill level within the collective. This is one of the main reasons for keeping members of the group to those who work in one style. For example, the Punakawan collective from the outskirts of Surakarta will split an order for an entire *kotak* (puppet box) for a new *dalang* among five to six workers of the same skill level. The Punakawan collective has a consumer base that has grown to roughly half external and half internal since they were founded in 2005. However, depending on the individual collective, the customer base can vary from all internal to all external market buyers. These collectives can choose to elect one person as the “manager” who divides the work load or they may decide to divide the work as a group. Contacts for orders from these collectives are made in-person at their homes or over the phone—via text message or phone call.

These organizations, like the ‘Village Operations’ do not keep large amounts of stock items on hand, rather they keep a few samples ready to show potential clients. One point-person may keep all of these examples or they may be spread out across multiple homes of collective members. Profits can be divided in one of two ways: all profits made from the collective are spread out equally to all members, or profits are split equally to only those members who worked on the individual project. In both of these scenarios dues from the group are used to purchase supplies in bulk to bring down the costs for all members.

This grouping shares particular qualities with both Encroaching and Rehabilitative Commercialization. Those in the Village Operation, similar to Encroaching Commercialization, can feel the pressure to produce more, faster as the collective and demand grows. They can also feel the effects of commercialization seen in Cohen’s Rehabilitative Commercialization, most especially if the leader of a particular collective finds standardization to be important for the group. This is already the case in a village collective in Bantul. Pak Suyono is in charge of the

Wayang Kulit Center in Bantul. This center is Pak Suyono's house where the local collective sells puppets to locals as well as to middle-men, like Pak Sagio. The collective is named *Paguyuban*, or Circle of Friends. The purposes of the group, according to Pak Suyono, are to standardize the puppets made by the group, collect puppets from the craftsmen, make distributing supplies easier, and to use multimedia to share the experiences of the craftsmen. When asked how he goes about standardizing the group's puppets, Pak Suyono said he divides the craftsmen based on their skill level and he distributes patterns from *wayang kulit* books and gives them to the craftsmen (30 Jan 2015). This is similar to Cohen's Rehabilitative Commercialization where a sponsoring agency, in this case the *penatah* collective, creates a standard catalog of goods leading to standardization.

Pak Suyono also states that, as the goal of the collective is to increase sales and be able to distribute funds to the members of the group, most of the *penatah* in the area are now making souvenirs. Even if they still make puppets for *dalang* and internal collectors, all craftsmen in the group make souvenir puppets and many have shifted to exclusively creating souvenirs. They still produce the standard puppets for local collectors as well as to sell to middle-men when orders are commissioned, like my Kresna puppet. Pak Suyono is another craftsman who has claimed to have invented the souvenir, or small, sized puppets. Pak Suyono has stated that he got the idea because he did not want to waste his leather scraps so he made small, 10cm, puppets first and then started to make keychains, book marks, etc. He could not remember a date for this creation though (30 Jan 15). For these small puppets, he has created a pattern from his design that resembles the standard *wayang kulit purwa* puppets that he also distributes to the collective. As with other craftsmen who have designed smaller puppets Pak Suyono notes that because they are so small he obviously could not fit all of the details in. He did say that he took extreme care to make sure the face of these puppets looked as close to the original as possible though.

TOURISM VILLAGE

The final division of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship businesses is that of the Tourism Village. This typology falls almost entirely under Eric Cohen's Rehabilitative Commercialization. In this typology, however, the supporting agency can be an external or internal agency. In the case of the Wayang Kulit Village in Wonogiri, the supporting agency is

from Jakarta, not from an organization outside of Indonesia, however, still outside of Central Java. Inspired by the tourism village idea, the Punakawan Collective from the outskirts of Surakarta is interested in creating a similar tourism village in their rural area and the supporting agency in this case would be the Punakawan Collective. The primary distinction between this typology and the Village Collective is the intention/goals of the supporting agency. These Tourism Villages are focused exclusively on tourist or external guests. Other differences include the way in which funds are distributed and the organized profit sharing systems. Tourism Villages consistently keep large stocks of puppets available in order to sell souvenirs quickly and efficiently to tourists who will not have the time to wait for a custom order. Additionally, they keep a relatively sizable stock of traditionally sized *wayang kulit* puppets for those guests who want a more “authentic” item, but generally keep a larger stock of souvenirs or novelty items. These novelty items can include *wayang kulit* themed fans, bookmarks, and keychains.

Tourism Villages are located a fair distance away from larger cities or tourism hubs. Bearing this in mind, profits from the Tourism Village are not only split between the members of the village, but a portion must be dedicated to infrastructure and general business needs of the community. Funds are dedicated for improvements on existing homes for homestay visits, new buildings to host classes, road repairs, signs, brochures, websites, advertisements, store fronts, and supplies for the craftsmen themselves. Unlike the Village Collective, profits in this typology are also shared with members of the Tourism Village that are not craftsmen but are necessary to keep the village running. Examples of such members are: drivers, cooks, builders, translators, and middle-men. Profit sharing amongst other villagers near or in the tourism village not only helps keep the village running but also appeases villagers whose daily lives might be impacted by the intrusion of the external market into their villages.

Much like in Eric Cohen’s Rehabilitative Commercialization, groups of *penatah* are being revived by the sponsoring agency and there is a focus on puppets being manufactured for external markets. While Cohen believed that this form of commercialization is less pernicious than other forms because there is far less to destroy since the vitality of the culture had already dropped so low in these environments, the sponsoring agency can generally control the market saturation in these areas, and new interest in *wayang kulit* can be sparked in these Tourist Villages, complications still remain. The sponsoring agency in these cases can also establish quality control in Tourism Villages. On one hand, as mentioned, quality control prevents *wayang*

puppets from drifting too far into the realm of “tourist kitsch.” Although, on the other hand, this can lead to the standardization of crafts and loss of regional knowledge. One such example is the creation of a village catalog and use of photocopy machines to copy uniform patterns to be followed at the Wayang Kulit Village. Down the line, both of these trends can lead to standardization and loss of the regional difference in the Wonogiri style. More on this issue will be discussed in chapter six.

Image 5-3. Banner advertisement for the Wayang Kulit Tourism Village



MOVEMENT OF TYPOLOGIES ALONG A SCALE

I have described these typologies as existing on a sliding scale, rather than in groups that are clearly divided from one another. The adoption of this method became necessary because some individual of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship businesses have shifted from one typology into another. It has been observed that while these businesses tend to stay within one typology for extended periods of time, they are still influenced by external factors such as changes in government policies, terrorism, tourism shifts, or economic issues, and typologies and policies for each of these businesses can change accordingly. While, during this research, it has only been observed that businesses have moved from left to right on this scale it is possible that in the future they could move from right to left. As an example, if, in time, the Tourism Village fails

and the village and sponsoring agency decide to disband, the village could easily shift back into a Village Collective. In terms of the more metropolitan divisions, should a severe decline in tourism occur a City Store Front could shift back to selling primarily to the internal market. They could then focus on making standardized puppets as well as improving their skills, rather than producing tourist-sized puppets or novelty items for the external market. More on the movement along this scale will be included in the following chapter.

5.5 QUALITY LEVELS OF MODERN WAYANG KULIT PUPPETS

As previously discussed, several of the business models developed by *wayang kulit penatah* rely on stocking a varied inventory of puppets that fit a range of budgets. Most City Store Front *wayang kulit* businesses will offer traditional puppets in three quality levels: high, medium, and low. Some, like Pak Sagio, will offer all five levels. After interviewing *penatah* who work for themselves and *penatah* who run *wayang kulit* puppetry-based businesses there appear to be two main factors that determine the puppet quality: the skill of the actual carving and the quality of materials used. Using these two main factors there are currently five discernable quality levels for newly created *wayang kulit* puppets being manufactured and sold throughout Central Java. These have always been discernable differences in quality of *wayang kulit* puppets. As some artists in most art forms are more skilled than others at their craft. However, when referring to newly created puppets in this work I am referring puppets that have been made since the development of these market levels in *wayang kulit* businesses.

These levels have been categorized using descriptions given by the craftsmen on what are considered “good quality” and “low quality” carving and materials, in conjunction with how the community views certain materials and what *penatah* can feasibly charge for those materials. The five levels are as follows:

Table 5-2. Price Range for *wayang kulit purwa* puppet levels

| Level | Name | Price Range in Indonesian Rp | Price range in US Dollars ^a |
|-------|-----------------|------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | Kraton Standard | <i>Rp 1.875.000 – Rp 2,500,000</i> | <i>\$150 – \$200</i> |
| 2 | High | <i>Rp 1.275.000 – Rp 1.875.000</i> | <i>\$100 – \$150</i> |
| 3 | Medium | <i>Rp 750.000 – Rp 1.000.000</i> | <i>\$60 – \$80</i> |
| 4 | Low | <i>Rp 500.000 – Rp 750.000</i> | <i>\$40 – \$60</i> |
| 5 | “Kasar” | <i>Rp 250,000</i> | <i>\$20</i> |

^aPrices are based on an average of the 2014-2015 exchange rate during the period of this research (1 US\$ = Rp 12.500,-) from Rupiah to American Dollar.

LEVEL 1 – KRATON STANDARD

The first, and highest, level of modern *wayang kulit* puppets are modeled after the *kraton*-approved images that were released at the end of the 19th century. This style will be noted as “*kraton* style” throughout this work. The skill level of the carving and painting on a puppet of this level must be considered extremely refined. Whether completed in the Yogyakarta or Surakarta style the carving needs to be smooth and delicate throughout. Jagged or rough incisions would immediately drop the quality of a puppet from level 1 to level 2 or possibly lower. The quality of the carving of the face, as mentioned in chapter two, is of particular importance to a Level 1 puppet. Although the rest of the puppet might be exceptional, if the face is not in proportion or carved properly the entire puppet no longer holds the amount of monetary or cultural value needed to classify it as Level 1. Pak Kawi (Surakarta) mentioned, during an interview, that *dalang* are particularly concerned with the face of a puppet. He asserts that the face not only gives a puppet life but is also incredibly important in truly making the character who they are (12 Aug 2014).

Level 1 puppets are made using the “best quality” materials available to Central Javanese craftsmen. What is considered “best quality,” as discussed previously, is based on tradition, price, and public opinion—which is in turn influenced by tradition. Buffalo hide and pure gold leaf, or *prada mas*, are always used for Level 1 puppets as other materials would not qualify as “good enough” for the quality required of these puppets (Sagio, Sihhanto). Some flexibility is allowed for the rest of the necessary materials. Acrylic paint is generally used as it provides a

bright and even color compared to traditional powdered paints. Acrylic also requires fewer touch-ups over time, adding to the level of quality of the puppet. Despite this, if a particular artist was quite skilled with traditional powdered paints and the paint was even and clear, especially on the face, the use of powdered paints would not lower the level of the puppet. However, even if powdered paints were to be used, I have found no evidence of contemporary craftsmen using anything but modern varnish or clear acrylic paint to seal newly made puppets. In regard to paint, a higher-level puppet can also be determined by the level of gradation. As discussed in chapter three, levels of color gradation can be found on jewelry, clothing, and other accessories. A highly skilled painter can add up to five shades or levels of gradation on an individual element. However, four levels suffice for Level 1 and is more common. The complete carving and painting process of a Level 1 puppet could take anywhere from a few days to over a week (Sagio, Sihhanto, Sudiman).

The joints of Level 1 puppets allow for even more variation. The type of joint depends on whom the puppet is made for and how the puppet will be used, if used at all. Level 1 puppets are most commonly used as performance puppets, purchased for rare collections, or given as gifts for very special occasions. Pak Sagio has made puppets of this level as gifts for Presidents Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, Megawati Sukarnoputri, and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. The governments under each president had requested Pak Sagio make these puppets. Pak Sagio did not mention the specific individual in each government who requested the gifts. At the time of this research Pak Sagio had not yet created a puppet for President Joko Widodo and was unsure if he would be asked to. Depending on the use, *penatah* list gold, silver, bone, and leather as possible options for joints on Level 1 puppets. First and foremost, the selection of the joint material can rely purely on the wishes of the buyer as Level 1 puppets are often commissioned pieces. Should no particular joint material be requested, bone or leather will most likely be used if the puppet will be utilized in performances. These are used for performance puppets as they are considered the strongest materials, whereas gold or silver might be selected for decorative puppets or collector's items as they are the least cost-effective choice. Gold in particular is very expensive and a very soft metal that is the least appropriate for performance. (Kawi, Sagio, Sihhanto, Tugiman).

Level 1 puppets remain the closest modern equivalent to those made in the 19th century, as puppets in this category are made with nearly the exact same techniques and equipment. These

puppets are also made with relatively the same materials as they were in the past. White and brown buffalo horn would be acceptable for the handles of a Level 1 puppet. Black buffalo horn would not be appropriate as it can be viewed as “cheap” or low quality by the general community. However, the white buffalo horn, as a rarer material, would most likely add to the overall cost of the puppet (Sutarno 21 Jul 2014). Overall, for Level 1 puppets the tradition behind the designs, the skill level of the *penatah* involved, and the materials used all play into the monetary value of the puppet. Skill and materials aside, there are other justifications as to why *penatah* are able to charge more for these particular puppets. These would include the cultural value surrounding the tradition behind this classical style of puppet, as well as the relative rarity of remaining *penatah* who can carve at this level. Pak Sagio has noted several times that the number of individuals who can produce this style of puppet are dwindling as younger artisans entering the craft were being trained in the lower levels for several years prior to and during the period of this research

Image 5-4. Kresna – Level 1 full

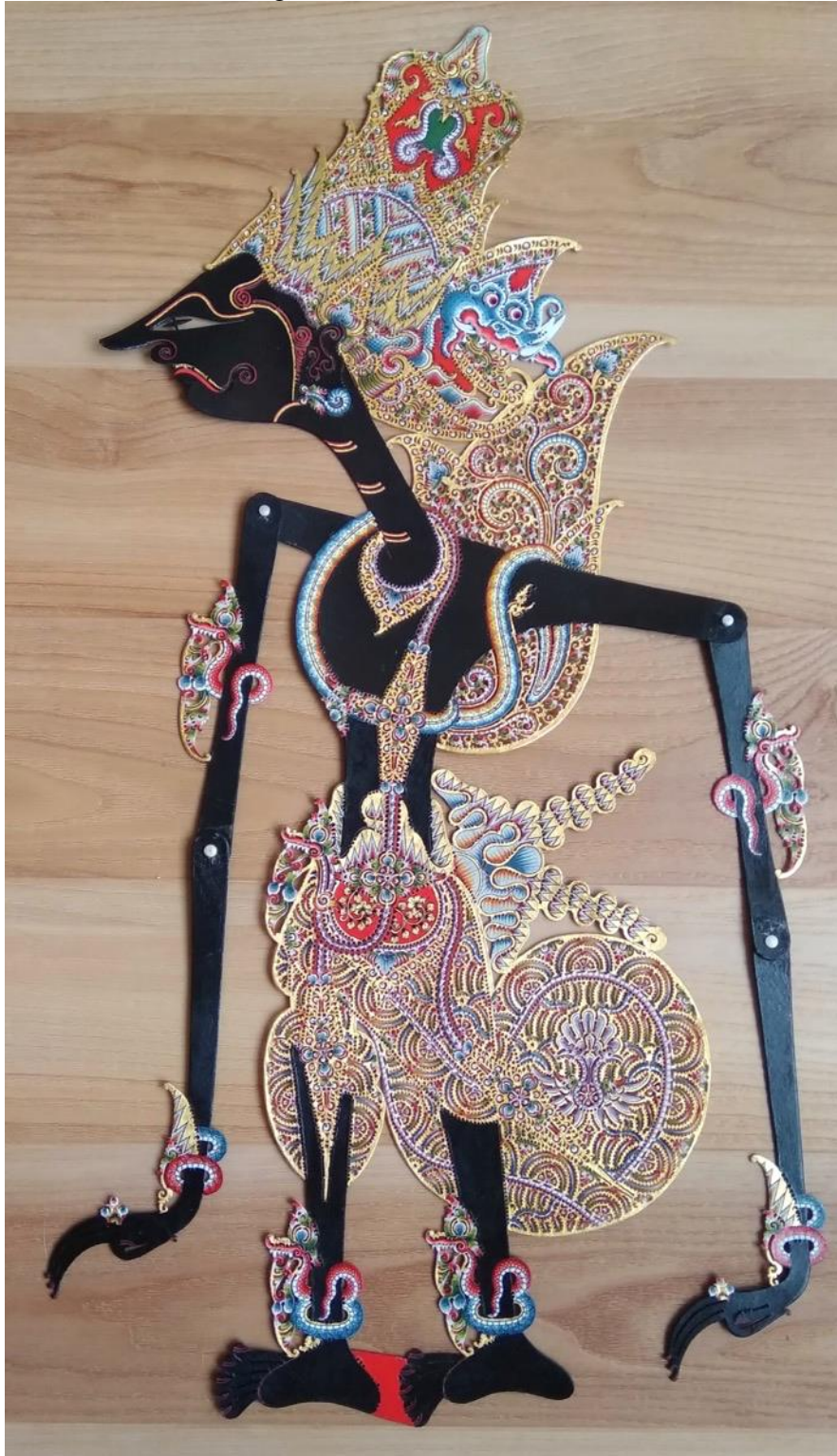


Image 5-5. Kresna – Level 1 detail



LEVEL 2 – HIGH

There are two divisions within the second level of *wayang kulit* puppets: *kraton* standard puppets that do not meet all the standards of Level 1, and high-quality puppets that feature new or modern design elements. A Level 2 puppet might contain all of the same materials and follow the same pattern as a Level 1 puppet but may ultimately lack the precision in carving and painting needed to label it as “*kraton* standard”, therefore falling into the Level 2 category. The second division of Level 2 puppets includes more flexibility regarding the internal design. While all of the levels discussed in this work still encompass traditional characters within the *wayang kulit* repertoire, in levels 2-5 there is more room for a degree of creative interpretation within certain aspects of the design. Clothing patterns, internal filigree, and some decorative jewelry pieces may vary, as long as the core elements of a particular character remain intact. For example, the clothing pattern on an Arjuna puppet could vary from the *kraton* standards and still be considered a high-quality puppet as long as the iconic elements that identify Arjuna—such as his ‘shrimp tail’ hair style, pious downturned head tilt, and almond shaped eye—are all represented. For Level 2 puppets buffalo hide is still used exclusively and this is reflected in the price. As with Level 1 puppets the paint can be either acrylic or powdered. However, all craftsmen observed and interviewed during my fieldwork only used acrylic paints for puppets level 2 and higher as it is simply more practical.

In terms of gradation of color found in level 2 puppets, three to four levels is the norm. Regarding gold found on Level 2 puppets, *penatah* continue to use *prada mas* but gold foil, known as “fake” gold leaf, is also acceptable and would not lower the level of the puppet as long as the carving and design were of high quality. The use of gold foil instead of *prada mas* will, however, generally lower the price of a puppet as the materials do not cost as much to procure. Occasionally gold acrylic paint will be used on puppets in this level to keep costs low as well. In other words, the level of gold (foil, *prada mas*, or acrylic) does not affect a puppet’s level if the carving is high, but instead affects the overall price of the puppet.

Joints on Level 2 puppets can be brass, bone, leather, or plastic. This choice, again, might fall to the buyer who commissioned the puppet, be determined by the puppet’s final purpose, or rely on the *penatah*’s artistic choice. All four options would be acceptable for a Level 2 puppet with plastic being the cheapest option among the four. For the handles, brown buffalo horn is the preference for level 2 puppets. The use of white horn, black horn, or other materials would be

highly irregular for a level 2 puppet. A Level 2 puppet will take somewhere between a few days to slightly over a week to complete in full. Puppets in this level are commonly used in performance by *dalang*, given as gifts, or collected by collectors and middle-men.

Image 5-6. Kresna – Level 2 full

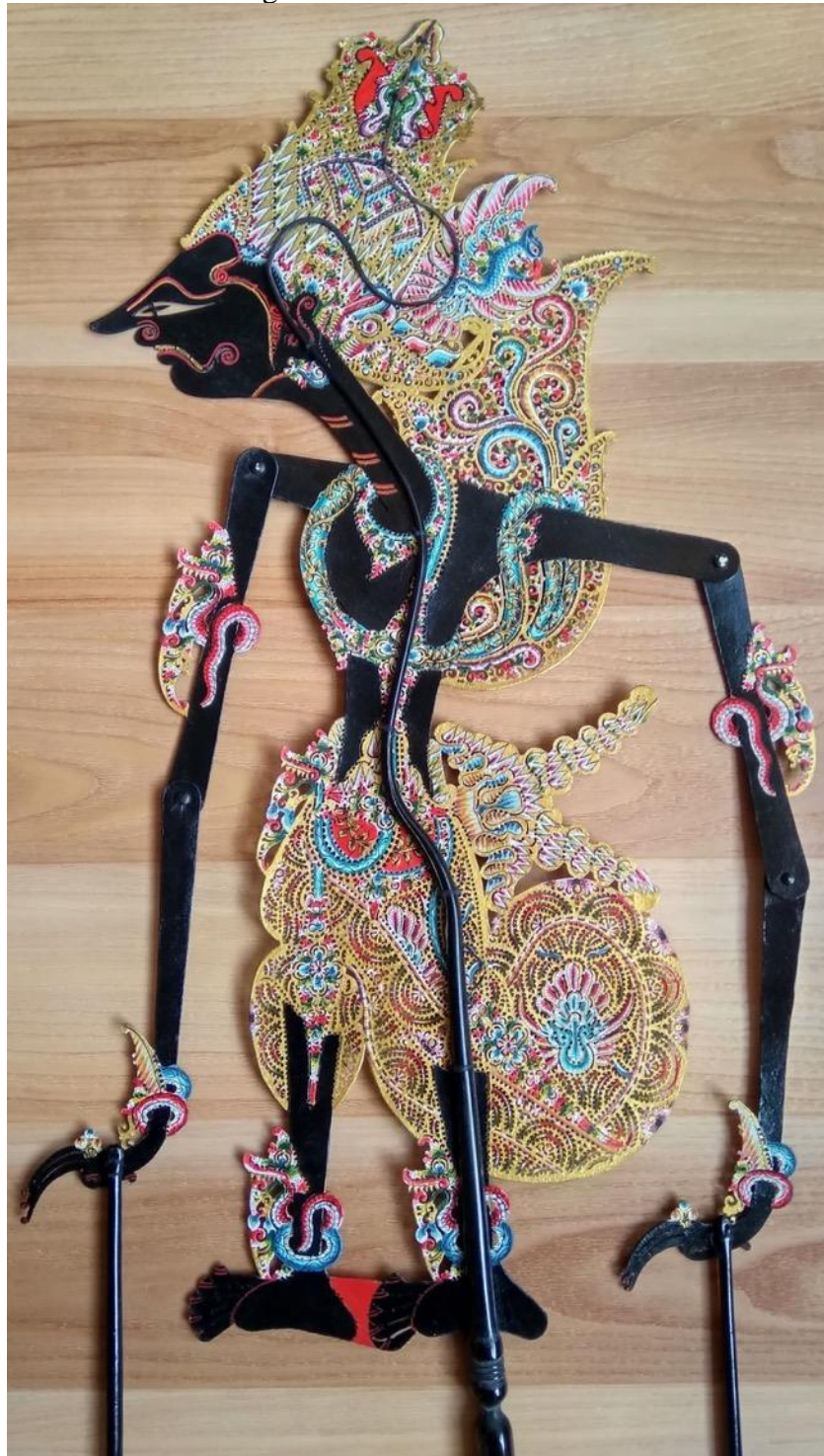


Image 5-7. Kresna – Level 2 detail



LEVEL 3 – MEDIUM

The third level of *wayang kulit* puppets allows for the same levels of artistic interpretations as Level 2. Internal carving will be slightly rougher or slightly less “dense.” The carving being less “dense” or spread further apart is commonly done not because it is a particular style but because this method takes less time to fill an entire puppet. Cutting back on the internal carving detail for a quicker production time also means a lower cost. However, the utmost attention still needs to be given to the carving of the face. Relatively speaking, the quality of carving and painting can be difficult to detect between Levels 2 and 3. The price and quality difference between the two levels is mostly reflected in the cost of materials used. For example, it is in this level that we begin to see the use of cow hide. While buffalo leather can be used for Levels 1 through 4, cow is only seen in Levels 3 through 5. We also begin to see the use of a variety of paints beginning in Level 3. Acrylic paint is commonly used for Level 3 puppets; however, some craftsmen may choose to use house paint for these puppets. House paint is a popular option among many craftsmen as it can be bought in large quantities for low prices. A few varieties of color of house paint are commonly purchased and, similar to traditional powdered paints and acrylic, can then be mixed together to create the variety of colors needed. Comparable to Level 2, in painting levels of gradation, three to four layers of color are found on Level 3 puppets. The joints of these puppets are commonly made using brass, bone, leather, or plastic. Again, depending on the future use of the puppet or the artistic choice of the buyer or *penatah*. For the handles, brown or black buffalo horn is preferred and used often in this level, though, in order to keep prices low fiberglass or resin handles can be found in this level to keep costs low. However, as mentioned previously, many *dalang* prefer to not use fiberglass or resin handles as the material can be itchy if held too long. The lighter weight of the handles can also significantly affect how the *dalang* moves and controls their puppets if they were trained using traditional buffalo horn handles. The puppets in this level are often used by *dalang* for performance, purchased for collections, given as gifts, or bought by middle-men. This is also the level where we begin to see a large number of tourists purchasing puppets (Kawi, Sagio). While it is not unheard of for tourists or members of the external market to purchase higher levels of *wayang kulit* puppets, it is quite rare. These purchases are also generally made by buyers who have a greater knowledge of *wayang kulit* than your average tourist. Examples of buyers above Level 2 can be foreigners who reside in Indonesia, academics, members of the Indonesian

diaspora, or others who may have a larger knowledge of *wayang kulit* or particular *penatah*. However, level 3's lower price point makes it the first level that seems more appropriate for the average tourist who may not want to spend over \$100 on a full-sized *wayang kulit* puppet (Kawi 14 Aug 2014). The full process of completing a Level 3 puppet can take a few days to a week to complete.

Image 5-8. Kresna – Level 3 full

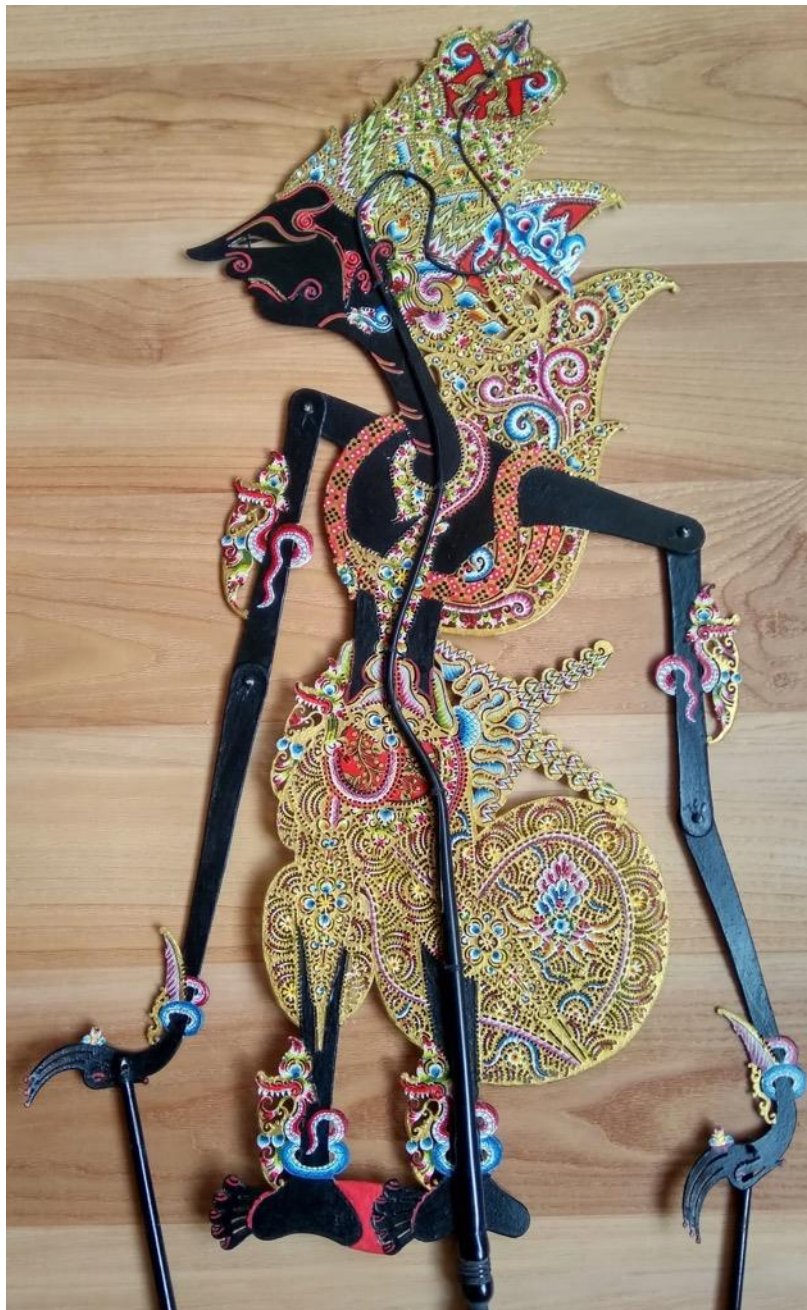


Image 5-9. Kresna – Level 3 detail



LEVEL 4 – LOW

A considerable decrease in quality can be seen starting at the fourth level of *wayang kulit* puppets. This level of puppet may be made out of cow or buffalo leather. However, the buffalo leather used for Level 4 puppets is generally a lower quality leather. There might be blemishes, discoloration, or unevenness in the hide chosen for a Level 4 puppet. The lesser quality of the hides chosen for these puppets keeps the price low to meet the demand of clientele with a tighter budget. Speed is usually essential in producing these puppets as the majority of Level 4 puppets are produced as souvenirs. *Penatah* may include only the base internal carvings needed to represent each individual character. However, the quality of this carving is generally considered quite “rough.” Perceived “roughness” can be explained as carving patterns appearing far less delicate or even jagged and uneven. To give two examples, the *bubukan* or small circles, may appear lopsided or irregular and the negative space in the *rumpilan*, might be much wider as less time was taken to ensure delicate and small perforations. As mentioned above, many of the smaller *wayang kulit* puppets or “tourist sized” puppets fall in this category as it is hard to get much detail in the smaller sized puppets. Also, as these puppets are often being made for external market buyers who will generally not have an understanding of the delicate details in the puppet they are often skipped over to save time and increase productivity.

Image 5-10. Level 1 *rumpilan* and Level 4 *rumpilan*



The paint used for Level 4 puppets is predominately house paint or lower quality modern paints that are not as vibrant in color as more expensive acrylic versions. Craftsmen working on Level 4 puppets often mix gasoline with these types of paint to thin them out. This process makes the paint easier to apply and speeds the drying time (Waluyo 30 Jan 2015). However, this process can also lead to patchy coloring on a puppet if different batches of a color are mixed and applied to a single puppet. Should too much gasoline be added to a batch, it can also create an overall coat that appears cloudy. In terms of painting the levels of gradation, two or occasionally three levels in gradation of color can be found on Level 4 puppets. Craftsmen also tend to use much broader strokes when compared to Levels 1 through 3, due to the *penatah* being far less practiced or skilled in the delicate painting techniques of higher-level artisans. While gold paint or acrylic is often used for Level 4 puppets this is the first level where *brom* may also be used.

Joints for level 4 puppets are made from brass, bone, leather, or plastic. The choice can once again be based on clientele requests or artistic choice. When asked, many craftsmen will just reply with a version of “it just depends.” However, from what I have observed, it is often based on what the *penatah* has ready on hand when they are putting the puppet together. As for the handles, it is not uncommon that buffalo horn, particularly black buffalo horn, will be used for Level 4 puppets. Although, puppets of this level are more often found with wood, bamboo, plastic, fiberglass or resin handles. Puppets may also be made with two different handle materials. The Level 4 puppet I purchased from Pak Sagio, who commissioned out the carving and painting of this puppet to a Bantul carver, has a buffalo horn main handle but has wooden handles attached to the puppet’s arms. This will generally be done to keep costs down but ensure that the main handle will not hurt the hands of the individual holding it. A full-sized Level 4 puppet will often be made in two to three days depending on how long the paint takes to dry between layers and colors. However, the length of time needed to create a souvenir puppet in this category can vary greatly due to the wide variety of sizes and shapes that are present. The souvenir puppets in this category can include keychains, bookmarks, small framed puppets, and other shapes. These puppets, even if full-sized, will most likely never be used for performance. This is due to the fact that the shadow produced from these puppets would not be very good due to the lack of definition in the carving generally found in this level. The lack of carving and rushed quality to the paint would also mean the puppet would most likely not be very inspiring to the *dalang* using the puppet in performance.

Image 5-11. Kresna – Level 4 full



Image 5-12. Kresna – Level 4 detail



LEVEL 5 – “KASAR”

Level 5 or “kasar” puppets are the most striking of the various levels as they look the furthest from “kraton style,” the images of *wayang kulit* an Indonesian would have grown up seeing, and the images a foreigner might see on websites, in advertisements, or in brochures. The term “kasar” here is used differently than when describing the character or “kasar” puppets. Here it does not mean rough or unrefined in character but rather rough, as in not smooth, in quality. “Kasar” puppets include only the base elements of a specific character and little to no internal carving. Excluding the face, small elements of internal carving might be found on the *mahkota* or crown, necklace and chest adornments, on the *praba* or backwing, and along the legs to add definition. Some Level 5 puppets may also include a few carving patterns on the clothing. These carvings are commonly uneven and rough, as craftsmen tend to carve multiple Level 5 puppets at once. Carving multiple puppets at once is done in order to speed up production. In order to accomplish this the leather for “kasar” puppets must be much thinner than found in the other levels of puppets. This thinness can then result in warped, bent, and cracked leather over time. The leather for these puppets is almost predominately cow leather but goat leather can be used as well, especially if making a smaller puppet. The paint used for Level 5 is almost exclusively house paint, and again this paint is also occasionally mixed with gasoline. Utilizing gasoline will depend on the preference of the craftsmen involved. Craftsmen making level 5 puppets also tend to use paint colors “as is,” or in their purchased form, rather than mixing pre-purchased colors into a wider variety of shades. Therefore, the colors on Level 5 puppets tend to be regulated to only a few primary colors rather than the variety of subdued soft colors found in other levels. The paint strokes themselves are also broad and quite obviously done with speed. Also, if gradation of color exists in a “kasar” puppet there are usually no more than two levels. Some of the internal detail normally found in higher levels may also be painted on quickly in lieu of carving that detail in the puppet. This is done to still give the effect of the character without having to spend the time carving in these details. Gold application on Level 5 puppets is done with gold paint or *brom* rather than using any form of gold leaf.

The joints on Level 5 puppets are almost always made from plastic but can be made from leather as leather scraps are readily available to craftsmen. The handles for these puppets are made from wood, bamboo, or rattan. Multiple Level 5 puppets can be produced in a single day. They may, however, take more than one day to dry completely depending on the thickness of

paint layers and the weather. During the rainy season in Indonesia paint can take longer to dry due to the high humidity levels. The puppets in this level are entirely souvenir puppets. They are often commissioned, as mine was, or purchased in bulk from middle-men for souvenir shops (Waluyo 20 Jan 2015). They can also be occasionally requested in small numbers from a Tourist Collective to be shown as examples of the possible work that collective members can create.

Image 5-13. Kresna – Level 5 full

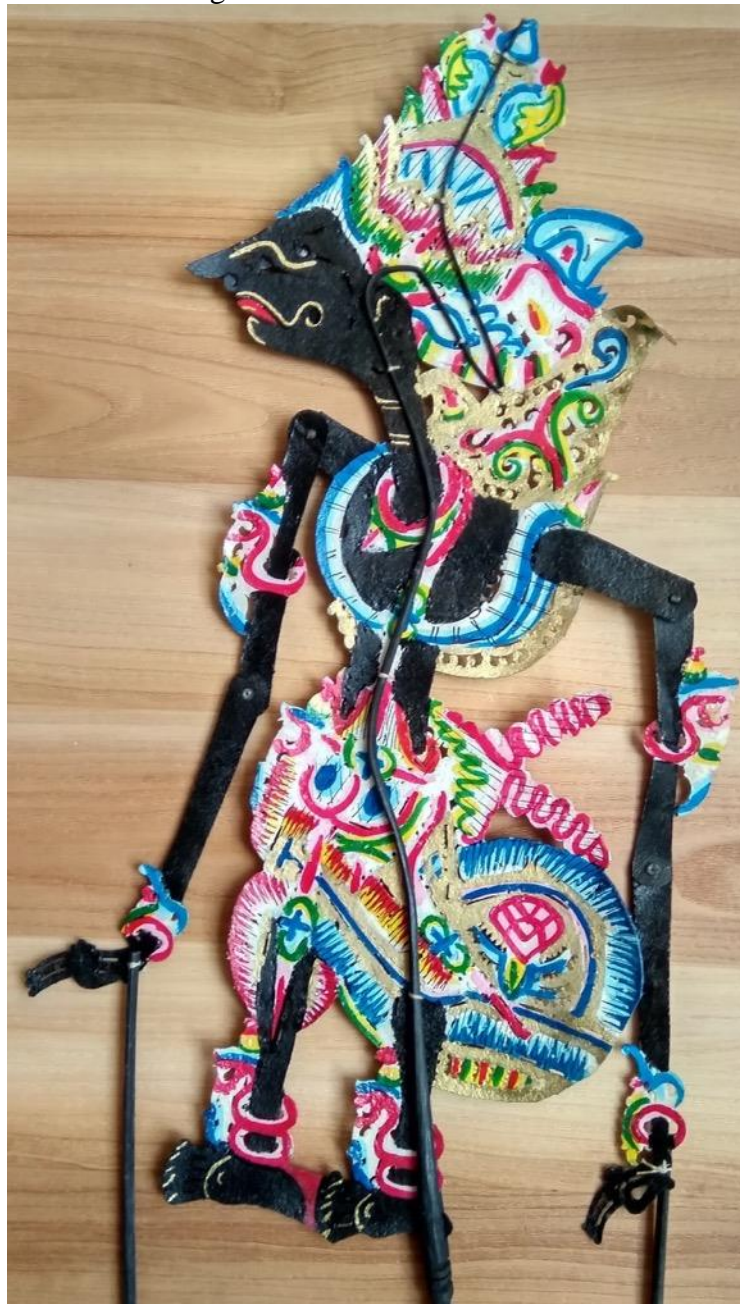


Image 5-14. Kresna – Level 5 detail



One last element influencing the pricing of *wayang kulit* puppets is the reputation or fame of the actual *penatah* themselves. The popularity of a *penatah*—one who is well known and renowned for his skills or is a favorite of a popular *dalang*—can be reflected in pricing. However, this is usually only found in Levels 1-2, uncommon in Level 3, and incredibly rare to nonexistent in Levels 4 and 5. All five of levels can be found and purchased in the larger tourist destinations of both Surakarta and Yogyakarta, however it is rare to find Level 1 and Level 2 outside of the heart of the metropolises

Image 5-15. Comparison of Levels 1 and 5 full

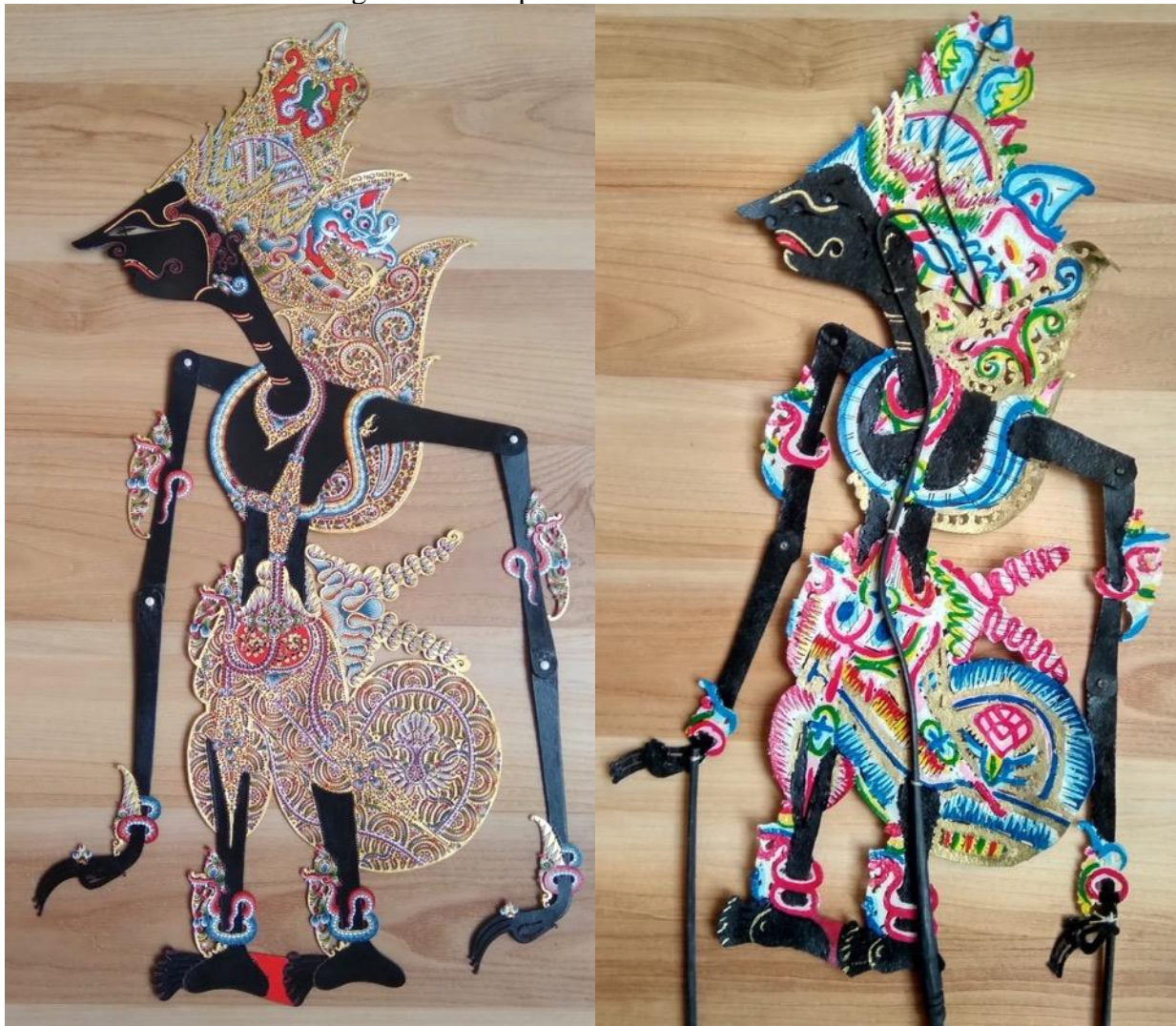


Image 5-16. Comparison of Levels 1, 2, and 3 detail



Image 5-17. Comparison of Levels 4 and 5 detail



CHAPTER SIX

THE FUTURE OF WAYANG KULIT CRAFTSMANSHIP

*When carriages drive without horses,
ships fly through the sky, and a necklace of
iron surrounds the island of Java. When
women wear men's clothing, and children
neglect their aged parents, know that the
time of madness has begun.*

- Ramalan Jayabaya⁴¹

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to summarize the overall objectives and findings in this work as laid out in the previous chapters. This section of the dissertation will focus on addressing the key findings of this research by highlighting the major changes to *wayang kulit* carving history and the carving process; how government policies and attitudes towards tourism and culture have and continue to effect *wayang kulit* carving; and the newly developed typologies of *wayang kulit* carving. Following these summaries, the main findings of this work will be used to present hypotheses for the potential paths of *wayang kulit* carving and performance in the future. These hypotheses will be strengthened through comparisons to similar art forms in other Southeast Asian nations that have previously dealt with large influxes of tourism. Suggestions for future research in areas where craftsmanship, performance, and tourism meet will also be expanded on at the end of this chapter.

⁴¹ Translated from the original Javanese by Thomas Reuter in his paper "Spiritual Imagination and Societal Change in Indonesia: The Prophecies of King Jayabaya."

6.2 SUMMARY OF SHIFTS IN THE CREATION PROCESS

In providing both a history of and contemporary update on Central Javanese *wayang kulit* craftsmanship, this study has combined several significant historical adaptations into a distinct history of *wayang kulit* carving and painting. Examples of the major historical changes in craftsmanship include the first documented example of puppets with internal carving in 1525 CE ordered by Raden Patah of Demak, the first use of gilding in 1555 CE by Sunan of Giri, the addition of specific characters having bowed heads in 1641 by Sultan Agung Anyakrakusuma, and most importantly the advent of jointed arms around 1630 CE at the Mataram court. This shift in puppet carving and construction drastically changed the future of all *wayang kulit* performance moving forward. This addition allowed for new active puppet movements and more technically advanced and complex battle scenes. Jointed movements were also a possible catalyst for the addition of more characters on screen at a single time as it became far clearer which character was speaking on screen with the simple movement of an arm. This movement is still today far easier for a *dalang* as the handles attached to the hand(s) hang freely where the main handle, *gapit*, is wedged into the banana log to keep it sturdy and in one place. Moving the arm of a puppet to show who is speaking is a far easier and quicker way for a *dalang* to perform during a scene compared to the movement of an entire puppet. Another such significant change occurred in 1683 CE when Sunan Mangkurat of Kartasura requested certain characters be represented by more than one puppet to mark different periods in their lives. This change added to the average number of puppets that would eventually be kept in a puppeteer's collection. However, even with all of the changes to the shapes, motifs, and designs of the puppets over the history of *wayang kulit*, it became clear during this research that major changes to the puppet's shapes and forms stopped following the release of *kraton*-approved character images at the end of the 19th century. While this may have been known within the *wayang kulit* community, it is not discussed in English language literature nor is it widely discussed amongst Indonesian practitioners as it is one of those things that is "just done". Despite this standardization at this time with the release of these images craftsmen did not simply trace these drawings or directly copy the forms without continuing to learn the reasoning and meanings behind the motifs, patterns, and iconography in each character, as is seen in the modern photocopy method. Rather, all the characters, images, and motifs were still committed to memory and then referenced over time. The reason for the difference between the utilization of *kraton*-approved images and the

book images that are now photocopied and reproduced is largely due to the desire for an increased rate of production.

Several significant materials and tools have been also added to the process of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship over the past several decades. Beginning with the leather, buffalo hide remains the preferred leather for creating *wayang kulit* puppets for performance but there has been an increase in the use of goat and cow hides as they are far more cost effective. The increase in cow and goat leather is particularly clear as a prime material for the creation of ‘tourist puppets’ and *wayang kulit* based souvenir items. With these puppets and souvenirs not being used for performance or exposed to the elements as often as a performance puppet would be, the long-term maintenance issues normally accounted for in choosing a hide type are no longer a major concern.

Creating *purwa* inspired puppets that will not be used for performance has also allowed for several other cost-saving materials to be introduced. The use of plastic for both handles and joints was introduced in the late 1980s to early 2000s, depending on the craftsman. Since these puppets would not be used for performance purposes, the weight of the handle would not need to be taken into account, opening up the options for what materials could be used. Fiberglass, rattan, and other grass products were then also introduced as viable options for souvenir puppet handles as well. As discussed in the previous chapters, buffalo horn is the traditional and still preferred material for *wayang kulit* handles. With *dalang* being predominately, if not completely, trained using puppets with buffalo handles, it would be incredibly difficult for them to switch to a lighter-weight plastic or fiberglass. Again, the change in weight would make it difficult for *dalang* to perform specific *sabetan*, or movements, during a performance. As an example, the complete 360-degree vertical rotation, or flip, of a character would be particularly challenging using a lighter-weight handle than a *dalang* had been trained with. The majority of *dalang* are trained using an older set of puppets, their mentor’s collection(s) for example, before they buy their own. These older puppets are made using buffalo horn handles and therefore even the younger generation of *dalang* still prefer and even need buffalo horn handles to perform at their best. Given that the weight of the handles is crucial to the performance needs of a *dalang*, non-buffalo horn handles have remained primarily in the realm of tourist puppets and souvenirs. It is also important to note here that fiberglass handles can begin to hurt the hand if they are held too long. So, at the time of this writing, there is no foreseen danger of the knowledge needed to craft

wayang kulit handles out of buffalo horn being lost to time or modernization. As Pak Sagio noted, even younger and unexperienced *dalang* will spend extra for buffalo horn handles for their first set of *wayang kulit* puppets. Should they be on strict budget they might purchase the lowest grade (black) handles and save money elsewhere. As an example, a *dalang* might purchase only the characters they need right away and build their puppet box as they go rather than purchase a complete puppet box (150+ characters) all at once (Sagio 11 Jul 2014; Sutarno 5 Jul 2014). A young *dalang* could also take other cost saving approaches and, as an example, purchase their first set made entirely with acrylic paint rather than invest in a more expensive gold covering, like real gold leaf, at the beginning of their career.

Other modern adaptations have been added to the craftsmanship process that have not affected a *dalang*'s performance ability or the historical themes in a puppet but rather streamlined the overall craftsmanship process. This has been accomplished either through modern ease of purchasing materials, a quicker application or use of a product/tool, or both. Some examples of this are the use of sandpaper and acrylic paints on the puppets themselves and power sanding tools on the handles. Sandpaper was introduced into the crafting process by the mid-seventies as a quicker alternative to emery stones, shells, and glass. According to the *penatah* interviewed for this work, acrylic paints were introduced into the crafting process at some point in the 1950s and merely replaced powdered paint in the painting of a *purwa* puppet. Buying pre-made paints was far quicker than creating *ancur* and each individual paint color from scratch. The same colors and processes are used in painting each puppet except buying and using acrylic paints is a far quicker process. Refer to Tables 3-3 and 3-4 for a reminder of the colors and paints used in the painting process. Craftsmen have found that an added bonus to the speed of acrylic is the longevity of the paint. Acrylic lasts much longer than powdered paints before it needs far less touch-up repairs. This is particularly accurate in the case of clear acrylic paint used as a sealant for puppets. Unlike the traditional egg white sealant, acrylic paint lasts longer and does not attract bugs that eat the leather.

One of the major findings of this work and one of the changes that has the highest probability to shape the future of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship and performance is the use of photocopy machines in the crafting process. The method of copying drawings or photos of specific characters from books and printing them out from a photocopy machine has, for many, replaced the process of learning all the outlines of each character, and how and why specific

internal details can be blended to create those characters in the *wayang kulit purwa* repertoire. This was particularly evident in, but not exclusive to, the more rural *wayang kulit* locales or groupings: Village Operations, Village Collectives, and Tourism Villages. In these areas, photocopies of certain characters are often chosen and distributed to individuals or throughout the community to be traced and then carved. Village Collectives do this almost exclusively to guarantee similar quality and patterns of all puppets created within the collective. With this practice, *penatah* with lesser motif or iconography training and *penatah* who were trained in a different style may still join and work in a collective relatively quickly. The images that are photocopied in this method are taken from books that focus on larger regional designs like Yogyakarta, Surakarta, or Jakarta. These larger regional styles are chosen because more rural regions, such as Wonogiri, have not yet produced publications documenting their styles. Therefore, the only options available to be copied are examples of the larger regional styles from major cities who have *kraton*, regional government, and/or university funding to back the publication of these books.

Due to this practice of only creating exact copies of the larger regional styles from books, smaller regional styles and variations will likely get lost over time. The majority of the younger generations of craftsmen observed during this study were being taught to carve not by memorizing what iconography and motifs make up each individual character and why, but by focusing on the photocopy method instead. Under this style of tutelage, new craftsmen are initially taught how to hold and use the *tatah*, then the basic sixteen carving patterns, and finally moving on to learn to trace images of “good” characters from print-outs and following those traced patterns. While copying examples of a master teacher’s work has been a part of the methodology of teaching *wayang kulit* puppetry for generations, it was generally precluded and followed by the reasons for the motifs, patterns, and iconography and with which characters they worked. As an example, this method was prevalent in how Pak Sihhanto in Surakarta was taught (30 Aug 2014). When asked why specific motifs were placed where they were or what certain elements signified in a puppet many craftsmen under the age of thirty could not give an explanation outside of what basic iconography meant like head tilt, eye shape, or body size. Older craftsmen, however, and/or those who worked for the *kraton*, like Pak Sihhanto and Pak Sagio, could speak to more specifics about both iconography and motifs. Unfortunately, in the photocopy method and process not only are the specifics of regional differences being lost, but

information on specific motifs, patterns, and characters are also being lost with many artists of the younger generations as well.

There are two main reasons why the release of *kraton*-approved puppet images was handled so differently at the end of the 19th century in comparison to how the modern photocopy method was being used at the time of this research. Primarily, the reason for this change has to do with available technology. The introduction of the photocopy machine made production quicker and more uniform for both individuals and groups. While it might take an hour to trace the *kraton*-approved images or trace the outline of a puppet, anyone can scan, blow up, and print dozens of copies of an image on a photocopy machine all in five to ten minutes. Once you know how the machine works, of course. The second reason for the different reception between the two methods of standardization has to do with the need for the acceleration of craftsmanship. This need for quicker craftsmanship comes primarily from the relationship between the growth of tourism in Central Java and the growth of the craftsmanship community as a whole. Lured by the promise of the external market, craftsmen shifted the main demographic they were producing for, and since this new demographic was mostly unaware of the intricacies and codes found in *wayang kulit* puppets, it shifted how they could and why they should produce. This generally meant simpler, less intricate puppets with a strong focus on producing only “positive” or “good” characters.

A focus being placed only on “positive” characters in both rural and metropolitan businesses also has a potential to affect *wayang kulit* craftsmanship. As mentioned, when discussing supply and demand in chapter four, a distinct focus is being placed on puppets that will sell in all typologies of *wayang kulit* businesses. The foremost *raison d’être* of the *wayang kulit* craftsmen and businesses in Central Java is to support themselves and their families through their art—simply because the vast majority of them do not have the luxury of creating art just for art’s sake but they want to continue crafting. Customers, both foreign and domestic, are somewhat exclusively purchasing characters that are considered “good.” As previously discussed, these are characters buyers see performed in both dance and puppet performances and/or characters widely known in Indonesia to be “good,” like Arjuna or Rama and Sita. The focus on creating only “good” characters has the potential, in the long run, for craftsmen to forget or never learn elements of the full range of regional styles and general rules of puppet carving. Some examples of these general rules include the proportions of body shapes, as well as

arm lengths and proportions. With newer generations only learning specific characters, specifics and rules for less common characters and motifs could also be lost. A more in-depth examination on the reasons behind Central Javanese *penatah*'s focus on creating 'good' characters will be covered in the "From Purwa to Tourist Puppet"-section of this chapter.

In terms of the experiences and history of craftsmen, a greater appreciation for the growth of the craftsmanship community in Central Java was developed through an analysis of the divide between *dalang* and pure *penatah* in chapter five. Although analysis of available historical sources and oral histories related by the craftsmen themselves revealed no known precise date for when a divide formed between *dalang* who both carved and performed and *penatah* who only carved and did not perform. What was discerned from this research is that by the early 1980s there were several established and growing communities of purely *wayang kulit* craftsmen in Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Wonogiri, and Bantul (Sagio; Sukarno; Kawi; Suyono; Waluyo). Meaning craftsmen who created *wayang kulit* puppets but were not also *dalang*. As discussed, while it is possible that there has always been a division between craftsmen who do not perform and those craftsmen who do, this work has taken the stance that the divide is a more recent phenomenon. The primary reasons indicated for this increase of *penatah* across Central Java during this period were shown to be twofold. The first of which being the shifting performance demands on and the growing status of Javanese *dalang*. The second reason, to be discussed below, being growing foreign and domestic tourism to Central Java.

6.3 THE ROLE OF TOURISM AND BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

Analyzing Indonesia's approaches to culture and tourism policies in chapter four provided context for many of the changes in the *wayang kulit* craftsmanship community post- 1970, as well as for the need for developing *wayang kulit* typologies. Chapter four began with a look into tourism's beginnings in Indonesia following the Dutch conquest of Bali in 1846 and the Dutch government's reactionary "Ethical Policy" in 1908. The implementation of said policy paved the way for future governments in Indonesia to use the marketability of culture as a means of drawing in tourism and therefore capital. The chapter continued by following Indonesia's cultural and touristic policy decisions up until the election of President Jokowi. The next section

will summarize and analyze how the Indonesian government's policies, or lack of them, have affected *wayang kulit* craftsmanship and how these choices may shape the future of the art form.

HOW TOURISM LEGISLATION HAS AFFECTED PENATAH PRACTICES

As mentioned, tourism policy began in Indonesia with the Dutch conquest of Bali and the implementation of their reactionary “Ethical Policy” in 1908. Following the creation of this policy and the decision to make Bali the focus of the Dutch-led Official Tourism Bureau, the number of foreign visitors to Bali grew significantly. Tourism in Bali grew to several hundred tourists in the 1920s and then to several thousand in the 1930s. This growth of foreign arrivals generated both local Balinese and Dutch government interest in tourism, culture, and political policy. It also necessitated the convening of several cultural congresses, conferences, and debates in Indonesia throughout the entirety of the 20th century. Of particular importance was the cultural congress held in 1954. In contrast to the first and second congresses, this 1954 congress promoted “increasing state intervention, control and leadership” (Jones 2013: 83). Support for the idea of increased intervention into culture and art would continue throughout Sukarno's tenure as president with his “Guided Democracy” policy, and into the New Order regime as well.

Chapters four and five also delved into the evolving patronage demographic of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship from Dutch occupancy to the current period of this research. With Dutch colonialism power shifted from the local courts in Central Java to that of a far-away central government in Batavia, now Jakarta. Following this relocation, the Central Javanese courts had less soft-capital with which to influence the arts, causing performers and craftsmen to look elsewhere for patronage. Performers and craftsmen began to look to wealthy individuals, businesses, or other sponsored events to support their art. This quest to diversify patronage continued in the mid-1940s and into the 1950s and 1960s in the wake of social and economic hardships brought on by the Japanese invasion and World War II. In the late 1960s and early 1970s Indonesia began to see rebounding tourism numbers, which provided a rotating audience of both foreign and domestic tourists for traditional performances. Fresh audiences meant customers who were willing to pay to both see and then own Indonesian cultural pieces as a memory or token of their trip. In turn, this provoked a stimulation of the arts, including *wayang kulit* during this period. Many *wayang kulit* artists and practitioners were thus motivated to adjust

how they funded their craft, with scores turning to tourism rather than court, government, or individual sponsors. This redirection caused *wayang kulit* artists, both *dalang* and *penatah* to assess how, when, and perhaps even why they would create *wayang kulit* moving forward. The resulting assessment was ultimately the onset of some *wayang kulit* artists adopting a tourist focus in their arts as well as the further development of tourist performances, and puppet displays in hotels. During this period in *wayang kulit* production history the production of “tourist puppets” began.

Following the declaration of independence after WWII, an additional expansion of tourism ensued, along with the development of the idea of a “national culture” in Jakarta. This development began with a selection of cultural items or practices that represented a “national culture” and was, and still is, problematic for the island nation of Indonesia, a country that is made up of numerous islands and various distinctive cultures. Ideals of a “national culture” differed from the court systems known to Central Java, courts that were careful to maintain, cultivate, and elaborate on their own distinctive artistic styles. Inversely, the central Indonesian government was deliberately centralizing, normalizing, and standardizing the performing arts for use as a marketing tool (Picard 47).

As discussed in previous chapters, this ideal and process was then strengthened through the policies of Suharto, the New Order Regime, the First Five Year Development Plan, and the ideas and policies of Lieutenant-General Ali Moertopo and his *Strategi Kebudayaan*, or *Cultural Strategies*. The government’s push towards modern and professional, as Felicia Hughes-Freeland described it, created a fundamental conflict for artists between the ethos of professionalism and the artist, because here professionalism is linked to commercial success which puts a value on art (220). Especially disconcerting was the centralized government’s desire to control, mold, and define idealized versions of traditions into a “national culture” and to prescribe what is considered art. While the New Order Regime was clear in its position to move Indonesia towards a more professional and modern society, it experienced difficulties with defining and organizing both culture and tourism within the government. Despite a desire to use culture as a tool to develop tourism, the Indonesian government had a muddled understanding of how to handle these concepts and which departments of government should oversee them. As discussed in the previous chapter, oversight of both culture and tourism shifted repeatedly from one department to another throughout the 1980s and 1990s, and up to the most recent shift under President

Jokowi.

Despite constant reorganization in the government, tourism in the 1980s and 1990s did continue to grow in Indonesia as a whole and particularly in Central Java. Despite several setbacks in growth due to economic difficulties, civil unrest, or terrorist activity, overall foreign tourism into Indonesia has continuously shown progress. With the tourism industry showing increasing financial promise, more craftsmen began to turn to tourism and tourism-based artistry. By the time this research was conducted, every craftsman that was interviewed and observed for this project worked in some capacity within the tourism structure. The only exception was Pak Mantan, who had retired from carving and work altogether. However, the lack of direct local government financial support, incentives, or tourism regulation in Central Java has created some rather problematic business practices in *wayang kulit* craftsmanship.

While the governments of Central Java and DIY are pro-tourism due to the financial prospects involved in tourism growth, they have not yet truly invested financially in or implemented strong regulation to protect those artisans who produce traditional culture. As an example, the Punakawan Village Collective in Surakarta has drawn up proposals for the local Surakarta and the regional Central Javanese governments asking for support. They are primarily petitioning for financial support to train/re-train craftsmen, document their experiences, buy new supplies, create educational material for foreign visitors, and create direct links to tourists. These requests, as of late 2017, have yet to be answered. Lack of investment has created an environment where there is indeed money to be made through the production of *wayang kulit* puppets for tourists, but individuals can also find ways to shape and take advantage of the current system in place. Middle-men and tour guides have begun to take significant cuts from craftsmen's commissions beginning from around 2013, to the best knowledge of the craftsmen interviewed. Pak Hadi Sukirno of Yogyakarta noted that in the first half of 2014 he saw fewer foreign guests than he had in previous years because of his refusal to pay commissions to local tour guides. He claimed some shops at the time had begun offering a fifty percent sales commission to guides if they would bring foreign tourists to their shops as part of their tour. Pak Hadi also noted that some of the stores that are willing to pay the fifty percent commission were less than honest with foreign guests. As discussed in previous chapters, foreign guests tend to know little about the iconography and characters involved in the *wayang kulit* repertoire. Pak Hadi Sukirno notes that some craftsmen will take advantage of this and if a foreign guest asks for

a Sita, as they may have just seen this character in the Ramayana Ballet, they may be given an entirely different female character. The shop will simply pull any female character they have in stock and sell it as Sita. Pak Hadi Sukirno spoke very passionately about the lack of quality control in many *wayang kulit* shops in Yogyakarta. He believes the focus has shifted too strongly towards tourism and making money (14 Aug 2014).

The other issue *penatah* are facing due to the currently unregulated environment in Central Java is the prevalence of the tourism middle-man. Much like the tour guides mentioned above, these middle-men travel to various locations, like Wonogiri and Imogiri, and purchase stock from individual carvers, Village Operations, and Village Collectives. These middle-men then sell said items to larger Tourism Store Fronts, hotels, and general souvenir markets, like those found on Malioboro Street in Yogyakarta. The middle-men often make deals with particular stores and take a large percentage of the sale of any puppets they deliver. This in turn leaves very little of the sale value for the craftsmen who actually created the puppets. These new tourism middle-men differ from the middle-men mentioned in chapter five. The original middle-men, or collector middle-men, do travel and purchase from various craftsmen and locales but do so generally for one or two individual customers who are looking for a specific character in a particular style or made by a particular craftsman. They would take a percentage of the sales price as payment for their work but, unlike the new tourism middle-men, they would not, according to the craftsmen interviewed for this work, buy in bulk or take gratuitous commission for their work (Hadi Sukirno, Kawi, Sutarno). These newer tourism middle-men will generally not accept a raise in price from the craftsmen they purchase from either. They will instead purchase from other craftsmen willing to meet their price demands. This forces *penatah* to work with the tourism middle-men and produce faster rather than charge more in order to make a larger profit. Such circumstances put the emphasis on profit, tourism, and quick production rates rather than on the artistry and meaning behind *wayang kulit* and its puppets. This is particularly true in areas where craftsmen do not have direct access to the tourism markets, like the more rural Village Operations and Village Collectives.

The transition from traditional art forms to more secular and touristic art has also been observed outside of Indonesia in other Southeast Asian forms. One can draw many similarities to the changes of Central Javanese *wayang kulit*, observed in this work, and *múa rôi nước*, or Vietnamese water puppetry. *Múa rôi nước* can trace its origins back to the eleventh century and,

similar to *wayang kulit* in Central Java being known as part of the soul of the Javanese, water puppetry is known as the soul of the Vietnamese rice field (Pack, Eblin and Walther: 23- 24). Much like in Central Java, traditional artists in Vietnam were faced with financial difficulties over the years and had to seek out other forms of work for supplementary income to support themselves outside of their performance and craftsmanship skills. Some turned to commercial endeavors, like opening shops out of their homes, or working as teachers or local government officials. However, since the 1980s, some have started to enjoy some success as artists and performers in the growing tourism market (Pack, Elbin, and Walther 2012: 25-26). In recent years, these changes have begun to worry both academics and performers alike. In the past, people performed water puppetry for a variety of reasons serving both spiritual and secular purposes, similar to *wayang kulit*. However, in present-day Vietnam, troupe leaders, puppeteers, and other members of the *múa rối nước* community now claim that contemporary performances have lost some of what connects the form to the ancient performances that were linked with Vietnamese spirituality, as modern performers now perform more and more for economic benefit only (Pack, Elbin, and Walther 2012: 28). This has also led to new representations of the Vietnamese “traditional culture” through *múa rối nước*.

In the 1980s, Vietnam started to open its doors to the international tourism industry and, similar to Indonesia in the 1970s, sought to capitalize on the financial potential of encouraging foreign tourism. However, unlike Indonesia, Vietnamese government funds were and are still used to assist in community projects like the paving of roads, building of community pavilions, and the building of more stages for performances in villages. In 1983, the Vietnamese government officially began a call for villagers to begin preserving and developing water puppetry. These efforts often relied upon a designated image of an “authentic,” “pristine,” or “premodern” culture. The government also selected certain villages during this time that they saw as having the potential to work as “cultural” or “tourist destinations.” They chose these villages based on what would appeal to the international tourism market. Over the years, *múa rối nước* practitioners have thus begun adopting new themes in storytelling and developed an increased orientation towards this tourist market. As water puppetry gained popularity among tourists, modern practitioners then altered major components of both content and format of their performances in order to appeal to Western audiences. This included the addition of new characters that needed to be carved and painted. Performances were also significantly shortened

(Pack, Elbin, and Walther: 24-25).

As an example, the Vietnamese government granted one of these villages, B o Hà, 800 million dong (VND), or roughly \$40,000, in 2002 to develop the infrastructure needed to accommodate a new influx of tourism. B o Hà invested part of this funding into their village water puppetry troupe (Pack, Elbin, and Walther 2012: 25-26). To be clear, this investment in B o Hà is not a singular event but, rather, part of a much larger series of government investments into the preservation of their tangible and intangible cultural heritage. In Pack, Elbin, and Walther's article, entitled "Water Puppetry in The Red River Delta and Beyond: Tourism and The Commodification of An Ancient Tradition" from 2012, the authors noted that community members in B o Hà asserted they were happy with the growth of tourism and welcomed tourists. This may have been due to the fact that tourism in the area had led to an increase in the standard of living in the village. Tourist spending money on carvings and shows upholds the stability of the life of the craftsmen and artists in the area (26).

Part of the reason this tourism village has worked so well is, similar to Bali, artisans in B o Hà have made strong distinctions between performances and puppets that are for tourists and those that would be used purely in ceremonial contexts, such as in New Year festivals. This is done because, as most artists admitted, shows performed for tourist audiences are edited down, condensed (shortening to about 7 minutes from roughly 35minutes), and have fewer episodes than those put on for local events. To abbreviate these performances, the Vietnamese artists take what is thought to be the most appealing elements for the foreign market and then condense those down to accommodate the brief period that tourists spend in their village. As mentioned above, other such modified elements are the new stories and characters which have been created specifically for these tourist shows, thereby telling more universal stories which a wider audience base can relate to. By way of contrast, more local performances typically adhered to a consistent, traditional set of characters and scene repertoire (Foley; Pack, Elbin, and Walther). B o Hà has also thrived due to the initial investment and interest of the Vietnamese government in preserving and developing more water puppetry. However, there remains the question if this type of investment from a centralized government in order to "preserve" a traditional art is hampering creativity and freezing an entire art form in a moment in history. This is a crucial element when discussing the future and the possible preservation of *wayang kulit* carving as well, which will be addressed in the "Future of Wayang Kulit Craftsmanship"-section below.

THE PATH FROM PURWA TO TOURISM PUPPETS

As Erik Cohen has described, the commercialization of crafts is a multifaceted and complicated process. The transition from traditional *wayang kulit* puppet production to producing puppets and souvenirs primarily for the tourist market is no different. Bearing this in mind, it felt necessary here to illuminate the path of transition *wayang kulit* puppets in this study have taken from *purwa* to tourist. In this way, the challenges and opportunities for the future of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship and performance can be clearly discussed in the following sections.

One of the major influences on the path from *purwa* to tourism puppets is the very nature of *wayang kulit* and *wayang kulit* puppets themselves. As discussed in chapters two and three, *wayang kulit* is an art form that has continuously adapted to changing cultures, religions, and governments. The puppets themselves have also evolved from more humanlike in nature to an exaggerated, highly incised, and gilded puppet form. Experimentation and the incorporation of cultural aspects of the day had been the norm of the form for hundreds of years. This was the case in craftsmanship of the *wayang kulit purwa* repertoire until the early 19th century when the *kraton*-prescribed ideals of *purwa* puppets became the standard. No precise reason for the halt in experimentation with designs of *wayang kulit purwa* characters could be found in documentation or was known by the craftsmen interviewed for this work. Beginning in the mid- 20th century, as covered in chapter three, small levels of experimentation resumed on *purwa* characters in the form of using modern tools and materials like acrylic paint. However, the use of acrylic paint, power sanders, or even cotton swab plastic for joints, is not what is shaping the current path and future of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship.

The primary element that is shaping the fate of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship is the financial potential inherent in the tourism industry. This promising industry, however, is complex and multi-dimensional. The earning potential via catering to tourism is alluring to craftsmen due to the shift away from court-provided funding, the divide between *dalang* and *penatah*, and the increasing numbers of the craftsmen community over time, all of which tie back to the considerable growth of tourism in Indonesia. Rapid tourism growth purports to be an incredibly viable option to sustain *wayang kulit* craftsmanship. After the displacement of court power, traditional artists began searching for more and varied sources of income, and the growth of tourism in the 1970s provided a thriving option for financing these arts. This was particularly true for *wayang kulit* craftsmen. Dancers, *dalang*, and other traditional performers could vary

their funding base by filling their performance schedules with government sponsored events, individually sponsored shows, the occasional tourism performance, community shows, and the like. On the other hand, with tourism not yet robust in Central Java, craftsmen were left with the options of finding a collector or *dalang* to purchase their puppets. Unfortunately, this was a very shallow market to support their work. Despite the fact that there are thousands of practicing *dalang*, each *dalang* only truly needs to purchase one set, one time. They may add additional characters and request repairs over time but this only creates a limited amount of work. As for collectors, they are generally only purchasing a single puppet at a time and generally do not need more than one of each puppet character in a style, again only creating a limited amount of work. Tourism provides continuous, ever-changing potential buyers, and presents a dynamic opportunity for craftsmen to support themselves through their art. Additionally, it has created the opportunity for *penatah* to pass on their skills to the next generation and promises a real potential for their successors to thrive. However, tourism can be an unstable market to rely on. Since the initial spark of growth in the 1970s there have been several detrimental drops in tourist arrivals to Indonesia either because of political, economic, or terrorist activity in the country. However, what has not changed is the perceived notion of tourism as an ideal funding opportunity for artists. In turn, this sparked a marked expansion in craftsmanship communities across Central Java. Places like Imogiri, who stake claim to a very long history of *wayang kulit* performance in their area, saw their craftsmanship community members grow to nearly 800 active carvers in 2014. Imogiri craftsmen now sell to middle-men, City Store Fronts, and other tourist locales, having found ways to support this growing community via the proliferation of tourism (Suyono 11 Sept 2014).

Craftsmen choosing to focus their creative efforts on the external market have now shaped the manner in which many carve their puppets. As discussed above, the need to produce faster for middle-men, the availability of modern technology, and the relative cultural ignorance of their target audience have all shifted how many artists in Central Java create their work. *Wayang kulit* artisans have transitioned from a traditionally painstaking process that required a knowledge of motifs, iconography, and character's backgrounds, to photocopying the select *purwa* characters tourists know and producing them rapidly for profit. While there are several challenges to be addressed concerning this shift in methodology, there are encouraging aspects, and of course the possibilities tourism brings to *wayang kulit* craftsmanship as well. Current and

potential challenges or opportunities will be addressed in the “Future of Wayang Kulit Craftsmanship”-section later in this chapter.

6.4 CATEGORIZATION OF BUSINESSES AND PUPPETS

In the process of creating an analysis of the current structures existing in the *wayang kulit penatah* community, the need to develop specific *wayang kulit* typologies arose. These groupings within the greater *wayang kulit* community were differentiated by how tourism had affected them, as well as by the choices they have made in regard to tourism and their craft. It is the hope that these typologies may be used in further research to clearly analyze how craftsmanship is developing across these diverse groups not only in Central Java but in the entirety of Indonesia as well. Perhaps these groupings may even be used in the future to directly compare growth and change in art forms and how they respond to tourism across Southeast Asia. As an example, a comparison can already be made between the Wayang Village, a Tourism Village in Wonogiri and the Tourism Village in Bảo Hà, Vietnam, and can be expanded to investigate similar tourism enterprises elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

The first typology isolated in this work is that of the Complementary Business. This grouping is made up of craftsmen in larger cities, who at the outset of carving may have employed a few other craftsmen. These *penatah* primarily crafted puppets for *dalang* and local *wayang kulit* collectors or crafted exclusively for the internal market. When these craftsmen initially began to craft puppets for external market visitors the puppets for either market would have been nearly identical to each other. The quality and materials for a puppet sold to a tourist would be the same as if it were made for use by a *dalang*. Overall, the production for the external market has had little to no effect on the culture and social relations within this business/community of craftsmen.

Secondly, the division of the City Store Front is introduced. In this grouping, *wayang kulit penatah* have found tourism and the external market to be a thriving alternative to the internal market to support their craftsmanship and businesses. These businesses are located in a larger metropolis and the day-to-day business runs out of a physical store front. Within this grouping, their target demographic focus is the external market and what they produce is strongly based on the preferences of said market. Within this typology, in Central Java, the

customer base is reportedly made up of approximately 50-75% external market buyers. However, a City Store Front will continuously have either a supply or stock of puppets on hand for both domestic and foreign guests and will accept individual commissions. These businesses also have begun to keep stock of souvenir or novelty items that range in price and quality as well. Endeavoring to reach their target demographic, City Store Fronts have made themselves easily accessible to tourists through a variety of methods outside of the traditional store front including providing phone numbers, email addresses, and websites for international ordering.

The next typology is the Tourism Store Front, or those businesses in the larger metropolises who cater nearly exclusively to tourists, meaning an estimated 80-99% of their guests are external market buyers. While many Tourism Store Fronts sell predominately Level 5, the lowest quality puppets, there are not yet any *wayang kulit* puppet businesses that sell only to external guests. However, this is a likely next step if the path of *wayang kulit* puppet commercialization continues. Many craftsmen and *wayang kulit* scholars in Central Java fear that without some quality control or protection on a grander scale *wayang kulit* puppet creation might fall to a purely souvenir level or possibly be lost completely.

Village Operation, the next grouping, consists of a small village or several small family (even extended family) units operating in a rural area, out of non-commercial locations. Some families may have a small kiosk directly in front or use a small area of their actual home as their designated “show room” to host viewings potential clients. The clientele that would order from these small kiosks come predominately from the internal market. As the *penatah* working in these locations belong to the same family unit, or a small village, they are generally trained by the same individual or individuals and trained in the same style. As a result, the level and style of the individual puppets are very similar if not the same from *penatah* to *penatah*. These operations do not keep a large stock of puppets but, rather, just enough to show what they are capable of creating. Profits from this model are kept within each family unit and supplies are purchased on a needs basis as more puppets are ordered/created.

The next division is the Village Collective. This group consists of multiple *penatah* or family units of *penatah* in a rural area working as an organized group. This group’s primary objective is to improve craftsmanship and increase sales within the collective. A collective is similar to a Village Operation in that these craftsmen also work out of non-commercial spaces and in rural locations. However, the members of this grouping have come together to create a

sort of union to support each other. The formation of these unions is intended to keep *wayang kulit* craftsmanship alive through continued practice of their crafts, to keep workloads and costs manageable, to distribute earnings equally throughout the collective, and to drive more sales. Membership in these collectives is open to anyone willing to participate and pay dues. Within the collective there can exist a variety of skill levels dependent on the respective members. This indicates that the quality of supplies in each collective will vary. These organizations, like the Village Operations do not keep large amounts of stock items on hand, opting instead to keep a few samples ready to show to potential buyers. Profits in the collectives are divided either equally to all members or are split equally to those members who worked on each individual project.

Finally, there is the typology of the Tourism Village. The main distinction between this division and the Village Collective is the intentions/goals of the Tourism Village. This division concentrates exclusively on tourists or external guests. Other differences include the way in which funds are distributed and the organized profit-sharing systems. Tourism Villages consistently keep large stocks of puppets available in order to sell souvenirs quickly and efficiently to tourists who lack the time to wait for a custom order. They maintain a relatively sizable stock of traditionally sized *wayang kulit* puppets for those guests who want a more “authentic” item, but generally stock a larger quantity of souvenirs. Tourism Villages are located a fair distance away from larger cities or tourism hubs. Bearing this in mind, profits from the Tourism Village are not only split between the members of the village, but a portion must also be dedicated to infrastructure and general business needs of the community.

6.5 THE FUTURE OF WAYANG KULIT PUPPETRY

Based on examples given throughout this dissertation, I draw two distinct hypotheses for the future of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship: a path to tourist kitsch, or a strengthening of historical *purwa* puppets and subsequent growth in *wayang kulit* carving experimentation. The first hypothesis, the path to tourist kitsch, is most likely to come to pass if no government or rehabilitative agency (see Cohen’s Rehabilitative Commercialization in chapter five) intervenes. Without regulation and control of quality and quantity, as well as the number of puppets that are entering the market (saturation) it is highly possible that *wayang kulit purwa* puppets as, a whole,

will continue down a path of deteriorating quality and skill levels. Scholars have observed this shift in various other locales around the world, where exposure to other cultures, in particular through tourism, results in artists altering their crafts into products based on tourists' expectations of what that art should be. In this process, the forms, meanings, symbols, and even functions of the items can change as well. The end result of this process has been labeled as 'tourist art', 'airport art', or 'kitsch' by scholars (Cohen 1989, 2013; Graburn 1976; 1984; Tedman 2010; Timothy and Swanson 2012). As I have predicted for Central Javanese *wayang kulit* if craftsmen remain on this path, following changes to the physical form of the crafts, the historical knowledge, and expertise needed to make them also begins to disappear. Following this loss, crafts in these areas then begin to be made by people who possess little to no understanding of the history and meanings behind the craft, lack connection to the objects, or have no training in traditional skillsets. Along with the absence of training among the newly integrated craftspeople, non-local materials would likely be introduced, along with modern techniques and tools. The process of commercialization through both increased speed and the desire for new customers can then lead to more details being ignored or new details being added that would have never appeared in the original craft (Cohen 1989, 1999; Timothy and Swanson 2012). These changes represented in the new "traditional crafts" can often skew tourists' perceptions of the locale and its culture in "ways that are inaccurate and stereotypical" (Timothy and Swanson 495). Similar observations have been made when examining how tourism has affected traditional dance performances in Indonesia. As discussed previously, Felicia Hughes-Freeland perceived that owners of larger hotels capitalized on both the potential of tourist performances and the cost-effectiveness of hiring dancers with less training for their shortened, touristic dance performances.

Similarities can also be drawn to Cambodian dance performances in Siem Reap. Dancers in Siem Reap acknowledge that performing at tourist venues is not ideal, that technique levels are low, and that their bodies are put on display in a manner that is not always comfortable. However, the dancers see no other way to support themselves or pass along the cultural knowledge. When ritual dance practices became disconnected from the royal family, most artists could not earn a steady salary and turned to tourism (Tuchman-Rosta 2014: 536-537). The Cambodian government has acknowledged the possible dangers inherent in utilizing classical dance as a tourist attraction. However, at the same time, the government has emphasized the

value of cultural performances to the Cambodian economy and to identity construction. A similar, as Celia Tuchman-Rosta puts it, “frustratingly ambiguous position” (525) has been taken by the Indonesian government in relation to culture and tourism. This position then turns tourist performers in Siem Reap into iconic symbols of cultural heritage while also unintentionally denigrating their contribution to Cambodian classical dance. The Cambodian government is unable to provide financial support for the performers which forced them to turn to the tourism industry for work. However, Cambodian officials have expressed fear that their traditional dances will continue to be diluted by the “pollution of mass tourism”, as the Vietnamese government called it, with the cultural tourism market growing out of control and their inability to adequately monitor the tourist shows (Tuchman-Rosta 2014: 537).

In these places where tourists’ desires and perceptions take hold of crafts and theatrical forms we see degradation of skill, loss of specific or regional knowledge, growth of middle-men, complications in wage fairness, shifts in how the culture is represented to tourists, and loss of knowledge in the form or craft itself (Cave 2009; Cohen 1985, 2012; Pack, Eblin, and Walther; Swanson and Timothy; Tuchman-Rosta). As previously discussed, if *wayang kulit* craftsmanship were to continue down this path, particularly in the more rural typologies, there could be a loss of specifications in the form of *wayang kulit* puppets, regional variations and histories, and the ability to be creative and improvise. There are those outside of the theatre world who might believe improvisation to be a particularly easy skill. How hard can it be to just take the stage and make things up? The answer to that question is extremely hard. Improvising well takes a great deal of rehearsal as well as comic and theatrical knowledge. This is also true in the world of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship. As mentioned in chapters two and five, while the face is the most important part of a *wayang kulit* puppet, the overall appearance and skill of carving is also taken into account in judging the level and skill of the puppet and its *penatah*. As previously mentioned, while the general design of a puppet has been set by tradition, small details may be changed by an artisan to create a puppet with a design that flows pleasantly. When a *penatah* holds the knowledge and history of all the carving patterns, motifs, and patterns he is able to improvise if something goes wrong to correct the balance of a puppet. As Pak Sugiman and Pak Sagio have stated, while there are set patterns and outlines for characters, if a portion of the puppet is carved in a less than desirable manner they do know ways to balance the next patterns and motifs to save the overall quality of the carving (Sagio 30 Sept 2014; Sudiman 17 Nov

2014). Should the value of speed and quantity be put above quality, it is probable that this ability to think quickly and creatively balance puppets with the historical patterns and motifs will be lost. Several craftsmen and Javanese scholars, including Pak Sagio and Pak Sunarto of Institut Seni Indonesia Yogyakarta, have expressed these fears for the future of *wayang kulit*.

There is also the concern that the growing prevalence of tourism-targeted puppets could eventually affect the performance of *wayang kulit purwa* itself. It has been discussed above how the addition of joints drastically affected *wayang kulit* performance, proving that craftsmanship has the ability to shape the performance itself. Furthermore, as noted earlier, the weight of a puppet can affect how a *dalang* moves and performs, and that *dalang* even take important cues about who the character is and how they should act from how they are carved. All of this taken together indicates that a crucial element of *wayang kulit* performance could be lost if the skills to understand and carve *wayang kulit purwa* iconography, patterns, and motifs fade away. Although it is less likely, the continued shifts in how *wayang kulit* puppets are made and their growing popularity as souvenirs may eventually shape cultural tourism and as a result the experiences tourist seek. This in turn can impact how tourists view *wayang* and what they expect and demand from tourist performances in the future.

However, there is an alternate hypothesis regarding the future of *wayang kulit* carving. This path is one of respect and preservation for the traditional forms of *wayang kulit purwa* and incorporates the encouragement of *wayang kulit* carving experimentation. Although there is a desire by external (i.e., UNESCO) and internal groups (*penatah*, local scholars, and *dalang*) to preserve the traditional forms, teaching methods, and use for *wayang kulit purwa* puppets. What is needed to change course is investment by local and/or national governments in *wayang kulit* craftsmanship. Something craftsmen from Village Collectives and even Tourism Villages have banded together to petition for. Regardless, it remains to be seen if this type of investment from a centralized or even local government to “preserve” a traditional art form is merely putting a stopper in creativity and freezing an entire craft at a moment in history. This conversation is particularly relevant to an art form that has constantly been evolving for the majority of its history. Which point in *wayang kulit* history is the appropriate place to stop? Would all *penatah*, *dalang*, and scholars agree on a particular point? This is a crucial element when discussing the future and the possible preservation of *wayang kulit* carving. What Erik Cohen has observed in his studies on tourism and the typologies of ethnic crafts is that governments should strive to

create active traditional arts policies on both a local and nationwide scale. These policies need to not only help to preserve the traditional skills, styles and aesthetic values of an art form but also enable contemporary artists to explore and create new forms for a modern era as well. In other words, there need not be a strict policy enforcing only traditional *carving* and uses of *wayang kulit* puppets in Central Java, but rather there needs to be a blend of traditional conservation and experimentation. An excellent first step in this process would be government-funded *wayang kulit* spaces to be entrusted to *wayang kulit* specialists in each region. These locations could be dedicated to *penatah* and *dalang* training in traditional carving, performance practices and methods. Some of these spaces could also be venues for tourists not only to observe these trainings and feel like they are a part of an authentic cultural experience but also gain valuable information about the histories, codes, and meanings in *wayang kulit* creation. The dedication of multiple spaces, some for tourists to experience and others strictly for training, would go a long way in helping to incorporate cultural tourism in a productive manner and provide a place for artists to hone their craft. A similar undertaking to the UNESCO Safeguarding project, as mentioned in chapter one, would be immensely helpful, although this would need to be a more widespread program. The initial safeguarding project held a workshop for two *wayang kulit* master carvers and focused on *wayang kulit* puppets from Banjar and Palembang. The remainder of the UNESCO program focused on performance and training *dalang* in newly developed *sanggar*. As a next step, the program could focus on craftsmanship across Java, developing workshops in *sanggar* for these craftsmen, and compiling informational booklets for both craftsmen and tourists.

One of the policies being employed in other specific areas that have been inundated with tourism on a large scale is a separation between the touristic or external performance/crafting and those for the internal audience/market. Examples of this can be drawn from Bali as well as the Hawaiian Islands. In late 19th century Hawai‘i, hula was divided into the ancient and modern forms hula kahiko (“ancient hula”) and hula ‘auana (“modern hula”), respectively. The category of hula kahiko combines previously distinct traditions, sacred dances, and historical legends. In contrast, hula ‘auana involves hula movements and gestures that are based on previous dance traditions but performed to popular music genres (Tuchman-Rosta 2014: 526). The Balinese local government took a similar approach, as discussed in chapter four, when they created the “Cultural Tourism Policy” and officially prohibited the commercialization of certain

performances. This decree stated that while tourists were permitted to watch sacred performances, these presentations were not to be deliberately staged as tourist attractions. By separating such performances these governments have placed a focus on preserving their traditional forms and culture, while still allowing artists to take advantage of the lucrative tourism industry. The separation of forms also allows for traditional arts to not risk being diluted by the “pollution of mass tourism” and at the same time takes advantage of tourism spaces as a way for artists to generate income as well as experiment with traditional forms and practices. Adopting this practice in Bali has led to the emergence of new dance forms (now regarded as part of the Balinese culture), enhanced the legitimacy of some traditional forms, and even sparked interest in community members to revel in their culture again.

Investing in several *wayang kulit* spaces in different regions would also allow for each location to hone in on their distinctive characteristics and history as a way of creating pride in their forms specialties. This sense of fulfillment is quite evident in the populace of the Tourism Village in Bảo Hà, Vietnam. When Pack, Elbin and Walther interviewed the artisans in this village they stated that growth of tourism in their village was not directly affecting their art form because of the pride they had in their art and how it reflected Northern Vietnam. In this instance, the Vietnamese government sponsored said village but then wisely chose to allow the villagers to maintain artistic integrity. The researchers noted in their findings that increasing global integration did not, in this case, result in the elimination of cultural diversity but rather provided a context for experimentation and the production of new forms (Pack, Elbin, and Walther 2012: 29-30). One would hope a similar development would be possible in Central Java.

Encouraging experimentation in the Central Javanese *wayang kulit* community would be crucial in these endeavors. This would prevent stagnation in the traditional arts and encourage artists, as previously discussed, to continue with further experimentation and adaptation which are part of the very nature of *wayang kulit* itself. Besides, *wayang kulit penatah* now view the crafting process through a different lens than *penatah* of the past. They have seen first-hand the benefits to *wayang kulit* resulting from experimentation and tourism. Additionally, their use of modern tools has demonstrated some benefits for craftsmanship, including production speed and puppet longevity. Furthermore, the ingenious introduction of convenient and easily reparable materials, such as plastic joints in tourism puppets, has also proved invaluable in performance situations. Even if a *penatah* or a *dalang* is not carrying cotton swabs, someone at a *wayang*

performance is likely to have a pen, a straw, or a bit of plastic and there will most certainly be a lighter at a *wayang* performance. A *penatah* simply has to heat the ends of the plastic piece and the puppet can continue on in the show. Government policies which encourage investment, development, and experimentation in the forms and methods of *wayang kulit purwa* could also spark the evolution of new forms of *wayang* in Central Java, such as miniature *wayang kulit purwa* shows with tourist puppets. Policies of this nature would go a long way to correct the course of *wayang kulit* as a cultural art form and could ultimately reverse movement along the typology scale discussed in chapter five.

POTENTIAL FOR FUTURE STUDY

Along with the findings discussed in this chapter, this research has also highlighted the need for further scholarship connected to this topic. A continuation of study regarding the developments in Central Javanese *wayang kulit* craftsmanship from a distinct place perspective, e.g. Yogyakarta or Surakarta, is needed as this research focused on a more general survey of changes across Central Java. Further works on *dalang*'s opinions, both in Central Java and elsewhere in Indonesia, on the divide of *dalang* and *penatah* as well as their opinions on the path of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship are needed as well. Opinions of working *dalang* in Indonesia, while outside of the scope of this work, could both highlight and strengthen the histories and futures of *wayang kulit purwa* carving across Central Java and Indonesia as a whole. Additionally, research focusing more minutely on each of the typologies developed in this work and how their creation and business practices will affect their craftsmanship over the next few decades would be beneficial. Scholarship could also examine Western and Eastern Javanese *wayang kulit* so that a comparison might be drawn between the alterations to *wayang kulit* carving across Java. It would be of particular interest to analyze any developments in Cirebon and Jakarta, as these areas have both produced books on their regional styles that have been used across Central Java in the photocopy method. This research has also shown the need to further document the complete range of smaller or more rural regional styles before they are potentially lost. Following these studies, scholarship that focuses primarily on comparing puppetry and tourism practices across Southeast Asia would be a desirable addition to Asian theatre, material culture, and tourism scholarship.

6.6 CONCLUSION

Prior to this dissertation scholarship on *wayang kulit* craftsmanship and the *penatah* in Central Java who create these puppets was scattered and limited. While several scholars, like Irving or Mellema, have touched on the basics of craftsmanship in their works, a comprehensive history of craftsmanship and a study of modern transformations of *wayang kulit* puppets and *penatah* had yet to be undertaken. As discussed in chapter one, this work fills this gap in *wayang kulit* scholarship and answers several calls from scholars like Jenny Cave, Erik Cohen, Kristen K. Swanson, and Dallen J. Timothy, and others for further research into tourism and crafts from a place perspective. This dissertation has started this work in terms of Central Javanese *wayang kulit* as seen through the historical accounts, analysis of craftsmanship's potential to shape the form, and a survey of modern changes to craftsmanship and business practices. Whether or not the modern changes will indeed follow the hypothesized shifts in craftsmanship and performance and to what scale is not yet known. However, what has been shown through this work is that craftsmanship and its current direction has the potential to shift the form itself. Particularly if the national and local governments do not intervene and the popularity of souvenirs and tourist performances continue to grow. I am of the opinion, following this research, that Central Java and Indonesian governments should strive to create active traditional arts policies on a local and nationwide scale that not only help to preserve the traditional skills, styles and aesthetic values of *wayang kulit purwa* but will also enable contemporary craftsmen to explore and create new *wayang kulit* puppets with the use of their modern techniques and technology. This will not only help to preserve the important traditions of *wayang kulit* and avoid stifling the creativity of *wayang kulit* craftsmen but also generate modern interest in *wayang kulit* crafts and performance. Therefore, it is my hope that this work will inspire additional future research on the trajectory of *wayang kulit* craftsmanship, its relationship to Central Javanese culture, and the future of the performance of *wayang kulit* itself.

APPENDIX A

Participant Information

| Name ^a | Town | District | Specialization |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Kusmandi | Wonogiri | Central Java | Carving |
| Mantan | Wonogiri | Central Java | Carving, Painting |
| Saleh | Wonogiri | Central Java | Carving |
| Sagio | Yogyakarta | DIY | Carving, Painting |
| Krt. Sihhanto di Puro | Surakarta | Central Java | Carving, Painting |
| Sudiman | Bantul | DIY | Painting |
| Sukawi (Kawi) | Surakarta | Central Java | Carving, Painting |
| Hadi Sukirno | Yogyakarta | DIY | Carving |
| Sutarno (Sutar) | Wonogiri | DIY | Carving, Painting |
| Suyono | Bantul | DIY | Carving |
| Suyoto | Bantul | DIY | Leather working |
| Tugiman | Yogyakarta | DIY | Carving, Painting |
| Waluyo | Bantul | DIY | Carving Painting |
| Wijayanto | Surakarta | Central Java | Carving, Painting |

^a Most of the *penatah* who participated are known by only one name, as is common in Central Java. Preferred nicknames of some *penatah*'s names are also listed here in parenthesis as it is also common in Central Java to shorten names to just one or two syllables

^b Many of the older *penatah* in this region do not know the exact age as they have no written documentation of their birth or have since lost the paperwork. A '*' next to the listed age represents the best guess by the individual *penatah* with the help of the collective memory of community in which they live.

APPENDIX B

Survey used for *penatah* interviews

1. When did you begin your training to craft *wayang* puppets?
 - Who taught you?
2. Why did you begin training? What attracted you to *wayang kulit* and the puppets?
 - How did the training process begin? What were the steps?
 - If you train new craftsmen do you use the same process?
3. What processes, tools, and products were you trained with?
 - Leather processing? Carving tools? Sealant? Paint?
 - Gold leaf/paint? Joints? Handles?
- 4.What new processes, tools, products have you introduced into your crafting process?
 - Leather processing? Carving tools? Sealant? Paint?
 - Gold leaf/paint? Joints? Handles?
 - 4a. If any, do you use these new tools/products on all your puppets?
5. When you began creating *wayang* puppets where did you get your supplies? Now?
6. How do you feel your style differs from other craftsmen in Indonesia?
7. Do you feel new or modern elements shape the puppet crafting process?
8. Can puppets still be *pusaka* if they are not made 100% in the traditional manner?
- 9.Did the financial crisis in 1997 affect your art and business/sales?
10. How do you feel it affected *wayang kulit*?

11. Who did you sell to predominately before 1997? Now?

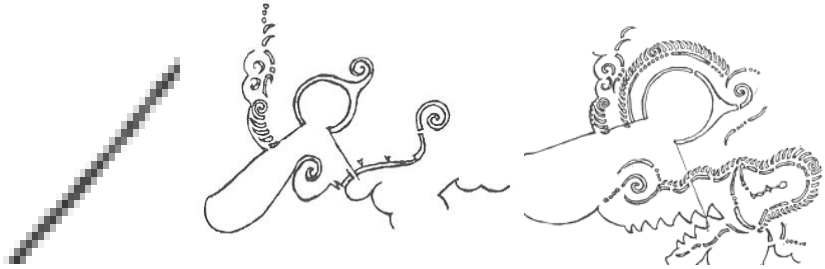
(Ask before 1970 if crafting before 1970)

12. How do you price the puppets?

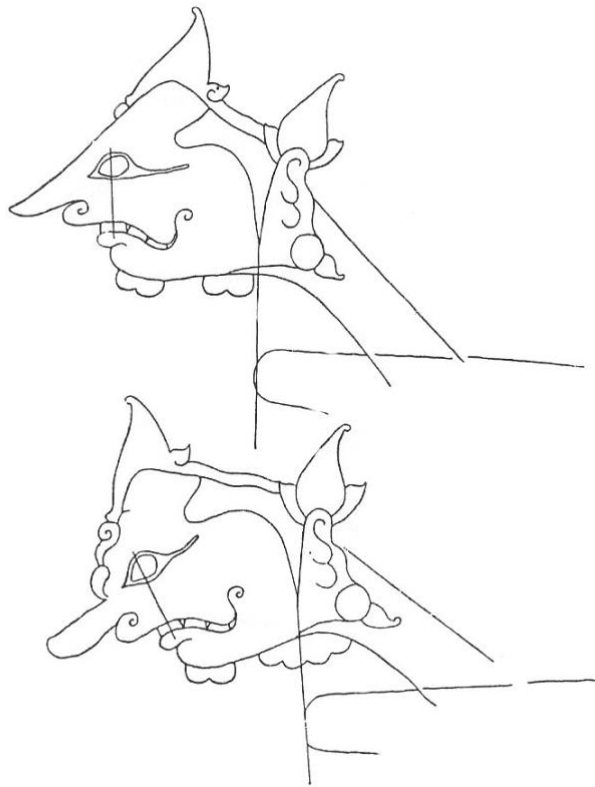
13. What is your process when someone brings a puppet to be repaired?

APPENDIX C

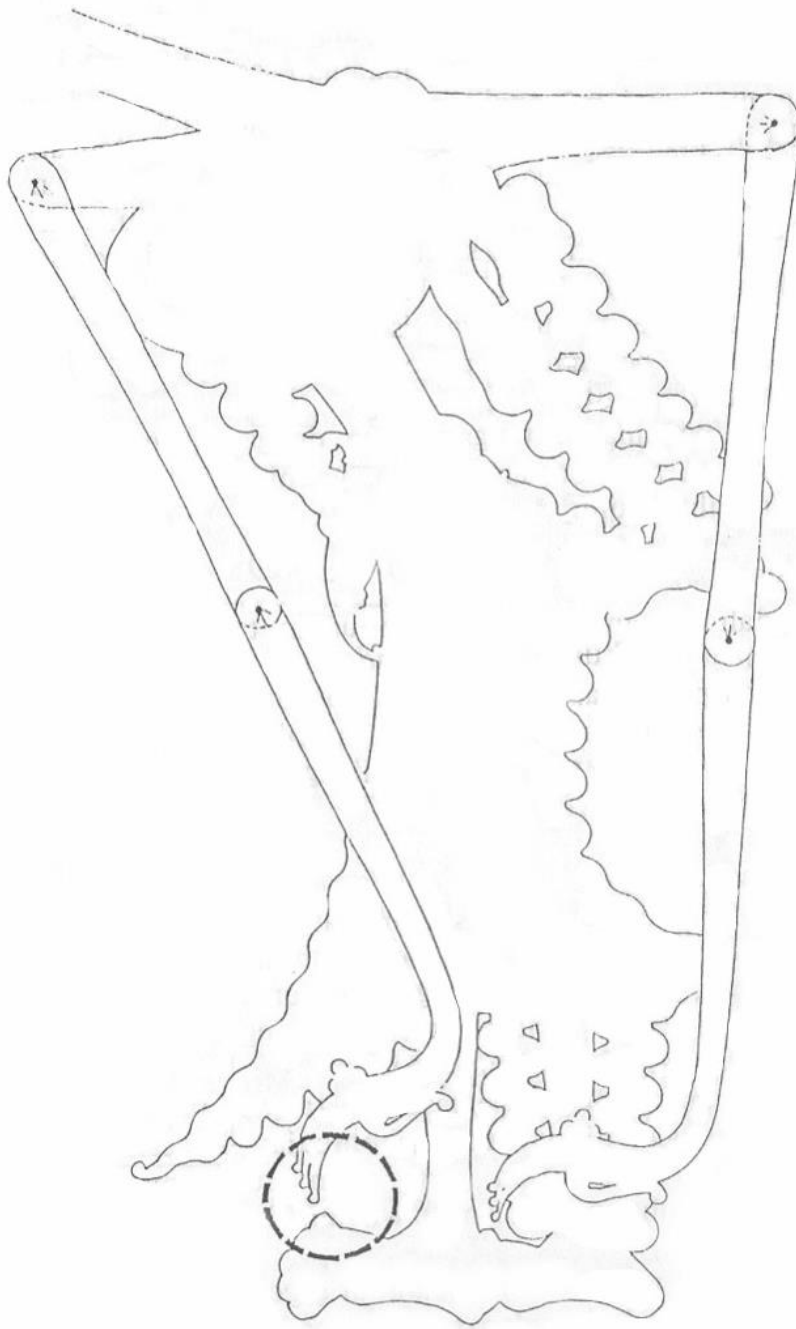
Examples of *wayang kulit* puppet alignment



Examples of alignment of facial feature (Widodo 1984)



Alignment of *wayang kulit* heads to shoulders (Widodo 1984)



Examples of arm alignment and length (Sagio and Samsugi 1991)

GLOSSARY

| | |
|----------------|--|
| Abdi dalem | <i>Abdi dalem</i> are court retainers who work a variety of jobs within the royal palaces. There are <i>abdi dalem</i> who focus primarily on maintaining the courts collections of <i>wayang kulit</i> puppets. |
| Alus | Refined; fine; smooth |
| Ambedah | “To break open” in Javanese or the process of carving a face “giving life” to a character in the <i>wayang kulit</i> carving process. |
| Ancur mateng | Boiled glue |
| Ancur mentahan | Non-boiled glue |
| Anggebing | “To cut out” in Javanese or when the complete outline is finished and a <i>wayang kulit</i> puppet is removed from the excess leather with a chisel. |
| Anggembleng | The process of applying gilding to a <i>wayang kulit</i> puppet. |
| Antub | A common nickname for the base of a buffalo horn. |
| Atas | On; top |
| Badan | Entity; bodies; entities; body; agency; bureau; bureau of; board |
| Bapak | Indonesian term for “father.” When used as a formal form of address for a man, similar to Mr., it is abbreviated to <i>Pak</i> . |
| Bawah | Under; bottom |
| Bayang | Javanese word for “shadow.” |
| Brom | A traditional gold powder with a hint of bronze used for painting particular areas of a <i>wayang kulit</i> puppet. |
| Bubukan | Powder or pigment in <i>wayang kulit</i> painting. Also, used in the name of the small circular pattern in <i>wayang kulit</i> carving, <i>tatah bubukan</i> . |
| Budaya | Culture; cultures; cultural |
| Cat | Paint; color |
| Cempala | A small wooden mallet used in <i>wayang kulit</i> carving. |

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| Daerah | Area; areas; regional; region; regions; territory; province; zone |
| Dalang | Puppeteers in Javanese and Indonesian puppetry. Also translated as mastermind or storyteller. |
| Dalang pelajar | “Student <i>dalang</i> ,” or a <i>dalang</i> who performs too rigidly and often relies only on performance texts. |
| Daun | Leaf; leaves; blade |
| Debog | A set of banana logs that run horizontally along the base of the <i>wayang kulit</i> screen. |
| Dewa | God; goddess |
| Gamelan | Comes from the Javanese word “ <i>gamel</i> ” which means “to strike”. A <i>gamelan</i> is a traditional orchestra played in a pentatonic (five notes) scale. A <i>gamelan</i> generally consists of predominately brass instruments but also features drums, stringed, and wind instruments. |
| Ganden | Hammer in Javanese. |
| Gapit | The larger, main handle on a <i>wayang kulit</i> puppet. |
| Garuda | Eagle like character |
| Gawangan | A large wooden or bamboo frame used to stretch leather hides. |
| Gebingan | The method of etching out the internal design of a <i>wayang kulit</i> puppet before internal carving begins. |
| Gegel | The joints on a <i>wayang kulit</i> puppet. |
| Genukan | The upper (<i>atas</i>) and lower (<i>bawah</i>) segments of the main handle (<i>gapit</i>) on a <i>wayang kulit</i> puppet. |
| Gergaji | Metal tool, similar to a file, used to creat the small details on a <i>wayang kulit</i> puppet’s handle. |
| Goroh | A small saw used to create the curves on a <i>wayang kulit</i> puppet’s handle. |
| Gudeg | A meal, considered by many, to be the most popular and famous meal in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. It consists of young jackfruit cooked with coconut milk and spices. It is served with |

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| | egg, tofu, chicken, coconut milk dressing, and hot <i>krecek</i> or small cow/buffalo skin pieces. Leather craftsmen sell their leather shavings to make <i>krecek</i> for this meal. |
| Gunungan | See Kayon. |
| Hadith | Defined by Merriam Webster's dictionary as a narrative record of the sayings or customs of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions (Merriam-Webster 2017). |
| Hula kahiko | Ancient hula |
| Hula 'auana | Modern hula |
| Istimewa | Special; preferential; the privileged |
| Jalan | Road; way; street; path; paving; pathway; entrance of; the walk |
| Kain | Fabric; cloth; garment; linen |
| Kapak | Sharpened scraping tool or axe used in leather preparation. |
| Kasar | Course; rough; unrefined |
| Kayon | The tree of life puppet in <i>wayang kulit</i> , also known as the <i>gunungan</i> . This puppet has a variety of uses including being used to mark the beginning and end of scenes. |
| Kebudayaan | Culture; cultures; cultural; terms of culture; civilizations |
| Kelir | A thin white screen approximately 5 meters long and 1.5 meters tall. This screen features embellished borders that run the full length of both the top and bottom widths. |
| Kertas grenjeng | Gold leaf |
| Kotak | The box in which all of a puppeteer's puppets are stored. |
| Kraton | Palace; court. Alternate spelling: <i>keraton</i> . |
| Kris | Knife; dagger |
| Kulit | Leather; skin |
| Lakon | Story; play |
| Lilin | Wax; candle |
| Lontar | Leaved from a tall fan palm, common in Malaysia and Indonesia, that have been used to record historical tales in Indonesian history. |
| Mahkota | Crown |

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| Mawayang | According to James Brandon this ancient Javanese word could have referred to several different types of <i>wayang</i> performances (1970: 2). |
| Mahābhārata | Epic tale from India commonly used in <i>wayang kulit purwa</i> performances. |
| Múa rối nước | Vietnamese water puppetry |
| Naga | Dragon; snake-like dragon creature |
| Oleh-oleh | Souvenir |
| Omiyage | Souvenir in Japanese. |
| Paguyuban | Circle of friends |
| Palu | Hammer in Indonesian. |
| Pariwisata | Tourism; of tourism; tourist |
| Pathet | Section in Javanese. |
| Patar | A saw commonly used to cut off the water buffalo horn from the animal. |
| Pedalagan | The teaching of <i>dalang</i> skills; puppetry |
| Penatah | Carver; craftsman |
| Pesinden | Singer |
| Praba | Backwing on a <i>wayang kulit</i> puppet |
| Prada | Gold |
| Prada mas | The highest quality of gold leaf used on a <i>wayang kulit</i> puppet. |
| Punakawan | Clowns or, more specifically, the clown characters used in the Indonesian <i>wayang kulit</i> tellings of the Mahābhārata |
| Puputan | A Balinese term for choosing to performing mass ritual suicide in preference to facing the humiliation of a surrender. |
| Purwa | Javanese for ‘past’ or ‘the very beginning.’ |
| Raja | King |
| Rakasa | Ogre; monster |
| Ramayana | Epic tale from India commonly used in <i>wayang kulit purwa</i> performances. |

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| Reformasi | Reformation. Often used to describe the transitional period in Indonesia following beginning with the fall of Suharto in 1998. |
| Rupiah | The form of currency used in Indonesia. |
| Sabetan | In <i>wayang kulit</i> this refers to the movements of the puppets orchestrated by the <i>dalang</i> . |
| Sanggar | Studio; school; rehearsal space |
| Sekolah | School |
| Sekolah Menengah Pertama | In American terms, is most similar to a Junior High School. |
| Sendratari | A form of Balinese dance |
| Strategi | Strategy; strategies; tactic; tactics |
| Sultan | From Arabic, ruler or king. |
| Sukuk | A poem sung by a <i>dalang</i> . |
| Sungging | Decoration; painted decoration |
| Susuhunan | An honorific title for monarchs similar to sultan or <i>raja</i> , often shortened to Sunan. |
| Tatah | Chisel; inlaid |
| Tatahan | strikes; hits; impact of; impact |
| Tuding | |
| Unchal | |
| Wali | in Arabic translates to “one who is near God” or “trusted one.” |
| Wanda | refers to the “inner mood” of <i>wayang</i> characters as well as the physical expression of that mood as seen through the puppets coloring, face, and posture (Katz-Harris 2010:27). |
| Wayang | The smaller handles attached to the arms of a <i>wayang kulit</i> puppet. |
| Wayang Kulit | Javanese, Indonesian, and Malaysian for shadow puppetry. |

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