



Reinterpret Panji Roman in bedhaya gandrungmanis lost choreography



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ABSTRACT

Bedhaya Gandrungmanis is one of the *Bedhaya* dance which was created in the 19th century during Pakubuwana VIII's reign in Keraton Surakarta. This dance narrates *Panji Jayakusuma's* text, which symbolizes political chaos in 19th century Keraton Surakarta. The dance itself could represent how *Panji* roman used by Keraton Surakarta to construct the idea of Javanese kingship. This research tries to put forward an understanding of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*, which had been fragmented and lost, based on manuscripts and oral tradition. This research uses an ethno-philological method, which integrates philological research in anthropological perspectives. Data collecting technique includes collecting philological data on manuscript research in Keraton Surakarta Library, Universitas Indonesia Library, and Pura Mangkunegaran Library, and also collecting ethnographic data by interview, field research, and observation. The earliest version of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* was interpreted as a symbol of royal succession. In the last version of the 20th century, *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* was re-interpreted in more romantic terms and lost its political resonance. The *Panji* story in this dance comes from the *Panji Jayakusuma* story that formed by Pakubuwana VIII to symbolize cultural change in the 19th century during the Dutch Colonial era. Its meaning had been shifted and fragmented as a result of these cultural changes.

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1. Introduction

The authority of Surakarta's king manifested in symbols, like royal parades, *wayang* (shadow puppet), regalia, and so forth. In this instance, for over 200 years, kings from Surakarta have tried to symbolize their power by making a special symbol to portray Surakarta's majesty [1]. *Bedhaya* is a sacred court dance that has a special place in Surakarta, especially *Bedhaya Ketawang* as the most ancient and sacred *Bedhaya* dance in Surakarta tradition. This dance is related to the symbol and myth about Ratu Kidul, the celestial queen from the Indian Ocean, spiritual wife of many kings in Java [2]. The *Bedhaya* dance is a symbol and rite related to celestial nymph mythology, or in the Javanese tradition [3]. The *Bedhaya* dance is a sacred heirloom which created or initiated by a king or prince and has a cultural meaning until now. *Bedhaya* in the modern era has been transformed and re-created through *Bedhayan*, which tries to portray *Bedhaya's* form with a more modern perspective, less sacral, and related to mass performing art [4]. *Bedhaya* is one of the Javanese court dance genres with a religious aspect, danced by nine (or seven) female dancers, which is performed only in very important ceremonies and rituals. The most sacred and oldest dance in the Surakarta *Bedhaya* tradition is *Bedhaya Ketawang* [5]. Based on Javanese traditional music and dance historiography, the *Serat Wedhapradangga* text, *Bedhaya* dance is a female dance that is danced in a specific line movement that originally accompanied *kemanakan* music, related to *widadari* (celestial nymph). Based on Tomioka's research [6], *Bedhaya* and *Srimpi* dance thought outside Keraton

Surakarta since 1969-1970. In that era, many dance teachers who learn *Bedhaya* and *Srimpi* dance from Keraton Surakarta made a shorter version and rearranged many court dances, which were suitable for the modern stage with more dynamics, but on the other hand, lost their sacred atmosphere. If we trace many Javanese court dances in manuscript tradition, there were many *Bedhaya* that had disappeared through time. For example, based on *Serat Wedhapradangga* [7] and *Serat Pasindhen Badhaya* text, at least we found about 30 *Bedhaya* from Keraton Surakarta. More than half had disappeared and not danced anymore in Keraton Surakarta.

Many researchers have tried to understand the lost Javanese court dance. At least we can separate them into two ways. The first, who try to reconstruct lost dance by rearranging the choreography based on oral evidence. The second, who tries to reconstruct lost dance by interpreting text as the main source. The first cluster had been focused on processing and reinterpreting historical evidence to create a new performance. For example, Daryono tries to re-arrange *Bedhaya Senapatèn* based on the lost *Bedhaya* dance that was danced by males in Mangkunegaran [9]. *Bedhaya Sukaharja's* reconstruction by Sri Mulyani [10] and *Bedhaya Endhol-endhol's* reconstruction by GKR Wandansari [11], using oral tradition as the main source to reconstruct the dance. on another hand, some researchers have interpreted texts through philological studies to understand lost Javanese court dances from primary sources. For example, Ishida, in her study of *Bedhaya Anduk*, attempted to reconstruct *Gendhing Anduk* based on manuscript evidence [12]. Similarly, Febriyanto focused on reconstructing the choreography of *Srimpi Nadheg* using the *Serat Langen Wibawa* manuscript as his main source [13]. Prasistiya's work is more complex, as it examines both the meanings and philosophical dimensions of various *Wireng* dances by analysing the *Serat Weddhataya* [14]. One of the dances in Keraton Surakarta lost dance *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*, can be traced in the manuscript and oral tradition. *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* was created in the 19th century, which narrates *Panji Jayakusuma* or *Panji Mbedhah Nagari Bali*, one of the most important Javanese *Panji* romances. The *Panji* story exists in this dance, which could be read as one of the *Panji* romances mentioned by Saputra [8]. Saputra mentions that *Panji* could be found in three forms: visual art, oral tradition, and manuscript tradition. The oral tradition itself could be separated into folklore, mythology, and performing arts. The *Panji* story in this dance represents the political context of Keraton Surakarta in the 19th century. In this research, *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* couldn't be separated from its historical context and *Panji* Roman representation.

Among these lost dances, *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* deserved particular attention. First, *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* is a significant work that may fill the missing links in the history of Javanese dance and in the tradition of *Panji* roman in performing arts. Therefore, this study seeks to integrate philological analysis of written texts and manuscripts with performance studies in the field of Javanese court arts, with specific attention to *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*. This research moves beyond the rigid limitations of classical philology and broadens our historical understanding of Javanese performing arts by tracing the lost *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* through both textual evidence and oral tradition. Importantly, this study does not aim to reconstruct, revitalise, or rearrange the choreography itself. Rather, this research focused on the cultural and artistic tradition of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*, and also interpreted the *Panji* narrative.

2. Method

This study employs an ethno-philological approach, which seeks to integrate philological methods within an ethnographic framework. In this regard, the works of Hadimulyo *et al.* [15] and Vickers [16] serve as important examples of primary research on historical performing arts. According to Hadimulyo *et al.*, evidence of Classical Javanese and Balinese dance found in manuscripts and archaeological artefacts is limited, and mostly appears only as supplementary details. Vickers, however, proposes an alternative approach. In his study of the *Panji Malat* text and the *Gambuh* opera in Bali, he argues that manuscript traditions should be viewed as mere remnants of a larger cultural practice. Dance philology, part of ethno-philology, tries to understand how dance could be understood from text in a manuscript [17][18]. Ethno-philology regards and values texts not simply as objects of reconstruction but as sources for uncovering the cultural meanings embedded within them. Ethno-philologists position themselves as both

creative agents and participants within the very traditions they study. Ethno-philological work is always situated in the ethnographic present, even when the data came from past traditions [19]. The ethno-philology practical application in this research is separated into four steps. First, collecting philological data from manuscripts owned by Sasana Pustaka Library in Keraton Surakarta, Universitas Indonesia Library, and Reksa Pustaka Library in Pura Mangkunegaran. Second, collecting ethnographical data by interview, field research, and observation. Third step, criticize and connect philological and ethnographical data. The last step, interpreting the data by looking forward to its historical context in ethno-philological perspective. In this research, data from earlier periods are read not solely as material for philological editing, but as integral components of the traditions being examined through ethnographic research. [20]. Consequently, ethno-philology can be applied in performative-historiographical studies, particularly because Javanese manuscript traditions maintain a close relationship with oral traditions, especially within the performing arts

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Manuscript

Manuscript tradition could contain just the residual detail, history, or rarely contain dance notation [21]. The principal historical source that references the *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* dance is the *Serat Wedhapradangga*, composed by RNg Pradjapangrawit in the early twentieth century. This text has long served as a main source for traditional Javanese musicians and dancers to trace the historical development of Surakarta court music and dance. According to the *Serat Wedhapradangga*, *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* was one of the court dances created under the patronage of Sinuhun Pakubuwana VIII, ruler of Surakarta in the nineteenth century. The dance, inspired by the *Panji* roman, particularly as represented in *wayang gedhog* puppet theatre, was conceived by Pakubuwana VIII as a symbolic expression of *wahyu keraton*, the divine legitimacy of kingship [22]. Thus, the *Serat Wedhapradangga* provides the most direct evidence attributing the creation of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* to Pakubuwana VIII in his role as patron of court musicians and dancers. In addition to the *Serat Wedhapradangga*, various versions of the *Pasindhen Badhaya* manuscripts constitute another important source for reconstructing the musical aspect of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*. Pigeaud identifies *Pasindhen Badhaya* manuscripts as a corpus of musical-dance manuscripts from the Surakarta and Yogyakarta courts, containing numerous lyrics for *bedhaya* performances. The oldest *Pasindhen Badhaya* manuscripts are attributed to the era of the court poet Yasadipura. Characteristically, these texts are written in the form of erotic-lyrical poetry, stylistically resembling the *gēndiṅ sanyanṅ* genre of the Javanese-Balinese classical period [23]. While the musical notation is absent from these texts, they preserve the complete *sindhenan* (song lyrics).

Several manuscript catalogues confirm the existence of *Pasindhen Badhaya* manuscripts that include the lyrics for this particular dance. One such example is the *Serat Sindhen Gendhing Badhaya Sarimpi*, catalogued as KS 76 in the Universitas Indonesia Library. This manuscript, dated 1862 Anno Javano (equivalent to 1931 CE), contains more than thirty texts, including lyrics for *bedhaya* and *srimpi* dances, as well as compositions for dance and *wayang* shadow play. It is written in cursive Javanese script and attributed to Bandara Kangjeng Pangeran Harya (BKPH) Prabuwinata, the youngest son of Sinuhun Pakubuwana IX, who was himself a distinguished dancer and musical maestro in Surakarta during the early twentieth century. Another manuscripts containing the lyrics of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* include *Serat Pasindhen Badhaya: Katedhak saking Kagungan Dalēm Sampeyan Dalem ingkang Sinuhun Kangjeng Susuhunan kaping VII* (KS 543.1/265 Ha), *Serat Pasindhen Badhaya* (KS 545/256 Ra), *Serat Pasindhen Badhaya* (KS 546/uncat.), *Serat Pasindhen Badhaya saha Srimpi* (KS 547/399 Ra), and *Serat Pasindhen Badhaya* (KS 548/266 Ha), all preserved in the Sasana Pustaka Library of the Surakarta Palace. Another relevant source is *Serat Pasindhen Badhaya* (MN 623/F10), housed in the Mangkunegaran Palace library. The lyrics of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* preserved in these manuscripts generally share the same recension, with the exception *Serat Pasindhen Badhaya: Katedhak saking Kagungan Dalēm Sampeyan Dalem ingkang Sinuhun Kangjeng Susuhunan kaping VII* (KS 543). Unlike the other manuscripts, this version contains a unique preamble stating, “*risang narpa putra Nata Ngeksiganda murweng gita caritaning wong agung*

ing jaman kuna" (the prince, son of the King of Mataram, who composed a hymn about a great king of ancient times). The "prince of Mataram" here refers to Pangeran Adipati Hangabehi, son of Pakubuwana IV, who would later ascend the throne as Pakubuwana VIII. Other manuscripts, by contrast, attribute the composition to King Pakubuwana VIII directly, with the opening phrase *Sri Narendra Pakubuwana ping astha Surakarta amurwani carita ing jaman kuna* (Pakubuwana VIII of Surakarta composed the story of ancient times). The KS 543 recension, regarded as the oldest extant version, thus provides crucial evidence regarding the time of composition of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*. Since it attributes authorship to Pangeran Adipati Hangabehi, not yet enthroned as Pakubuwana VIII, this recension indicates that the lyrics were composed before his coronation.

Historical records tell that Pakubuwana VIII reigned from 1858 to 1861, succeeding his stepbrother, Pakubuwana VII (Prince Pangeran Purubaya), upon his death. During Pakubuwana VII's reign, Pangeran Adipati Hangabehi, later Pakubuwana VIII, was already recognised as the senior prince and a leading advisor at court. This period was marked by political tension involving the Dutch colonial authorities, Pakubuwana VII, and Prince Raden Mas Duksina, the son of Pakubuwana VI, who had been deposed and exiled to Ambon by the colonial regime. A political settlement was reached among the Dutch, Pakubuwana VII, Pangeran Adipati Hangabehi, and Raden Mas Duksina, stipulating that after Pakubuwana VII's death, Hangabehi would ascend as Pakubuwana VIII, and upon his death, succession would pass to Raden Mas Duksina as Pakubuwana IX [24][25]. Thus, the reign of Pakubuwana VIII represents a transitional period between the Dutch-backed enthronement of Pakubuwana VII and the eventual restoration of Pakubuwana VI's lineage through Pakubuwana IX. Based on the oldest known recension of the *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* lyrics, which does not yet mention Pakubuwana VIII as patron, it can be inferred that the composition predates his reign. Although the precise date cannot be determined, historical evidence suggests that the text was produced sometime between the period of conflict involving Pakubuwana VII, the Dutch colonial regime, Pangeran Adipati Hangabehi, and Raden Mas Duksina, and the time immediately before Hangabehi's enthronement as Pakubuwana VIII. By contrast, the recension most commonly found in later manuscripts appears to have been revised between 1858 and 1861, during Pakubuwana VIII's reign in Surakarta.

The *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* text itself takes the form of a hymn performed with a gamelan orchestra. It is intended to be sung by a *sindhen* (female vocalist) in a choral style. The lyrics are derived from one of the *Panji* romances, specifically the story of Panji Jayakusuma. The narrative recounts how Raden Panji, disguised as Klana Jayakusuma, serves as a warrior in the Ngurawan Kingdom. The king of Ngurawan sends him and his troops to conquer Bali, leading to an inevitable battle between his army and the Balinese forces. Patih Jayaasmara, Bali's prime minister, is defeated and revealed as Dewi Ragil Kuning, Panji's youngest sister. Klana Jayakusuma (Raden Panji) then leads the army against Prabu Jayalengkara, the king of Bali, who is ultimately subdued through Panji's charm and persuasion. Jayalengkara is unmasked as Dewi Candrakirana, Panji's long-lost wife, and the tale concludes with the couple's reunion. The choreography of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* can be understood from two manuscripts: *Serat Ater-atering Beksa Badhaya tuwin Sarimpi* (KMS 1907a) and an untitled manuscript (KMS 1907c), both preserved in the Yayasan Sastra Lestari Collection. The earliest of these, KMS 1907a, describes the choreography in detail. Internal dating within the text indicates that it was copied on Senen Legi, 5 Sapar 1838 AJ (5 March 1907 CE), from an older manuscript dated 17 Ruwah, Galungan, 1830 AJ (10 December 1900 CE). This places the surviving version within the reign of Pakubuwana X, approximately fifty years after the reigns of Pakubuwana VII and VIII.

The *Serat Ater-atering Beksa Badhaya tuwin Sarimpi* constitutes a compendium of various *bedhaya* and *srimpi* dances from the Surakarta court, including *Bedhaya Kaduk Manis*, *Bedhaya Sinom*, *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*, *Srimpi Anglir Mendhung*, and *Srimpi Sangupati*, among others. The choreographies are not presented in full but are recorded in relation to their musical movements. Uniquely, the text is composed in *macapat* meter, a traditional Javanese poetic form. The record of the *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* choreography appears in the first canto, stanzas 5 to 9. Information about its choreography had been fragmented. The first part of this dance consists of *laras miring*, *gajah-gajah*, and is similar to *Bedhaya Asritustha's* choreography.

The second part of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* consists of *tawengan* and war scenes with a gun (called *pistulan*). *Tawengan* terms in this record are a synonym for *batak moncol* term in the modern Javanese court dance tradition. The untitled manuscript catalogued as KMS 1907c primarily contains the musical notation for *Bedhaya Anduk*. A distinctive feature of this manuscript is the inclusion of several sketches depicting dance formations (blocking). Of the six sketches, four correspond to formations of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*. These diagrams appear to represent certain choreographic formations also recorded in manuscript KMS 1907a. The transmission of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* within the manuscript tradition reveals numerous gaps that resist systematic reconstruction. Several factors account for this condition. For centuries, Javanese court dance traditions have been sustained primarily through oral transmission, passed from senior to junior dancers. This mode of transmission has enriched the tradition with layers of complexity and variation.

3.2. Memory and Living Tradition

Most manuscripts that reference *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* belong to the *Pasindhen Badhaya* corpus. These texts primarily preserve the lyrics of the associated musical composition. Within the oral tradition, *Gendhing Gandrungmanis*, which progresses through *Ladrang Kuwung* and concludes with *Ketawang Playon*, continues to exist as a living musical repertoire. At ISI Surakarta, it remains part of the curriculum, particularly in the *Karawitan Bedhaya-Srimpi* course. Another factor contributing to the survival of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* as a musical composition is the systematic documentation undertaken by Martopangrawit. During the 1960s and 1970s, as part of the early initiatives of the *Pusat Kesenian Jawa Tengah* (PKJT) at the *Akademi Seni Karawitan Indonesia* (ASKI), Martopangrawit transcribed many *Bedhaya-Srimpi* compositions into notation. His musical note compilation has been published several times. This book reflects the musical practices of the Surakarta palace tradition between the 1940s and 1970s. One notable publication is the book *Titilaras Gending dan Sinden Bedhaya-Srimpi Keraton Surakarta*, published by ASKI in 1972 [26], which contains 20 musical notations, including *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*. There are many differences between Martopangrawit's note and the manuscript tradition, not only in lexical variants but also in the overall length of the texts. Both the *merong* section in Martopangrawit's notation and in the manuscripts consist of three stanzas. However, the *minggah* section in the notation contains only two stanzas, whereas the manuscripts preserve seven. Similarly, *Ladrang Kuwung* in the notation includes two stanzas, compared to five in the manuscripts. In contrast, *Ketawang Playon* appears consistently with seven stanzas in both sources. This comparison suggests that by the 1940s–1970s, court musicians were transmitting a shorter oral version of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* than the more elaborate versions recorded in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The discrepancy between the manuscript and the living musical tradition can be attributed to several factors. First, not all musicians had access to manuscripts, resulting in the predominance of oral transmission. Second, due to time constraints in *uyon-uyon* or gamelan recitals, not every section of the text was performed. By the early twentieth century, the surviving version of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*' choreography represented a shortened adaptation of the earlier form. Portions of the lyrics preserved in manuscripts had not been practised for a long time as accompaniment to the dance, eventually leading to their disappearance from the living tradition. This situation suggests that both the textual corpus and the choreography of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* gradually contracted, resulting in a shorter and more condensed performance than earlier versions. The last Javanese dance maestro who possessed knowledge of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*' choreography was Mrs. Darso (also known as Nyi Pamardihutaya). A former *Bedhaya* dancer during the reign of Pakubuwana XI, Mrs. Darso was invited in 1973 by KRA Pradapaningrum, one of Pakubuwana XII's consorts, to teach minor *Bedhaya* dances, including *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*, *Bedhaya Kabor*, and *Bedhaya Sumreg*. At that time, rehearsals for *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* were just two times. Mrs Darso's version of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*' choreography has a similarity with *Bedhaya Sukaharja*'s choreography. This could have happened because *Bedhaya Sukaharja* and another non-*Kemanakan Bedhaya* have the same structure. The difference between the first part of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* and *Bedhaya Sukaharja* is that *Bedhaya Sukaharja* has specific choreography with three dancers turning around and another six dancers sitting down in *jengkeng* position.

The second part of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* dance is *batak moncol* choreography. *Batak moncol* is a specific choreography with just one dancer (the *batak* one), who dances with a stand-up and turns around, while another dancer sits down.

Fig. 1 represent *batak moncol* formation in *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* derived from an untitled manuscript (KMS 1907c). This formation is also mentioned by GKR Wandansari Koes Moertiyah as the main choreography of the second part of Mrs Darso's *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*. The *batak moncol* formation in the *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* dance features a distinctive choreography in which female dancers are depicted as weeping and wiping away their tears with a *sampur*. This choreography is called *Sekaran Nangis*. *Sekaran Nangis* represents a crucial element, indeed, the climax of the *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* choreography. This scene danced under *ulengan* (centre of *pendhapa*) and was surrounded by *saka guru* (four main pillars in *pendhapa* architecture). This part could be seen as a climax, which portrays the heartbreaking feeling and sorrow related to *sindhenan* text that tells about *Panji Jayakusuma's* story. This climax could also be represented by Pakubuwana VIII's feelings and ideas about the political change that happened.

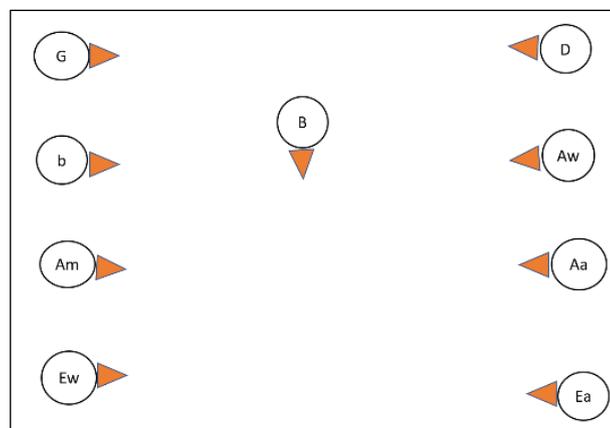


Fig. 1. *Batak moncol* formation interpreted based from manuscript

The relation between *pistulan* and *batak moncol* choreography in this dance has a specific dramatic function and meaning. This movement shows how the war, with a full dramatic situation, ended in a heartbreaking situation. This dramatic change represents the symbolic war in the Keraton Surakarta court that just ended in disintegration between the royal family. This sorrowful atmosphere also represents Pakubuwana VIII's vision about political loss and disintegration within Surakarta's royal family. *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis'* choreography in that time did not include *pistulan*, a sequence symbolizing armed combat. This recollection diverges slightly from the description in *Serat Ater-atering Beksa Badhaya tuwin Sarimpi*. This situation indicated that *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*, which was transmitted by Mrs Darso may represent a shortened form of the earlier choreography, in which *pistulan* was omitted. This situation indicates that it was not considered a significant component in her rendition. The *Serat Ater-atering Beksa Badhaya tuwin Sarimpi* stands as the oldest known written source, but presents several limitations. The text primarily describes dances practiced during Pakubuwana X's reign. However, when compared with historical records such as *Serat Wedhapradangga*[7] and *Pasindhén Badhaya Sarimpi*, it becomes evident that the dances documented in the *Serat Ater-atering Beksa Badhaya tuwin Sarimpi* in fact derive from earlier periods, particularly those of Pakubuwana VII, VIII, and IX. The choreography of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* documented in the *Serat Ater-atering Beksa Badhaya tuwin Sarimpi* may not represent the earliest version from the reigns of Pakubuwana VII–VIII. Instead, it is likely the result of modification or reinterpretation in subsequent generations, particularly during the reign of Pakubuwana X. Based on the account of GKR Wandansari Koes Moertiyah, the version of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* transmitted by Mrs Darso may be regarded as a simplified form of the dance that persisted into the Pakubuwana X–XI period. The absence of the *pistulan* sequence in this version strongly suggests that it represents a condensed adaptation of the choreography documented during Pakubuwana X's reign.

3.3. Re-Interpretation of Panji Roman

Bedhaya dances can undergo continuous processes of reinterpretation and rearrangement. For example, is *Srimpi Anglirmendhung*, which in the Keraton Surakarta carries sacred significance as a ritual to invoke rain. Yet this version originated from an earlier form developed in the Mangkunegaran Palace, a re-creation derived from *Bedhaya Gadhung Mlathi* of the Mataram era [27]. These cases underscore that reinterpretation is a central and ongoing process within Surakarta court dance. Such reinterpretation does not merely involve reimagining the symbolic meaning of a dance, but also entails modifications to its choreographic structure. In the case of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*, the dance embodies multiple layers of reinterpretation. This phenomenon of multi-layered interpretation is consistent with the broader tradition of *Panji* romances, in which narratives, such as *Panji Jayalengkara Angreni*, are re-read, re-created, and transformed into performing arts, particularly *wayang gedhog* and court dances [28]. The lyrics of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*, which encapsulate its narrative dimension, can be compared with earlier versions of the story. Its textual sources can be traced to *Serat Panji Jayakusuma* [29] from the north coast of Java and *Serat Panji Mbedhah Nagari Bali* [30][31]. An even earlier oral version can be identified in *wayang gedhog* texts such as *Serat Balungan Lampahan Ringgit Gedhog Gagrak Surakarta* [32]. In comparison, *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* appears as a simplified adaptation of these sources, omitting side stories and details while emphasising other narrative elements differently. Both *Serat Panji Jayakusuma*, *Serat Panji Mbedhah Nagari Bali*, and *Serat Balungan Lampahan Ringgit Gedhog Gagrak Surakarta* recount a version in which Prince Panji and Princess Galuh Candrakirana reunite. In this version, King Jayalengkara flees from battle, and Klana Jayakusuma (Panji) infiltrates the palace to uncover his secret. He eventually discovers that King Jayalengkara is, in fact, his wife, transformed into a man. A lengthy dialogue ensues, culminating in the revelation of Jayalengkara's disguise. In contrast, the lyrics of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* present a different account, where the revelation of Galuh Candrakirana's true identity occurs in the midst of battle, bypassing the palace dialogue altogether.

When comparing *Serat Wedhapradangga* with the *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* lyrics preserved in the *Pasindhen Badhaya Sarimpi* manuscripts, only a tenuous connection emerges. The lyrics, grounded in the *Panji Jayakusuma* narrative, depict Raden Panji's search for his lost beloved, Dewi Galuh Candrakirana. In Javanese philosophical thought, this journey represents the search for humans' ultimate spiritual goal. Dewi Galuh Candrakirana, also known as Dewi Sekartaji, symbolizes *wahyu keraton*, the divine revelation or ultimate destiny, that must be attained through perseverance and spiritual quest [33]. The reunion of Panji and Galuh Candrakirana after their arduous journey signifies the union of humanity with the divine. Within this framework, their reunification symbolizes the king's transformation into a *cakravartin*, a divine ruler and earthly manifestation of God [34]. Such cosmological and cultural meanings of the *Panji* cycle are inseparable from the broader corpus of *Panji* romances. The *Panji* romance in the Surakarta court dance is inseparable from its popularity and its connection to the political and cultural dynamics of Surakarta. As an essential element of the royal performing arts tradition, the *Panji* narrative functions as a cultural symbol reflecting Surakarta's identity. According to Tomioka [35], the *Panji* tales had already gained prominence in both literature and performance since the pre-Mataram era. This widespread popularity led to their incorporation as a thematic foundation in *Bedhaya Ketawang*. Furthermore, texts such as *Serat Kridhwayangga* [36] also document numerous royal dance idioms in Surakarta that demonstrate the influence of the *Panji* tradition. *Panji* Roman in Surakarta is also related to mask play that had been embodied long before Surakarta existed as a kingdom [37]. Pakubuwana VIII constructed the Surakarta's kingship idea in *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*, because Keraton Surakarta had lost its political power to the Dutch. He wanted to manifest his idea without being discovered by the Dutch. In this case, *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* is not just a sacred dance, but also Pakubuwana VIII's symbolic instrument and power manifestation. *Panji Jayakusuma*, in this dance, not just a romantic narrative, but also *sasmita rempit* (secret-hidden symbol) was created to manifest Pakubuwana VIII's vision of the true way to attain Surakarta's peaceful era.

Beyond its political–spiritual dimensions, the *Panji* roman within the Keraton Surakarta also reflects the influence of the Dutch colonial administration and broader processes of cultural transformation. For instance, the *wayang gedhog* tradition demonstrates significant developments as a response to these cultural changes, when Javanese court dance was influenced and related to colonial cultural change [38][39][40]. In this context, the *Panji* narrative embedded in *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* is not only infused with political–spiritual symbolism expressed through its lyrics and choreography but also represents a cultural response to nineteenth-century change. The Keraton Surakarta sought to reconcile Dutch-influenced cultural dynamics with *Panji* philosophical ideals. Viewed from this perspective, *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* may be understood as an expression of Sinuhun Pakubuwana VIII's role as patron, articulating the legitimacy of Surakarta's throne as the rightful destiny of its legitimate heir. The inclusion of *pistulan* in earlier versions of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* likely carried similar symbolic connotations as in other *Bedhaya* and *Srimpi* dances. *Pistulan* symbolized warfare, which may be interpreted both as external conflict between individuals and as internal conflict within the human consciousness. Thus, *pistulan* in the earlier *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* could have symbolized the political tensions surrounding succession disputes in nineteenth-century Surakarta. Conversely, its absence in Mrs Darso's shorter version suggests that the motif of warfare was no longer considered essential to the dance's symbolic repertoire. Understanding the *rasa* (feel-atmosphere) of *Bedhaya* dance cannot be separated from *Bedhaya*'s psychological aspect [41]. Mrs. Darso's version of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* is imbued with profound sorrow and heartbreak. This interpretation positions the dance as a symbol of grief, yet one infused with deep romanticism. In this adaptation, the motif of *wahyu keraton* (divine mandate of kingship), which features prominently in the longer version, is absent and is replaced by a romantic narrative. This shift indicates that the *Wahyu Keraton* symbolism may have become obsolete in the twentieth century. What Pakubuwana VIII intended to convey in the early form of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* regarding *wahyu keraton* was likely perceived as a matter of the past. The emergence of romanticism in Mrs Darso's version resonates with the flourishing cultural climate of the Keraton Surakarta during its golden era in the early twentieth century,

4. Conclusion

Bedhaya Gandrungmanis preserved through a combination of manuscript records and oral tradition. Manuscripts, as the primary sources, provide detailed descriptions of earlier versions of the dance, yet they represent only fragments of a living tradition transmitted orally. The whole meaning of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* can be understood by articulating the manuscript and oral tradition in ethno-philological perspective. Earlier versions of the dance were longer and included elements such as *pistulan* scenes, *batak moncol*, and the absence of *rakit perangan*. By contrast, the last known version, taught by Mrs. Darso in the Keraton Surakarta in 1973, constitutes a shortened form of the nineteenth-century choreography, which had already lost many of its original movements. The processes of reinterpretation and recomposition over time demonstrate how the transformation of choreography is inherently connected with shifts in meaning. Historically, *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* reflected and responded to succession disputes within the nineteenth century and Dutch influence in the Surakarta court. The narrative core of *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis* conveys the idea of the rightful heir to the Surakarta throne, symbolised by Raden Panji, who must ultimately attain the *wahyu keraton*, a divine mandate represented by Dewi Galuh Candrakirana. Pakubuwana VIII attempted to address his vision about royal succession and royal political conflict by creating *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*. He also wanted to shape his idea without being discovered by Dutch. This idea still lived in *Bedhaya Gandrungmanis*'s older version, but disappeared when this idea became irrelevant over the time. This political idea transformed into a more romantic perspective as the *Panji* story itself is not seen as *sasmita* (symbol) and mostly just a court romance. For further research, there are many Surakarta's *Bedhaya* and *Srimpi* that are documented in manuscript tradition that still need to be understood. Without new research on the dance manuscripts, there are still many problems to understanding the Javanese dance history. At the end, research on Surakarta's court dance in ethno-philological perspectives not just to describe its history, but also Javanese cultural change that represented in older court dance.

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