

THE DĀLAṅ

By

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Students of Indonesian literature are all familiar with what is usually known as the Panji Cycle of Historical Romance, based upon the life and adventures, martial as well as romantic, of Panji, one of the most popular of heroes of old-time Indonesia. Panji, as a matter of fact, was an historical personage, for he has been identified with Kāmesvara I of the Kurepan-Dāhā state (1115-1130). Countless versions of this romance exist not only in Java, the land of its birth, but also over the archipelago and neighbouring lands including Siam.

Dr. Poerbatjaraka has examined in his *Panjiverhalen onderling Vergeleken* perhaps all of the innumerable Indonesian versions of the Cycle, and has made comparisons, perhaps less exhaustively, with non-Indonesian versions, notably the Cambodian. Unfortunately the latter happens to be only an adaptation of the comparatively recent Siamese version—the *Inao* of Rāma II (1767-1824). In any case, the learned doctor concluded that the greater number of Indonesian versions had certain common features which he enumerated in detail. On examining them one finds that those features correspond more with the Siamese *Dālaṅ* called also the *Greater Tale of Inao* than with the *Inao* (Lesser Tale). It seems, therefore, that two types of the Cycle came up to this country. One, possessing most of the features enumerated by Poerbatjaraka and therefore conforming to the classic Indonesian type, is represented here by the *Dālaṅ*; whilst the other seems to have had its origin in a Malay version, known as the *Version of Ari Nagara*, a translation of which has been made recently into Siamese and exists in the National Library in manuscript form.

Let us now examine the venue of these versions. Tradition, unconfirmed however by history, has it that a princess, in the days of the King now known as "His late Majesty of the Sublime Urn" (1732-1758) who was her father, wrote the *Inao* from the oral information of her maids who were probably Malays. We know

besides that a number of Islamic classics came up the Peninsula about that time such for example as the *Sibsongliem*. Malacca was obviously the centre of this dissemination of Islamic literature. According to Sir Richard Winstedt (JRAS, Mal. branch, Vol. XVII, part 3, p. 38) "the earliest Malay redactions must have been known in the fifteenth century in Malacca or they could not have coloured the *Malay Annals* with their tales of Chandra Kirana and Sultan Mansur ... What centre, indeed, more likely for their translation from the Javanese than that cosmopolitan port with Sultan Mansur married to a Javanese woman.... a port with a colony of bilingual locally born Javanese in touch not only with their country of origin but with the new Islamic learning?" From Malacca then the romance might have worked its way up the Peninsula to Ayudhyā where at least two versions are said to have been dramatised by that princess, or two princesses, as above mentioned. As there are now in this country two distinct versions of the romance, it is probable that they are individually descended from those two Ayudhyā versions.

As to their titles, the differentiation into the Greater and the Lesser Tales of Inao is probably quite late. The term *dālay* signifies the manipulator of the shadow-play; whilst Inao was the name of the hero, though in the Siamese versions the name Panji is reserved for him in disguise as a forester.

I have already made critical studies of the Siamese versions with a view to coming to some conclusion as to their origin and venue. One was published in Siamese in 1941 under the title of *A Biography of Thao Vorachandra and Materials for the Study of the Origin and Venue of the Siamese Tale of Inao*. The second, written in English, was published in *India Antiqua* (E.J. Brill, Leyden, 1947) under the title of *Siamese Versions of the Panji Romance*. In the latter study, in English, I was not able to give summaries of the romances at any detail because of a general limitation of space for all contributions to that special volume of *India Antiqua*, dedicated as it was to the fiftieth anniversary of Dr. J.P. Vogel's doctorate. For a real study of the subject, however,

especially for the international student who does not read Siamese, it seems necessary that a summary of both versions should be available in English. Hence the present article on one of them—the *Dālaṅ*.

There are at present two manuscripts of the romance *Dālaṅ*. Both are obviously incomplete. Though acquired by and kept in the National Library their missing parts have not yet been found. The romance is believed to date back only to the first reign of the Chakri Dynasty; and is treated as a "Royal Writing", or *Phra Rājanibondh*, implying that the work was either written by the King himself or under his direct instigation and direction. One manuscript consists of 32 volumes of the old-style Siamese folio; and was published at Dr. D.B. Bradley's Press in 1890 in its incomplete form. It is now out of print and very hard to find. The second, consisting of 39 volumes, is, however, shorter in material. The manuscripts date from the third reign of the Chakri Dynasty. Beyond these two manuscripts there does not seem to exist any others either of the romance *Dālaṅ* or any other work which can be classified as belonging to this type of the Panji romance.

The story is very well-known in this country. The *Lesser Tale of Inao* written in the first reign still exists but has been eclipsed by a later version written personally by King Rāma II. This version has now become one of the greatest classics of Siamese literature. Hence the importance of a study of these tales. The present article is, however, concerned only with the *Dālaṅ*, the *Greater Tale of Inao*.

The Setting

In the beginning the Great Ancestor, Patārakālā, founded four states, named Kurepan, Dāhā, Kālāṅ and Siṅhasāri, to be ruled by His descendants, who were brothers. They were of the "Divine Race of Rulers".

The brothers were incomparable in virtue and attainments. To each of them numerous vassal kings and chiefs owed allegiance. Each of the four capitals was provided with similar sets of royal

residences, in front of which was a tournament ground,* bounded by arsenals and stables for horse and elephant. In the centre of the city was a drum tower of great height. At the approach of an enemy the drum was beaten and citizens would spontaneously take up arms for the common defence. Roads were paved with laterite and strewn with red sand. Shops abounded on either side, where women plied their trade in gold, jewellery, silk and other merchandise. Young people swarmed the streets and courted. Entertainments such as the shadow-play were plentiful. The walls of the city were of laterite and stone of a golden hue, fortified by bastions, palisades and other military devices. Outside the walls was a lake for purification after a battle, from which numerous lotuses and lilies emitted their fragrance.

Though innumerable maidens of royal parentage attended upon the monarch in less exalted ranks in the harem, custom only sanctioned him to raise five ladies to the rank of a queen. They were the Pramaisuri (Paramaisvariya), the Madevi (Mahādevi), the Mato, the Līku and the Maulāṇī.

The Principal Characters.

The Queen of Kurepan at length had a dream that the sun, as it shone in the heavens, dropped down suddenly into her hands. While she gently took hold of it a brilliant ray of light filled up every space only to disappear as soon as it came on. It shone forth anew later with the moon's brilliance, which seemed equally resplendent to the eye. She then woke up and related the dream to her lord, who saw in the dream the coming birth of a son and heir. He, however, referred the augury to the astrologers of the Court for due interpretation. The latter submitted their unanimous opinion that a son would be born, who shall be endowed with might and shall be able to make conquests in all directions. At the age of fourteen, however, the young prince was doomed to exile, but all would be well in the end. His greatness would be such that instead of the divine right to a set of five queens he would be entitled to ten.

*No doubt the counterpart of the modern *aloun aloun* of Javanese capitals of principalities.

After a period of ten months from the time a tremendous storm rent the skies with thunder and lightning; musical instruments sounded everywhere with spontaneity; copious rains fell and at their subsidence a son was born to the *Pramaisuri* within the Palace. The child was tenderly washed by the *Madevi* in a bowl of crystal. The Great Ancestor fashioned a *kris* in the heavens and left it at the side of the new-born child with his blessing. The *kris* was later discovered by the child's side by the *Madevi* and there was much rejoicing at the discovery. The King, unsheathing the weapon, found his son's name inscribed thereon as Raden Montrī of Kurepan. Sons of leading courtiers were appointed pages of honour; thus the shapely son of Pateh was appointed the *Prasantā*, the son of Tamaṅṅ became *Kartālā*, the son of *Yāsā* became *Pūntā* and the son of *Damaṅ* became *Yarudeh*. Presents arrived in plenty from the royal uncles of the three other states as well as from other chiefs.

In due time the *Madevi* gave birth to a son upon whom the Great Ancestor bestowed in like manner a *kris* bearing the name of *Āraṅkanaṅloh*.

Meanwhile in *Dāhā* the *Pramaisuri* bore a daughter at whose birth a significant aroma of fragrant flowers seemed to fill the air all over the palace. She was therefore known as *Busbā Kālōh* of *Dāhā*. She was very beautiful and well beloved of her parents. Maids of honour were appointed bearing the ranks of *Bāyan*, *Palāṅṅan*, *Paseran* and *Sāṅṅet*. The *Madevi* of *Dāhā* had also a daughter named *Busbāwilis*. The princesses of *Dāhā* were then betrothed by the King of Kurepan for his two sons in accordance with their respective ranks. The *Pramaisuri* of *Siṅhasāri* too gave birth to a son, whom the Great Ancestor named, in like manner by inscribing on a *kris*, *Āntaravannā*. The young Prince was given similar honours as those bestowed upon the heir of Kurepan. The *Madevi* of *Siṅhasāri* gave birth later to a prince named *Āndasāri*. Daughters were born later on of the *Pramaisuri* and *Mato* of *Kālāṅ* and given the names of *Busbā Akoṅ* and *Busbāranā*, who became betrothed later to *Āntaravannā* and *Āndasāri* of *Siṅhasāri*. The King of *Kālāṅ* had also a son by the *Likū* named *Sirikan*.

Inao's First Amour.

Inao and his brother Čaraṅkananṅloh were intimate with one another as if they were of the same mother. They mastered all the arts and constantly attended upon their father. When they came of age they were given young ladies of rank as minor wives.

One day while out hunting, Inao, attended only by Prasantā since they outrode the retinue, came upon a young and beautiful maid who was living with her widowed mother earning a living by vegetable-gardening. She was named Busbā and had a companion, Lorā. On being addressed by the young prince, they fled into their cottage and bolted themselves in. Inao, nothing daunted, tried to gain entrance without success. On the arrival of the retinue he ordered a camp to be pitched and sent for gold bars from the palace. Towards evening the widowed mother came back, was bribed with the gold bars and gladly accepted them in exchange for her daughter's hand in marriage. "Busbā of the countryside" — as she is usually known in the story in contrast to Busbā the Princess of Dāhā — modestly objected to the Prince's advances, pointing out her low birth and the fact of the Prince's betrothal to the Princess of Dāhā, to thwart which would have been an act on her part of *lèse majesté* against the royal father punishable with a death penalty. Her reasoning proved of no avail and the Prince had his way. After some days of rustic idyll the Prince came to the city and attended upon his father, hoping to be able to return as soon as possible to his beloved of the countryside.

Unfortunately the King of Kurepan felt that the time had arrived to consummate the marriage of his son and heir with the niece who had been betrothed to him. A royal missive was despatched to his brother of Dāhā who naturally reciprocated the good intentions and began to prepare for the great occasion. Upon receipt of his brother's reply of assent the King of Kurepan instructed Inao to supervise the arrangements for the royal progress to Dāhā. The royal order was again and again neglected by the

Prince who eventually left the capital for his camp and confided to his amour the intentions of his royal parents. Busbā of the countryside tried to persuade him to accede to his father's wishes but he was adamant in saying that he could love no one but her.

The King meanwhile found that inspite of reminders Inao paid no attention to the preparations for the royal progress to the nuptials in Dāhā and became incensed. He even thought of laying plans to get rid of the country girl by murder; though the *Pramaisuri* persuaded him that this first infatuation would pass and all would end happily. When Inao came to see his father again the latter reminded him about the nuptials to which Inao made no reply. The King thereupon spoke to him quite harshly. Inao again retired to his camp and came no longer into town, neglecting attendance on his royal father. The latter sent for him giving orders that as soon as Inao left the camp the country amour was to be seized and murdered in the forest. One of the senior courtiers, Tamaṇor, was entrusted with the unpleasant duty which he carried out not without a great deal of hesitation and inward compassion. Upon his return to the camp Inao learnt of the tragedy. Gathering up the remains of his murdered amour with his own hands, he became desperate and raised camp to assume the life of a forester, wandering aimlessly for no apperent destination. The first act of his self-imposed exile was to cremate the remains of his beloved. He then adopted the name of Panji the forester and went forth.

First Adventure

Youth must have its fling and the memory of his beloved faded as a new factor came into the scene. The Chief of Pañčārākan was taking his daughter, Busbāsāri, betrothed to the heir of Sača-unu state, for a holiday in the woods; and the party was espied by Prasantā who led his master to take a look at them. Panji became at once enamoured of the young and lovely lady who, moreover, resembled his late amour of the countryside. On a sudden impulse Panji seized the lady and galloped off without much

ado. Her father was at the time paying a visit to a seer on the mountain. When informed of the abduction he was enraged and on the point of setting out to recover his daughter. The seer tried to desist him from violence, pointing out that the culprit was a man with a future who could well look after his daughter. The enraged father was finally pacified. He set out nevertheless on their path, and, on coming up to the encampment of Panji, saw his daughter on the lap of the young forester, "befitting one another as the sun does the moon". He re'ented and forgave the insult. Panji then came to the Chief's headquarters to beg his pardon and the difference was ended. The Chief returned to his home with his son-in-law leading the vanguard.

The way back to Pañcarākan passed the boundary of Sača-unu, the heir of which had been betrothed to the abducted lady. In his capacity of leader of the vanguard Panji sent a message into Sača-unu asking its Chief to send his son out to pay him homage, adding at the same time that the young lady who was to have been his son's wife had been already married to him. Neither the Chief of Sača-unu nor his son could brook the insult; and a pitched battle followed in which both were killed by Panji. The allied Chief of Pakmājan, a close relative of the dead Chief of Sača-unu, dared not resist and paid tribute to Panji in the form of his daughter Katikāsāri who also became Panji's wife.

The third state to be passed was Kralambajan, whose Chief willingly surrendered to Panji and paid him tribute. Panji then arrived at Pañcarākan, and, by order of the Chief, his father-in-law, nuptials were solemnised with the Princess Busbāsāri as well as with the daughter of the Chief of Pakmājan.

Second Adventure

Meanwhile news spread abroad of the first adventure of Panji. The Chief of another state, Maṇḍādā, an ambitious man, conceived a plot of ridding the young and seemingly irresistible adventurer. He invited Panji to his capital and royally entertained

him and his numerous suite. Next, he proposed to Panji an excursion to an island state, named Banulan, where a gigantic octagonal stone bearing an old inscription existed. There was a tradition attached to it that whoever could uproot the stone would be a man of great glory and power. Panji fell in with the idea and sailed thither in boats furnished by the Chief. Upon arrival there he was entertained royally by the Chief of the island and then rode into the forest to see the archeological curiosity. Panji succeeded in moving the stone, whereupon a huge flame sprang up from the cavity, at the subsidence of which a marvellous gong which sounded automatically was seen. This was considered a sign of power. The next day Panji set sail to return to Maṇḍādā. His boat was however wrecked through leakage which had been prearranged by the wily Chief of Maṇḍādā. Upon receiving news of the disaster that Chief rejoiced and imagined that Panji had been got rid of. Panji in the meantime was washed ashore accompanied only by Misā Maṇḍārad, that is to say, Prasantā with his disguised name as a forester. After recovering the two strayed along in search of food and security till they eventually came into the state of Nusātan, a realm of Amazons where no male existed. Panji was adopted as the ruler's consort while his companion was royally entertained to food and pleasure at every house in the city.

Search Parties

After the disaster of Maṇḍādā the remnants of Panji's retinue returned to Kurepan with the two consorts of their master and reported the whole affair to the King. The latter sent his son, Čarakanaṅloh at the head of an army to search far and wide for Inao. In order to facilitate his search Čarakanaṅloh adopted a forester's disguise under the name of Kudā Virāyā. In due time he arrived before the walls of Maṇḍādā and challenged the Chief to a fight in which the latter was worsted and killed. Kudā Virāyā then questioned individually all the ministers as well as the further remnants of Panji's army which brought him now to the island as to the whereabouts of their master but was told that he had disappeared altogether without any trace.

Now began a long search, the initial direction of which was Lāsam, now still known by practically the same name of Lasem on the north coast of central Java. The method of his search was the same all along and each juncture is described at length. It may be summed up shortly. Upon arrival at any state, a provocative letter would be sent to its chief demanding surrender in person. The chief would be dictated by a natural indignation and self-respect to refuse compliance and a fight would follow in which the respective chief is worsted and killed or surrenders. Tribute would then be exacted in kind and if there is an unmarried daughter she would become the conqueror's consort. To return to our narrative our hero made Lāsam his headquarters for the time being.

Meanwhile the King of Siṅhasāri, youngest of the four royal brothers and an uncle of Inao, on receiving the appeal for help from his brother of Dāhā, also sent a search party under the command of the Heir Presumptive of Siṅhasāri, his eldest son.

Panji in Dāhā

In the course of time Panji and his companion escaped from Nusātan the realm of the Amazons; and, after a period of considerable hardship, arrived by chance in Dāhā. An old woman seeing the wretched state in which the two young men were took compassion on them, admitted them to her humble cottage and adopted them as her children. In order to earn a living Panji started to carve figures from hide and performed the shadow-play. This episode in fact has given the name of *Dūlaṅ* to this version of the romance. The performances proved popular and the *dūlaṅ* became himself a star. Patrons vied with one another in engaging him to perform for them and he became sought after by maidens of the city. His fame spread till it reached the ears of Pateh the Minister, who organised a performance at his private residence. The performance proved such a success that the Minister saw in it a means whereby he might be able to divert his sovereign from the sorrow and depression resulting from the affair of Inao's rejection of his daughter, which the King felt was a family insult. The play

eventually took place in the palace. The whole court including the royal ladies attended. An accident among the audience was the occasion for light being brought into the darkened space, which revealed to Panji the beauteous shape of the King's daughter, the fiancée in fact whom he had spurned in favour of the country-girl. The performance was so successful that it was again engaged to take place on several consecutive evenings. At times Misā Maṇṇārād, otherwise Prasantā the companion in exile, would relieve Panji at manipulating the figures on the screen; and the audience understood that the *dālay* was either resting or indisposed. The intervals were purposely engineered to occur more and more frequently until the audience took no note of them. Panji then took the chance to slip behind and went straight to the apartments where the Princess Busbā was sleeping. By tender caresses he woke her. Busbā was indignant at the liberty he was taking and sent him away. Even though he was full of entreaty Panji realised that his effort was not to prove of any avail and made his retreat. The unwelcome visit was repeated on the following evening, Busbā remaining firm in her refusal.

At this juncture it so happened that the Chief of Pratāhon died, leaving a widow and three grown-up sons who were still unmarried. The eldest on succeeding to the chieftainship began to look out for a worthy consort. A minister told him that the King of Dāhā had a lovely daughter who had been betrothed to but rejected by Inao of Kurepan. In spite of opposition from another minister on the ground that it would be dangerous to thwart Inao who though no longer about might turn up at any moment, the young Chief fell in at once with the idea and sent a mission to Dāhā to sue for her hand. The King of Dāhā, still smarting from the insult of his nephew's rejection, promised his daughter's hand readily though without any enthusiasm. In due time the Chief of Pratāhon, accompanied by his two younger brothers, arrived in Dāhā and asked permission of the King to celebrate the wedding within five days. Busbā, hearing of this fate from her maid, was greatly distressed and confided to the maid that even at that time the *dālay* was in

the habit of stealing into her rooms to make love which she had never shown any sign of reciprocating. The maid was of opinion that the *dālay* could not have been a man of low birth and suggested putting the situation before him for advice. Busbā, still reluctant to speak to one who had been insulting her and still less to ask him for advice, was undecided as to future action beyond being determined not to marry the new unknown suitor and ready to end her own life if it could not be prevented. That evening during the usual shadow-play the *dālay* again stole up into her room. The Princess was at last willing to ask his help in finding a way out of contracting the marriage with the unknown suitor. She worded her appeal as far as her personal self-respect would allow and her wording almost implied her willingness to share his life. She had an intuition that in point of birth the *dālay* was really her peer in disguise. The *dālay* on his part wanted her to discover for herself somehow that he was none other than her betrothed. In his effort towards this end he unsheathed his *keris* on which his name was written and laid it before her by way of offering the weapon to her to take his life if she wished. Busbā on the other hand did not even look at the weapon. Finally the *dālay* was disappointed and left the princess, saying that he would retire to the forests. He left Dāhā altogether.

The Heroine Disappears

Meanwhile preparations for the wedding proceeded apace. On the eve of the wedding day the bridegroom was mortally stabbed by an unknown assassin who managed to escape. The dead prince's brothers demanded that the bride followed her groom in death by offering herself to the flames on his funeral pyre. The King of Dāhā, however reluctant to lose his daughter in this way, felt in honour bound to accede to the request, sanctioned as it was by custom. Upon her ascending the pyre, lo! a big lotus sprang up and Busbā disappeared out of everybody's sight in a miraculous manner, her personal attendants disappearing with her. The Great Ancestor, through whose agency the miracle happened, placed the

five maidens on a celestial chariot which fled through the air up to the summit of a high mountain, where he revealed himself and told Busbā that henceforth she and her attendants were to be turned into men for their own protection. They would resume their sex as soon as Busbā meets and recognises her betrothed. While in a man's state she would be known to the world as Misā Pramaṅkuniṅ and an army was created for her out of leaves of trees in the forest!

It was obvious that the unknown assassin was none other than the *dālaṅ*, who was even present at the funeral service. Upon seeing the Princess disappear into the flames he lost his reason and swooned. Upon recovery he was led by Prasantā into the country for his own safety and there they remained for some time.

Misā Pramaṅkuniṅ

The brothers of the dead Chief of Pratāhon then left Dāhā, and, on their way home, encountered Misā Pramaṅkuniṅ (Busbā turned into a man) at the head of her—or his—army. Fighting ensued; and the brothers were killed by Misā Pramaṅkuniṅ; the rest of their armies surrendered and invited the victor to assume the Chieftainship thus left vacant of Pratāhon. This she did as a means to an end, which was of course the discovery of her betrothed, who, she was told, was himself searching for her. After the formal installation to the throne, Misā Pramaṅkuniṅ remained for a time in that state from which she was planning to organise searches for the prince.

The narrative is now switched to the Prince of Siṅhasāri, Ūntaravannā, who, while travelling in search of Inao, was informed by the Great Ancestor in a dream that Inao of Kurepan, now Panji, was living in a poor state, bereft of reason, accompanied solely by Prasantā, somewhere around Dāhā. The Prince at once proceeded to that neighbourhood and discovered them without difficulty. By a process of humouring he was able to bring Inao back to reason and suggested returning to Kurepan. At the mention, however, of Kurepan, old memories returned and Panji relapsed into his former state of insanity. His mentality nevertheless improved a little later and they began travelling, the immediate objective being Maṅṅādā.

It will be remembered that it was at Maṇḍādū that Panji's brother, Čaraṇkanarḷoh, under the assumed forester's name of Kudā Virāyā, had made his headquarters for the time. Just at the moment, however, he had set out on a journey. The cousins met on the way, and, discussing the situation, agreed that it was no use trying to get Panji to return to Kurepan until his mind had been completely restored. With that object in view they decided to enable the invalid to get a period of complete rest by assuming the life of an ascetic on the mount of Pračājan. Inao, on being approached about the project, agreed. They then became ascetics under the preceptorship of the old hermit resident on that mount.

The Ascetic Panji

The Great Ancestor was now again weaving the web of destiny. He appeared to Misā Pramaṇkunij (Bushā in a male form) in a dream and told her that the *dālaṇ* she had met in her palace at Dāhā was none other than her own betrothed, Inao of Kurepan, and that he was now disconsolate and living in the forest, mentally deficient. Thus enlightened, the heroine was doubly strengthened in her will to find him. She lost no time in starting on a journey of search at the head of the Pratāhon army. The ostensible reason given was that the Chief, being still unmarried, was touring in search of a suitable consort. On arriving at the boundary of the state of Pamāsé the usual quarrel arose with the state and its Chief came out to fight, was vanquished and offered the conqueror the hand of his daughter. Malāṇid, the next state to be passed, surrendered without fighting and offered the hand of the Chief's daughter as usual. Then followed six other states, Siṅharaburā, Kalaṇbuni, Sača-unu, Pañčakusumā, Burājan and Pamansalad, which likewise surrendered, each offering a daughter of the Chief as hostage. At the capital of the last-mentioned state Misā Pramaṇkunij took up temporary head-quarters and adopted the young son of the Chief thereof, named Virāsakam, as his own son.

The narrative is now switched again to Panji, who had adopted an ascetic life on mount Pračāṅgaṇ and was now mentally recovered. He was now known as Laṅḍaṅ Nijrat. Running after a bird of song one day, he eventually arrived and rather miraculously entered within the precincts of the inner palace of the Chief of Patāram. He came face to face with the Chief's beautiful daughter, Ūntarāvāti, who, as it turned out, had become enamoured of Laṅḍaṅ Nijrat whom she had seen in a dream and only met now for the first time. They of course fell in love at first sight and, securing the father's consent, were duly wedded. Laṅḍaṅ Nijrat now lived for a time at Patāram. The other two princes, who had adopted the ascetic life in company with Panji, were alarmed at his sudden disappearance but were assured by the omniscient preceptor that he was in no danger and would be found by them somewhere in an eastern direction. The princes therefore took leave of the preceptor and, relinquishing their ascetic vows, moved along at the head of their armies in pursuit. At Marakat Yuli, the Chief thereof put up a fight; but, losing two of his generals, surrendered and gave his daughter to the victor. Eight other chiefs surrendered and paid tributes likewise in the form of riches and daughters. The princes came at length into Kālaṅ, the capital of their uncle. Though retaining their foresters' disguises, they sent in no provocative letters calling for surrender but instead applied for the royal permission to call and pay their respect. The King granted the permission but did not recognise his nephews, though he treated the callers with kindness and benevolence. The so-called foresters remained in Kālaṅ for a time.

In Kalaṅ

Now, as before mentioned, the King of Kālaṅ had a son named Sirikan by one of the lesser queens. He became very friendly with the two foresters. At the residence of Kudā Virāyā, Sirikan saw the tributary princesses and fell in love with one of them. He asked the King, his father, to ask for her from the foresters. The King indignantly pointed out the impossibility of

asking for the hand of one of their wives for his son and rated him for such a base thought. Sirikan was extremely hurt. Leaving the court on a pretence of a hunting trip, he went into the forest, where he underwent a series of severe penances and finally won from the gods a magic noose wherewith to catch his enemies. Sending in a challenge to his father to come out and fight, he pointed out how he had smarted under his scolding before the whole court in Kālaṅ. The foresters on hearing this at once volunteered their service. On the field of battle they were caught in the magic noose and were confined in a cave. The King, coming out to avenge their defeat, was also caught by the noose and similarly confined.

The Great Ancestor again intervened. He appeared to Misā Pramaṅkuniṅ in a dream and enjoined her to go to the rescue of her uncle and cousins outside Kālaṅ, simultaneously informing the two cousins in captivity that Busbā of Dāhā, now under the male guise of Misā Pramaṅkuniṅ, would be their rescuer. The rescue was duly effected, the cousins recognising each other though the King of Kālaṅ was still kept in ignorance. Sirikan, who had assumed kingship in Kālaṅ for a week, was in turn captured and obliged to put himself to death by jumping into a well. Misā Pramaṅkuniṅ was now adopted by the King of Kālaṅ as his son, the third of the so-called foresters to become the King's adopted son.

The narrative is now switched to Inao, who, it will be remembered, had been living with Ōntarāvāti of Patāram. After a time Inao became restless on account of a return of anxiety over the fate of his betrothed, Busbā of Dāhā. Feigning a hunting trip, he left Patāram and came at length to Manyā-pā-et, where he adopted the disguise for a second time of a *dālaṅ*, and again became very popular there as the skilled manipulator of the shadow-play. At that time political affairs in that state were very unsettled. The ruling Chief had married the widow of his predecessor. The lady had a son by her first husband, named Barabaṅ and two other sons by the present Chief. All three were kindly brought up by the

Chief without any discrimination. While out hunting one day, Barabaṅ was caught in thorns and fell off his horse in agony. The two brothers did not notice the accident. Barabaṅ imagined that he had been purposely neglected; and, being determined on revenge, hired assassins to murder the ruling Chief at one of the regular performances in the palace of the shadow-play. This accomplished, a tremendous confusion ensued. Whilst two of the hired assassins succeeded in effecting their escape, the other two were hard pressed by the murdered Chief's attendants and took refuge in the house of Barabaṅ who had hired them. The Chief's two sons, leading the pursuit, came face to face with their half brother. A quarrel and a fight ensued, in which the three brothers were killed. The widowed consort consulted the ministers of state and jointly offered the throne to the *dālaṅ*, who took the widow to wife.

We are now taken back by our narrator to Kālaṅ in order to record an old episode which though very general in Java is not well known in this country because the *Lesser Inao*, which is more popular here, does not include it. A divine being became disgraced in heaven for some fault and was ordered down to earth to live the life of an ogre until he should meet and be killed by a scion of the "divine race of rulers". The demon whose name is not specified here had been waiting for his deliverance for hundreds of years but was now aware that his chance had come. Flying through the air to Kālaṅ, he carried off one of the King's daughters from the palace gardens to his abode in the depths of the forest. He comforted her by making no secret of his objective and placed her unharmed on a high branch of a giant fig-tree. Meantime a search party was organised from Kālaṅ, led by the foresters who had been adopted by the King. Arriving on the scene the whole retinue was alarmed by the gigantic size of the ogre and fled, leaving the three leaders to face the creature. The ogre told them his story and begged them end his life and thereby give him deliverance. The Princess of Kālaṅ was thus rescued. So far the Siamese episode of the romance *Dālaṅ* confirms the Javanese story of the Ogre of Selamaṅlerṅ. A variation however occurs. On their way back to Kālaṅ another penalised divine being in the form of a tiger snatched

one of the leaders, Kudā Virāyā, while asleep; and, taking him to his lair, told him that this was done merely to provoke a scion of the "divine race of rulers" to kill him thereby giving him deliverance from a divine curse. Kudā Virāyā accorded to his wish; but unable to find his way back strayed along in the forest. After many days' wandering and privation he came across two travelling actors with a numerous troupe. The actors recognised in Kudā Virāyā their brother-in-law Čaraṅkanaṅloh of Kurepan; while the latter learned that the leading actors were the princesses of Pañcarūkan and Pakmān, consorts of Panji in male disguise. Alarmed at first at seeing them for he suspected that something might have happened at Kurepan to necessitate their wandering, his fear was allayed by the information from the princesses that the only reason of their travel was to locate Inao their husband. He therefore assumed the rôle of manager of the troupe to ensure more safety to the disguised women and together they travelled into the nearest town, which happened to be Patūram, where they learned of the birth by Princess Čintarāvāti of a son to Panji, who duly recognised them all and received the two ladies, his consorts into the palace. Here Kudā Virāyā told Panji that his betrothed, the Princess of Dāhā, had become a man named Misā Pramāṅkuniṅ.

Misā Pramāṅkuniṅ Again on the Move

Meanwhile Misā Pramāṅkuniṅ and the disguised Prince of Siṅhasāri, who had rescued the Princess of Kālaṅ from the ogre's cave, brought her into Kālaṅ where her father was. The two left again in search of Kudā Virāyā (Čaraṅkanaṅloh of Kurepan) who had disappeared without a trace. They arrived at "a big city called Bāli", where the aged Chief paid tribute in the form of his daughter. After a sojourn there Misā Pramāṅkuniṅ was again on the move and at the end of a long voyage of search acquired possession of some five unnamed states without, however, being able to find any clue as to the whereabouts of her beloved. The fame of Misā Pramāṅkuniṅ spread far and wide, and some states, though as yet untouched by invasion, were beginning to feel anxious

of their fate and to make plans in advance. One of these was the state of Pramotan, which sent emissaries to make peace with the conqueror. Another was Patāram whose Chief was still confident of his ability to resist because he had a grandson, who, he seemed to be convinced, was an offspring of the "divine race." At this remark the young prince became curious to know who his father was and not being able to elicit any satisfactory reply from the Chief, his grandfather, asked his mother, Āntarāvātī. "Your father? Why he is your sire." was her reply. Upon further insistence on an answer, the Princess gave up hope of retaining her son at home by not letting him know of his father, and told him that his father was a fine hero called Panji who had been enticed by fate in the form of a bird from his hermitage on a mountain into her palace but had long since disappeared. The youth was convinced then that such a record testified to his father's being descended from the "divine race" and wished to go in search of him. Permission was reluctantly granted and the young prince left at the head of an army. On the way yet another defaulting divine being serving a period of penalty on earth was encountered. The defaulter on this occasion was in the form of a buffalo. A fight ensued between the young prince and the ferocious beast, which was killed and thus released to resume his godhead. Grateful for this deliverance, he told the young prince that his father was now ruling in Manyā-pā-et whither he eventually led him and his army. Reunion with his father was an occasion for great rejoicing. Young Kusumārū eventually persuaded his father to go on a visit to his mother and grandparents at Patāram. While in residence there Panji received news from the army which he had sent in search of the Princess of Dāhā that the state of Trāsé had been conquered. Panji sent his brother Kudā Virāyā with his son, Kusumārū, now grown into adolescence, to organise that new acquisition. Now, the Chief of Trāsé had fallen in battle fighting against Panji's army and the widow had performed the customary rite of self-immolation over his funeral pyre. Young Kusumārū, however, snatched from it their daughter who was on the point of following her parents to death, and brought her to Patāram his state, where betrothal between

the two young people was celebrated. Panji's army then moved on from Trāsó to Moṅkol, where it met with one of the most stubborn resistances ever encountered. Reinforcements being asked for, Panji headed a big army which made determined assaults on the citadel of Moṅkol and after many battles the Chief and his heir were killed. Thus was the powerful state of Moṅkol with its confederacy of seven other states brought under the rule of Panji, who took up his residence there for a time while further expeditions were undertaken in search of his betrothed.

Meantime Misā Pramaṅkuniṅ (Busbā), after a fruitless search for Inao, returned to Bāli. From here she sailed over the seas among the islands among which was mentioned Malārā, and "an extensive state over the confines of Java, named Marakot Suru". This state offered resistance and was vanquished. She then came to an island at the centre of which was mount Palaṅgan, the seat of an oracle, from which she learnt that her beloved was now the ruler of Moṅkol. Armed with this information, she sailed back to Bāli and advanced with her army upon Moṅkol. Pretending to know nothing about its ruler, she sent in a message asking for the right of transit for her army "on its way to subjugate the King of Kālaṅ". Panji, knowing who Misā Pramaṅkuniṅ really was, replied giving due permission, adding at the same time "Yours is my life and soul". Misā Pramaṅkuniṅ made a great ostentation of marshalling her forces and progressed through the city of Moṅkol in great state. Disguising himself as a plain soldier out to have a look at the review, Panji with his brother the disguised Kudā Virūyā was beside himself in the excitement and anticipation of seeing the Commander-in-Chief of the alien forces. A long and detailed description of the various units of this force takes up many pages. The end of the procession was brought up by carriages of the tributary princesses. The whole cortège duly passed out of the town and on to Kālaṅ, where it arrived a few days after.

Identification in Kālaṅ

Panji now summoned his commanders and appointed his son, Kusumārā, as his deputy to rule over Moṅkol. He himself left for Kālaṅ with his brother and a part of his retinue. In Kālaṅ he feigned imbecility and as a captive of Kudā Virāyā, his brother, was his constant companion at all social and court functions there.

Thus were all the young male scions of the "divine race of rulers" assembled in Kālaṅ without the knowledge of the King, their uncle. There was Inao of Kurepan under the disguise of Panji the half-wit, Āraṅkanāḷoh of Kurepan under the forester's disguise of Kudā Virāyā, Āntaravannā Siṅhasāri disguised as the forester Visāyaṅsāri, and Busbū of Dāhā turned into a man named Misā Pramaṅkuniṅ, the great conqueror. With the exception of Panji the other three cousins were aware of one another's identities and were intimate friends. The half-wit, as the companion of Kudā Virāyā, tried hard to gain intimacy with Misā Pramaṅkuniṅ, whom he knew now for certain to be his beloved. The latter was unsuspecting at first, but began gradually to suspect and then one day the half-wit discarded the cover of the mole between his eyebrows and was at once identified by Misā Pramaṅkuniṅ. From personal pride she pretended not to notice it and feigning indisposition dismissed him from her presence. She was now released from the spell imposed by the Great Ancestor and her form suddenly turned feminine. The four personal attendants were likewise similarly released from their imposed disguises. The five now took counsel and came to the conclusion that they would leave the city in order to give no chance to base rumours. In the darkness of the night, therefore, they stole out to a mount where there was a nunnery and joined the sisterhood. Panji in the meantime called again at the residence of Misā Pramaṅkuniṅ only to find that she had suddenly left without indication as to whither she was going. He left at once and managed to locate her whereabouts within that very night. He also managed to persuade her to relinquish her vows at the nunnery. Thus reunited the couple made known the fact to their relatives, the Princes of Kurepan and Siṅhasāri, who sent word to their respective parents as well as to the King of Dāhā.

Epilogue

Although, judging by the nature of the story, we seem to have reached the climax, our narrative leaves off in the middle of a sentence in a manner which suggests that there must have been further material. How the tale continues we do not know for the other manuscript also leaves off quite suddenly even before we get to the last juncture of this manuscript. Besides, if the parallel of the *Lesser Tale of Inao* can be of any criterion, that tale goes on quite considerably after the identities of the principal characters have been established. It is therefore to be assumed that the *Dālan* as we have it in both manuscripts is not complete.

The romance of *Dālan* is very long and admittedly dreary in its repetition of conquests and love affairs, told incidentally without the art of Boccaccio. Its successive assumption by the principals of disguises are often hard to remember. Nevertheless, it gives us a fairly clear picture of life in mediaeval Java as conceived by Siamese authors of the XVIIIth century. Every state was a patriarchal kingdom, though this romance accepts only the scions of the "Divine Race of Rulers", in other words, the scions of the race begat by the "Great Ancestor", the Patārakūlā, as the only ones worthy to be called kings. The other rulers were chiefs, or *ratu*, more familiarly transcribed in European books in Dutch fashion as the *ratoe*, a title used for women nowadays in Java. His rule, whether king or *ratu*, was patriarchal for he was the father of his people, sharing with them their sorrows and pleasures. He glorified however in conquests by feats of arms even to the extent of going about to provoke wars so that he could make his conquests. Through conquests he won tributes and the defeated chief had to hand over in confiscation all his property including his own family. His sons were often adopted into the victor's family and his marriageable daughters invariably became the victor's wives. The custom was one of glorification of the victor rather than indicating an inordinate erotic impulse. It would be wrong, of course, to infer from this story that all the princes in the story were as impulsive as Panji the hero, for there are other royal princes in the story who were quite ordinary in these respects.

As for beliefs and customs therein portrayed, the author or authors of our tale must have felt less at home in trying to picture a non-Buddhistic background with which he or she could not have been too familiar. Superstitions therefore take the place of religion and ethics. Incumbents of monasteries, often called upon to perform domestic ceremonies, were modeled upon the local *Bhikkhu* of Buddhist Siam, and are in fact referred to as *Bikū*. The men of religion mostly brought into the story are, however, ascetics of the type of *rishi* and *yogi* and inhabited the forests.

Life was on the whole easy. Trade and pleasure flourished. Public entertainments usually took the form of the shadow-play, which seemed to have been popular among all ranks of the community; and its manipulator was highly rated in popular estimation. It is noteworthy that though murders and robberies occurred frequently enough, no incident of intoxication is recorded in the whole of the long tale. The frequency of wars and conquests do not seem to have been meant to be normal conditions of life but occur in order to glorify the martial prowess of the scion of the "Divine Race of Rulers". Culture seemed to have been well advanced, even archeological monuments were objects of visits and excursions to such an extent that in one instance it was the cause of the downfall of a scion of the "Divine Race of Rulers".

The main object in giving this summary in English of the *Dālaṅ*, or the *Greater Tale of Inao*, is to enable comparisons to be made with the *Lesser Tale* which is far better known among the Siamese public, in order to determine their origin and venue. To achieve our purpose a similar summary of the latter and perhaps one or two other auxiliary stories would have to be made. It is hoped that such material will be placed at the members' disposal in later pages of the *Journal*.

