

## HERITAGE IN MOTION: SAFEGUARDING THE CULTURAL LEGACY OF WAYANG KULIT KEDU, INDONESIA

Indra Fibiona<sup>1</sup>, Gregorius Andika Ariwibowo<sup>2</sup>, Sumarno<sup>3</sup>, Titi Mumfangati<sup>4</sup>,  
Yustina Hastrini Nurwanti<sup>5</sup>, and Arief Dwinanto<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology, Indonesia*  
<sup>2,3,4,5,6</sup>*National Research and Innovation Agency, Indonesia*

**Abstract.** This article explores the dynamic interplay between tradition and modernity in preserving Wayang Kulit Kedu, an important Indonesian cultural heritage art performance. It identifies the diminishing engagement of the younger generations with traditional arts as a critical issue. The objective was to assess strategies for revitalizing youth interest in Wayang Kulit Kedu. This study uses a qualitative approach to analyze historical data, contemporary practices, and educational initiatives. This conclusion underscores the importance of integrating Wayang Kulit Kedu into educational curricula, leveraging digital platforms for broader dissemination, and fostering community-based preservation efforts. These strategies are essential for ensuring the survival and relevance of the art form in modern society, highlighting its unique cultural value, and fostering a sustainable connection with future generations.

**Keywords:** cultural heritage preservation, intangible cultural heritage, safeguarding cultural heritage, Wayang Kulit, Central Java, Indonesia

**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.3176/tr.2024.2.06>

Received 1 March 2024, accepted 9 May 2024, printed and available online 20 June 2024

## 1. Introduction

Cultural heritage encompasses many inherited traditions, monuments, objects, and cultures considered valuable for past, present, and future generations. This concept can be divided into two main categories: tangible and intangible. Tangible heritage includes physical artifacts, such as buildings and monuments, while intangible heritage involves non-physical aspects, such as traditions, language, and knowledge. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has played a pivotal role in defining and preserving cultural heritage. It emphasizes the importance of tangible and intangible heritage, recognizing their intrinsic value and role in identity and history. Organizations' efforts highlight the necessity of safeguarding this heritage to maintain cultural diversity in the face of growing globalization (Kurin 2004, UNESCO 2003a, 2014).

Indonesia has a diverse Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH). The Javanese community in Central and East Java boasts a wealth of unique and authentic cultural legacies. One such ICH originating from Javanese culture, acknowledged globally through UNESCO's Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2003, is the flat leather shadow puppet, Wayang Kulit. The recognition of Wayang Kulit as an ICH acknowledges Indonesia's richness and uniqueness in stories and oral culture (UNESCO 2003b). The narratives in the Wayang Kulit performances are derived from classic Javanese folktales blended with stories from the Ramayana and Mahabharata epics from India. Typically lasting through the night, these performances are accompanied by gamelan music, designated UNESCO World Heritage in 2021. (UNESCO 2021) Making Wayang Kulit is also a form of cultural heritage, representing the traditional knowledge of the Javanese community that has been passed down for ten centuries. Over these centuries, the art of Wayang Kulit has evolved alongside the rise and fall of kingdoms in Java and Bali. It has spread to rural areas and islands, such as Lombok, Madura, Sumatra, and Kalimantan, where various local performance styles and musical accompaniments have developed harmoniously with local cultures (Nurrochsyam et al. 2023, UNESCO 2003b, Wiratama 2021).

A Wayang Kulit performance, which is typically held overnight, involves a puppeteer (*dalang*), singers (*sinden*) who perform traditional Javanese songs, and musicians who play gamelan instruments (*nayaga*). Historically, the *dalang* was regarded as a literary expert, imparting moral and aesthetic values to the audience through performance. The portrayal of humorous characters in *wayang* by the *dalang* mirrors the lives of ordinary people, known as 'wong cilik'. It often serves as a public and religious education and critique of social and political issues. The role of *dalang* in Wayang Kulit is crucial for preserving art form. This is mainly due to the *Dalang's* expertise in memorizing numerous stories and skillfully reciting ancient narratives and poetic songs to captivate the performances. The preservation and transmission of this cultural wealth and knowledge in Wayang Kulit is facilitated through formal and informal education by *dalang* to their successors, ensuring its inheritance and continuity for future generations (Nurrochsyam et al. 2023, Boonstra 2015).

In the cultural heartlands of the Javanese community, particularly in Cirebon, Kedu, Banyumas, Yogyakarta, and Surakarta, a variety of Wayang Kulit flourished. Among these are Wayang Kulit Purwa, Wayang Kulit Kedu, Wayang Kulit Gedog, Wayang Kulit Peteng, and Wayang Kulit Cirebon. Beyond Java, the art form has also spread to regions such as Bali, Lombok, and Banjarmasin, even be found as far as Penang, Johor, and Kelantan in Malaysia (Hadzantonis 2022, Isaac Cohen 2023, Setiawan 2022, Yousof 2023, Yousof and Khor 2017). The Wayang Kulit Purwa, translating to ‘the first’ or ‘the original shadow puppet’ in Javanese, is a cornerstone in the cultural history of Javanese shadow puppetry (Nugroho 2019). This form, depicting epic narratives from the ‘Mahabharata’ and ‘Ramayana,’ serves as entertainment and a conduit for imparting moral and spiritual values. Each character and story has a profound philosophical and ethical significance. The genesis of Wayang Kulit Purwa is deeply rooted in the Hindu Buddhist traditions of Java, which subsequently evolved under Islamic influence, mainly through the *Wali Sanga* (Nine Saints) of Islamic preachers. Islamic teachings are ingeniously interwoven into their narratives (Kurscheid et al. 2018, Nugroho 2019, Setiawan 2022). Therefore, Wayang Kulit Purwa reflects Javanese cultural richness and traditions and is a testament to a thriving cultural evolution that has integrated diverse religious and philosophical elements throughout history.

*Wayang Kulit Kedu*, a style (*gagrak*) within the *Wayang Kulit Purwa* genre, exhibits similarities and unique characteristics in its form and performances. Wayang Kulit Kedu originates from the Kedu region in Central Java, one of the oldest residential areas in Java. In the Kedu region, various archaeological landscapes and cultural heritage from the Hindu-Buddhist period, including Borobudur and Mendut Temple, date back to the 9th and 10th centuries. While it shares commonalities in shape, ornamentation, and character traits with other forms of shadow puppetry, *Wayang Kulit Kedu* is distinguished by its larger size and a more straightforward ornamental description of puppet characters. The staging and theatrical presentation of *Wayang Kulit Kedu* closely resemble that of *Wayang Kulit Purwa*. Another primary distinction between *Wayang Kulit Kedu* and *Wayang Kulit Purwa* is their use. *Wayang Kulit Kedu* is predominantly utilized in ‘ruwatan’ ceremonies, traditional Javanese ceremonies aimed at cleansing and purifying individuals or communities from negative influences and bad luck, a ritual deeply embedded in the cultural fabric of Java, often accompanied by wayang performances and other cultural expressions. One common type of ‘ruwatan’ ceremony practiced in Javanese society is ‘Bersih Desa,’ a village cleansing ceremony with significant cultural importance (Hermawan et al. 2019, Kasidi 2017, Kurscheid et al. 2018). This specific use highlights cultural and functional diversity within the Javanese shadow puppetry tradition, underscoring the adaptability and relevance of these art forms in contemporary cultural practices. Even so, the performance of *Wayang Kulit Kedu*, which is only at certain moments, has resulted in the existence of *Wayang Kulit Kedu* being threatened at this time, especially the difficulty of regeneration also makes *Wayang Kulit Kedu* performances increasingly challenging to find at this time.

This study explores the historical and cultural significance of Wayang Kulit Kedu,

a unique form of Javanese shadow puppetry within the broader context of Indonesian intangible cultural heritage. Specifically, it seeks to understand Wayang Kulit Kedu's value in reflecting the rich tapestry of Javanese history, traditions, and sociocultural narratives. Additionally, the study investigates the current efforts undertaken by artists and government bodies to preserve this art form amidst challenges, such as dwindling performance opportunities and difficulties in generational knowledge transfer. The research questions guiding this study are as follows: What historical and cultural values are embodied in Wayang Kulit Kedu, and how do these contribute to our understanding of Javanese heritage? What are the preservation strategies of Wayang Kulit Kedu, and how effective are they in maintaining their relevance and continuity in contemporary society?

## **2. Literature review**

Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) refers to the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills, as well as the associated instruments, objects, artifacts, and cultural spaces that communities, groups, and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage (Kurin 2004, Kuutma 2013, Vecco 2010). This type of heritage is transmitted from one generation to another. It is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, interactions with nature, and history, providing them with a sense of identity and continuity. The preservation of ICH is crucial, as it helps to promote diversity, human creativity, and respect for cultural diversity. It also plays a significant role in fostering cultural dialogue and contributes to social cohesion, thus enhancing mutual understanding among different cultures. The benefits of preserving ICH include the protection of cultural expressions and traditions that might otherwise be lost and the promotion of cultural diversity and human creativity. Preservation concerns safeguarding the past and ensuring a living and dynamic cultural future (Dell'ovo et al. 2021, Silva and Chapagain 2013, Zabulis et al. 2020).

The preservation of ICH is a multifaceted concept encompassing safeguarding traditions and adapting them to contemporary contexts. Maintaining cultural diversity and identity in the face of globalization is crucial. The preservation of ICH is not merely about retaining traditions in their original form but also about revitalizing and valorizing them for contemporary relevance and sustainability. This approach ensures that heritage remains a living and evolving part of community life (Cauts and Vecco 2017, Shafqat et al. 2022). Furthermore, the perception of cultural preservation among today's youth is integral to these efforts. Younger generations are increasingly engaged in cultural heritage through modern technologies and new forms of expression, blending traditional elements with contemporary media. The intersection of tradition and innovation plays a vital role in ensuring ICH's ongoing relevance and vitality of ICH. As noted in the research, there is growing recognition of the importance of understanding and communicating the value of heritage among young people, which is crucial for sustainable preservation (Cerquetti and

Ferrara 2018). The revitalization of ICH involves preserving, reinterpreting, and recontextualizing it in ways that resonate with contemporary society. This process allows for dynamic and interactive engagement with heritage, making it more accessible and relevant to younger audiences and ensuring its continuity for future generations.

The theoretical framework of this study encompasses the concepts of cultural transformation and cultural revitalization, mainly focusing on their application to the traditional Indonesian shadow puppetry Wayang Kulit (Boonstra 2015). Cultural transformation refers to the dynamic process in which cultures change and adapt to various internal and external influences such as globalization, technological advancements, and shifting societal values. This involves modifying or innovating a culture's customs, practices, and social norms (Bonn et al. 2016, Vatan 2021). On the other hand, cultural revitalization is the conscious effort to revive and preserve cultural practices, traditions, and identities at risk of being lost or diluted. It seeks to reinvigorate cultural relevance and ensure the transmission of cultural heritage to future generations (Graham 2002). In the context of Wayang Kulit, these concepts are intertwined in efforts to transform and revitalize this art form by adapting its traditional elements to contemporary contexts, ensuring its relevance and sustainability while preserving its core cultural and artistic values. This dual process of transformation and revitalization is pivotal for maintaining the cultural significance of Wayang Kulit in modern Indonesian youth society and beyond (Nurrochsyam et al. 2023, Nyoman Sedana 2016).

### 3. Research methods

This study employs qualitative research methods to delve into the intricate world of Javanese shadow puppetry, focusing mainly on the Wayang Kulit Kedu tradition in the Temanggung region of Central Java. The qualitative approach is apt for this exploration, as it facilitates an in-depth understanding of the cultural and historical contexts of Wayang Kulit Kedu, allowing for an interpretation of its traditions and contemporary significance. To enrich the research, a variety of classical Javanese manuscript sources have been utilized, including the “*Serat Centhini*,” “*Serat Sastra Miruda*,” the “*Gancaranipun Kapal Kedhu Tanah Jawi*,” and the “*Pakem Paruwatan Murwakala Dalah Katranganipun*.” These manuscripts are pivotal in providing historical and cultural insights into the Wayang Kulit Kedu tradition, offering a rich tapestry of narratives, characters, and philosophies inherent in the Javanese culture.

Furthermore, the study incorporated interviews with several renowned puppeteers (*dalang*) of Wayang Kulit Kedu from the Temanggung Regency. These interviews were crucial for gaining firsthand knowledge and understanding of the current practices, challenges, and innovations within the Wayang Kulit community. The perspectives of these *dalang*, who are custodians of this traditional art form, offer invaluable insights into the intricate artistry, storytelling techniques, and cultural significance of the Wayang Kulit Kedu. Interviews were also conducted with

various stakeholders involved in the Wayang Kulit Kedu tradition, including cultural enthusiasts and representatives from the local government of Temanggung Regency. These interactions provide a broader understanding of societal and governmental perspectives on preservation, promotion, and potential transformations within the Wayang Kulit Kedu tradition. This multifaceted approach ensures a comprehensive exploration of the subject, encompassing the historical, cultural, artistic, and heritage-preservation dimensions of Wayang Kulit Kedu in Temanggung Regency, Central Java.

## 4. Results and discussion

### 4.1. Results

#### 4.1.1. Historical traces of Wayang Kulit Kedu

Wayang Kulit Kedu is one of the earliest styles of Wayang Kulit Purwa, whose origins are traced back to the 10th century CE. This ancient art form is deeply rooted in the cultural and religious practices of the Kedu region in Central Java, as evidenced by historical records such as the Kedu Inscription (*Prasasti Kedu*) dated 907 CE. The existence of Wayang Kulit during the Hindu-Buddhist period is substantiated by the contents of this inscription from the reign of King Balitung (907 CE), which includes the phrase: “Sigaligi Mawayang buat Hyang macarita Bimma ya kumara” (Mantra and Atmaja 1988: 56). This phrase highlights the use of Wayang Kulit in worship and religious ceremonies or activities related to beliefs in *Hyang*, a spiritual entity in Javanese culture. Furthermore, the collective memory of the Kedu community holds that the Wayang Kulit mentioned in the Kedu Inscription narrates the story of Arjuna Wiwaha – the marriage of Arjuna, a member of the Pandawa brothers, to Dewi Supraba. This story was later fully documented by Mpu Kanwa in the 11th century (Lee 1999: 73).

The development of the Wayang Kulit tradition, particularly in the Kedu region, was inseparable from the sociocultural background of the area. Kedu is one of the oldest settlements on Java Island and is believed to be one of the early civilization centers on the island. Inscriptions found in the Kedu-Temanggung area suggest that it was a densely populated region from the 8th to 11th centuries. Numerous archaeological settlements in Kedu have provided further evidence. For example, the *Mantyasih* Inscription mentions about 24 villages surrounding the Mantyasih region, which is believed to be located near present-day Parakan in the Magelang Regency. The abundance of villages indicates that civilization in the Kedu area and its surroundings has rapidly developed (Hardjowirogo 1952, Hermawan et al. 2019, Suprastya and Anwar 2021).

One culture that flourished as part of Kedu society was Wayang Kulit. Wayang Kulit Kedu is unique and considered the oldest in the Java region. Some studies explain that Wayang Kulit Kedu was the precursor to the shadow puppetry that developed in the Java region, including the period of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom since the 16th century. The uniqueness of Wayang Kulit Kedu highlights agrarian

stories used in agricultural rituals. Unlike other Wayang performances that typically use the Ramayana and Mahabharata epics for rituals influenced by Hindu Buddhist culture, Wayang Kulit Kedu focuses on original Javanese themes and stories that are more closely related to the daily lives and spiritual practices of agrarian communities in the Kedu region. This distinction underscores the deep-rooted connection between Wayang Kulit Kedu and the area's agricultural traditions, illustrating the significant role of *wayang* in the cultural and social fabric of Kedu society before the emergence of the Hindu-Buddha culture (Hermawan et al. 2019, Suprastya and Anwar 2021).

Historically, the introduction of *wayang* can be traced back to the Kuti inscription of 840 CE. In this context, *wayang* refers to *haringgit*, a profane performance within the palace environment. Another inscription, *Wukirana*, from King Dyah Balitung (r. 899–911 CE) of the Old Mataram Kingdom also mentions a Wayang Kulit performance in the story of *Bhima Kumara*, a spin-off tale based on the *Mahabharata* epic. *Bhima Kumara* narrates the story of Raden Kencaka, who falls deeply in love with Draupadi. This inscription recounts that the puppeteer performed the *Bhima Kumara* story as a play offered to the deity *Hyang*. *Bhima Kumara* is the only *Wayang* story mentioned in the inscriptions. The other earliest performances of Wayang Kulit Purwa can be found in the *Kakawin* (manuscript) *Arjuna Wiwaha*, Canto V, stanza 9, written between 1028 and 1035 (Hermawan et al. 2019), which includes the following verse:

“*Hanonton ringgit manangis asekel muda hidepan huwus wruh towing jan walulang ingukir molah angucap.*” (Many people watching *wayang* cry are amazed and sad even though they understand that what they see is only leather carved in human form that can move and speak) (Hermawan et al. 2019).

Wayang Kulit has continually evolved and persevered as a popular form of entertainment in Java, even as it entered the Islamic period in the 16th century. During the Islamic era, Wayang Kulit was utilized as a means of *da'wah*, or Islamic preaching, effectively integrating the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* epics rooted in the Hindu Buddhist tradition with the values found in Islamic teachings. A key figure in the acculturation of Hindu-Buddhist-themed *wayang* stories with Islamic doctrines was Sunan Kalijaga, a revered *Wali Songo*. Wayang Kulit's performances became a crucial element in the spread of Islam across Java during the 16th and 17th centuries (Ricci 2011, Ricklefs 2023). The acceptance of Wayang Kulit as part of Islamic tradition has allowed this art form to endure to the present day. The evolution of narratives within the performances, by amalgamating *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* stories with Islamic values, is evident in the storylines and lyrics of songs sung by the *sinden*, which embody Islamic teachings. This cultural fusion represents a significant aspect of the social and cultural life of the Javanese community, showcasing its openness and tolerance (Nugroho 2019, Setiawan 2022).

Sastramiroeda, a historian specializing in Javanese Wayang Kulit in the 1930s, stated that Wayang Kulit performances in the Kedu region were among Java's oldest shadow puppetry traditions. During the Islamic period, Wayang Kulit Kedu

entered and flourished in the Islamic Mataram Sultanate thanks to the role of a court puppeteer named Ki Anjangmas or Ki Panjang Mas I, who lived during the reign of Sunan Anyakrawati (r. 1601–1613) (Hardjowirogo 1952, Suprastya and Anwar 2021). Sunan Anyakrawati instructed the puppeteers at his court to perform *Ruwat Murwakala* using Wayang Kulit performances instead of the traditional *Wayang Beber* shows. Pigeaud explained that the art of puppetry and Wayang Kulit Kedu performances reached a high level of development during the early formation of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom around the 17th century. This historical account highlights the dynamic evolution of Wayang Kulit in Java, particularly in the Kedu region, and its significant contribution to the cultural and artistic landscape of the Islamic Mataram Sultanate (Pigeaud 1938, Pigeaud and Graaf 1974).

Later, the figure credited with enhancing Wayang Kulit Kedu during the Islamic Mataram Sultanate in the 17th century was Ki Lebdajiwa, who frequently engaged in discussions with Ki Panjang Mas II. He lived at the time of the reign of Sultan Amangkurat I (r. 1646–1677). Subsequently, Ki Lebdajiwa, residing in the Kedu Residency area, particularly in the Temanggung region, had several heirs who continued to preserve the Wayang Kulit Kedu, even though the successors of the Kedu-style lineage (heirs) were not direct descendants of Ki Lebdajiwa. The Kedu style can be divided into several models, such as *Wonosaban*, *Kedu Begelen*, and *Kedu Menoreh*. This classification system has been in place since the era of Ki Lebdajiwa (Suprastya and Anwar 2021).

In the cultural inheritance and development after Ki Lebdajiwa, Wayang Kulit Kedu has remained relevant to its function in ritual performances and *ruwatans* within the rural community. Unlike the Wayang Kulit performances in the palace, Wayang Kulit Kedu developed in the agrarian rural settings that form the traditional settlement landscape of the Kedu region. Wayang Kulit Kedu often plays a part in ritual processes, particularly agriculture-related ones. These rituals are typically accompanied by Wayang Kulit performances that feature local folklore stories related to the expulsion of plagues (*pagebluk*) and prayers for the well-being of cultivated crops.

Following the era of the Islamic Mataram Sultanate, Wayang Kulit Kedu continued to thrive among rural communities in the Kedu Residency area. It became a symbol of folk-art development in rural Java. Its routine performances in various community rituals, featuring stories beyond the Mahabharata and Ramayana epics typical of the palace Wayang Kulit performance, ensured the enduring presence of Wayang Kulit Kedu in society until the early period of Indonesian independence (Pigeaud 1938, Pigeaud and Graaf 1974). This adaptation and inclusion of non-traditional narratives has preserved Wayang Kulit Kedu and enriched the cultural landscape of rural Java, making it a living testament to the dynamic nature of Javanese art and tradition. By embracing local folklore and themes relevant to the agrarian lifestyle, Wayang Kulit Kedu's performances resonate deeply with rural audiences, maintaining their relevance and appeal.

*Serat Centhini* is a pivotal text in Javanese literature created in the 19th century. Authored during Sultan Pakubuwana V of Surakarta (r. 1820–1823), *Serat*

*Centhini* comprises thousands of verses detailing Seh Amongraga's adventures and companions. This literary masterpiece offers deep insights into Javanese philosophy, social norms, cultural practices, and the tradition of wayang, making it a pivotal reflection of the Javanese cultural heritage. (Day 2021; Pratama and Thohir 2021). *Serat Centhini* also mentions influential figures in the art of puppetry (*pedalangan*) and Wayang Kulit performances. Among these figures are Ki Lebdajiwa and Ki Panjangmas, puppeteers from the Kedu region who have significantly impacted these traditional art forms. Ki Panjangmas, as depicted in *Serat Centhini*, is described as a Wayang Kulit Purwa puppeteer from the Kedu village, active during the reign of Sri Sultan Anyakrawati, also known as Pangeran Seda ing Krapyak, in Mataram between 1601–1613 CE. This is detailed in stanza 139, specifically in verses 35–41, 53, and 54:

*Ing sajumenengnya nata, Sri surya anyakrawaty, rama dalem sri nalendra, ingkang jumeneng samangkya. Amangun wayang Purwa, babone kidang kencana, babone kidang kencana, jinujud mung sawetara, sasigaring palemahan. Saka kedu asalira, bisa dalang gedhog Purwa, banjur kaabdekake dadya, dalang sajroning nagara. Kaparengge Sri Nalendra, wayang beber pangruwatan, sinalina wayang Purwa, katelah tekeng samangkya Lah mung niku kawruhaningwang, crita witing ana wayang, kang miyarsa samya girang, matur pundi turun dalang. Ki sumbaga astanira, anudingi astanira lah kae ta kang sendhen saka rawa, Ki Panjangmas.* (During his reign, King Sri Surya Anyakrawaty, the beloved ruler, established the tradition of Wayang Purwa, featuring golden deer as its primary character. This art form, originating from Kedu, was briefly showcased, highlighting the richness of land. It has evolved into a prestigious art, elevating puppeteers to national prominence. Upon hearing this, King Sri Nalendra introduced Wayang Beber as a healing medium, which then integrated with Wayang Purwa, known henceforth for its therapeutic virtues. This knowledge, a tale woven into the fabric of puppetry, delights all listeners, prompting inquiries about the lineage of puppeteers. Ki Sumbaga, hailing from the marshlands, Ki Panjangmas, stands as a testament to this legacy) (Hermawan et al. 2019).

Ki Lebdajiwa and Ki Panjangmas I in *Serat Centhini* underscore the importance of Wayang Kulit Kedu and the role of puppeteers in Javanese society, highlighting how these artists and their craft are revered and integrated into the cultural and spiritual fabric of Java. Through the stories and narratives they brought to life, puppeteers such as Ki Lebdajiwa and Ki Panjangmas I contributed to the perpetuation of Javanese values, history, and mythology, cementing the significance of wayang as a medium for education, entertainment, and moral guidance.

In the 1960s, Wayang Kulit Kedu experienced a decline due to the political situation in Indonesia. Social, political, and economic pressures on the lives of rural communities in Java from 1960 to 1967 created a challenging situation for village communities. The political conflict surrounding the power of the Indonesian

government made villagers victims of various political accusations and suspicions (Sobary 2016). Economic difficulties in the rural community at that time also reduced agricultural rituals involving Wayang Kulit Kedu performances compared to previous eras. Some Wayang Kulit Kedu puppeteers from the 1960s included Karsono, Jayeng Carto, and Cokro Miharjo Budiharjo, with only Ki Sudarsono continuing into the 1970s, simultaneously marking the end of the popularity of Wayang Kulit Kedu in Java.

The decline of Wayang Kulit Kedu in the 1970s can be attributed to reduced performance and a shift in community interest towards the Wayang styles of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, favoring their appealing Sabetan techniques. Wayang Kulit Kedu, with its heavier, more complexly carved puppets, proved less maneuverable for striking. Its narratives, often centered around fertility and Dewi Sri, contrasted with the more popular Mahabharata or Ramayana tales of other styles, closely tied to agricultural ceremonies. Today, a few puppeteers in Temanggung's Candiroto, Ngadirejo, and Kranggan villages continue this tradition, highlighting the challenge of preserving such unique cultural expressions amidst evolving preferences and social conditions.

#### 4.1.2. Cultural aspect of Wayang Kulit Kedu

Within the rich tapestry of Javanese culture, the art of performance and the craft of traditional Wayang Kulit Purwa have evolved into six distinct *gagak* (styles or genres), reflecting diverse cultural identities across Java. These styles include Kedu, Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Coastal (*Pesisir*), Banyumas, East Java (*Jawatimuran*), and Banyuwangi, all rooted in their geographical and cultural landscapes (Angst 2007, Groenendael 1985, Isaac Cohen 2023, Manik et al. 2022, Nurrochsyam et al. 2023, Parikesit 2017, Setiawan 2022). The division of these styles is based on Java's cultural identity zones, illustrating how regional distinctions shape artistic expressions. The Kedu style, recognized as the oldest among them, is distinguished by its intricate carving (*tatah*) and coloring (*sungging*) techniques, with variations such as the *Magelangan*, *Temanggung*, *Purworejan*, and *Wanasaban* sub-styles emerging within former Kedu Residency areas such as Magelang, Wonosobo, Purworejo, and Temanggung. Wayang Kulit Kedu puppeteers are celebrated for their mastery of puppeteering, carving, and coloring (Angst 2007, Widyaprakosa 1994).

The Kedu style of Wayang Kulit Purwa, known as Wayang Kulit Kedu, while bearing physical similarities to the general Javanese Wayang Kulit Purwa, is distinguished by more robust and fuller figures that closely resemble the Yogyakarta style (Nugroho et al. 2019). This unique characteristic is further accentuated by its simplified color scheme, which primarily employs black, red, or brown for the hands (*èpèk-èpèk*), a trait emblematic of Wayang Kulit Kedu. Wayang Kulit is meticulously crafted from dried cowhide or buffalo hide, a material chosen for its durability and pliability, which is essential for puppet creation. This cowhide is carefully carved by skilled artisans who transform the raw material into detailed figures representing various characters from traditional Javanese folklore and epics. The process of carving, known as *tatah* in Javanese, is a highly specialized and time-consuming art

form that requires technical precision and a deep understanding of each character's cultural and mythological context (Suprastya and Anwar 2021).

The coloring technique (*sungging*) for Kedu puppets predominantly features darker shades, particularly on the hands, owing to the readily available and strongly adhesive natural dyes in the local environment. This approach contrasts with the Surakarta and Yogyakarta styles, which utilize brighter and more varied colors. Traditional coloring materials for Wayang Kulit Kedu include finely ground chicken bones for white, crushed atal stone for yellow, and cowhide (*kikil*) to ensure the durability of the painted surfaces. The process involves boiling the *kikil* to extract a sticky liquid that acts as a protective layer, preventing the colors from fading quickly. Additionally, egg whites from free-range chickens are sometimes used to expedite the drying process, which is a practical adaptation considering the lengthy preparation time required for cowhide-based adhesives. Black pigment is derived from *langes*, a residue collected from kitchen stoves or oil lamps. This repertoire of natural dyes not only underscores the ingenuity of Kedu puppeteers in utilizing local resources but also reflects a deep-rooted commitment to maintaining the authenticity and vibrancy of their cultural heritage through the art of Wayang Kulit (Suprastya and Anwar 2021).

The *Gunungan* in Wayang Kulit Kedu showcases distinctive features that set it apart from those found in the Yogyakarta and Surakarta styles, deeply embedded elements that reflect the heritage of Hindu-Buddhist civilization, notably through the incorporation of *Lingga* and *Yoni* symbols. Despite this, Islamic symbolism is integrated, represented by the concept of 'four *kiblat* five *pancer*,' which adds a layer of cultural synthesis unique to the region. The craftsmanship of Wayang Kulit Kedu, particularly evident in the *gunungan*, is characterized by its intricate detailing and the high density of its carvings, making replication a challenging task. This complexity requires high precision for artisans and appropriate tools to achieve



Figure 1. The carving and coloring styles of Wayang Kuli Kedu, featuring the character Ki Ageng Makukuhan, are works by the puppeteer Ki Legowo.

Source: Warsito and Fibiona, 2023



Figure 2. The Gunungan in Wayang Kulit Kedu is an opening and closing element in scenes and performances.

It sets the stage for the narrative's beginning and conclusion, framing the storytelling with its symbolic presence.

Source: Warsito and Fibiona, 2023

the desired outcomes. The materials used in creating these puppets, especially those made in the 1700s to the 1800s, predominantly involved thick buffalo hide, known for its durability and resistance to damage. This choice of material ensured the longevity of the wayang. It adds a unique texture and quality to the puppets, further distinguishing Wayang Kulit Kedu from the rich tapestry of Javanese puppetry art.

Wayang Kulit is a form of traditional performing art that has flourished within the communities of Java, drawing its narrative core from the epic tales of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, which have been intricately woven into the fabric of Javanese culture. These stories have undergone significant acculturation from the Hindu-Buddhist era to the Islamic period in Java, resulting in adaptations that reflect the local ethos and societal norms. This blending of cultures has enriched the Javanese versions of these epics, making them distinct from their original Indian narratives (Nugroho 2019, Nurrochsyam et al. 2023).

Acculturation has created unique stories and characters inspired by Mahabharata and Ramayana, deeply rooted in Javanese mythology and worldviews. Among the most notable additions to the Javanese wayang narrative are the *Punakawan* characters *Semar*, *Petruk*, *Gareng*, and *Bagong*, who do not exist in the original Indian versions of these epics. The *Punakawans* are indigenous Javanese characters who serve as wise clowns or servants to the heroes of the epics, and they play crucial roles in storytelling, often providing comic relief, wisdom, and moral guidance. Their presence in the Javanese adaptations of these epic tales underscores the dynamic nature of cultural transmission and adaptation, highlighting how local beliefs and values can transform and enrich imported stories, making them a vital part of local cultural heritage and identity (Capellita and Lestari 2019, Pausacker 2004).

In the Kedu region's Wayang Kulit performances, several characters originating from local mythology reflect the agricultural and rural lifestyles deeply ingrained in the daily life of the Kedu community. Given that Wayang Kulit Kedu evolved in an agrarian setting, it is unsurprising that many of its characters embody themes and elements closely tied to farming and rural life. Characters such as *Sapi Geleng*, *Kebo Gedhek*, *Ki Ageng Makukuhan*, and *Tikus Jinada* emerge from this cultural background, offering narratives that resonate with the audience's experiences and environment. For instance, *Sapi Geleng* and *Kebo Gedhek* (In Javanese terms, *Sapi*

is Cow, and *Kebo* is Water Buffalo) symbolize domesticated animals central to the agrarian society of Kedu, with stories often emphasizing the importance of treating animals with kindness and respect. These narratives entertain and impart moral lessons such as the significance of gratitude and stewardship towards livestock, which are vital for the community's prosperity.

Ki Ageng Makukuhan is revered as a foundational figure in Kedu's history, associated with agricultural teachings and the introduction of rice cultivation to the region, further cementing the connection between Wayang Kulit Kedu and its agrarian roots. His story intertwines with that of Dewi Sri (a goddess of fertility and agriculture in Javanese mythology), who is believed to inhabit his wife's body, linking the narrative to the themes of fertility and prosperity (Koning 1926, Sobary 2016). Tikus Jinada represents the destructive forces of nature, specifically pests that threaten crops, highlighting the ongoing struggle of farmers against natural adversaries. The narrative around Tikus Jinada and similar characters, such as the plant pest King Putu Jantaka (and his generals), encapsulates the challenges faced by the agricultural community, from crop damage to the spread of diseases, mirroring the real-life concerns of the Kedu populace (Basuki 2019). These characters, with their deep ties to the rural and agricultural lives of Kedu, illustrate how Wayang Kulit Kedu reflects the traditional agricultural community's identity, environment, concerns, and values.

The preservation of Wayang Kulit Kedu, as practiced by Ki Suyatman, a puppeteer from Tening in Temanggung regency, and the late Ki Sumitro, involves meticulous care to maintain the puppets' condition. These traditional Javanese shadow puppets are stored in relaxed environments at room temperatures between 18 °C and 24°C to ensure longevity. The method employed in the Temanggung Regency for storing these cultural artifacts is notably intricate compared to practices in the Magelang Regency. Here, the wayang is placed atop tightly arranged rows of green peacock feathers secured with a string. Feathers play a crucial protective role, preventing *ngegat* (a type of damage) from affecting the leather of puppets.

However, using green peacock feathers for storage is challenging because of the difficulty in sourcing these feathers, compounded by the fact that the peacock is a

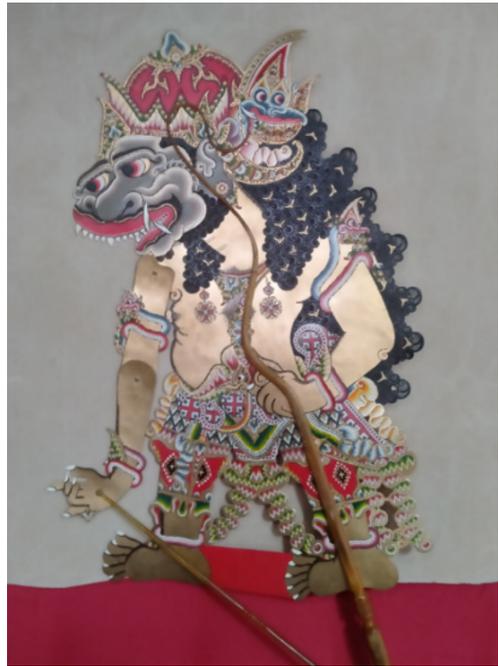


Figure 3. The character of Tikus Jinada is depicted as a giant. Source: Warsito and Fibiona, 2023

protected species; consequently, green peacock feathers utilized for this purpose date to the 1860s. To further ensure the preservation of Wayang Kulit Kedu, they were housed in a box lined with fine red cotton fabric to control humidity levels. Puppet collection is aired approximately once a month to prevent mold growth, which is a crucial step in their maintenance. It is also emphasized that the *wayang* should not be exposed to direct sunlight during this process, as it could damage leather, highlighting the delicate balance required to preserve these treasured cultural artifacts.

#### 4.2. Discussion

The Wayang Kulit Kedu, a traditional Indonesian puppetry form, declined in the 1960s and the 1970s because of political unrest and shifting entertainment preferences. Its unique focus on agriculture and fertility, distinct from the more popular epics of the Yogyakarta and Surakarta styles, led to its reduced prominence. However, the 2000s saw a revival, driven by government support and dedicated artists, highlighting its cultural significance and unique contribution to Indonesia's cultural heritage, especially in conveying local wisdom and agricultural traditions of the Kedu region. The "Pakeliran Gaya Kedu" event organized by the Indonesian Institute of the Arts, Yogyakarta, was a turning point for Wayang Kulit Kedu, marking its resurgence after its decline. This event reignited interest in Wayang Kulit Kedu, leading to its revival, particularly in the Temanggung area, where modern elements were blended into performances to attract a wider audience. While retaining its core narratives, like Makukuhan, the tradition expanded beyond local ceremonies, demonstrating its adaptability and enduring cultural value (Basuki 2019, Nugroho et al. 2019).

In 2021, the Directorate General of Culture of the Republic of Indonesia and the Tourism and Cultural Offices of Wonosobo and Temanggung districts organized an attractive performance for Wayang Kulit Kedu through the Indonesian Cultural Platform. This event, which featured two Wayang Kulit Kedu puppeteers in a single narrative, aimed to foster a deeper connection and interest in their regional culture, particularly in Wayang Kulit Kedu, among the community. By presenting these performances more engagingly and utilizing modern platforms, organizers sought to bridge the gap between traditional arts and contemporary audiences, ensuring the survival and continued relevance of the Wayang Kulit Kedu. This initiative also reflects a broader trend of leveraging technology and innovative presentation methods to preserve and promote intangible cultural heritage, making it accessible to younger generations and broader audiences.

The regeneration of young Wayang Kulit Kedu puppeteers, supported by the Temanggung and Wonosobo regency governments, adheres to a comprehensive educational framework emphasizing mastery over various pivotal skills. These include understanding the Kawi songs used in performances, mastering the languages and dialects specific to wayang characters, possessing a vast repertoire of stories, and having in-depth knowledge of the literary aspects of wayang narratives. Additionally, puppeteers are trained in puppet manipulation, particularly during battle scenes. They are guided to maintain the rhythm and engagement of the performance without altering the traditional narrative structure or introducing inappropriate content. This



Figure 4. Wayang Kulit Kedu's performance with two puppeteers in one story and one screen.

Source: Directorate General of Culture, Republic Indonesia, 2021

holistic approach ensures that the tradition of Wayang Kulit Kedu is preserved while being made relevant to contemporary audiences, equipping young Dalangs with the necessary skills to uphold and continue this rich cultural heritage.

The learning process for Wayang Kulit Kedu puppeteering for the youth is facilitated by puppeteers affiliated with the Indonesian Puppeteers Association in collaboration with the Cultural and Tourism Department of Temanggung District. One of the key initiatives under this collaboration is the “Belajar Bersama Maestro” (Learning with the Master) program, which involves bringing masters or teachers of the Kedu wayang puppeteering into schools. This initiative aims to introduce students to Kedu wayang art and identify those interested in becoming puppeteers. Over several days, the program covered the basics of puppeteering and the various types of Kedu wayang. Through such educational efforts, the program seeks to preserve and propagate the rich tradition of Kedu wayang puppeteering among the younger generations. It ensures the continuation and revitalization of this cultural heritage by inspiring and training future *dalangs*.

The uniqueness of Wayang Kulit's performances, particularly in originality and locality, is significantly defined by spoken and written language within art forms. The evolution of language in Wayang Kulit has gradually shifted from Sanskrit to Old Javanese or Kawi and eventually to New Javanese, reflecting a rich linguistic heritage integral to the authenticity of these performances (Boonstra 2015). In the context of Wayang Kulit Kedu, the revitalization of language use becomes a crucial element. The mastery of the traditional Javanese language used in Wayang Kulit Kedu performances is waning, especially among the younger generations in the Temanggung area. This calls for integrating local language education with the traditional art of Wayang Kulit Kedu, utilizing interactive teaching methods to enhance the internalization of this cultural knowledge among youth. Furthermore, the narratives or *lakons* in Wayang Kulit Kedu's performances are essential components of regional literature that are gradually fading. These local stories, especially those related to *Makukuhan*, represent a vital literary element that requires revitalization.

An effective strategy to engage young learners, particularly in Temanggung, could involve translating these stories into modern media, such as films or illustrated books, making them more accessible and appealing.

In addition to the linguistic and literary aspects of carving (*tatah*) and coloring (*sungging*), puppets require attention. Currently, experts are scarce in the *tatah* and *sungging* of the Wayang Kulit Kedu in the Temanggung area. Integrating the learning of these skills with art education in schools could foster interest and skill development in puppet-making. While the “Belajar Bersama Maestro” program in Temanggung has made strides in promoting Wayang Kulit Kedu, it has yet to fully cater to the interests and talents of students, particularly in puppet crafting. Therefore, expanding the program to be more inclusive of *tatah* and *sungging* could significantly contribute to preserving and revitalizing this crucial cultural heritage and ensuring its continuation for future generations.

The “Belajar Bersama Maestro” program has also effectively engaged youth with Wayang Kulit Kedu by instilling its values in them. To spark interest further, festivals or competitions could be a key incentive. A detailed study of Wayang Kulit Kedu’s uniqueness is vital for educating the younger generation, enhancing its appreciation, and serving as a resource for practitioners, particularly in Temanggung. Implementing a curriculum with interactive local content and pursuing academic research on establishing a Wayang Kulit Kedu museum with educational programs in Temanggung and Central Java could significantly elevate youth engagement and ensure future generations’ preservation and appreciation of tradition.

## 5. Conclusion

Wayang Kulit Kedu embodies historical and cultural values central to Javanese heritage, offering insights into traditional beliefs, agricultural practices, and societal norms. Its narratives and aesthetic elements serve as entertainment and vessels for transmitting wisdom and values across generations, thus reinforcing its cultural significance. Preservation strategies, including educational programs, festivals, and digital archiving, have revitalized interest and ensured continuity. These efforts highlight the community’s commitment to maintaining Wayang Kulit Kedu’s relevance, demonstrating a dynamic approach to safeguarding this traditional art form in contemporary society. The integration of Wayang Kulit Kedu into educational curricula and the promotion of its unique cultural narratives have fostered a deeper connection with the younger generations, ensuring its transmission and sustainability. This strategic emphasis on traditional and innovative preservation methods underscores the adaptability of Wayang Kulit Kedu, securing its place in both the heritage and hearts of the Javanese people as a timeless emblem of their cultural identity and legacy.

Addresses:

Indra Fibiona

Cultural Preservation Office Region X (Yogyakarta and Central Java)  
Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology  
Jalan Raya Solo – Yogyakarta No. 15, Yogyakarta, Indonesia 55571

E-mail: [indracuinfibiona@gmail.com](mailto:indracuinfibiona@gmail.com)

Gregorius Andika Ariwibowo (corresponding author)

Research Center for Area Studies  
National Research and Innovation Agency  
Widya Graha Building, 8th Floor.  
Jl. Jenderal Gatot Subroto No. 10, South Jakarta, Indonesia 12190

E-mail: [andikaariwibowo@gmail.com](mailto:andikaariwibowo@gmail.com)

Sumarno

Research Center for Manuscript, Literature, and Oral Tradition  
National Research and Innovation Agency  
Widya Graha Building, 7th Floor.  
Jl. Jenderal Gatot Subroto No. 10, South Jakarta, Indonesia 12190

E-mail: [sumarnohidayah66@gmail.com](mailto:sumarnohidayah66@gmail.com)

Titi Mumfangati

Research Center for Manuscript, Literature, and Oral Tradition  
National Research and Innovation Agency  
Widya Graha Building, 7th Floor.  
Jl. Jenderal Gatot Subroto No. 10, South Jakarta, Indonesia 12190

Email: [titimumfangati@gmail.com](mailto:titimumfangati@gmail.com)

Yustina Hastrini Nurwanti

Research Center for Manuscript, Literature, and Oral Tradition  
National Research and Innovation Agency  
Widya Graha Building, 7th Floor.  
Jl. Jenderal Gatot Subroto No. 10, South Jakarta, Indonesia 12190

E-mail: [hastrini@yahoo.co.id](mailto:hastrini@yahoo.co.id)

Arief Dwinanto

Research Centre for Society and Culture  
National Research and Innovation Agency  
Widya Graha Building, 8th Floor.  
Jl. Jenderal Gatot Subroto No. 10, South Jakarta, Indonesia 12190

E-mail: [ariefdw@gmail.com](mailto:ariefdw@gmail.com)

## References

- Angst, W. (2007) *Wayang Indonesia: Die phantastische Welt des Indonesischen Figurentheaters*. Konstanz: Stadler Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Basuki, K. Y. (2019) *Pakeliran Adat Siti Kedu*. Yogyakarta: Institut Seni Indonesia Surakarta.
- Bonn, M., L. Kendall, and J. McDonough (2016) "Preserving intangible heritage: defining a research agenda". *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 53, 1, 1–5. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1002/pra2.2016.14505301009>
- Boonstra, S. (2015) "Defining Wayang as heritage". In S. Legêne, B. Purwanto, and H. S. Nordholt, eds. *Sites, bodies and stories*, 159–179. Singapore: NUS Press Pte Ltd. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1nth6b.12>
- Capellita, M. B. and N. S. Lestari (2019) "Digital life society education from Punakawan history". *Journal of Physics: Conference Series* 1339, 1, 012086. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1088/1742-6596/1339/1/012086>
- Caut, J. and M. Vecco (2017) "Is UNESCO World Heritage recognition a blessing or burden? Evidence from developing Asian countries". *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 27, 1–9. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2017.02.004>
- Cerquetti, M. and C. Ferrara (2018) "Marketing research for cultural heritage conservation and sustainability: lessons from the field". *Sustainability*, 10, 3, 774. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su10030774>
- Day, T. (2021) "The poetry of minor characters and everyday life in the 'Sĕrat Cĕnthini'". *Wacana* 22, 3, 707. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17510/wacana.v22i3.1083>
- Dell'ovo, M., F. Dell'anna, R. Simonelli, and L. Sdino (2021) "Enhancing the cultural heritage through adaptive reuse: a multicriteria approach to evaluate the Castello Visconteo in Cusago (Italy)". *Sustainability (Switzerland)* 13, 8, 1–29. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3390/su13084440>
- Graham, B. (2002) "Heritage as knowledge: capital or culture?". *Urban Studies* 39, 5–6, 1003–1017. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980220128426>
- Groenendael, V. M. C. van. (1985) *The Dalang behind the Wayang: the role of the Surakarta and the Yogyakarta Dalang in Indonesian-Javanese society*. Paris: Foris.
- Hadzantonis, M. (2022) "Malay, in the shadows: Anthropological reflections of Malay and the Wayang Kulit". *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 32, 1, 52–82. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/japc.00084.had>
- Hardjowirogo (1952) *Sedjarah wayang purwa*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Hermawan, R., Junaidi, and I. K. Nuryanto (2019) *Bentuk wayang kulit purwa gaya Kedu: Kajian terhadap tokoh Werkudara*. Yogyakarta: Institut Seni Indonesia Yogyakarta.
- Isaac Cohen, M. (2023) "Wayang Ritual drama of Cirebon: continuance of a Kratophanic tradition". In Claudia Orenstein and Tim Cusack, eds. *Puppet and spirit: ritual, religion, and performing objects*, 96–110. London: Routledge. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003150367-10>
- Kasidi (2017) *Eстетika pedalangan: ruwatan murwakala kajian estetika dan etika budaya Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Institut Seni Indonesia Yogyakarta.
- Koning, A. de. (1926) *Algemeene plantenteelt ten behoeve van het Indische landbouwonderwijs*. Batavia: H.D. Tjeenk Willink.
- Kurin, R. (2004) "Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in the 2003 UNESCO convention: a critical appraisal". *Museum International* 56, 1–2, 66–77. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1350-0775.2004.00459.x>

- Kurscheid, J., D. Bendrups, J. Susilo, C. Williams, S. Amaral, B. Laksono, D. Stewart, and D. Gray (2018) "Shadow puppets and neglected diseases: evaluating a health promotion performance in rural Indonesia". *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 15, 9, 2050. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph15092050>
- Kuutma, K. (2013) "Concepts and contingencies in heritage politics". In L. Arizpe and C. Amescua, eds. *Anthropological Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage. Springer Briefs in Environment, Security, Development and Peace* 6, 1–15. New York: Springer. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-00855-4\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-00855-4_1)
- Lee, K. C. (1999) *A fragile nation*. Singapore: World Scientific. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1142/4165>
- Manik, H. F. G. G., R. Christanti, and W. Setiawan (2022) "Knowledge management and community-based enterprise: an initiative to preserve the shadow puppet traditional knowledge in Yogyakarta, Indonesia". *VINE Journal of Information and Knowledge Management Systems* 54, 3, 638–656. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1108/VJKMS-11-2021-0265>
- Mantra, I. B. and J. Atmaja (1988) *Puspanjali, persembahan untuk Prof. Dr. Ida Bagus Mantra*. Denpasar: Kayu Mas.
- Nugroho, S. (2019) "The aesthetics effect of Surakarta-style Pakeliran on East Javanese Pakeliran". *Harmonia: Journal of Arts Research and Education* 18, 2, 153–161. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15294/harmonia.v18i2.11543>
- Nugroho, S., Sunardi, and I. N. Murtana (2019) *Pertunjukan wayang kulit gaya kerakyatan Jawa Timuran, Kedu, dan Banyumasan*. Yogyakarta: ISI Press.
- Nurrochsyam, M. W., R. A. Somantri, B. H. S. Purwana, A. Dwinanto, M. L. Khair, and W. U. Wasito (2023) "Towards re-enchantment of the Wayang puppet theatre: puppeteers as agents of morality in the contemporary Indonesian society". *International Society for the Study of Vernacular Settlements* 10, 11, 277–293. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.61275/ISVSej-2023-10-11-18>
- Nyoman Sedana, I. (2016) "Innovation of Wayang puppet theatre in Bali". In Jun Xing and Pak-sheung Ng, eds. *Indigenous culture, education and globalization: critical perspectives from Asia*, 67–80. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-48159-2\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-48159-2_4)
- Parikesit, G. O. F. (2017) "Quantitative analysis of the puppet shapes in Ngayogyakarta Wayang Kulit". *International Journal of Arts and Technology* 10, 4, 241. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1504/IJART.2017.092449>
- Pausacker, H. (2004) "Presidents as Punakawan: portrayal of national leaders as clown-servants in Central Javanese Wayang". *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35, 2, 213–233. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022463404000128>
- Pigeaud, T. G. T. (1938) *Javaanse volksvertoningen. Bijdrage tot de beschrijving van land en volk*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Pigeaud, T. G. T. and H. J. de Graaf (1974) *Islamic states in Java*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Pratama, F. N. F. and M. Thohir (2021) "Ngebel Sumber Kabuyutan: the reflection of human and natural harmony through Serat Centhini". *E3S Web of Conferences*, 317, 03006. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202131703006>
- Ricci, R. (2011) *Islam translated: literature, conversion, and the Arabic cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ricklefs, M. C. (2023) "Rediscovering Islam in Javanese history". In R. Ricci, ed. *Storied island*, 15–32. Leiden: Brill. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004678897\\_003](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004678897_003)
- Setiawan, A. (2022) "Polemic and reasons for reusing Wayang and Gamelan as a medium for

- contemporary preaching Islam religion in Central Java, Indonesia”. *Harmonia: Journal of Arts Research and Education* 22, 2, 254–267. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15294/harmonia.v22i2.37525>
- Shafqat, R., D. Marinova, and S. Khan (2022) “Adapting grounded theory to investigate sustainability heritage in informal settlements: case studies from Islamabad, Pakistan”. *Sustainability* 14, 3 1515. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3390/su14031515>
- Silva, Kapila and Neel Kamal Chapagain, eds. (2013) *Asian heritage management: contexts, concerns, and prospects*. London: Routledge. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203066591>
- Sobary, M. (2016) *Perlawanan Politik dan Puitik Petani Temanggung*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Suprastya, A. and T. T. Anwar (2021) *Wayang Kedu Wonosaban Sejarah, Bentuk, dan Filosofi*. Wonosobo: Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan Kabupaten Wonosobo.
- UNESCO (2003a) *Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage*. UNESCO. Available online at <https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003>. Accessed on 01.02.2024.
- UNESCO (2003b) *Wayang puppet theatre*. Available online at <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/wayang-puppet-theatre-00063>. Accessed on 01.02.2024.
- UNESCO (2014) “Culture for development indicators (CDIS)”. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2021) *Gamelan*. Available online at <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/gamelan-01607>. Accessed on 01.02.2024.
- Vatan, M. (2021) “Culture and identity in the global context: transformation of locality”. In S. Girginkaya Akdağ, M. Dinçer, M. Vatan, Ü. Topçu, and İ. Maro Kırış, eds. *The dialectics of urban and architectural boundaries in the Middle East and the Mediterranean*, 119–133. Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-71807-7\\_6](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-71807-7_6)
- Vecco, M. (2010) A definition of cultural heritage: from the tangible to the intangible. *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11, 3, 321–324. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2010.01.006>
- Warsito and Indra Fibiona. (2023) *Revitalisasi Wayang Kulit Kedu di Kabupaten Temanggung, Jawa Tengah*. Yogyakarta: Balai Pelestarian Kebudayaan Wilayah X
- Widyaprakosa, S. (1994) *Masyarakat Tengger latar belakang daerah Taman Nasional Bromo*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Wiratama, R. (2021) *Seri Pustaka Wayang Nusantara I: Pakem Pedhalangan Wayang Gedhog Gaya Yogyakarta*. Yogyakarta: Diandra Kreatif.
- Yusuf, G.-S. (2023) “The Ramayana of the Malay shadow play, Wayang Kulit Kelantan, and its possible parallels and connections with versions of the epic in Northern Southeast Asia”. In Parul Pandya Dhar, eds. *The multivalence of an epic: retelling the Rāmāyaṇa in South India and Southeast Asia*, 290–302. London: Routledge. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003456797-20>
- Yusuf, G.-S. and K.-K. Khor (2017) “Wayang Kulit Kelantan: a study of characterization and puppets”. *Asian Theatre Journal* 34, 1, 1–25. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/atj.2017.0002>
- Zabulis, X., C. Meghini, N. Partarakis, C. Beisswenger, A. Dubois, M. Fasoula, V. Nitti, S. Ntoa, I. Adami, A. Chatziantoniou, V. Bartalesi, D. Metilli, N. Stivaktakis, N. Patsiouras, P. Doulgeraki, E. Karuzaki, E. Stefanidi, A. Qammaz, D. Kaplanidi, and G. Galanakis (2020) “Representation and preservation of heritage crafts”. *Sustainability (Switzerland)* 12, 4. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3390/su12041461>