

*wayang bèbèr* prove the erotic and sexual character of some panakawans (Kant-Achilles/Seltmann/Schumacher 1990, Plate b/48 and scroll No. 36-5259, scene 4 Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden). – There are also female figures of the Balinese *wayang kulit* with outspoken sexual tendencies as e.g. can be seen in a figure of Condong (from Sanur region). The garment of Condong is movable; she can be presented dressed or nearly naked (Figures 19, 20).

Regarding the traditional Javanese *wayang kulit* it is evident that the predominant part of these themes belongs to the world of the Indian epics, myths and legends which have been javanized in the course of the centuries. The proceeding of the

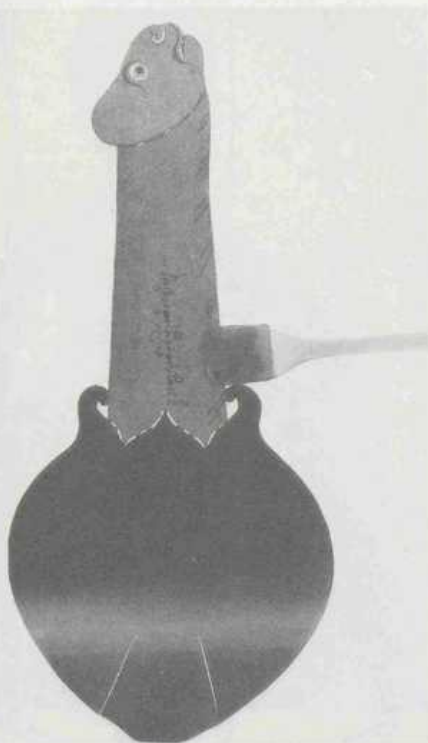


Figure 12  
Phallus of Semar (inscription: *panah ing Semar – Ki satim*). Special figure of the *wayang kulit purwa* (Photo: F. Seltmann – Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden; Inv.-No. 37/888 – I: 43 cm)



Figure 13  
Weapon of Twalèn (Balinese form of Semar) in form of a phallus (*dolog* = dagger). Special figure of the *wayang kulit* (Drawing: Tamara Seltmann after a figure of the Museum Sana Budaya, Yogyakarta – 38 × 10 cm)

Balinese *wayang* was quite similar. Therefore the main question is if the Indian jesters of the shadow-play have been taken over by the Indonesian *wayang*. That seems to be the case, at least in certain aspects. But the autochthonous influences of Java and Bali have given them their own particular features which differ from the Indian ones. The functions of the Balinese and Javanese *panakawans* are somewhat different from the Indian ones. They are also comic persons and jesters in general but indeed they are much more.

### 3. The Nature of the Panakawans

Referring to the abnormal bodies of the jesters we ask immediately for the reasons of those deformities. In order to clear up this point let us first of all deal with Semar and his equals of the *wayang* (*kulit*, *klithik*, *golèk*). Semar is the prototype; to