

interesting in this context that during the preliminaries of a Balinese shadow-play the initiating formulas pay regards to hermaphrodites too (Hooykaas 1973, 39). The hermaphroditic form of shamanism is known from the Indonesian islands Kalimantan and Sulawesi presented as priests who are either real hermaphrodites or men dressed and behaving like women (balian's and similar types).

As already mentioned above erotic elements are also found in the figures of certain other *panakawans* either belonging to the good or to the bad side. Pétruk and Nala Garèng are the mental sons of Semar. Pétruk represents death and evil, Garèng earth and agriculture. Bagong rose from the shadow of Semar, quasi a brother of



Figure 16
Limbuk, female *panakawan* of the *wayang golèk*. Her private parts are hidden under the sarong (Photo: W. Gamper – collection W. Gamper, Zürich)



Figure 17
Head of Nyo Sindu, a female *panakawan* of the *wayang kulit* in Java with typical deformations e. g. endentulousity (just one tooth left over) and with an ear-ornament in form of a glans penis (Drawing after a photo of W. Gamper by Tamara Seltmann – collection W. Gamper, Zürich)

him. The mythological origin of Togog and Sarahita as the representatives of the bad side is interpreted clearly in the Pasisir-Districts of Java: Togog is considered the elder brother of Semar, whereas Sarahita was transformed from an owl into a person by a wish of Togog. In other regions however their origin has been explained otherwise.

Let us now analyse the means used by these figures with divine characteristics to play their part of buffoons, jesters and tricksters. First of all they were born with deformities since such was their fate living on earth, and second certain deformities always have been the reason for laughter. Wanting to act like jesters they try to provoke laughter by their behaviour e. g. by way of walking and talking. The squinting Garèng says everything wrong. Pétruk's eyes also have a strange position,