

Javanese shadow-play in former times as it is still to be observed in Bali. There *Gaṇa/Gaṇeśa* (= *Gaṇapati*) is represented by a special figure (Hooykaas 1973, plate 12), and in old sets of Javanese *wayang-kulit*-puppets the figure of *Gaṇapati* is indispensable (Figure 24).

After all we could presume that the *panakawans* and *parekans* are figures existing only in the world of the Javanese and Balinese theatre. This is by no means true. Until the second worldwar ended a certain group of court-officials belonged to the Javanese sultanates consisting of dwarfs, albinos, cripples and jesters. This kind of *panakawans* was called *palawija* or *cébol* (Groneman 1895, 18).

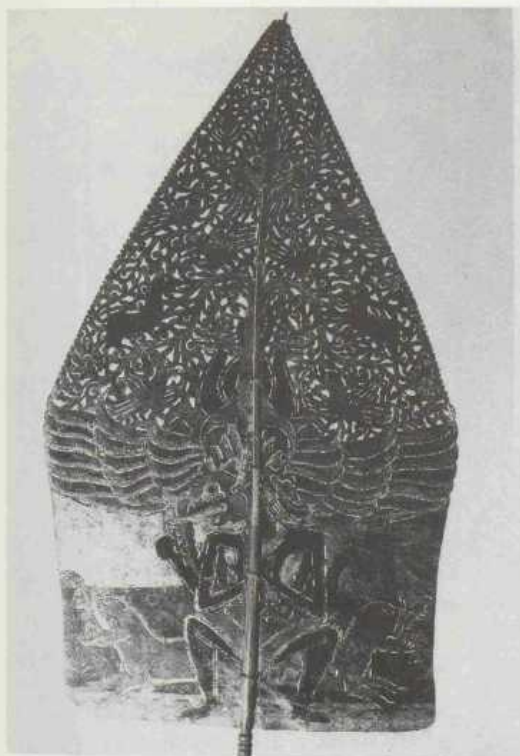


Figure 23
Gunungan (*kayon*) from Ceribon with
Gaṇapati sitting in the centre below the tree
of life. Figure of the *wayang golèk cepak*
(Photo: W. Gamper – collection W. Gamper,
Zürich – 66 × 39 cm)



Figure 24
Baṭara Gana (*Gaṇapati*).
Figure of the *wayang kulit purwa* from Sala
(Photo: W. Gamper – collection
W. Gamper, Zürich – l: 67 cm)

The role of the *panakawans* in the Java-Balinese shadow-play was and still is most important for the social structure of the people. By the mouth of the *dhalang* they passed down the fundamental ethics and morals of a highly cultivated civilization to the next generation.

4. Jesters in Greco-Roman Times

After all we can ask ourselves if there were also jesters in Greco-Roman times acting in different areas of Greece and the Roman Empire. Already Aristotle (384–322 B. C.) mentioned processions of phallus-bearers and a phallus-song as being essential parts of the comedy. These phallic elements go back to older customs and are especially to be found in regions with strong Doric influences (800–500 B. C.). It was Epimarchos (who lived from about 550 to 460 B. C.) who