

Regeneration of Sriwedari *Wayang Orang* Art-Observers: Opportunities and Challenges

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ABSTRACT

Regeneration of *Sriwedari wayang orang/wong* (literally, human puppet) art-observers is a complicated issue encountered by the Solo city art group. *Wayang orang* has long been becoming one of Surakarta's performing art icons and its continuity is a shared concern. The regeneration is influenced by many affecting factors, both internal and external, one of which is developed due to specific objectives. Internally, art-observers regeneration is difficult to accomplish since not all the *wayang orang* art-observers' descendants want to be *wayang orang* art-observers. Other factor is the difficulty of recruiting art-observers through bureaucracy. At present, the number of *wayang orang* art-observers with civil servant status is limited. When they reach the retirement age, no substitution is found yet. Other than civil servants art-observers, Sriwedari *wayang orang* group also recruits contract observers and other freelancers wishing to join the group. Objective conditions add to the difficulties of the regeneration of *wayang orang* art-observers. Social changes and shifts of cultural values leading to pragmatic and materialistic life style also affect *wayang orang* regeneration. Many of the spectators today seem to begin abandoning traditional art performance like *wayang orang* for a number of reasons, one of which people love to watch modernly presented media such as television, and internet. Mostly younger generations hold the belief that becoming *wayang orang* art-worker is materially less favourable.

Wayang orang art-observers' efforts to regenerate need a strong of the government and community thorough participations to ensure that that precious cultural icon does not remain as a memory.

Keywords: Art-worker regeneration, cultural icon, cultural values, performing art, social change, solo, Sriwedari, *wayang orang*

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INTRODUCTION

Wayang is a traditional performance art that has become the center of public attention since the ancient times until the present day (Holt, 2000; Raffles, 2008). One form of well-known *wayang* show in Java is *wayang orang*. *Wayang orang* is a traditional performing art inspired from the stories of *Mahabarata* and *Ramayana*. The stories highlight moral messages and philosophy of life teachings. Both *Mahabarata* and *Ramayana* characters share no differences from the figures played in the shadow puppet (*wayang kulit*). The difference lies on the fact that the characters in *wayang orang* are all played by humans (*wong*), while in shadow puppet (*wayang kulit*) held between a source of light and a translucent screen.

One of the remaining cultural heritages of *wayang orang* groups to these days is Sriwedari *wayang wong*: the cultural icon of Surakarta City. In addition to being a unique cultural heritage, *wayang orang*, or possibly other traditional performances such as dances or music have been considered old-fashion. The presence of Sriwedari *wayang orang* is inseparable from the former Sriwedari Park (*Kebon Raja*), initiated by Sunan Paku Buwono (PB) X in 1907. Supported by the *wayang orang* travelling art-observers (*mbarangan*), Sriwedari *wayang orang* gradually has become a respected group of arts and inseparable from the whole concept of Sriwedari Park. In 1930s a permanent stage was built for Sriwedari *wayang orang* shows, which at the same time it also marked the end of the open stage (*tobong*) era. Modern

stage arrangement (*proscenium*) began to be introduced with a touch of new innovation. For such reason, since then the separating line between spectators and the performer(s) was initially practiced. Additionally, Sriwedari *wayang orang* started to be commercially managed for art performance economic oriented benefits. *wayang orang*'s commercialization started in 1950s and reached its peak in 1970s. This performing art in further turned to be quite popular among the people of Surakarta and the surroundings, where it once became inseparable part of the Javanese living culture.

However, after 1970s, public art observers toward Sriwedari *wayang orang* gradually faded away and abandoned this performance, where these were all led by a number of affecting factors. Internally, i.e., the *wayang orang* art performance itself is monotonous, despite the fact that *wayang orang* nuanced with its glamorous and enchanting characteristics (Hersapandi, 1999; Sonalitha, et al., 2017). It should be worthy of note, there were almost no art performers gaining a better fame except those the *wayang orang* art observers in the 1970s. This condition increasingly leads this art backward and the dominant of reason for the cause is due to the lack of regeneration among those of succeeding generations of *wayang orang* performers. The gap between the succeeding generations of *wayang orang* artist and the performing the art itself has primarily been underlying that leads this condition. In short, the internal problems affecting the existence

of Sriwedari *wayang orang*, among others, are related to aesthetic quality, art observers' qualities to work on *wayang orang* performances, in addition due to the failure to generate its succeeding generations. Several external factors affecting Sriwedari *wayang orang*'s sustainability are due to the lack of protection both from the era of Javanese royal court to current government; social and political pressure; the local leaders whose role are actually in charge of sustaining this traditional art; and the pressure from contemporary art. In addition, the accumulation of various factors led the Sriwedari *wayang orang* to losing its audience, not even succeeding in regenerating the succeeding art workers.

Traditional performance art such as *wayang orang* is the living part of the Javanese traditional and real life philosophy. In such context, traditional art does not merely function as a form of entertainment/spectacle, but also as a guidance or value orientation since it reveals many valuable moral teachings. In an effort to materialise the national development with character based on the cultural values of the nation, preservation and development of traditional arts including traditional performance arts as the cultural property are absolutely necessary (Lindsay, 1995; Sutton, 1995). Traditional art is an important social and cultural asset in future nation development. Therefore, to help preserve and sustain traditional arts such as Sriwedari *wayang orang*, continuous art-worker regeneration should be carried out. Sriwedari *wayang orang* art-worker regeneration is a crucial

and pressing matter to be done because of two reasons: first, Sriwedari *wayang orang* art is part of community life and at the same time, the cultural icon of Surakarta City, which collectively gives and forms cultural identity. Second, *wayang orang* art is kept as a part of Indonesian cultural wealth, so that it is not easily claimed by other parties/nations as their own. In this context, this paper discusses the present regeneration process of the Sriwedari *wayang orang* and gives recommendation for future steps. Beforehand, a short history of Sriwedari *wayang orang* presence and several aspects affecting the development of this art from time to time are presented.

MATERIAL AND METHOD

The research was conducted in Surakarta City, specifically at the base camp of Sriwedari *wayang orang* of *Gedung Wayang Orang* in Sriwedari Park complex, on Jl. Slamet Riyadi Surakarta. The research used the descriptive qualitative method. The sources of research data were informants, *wayang orang* performance stage, archives, and documents. The informants were selected from private sectors, community, art-observers, cultural observers, and government agencies' officials who are concerned for Sriwedari *wayang orang*. The data of research were collected through site observation, focus group discussion, in-depth interview, and content analysis of the prevailing documents. The observation was focused on several activities related to *wayang orang* art-worker regeneration through observing, taking notes, and

recording. Interview was held to get more complete data on the traditional performance art of Sriwedari *wayang orang* by interviewing all related stakeholders. Focus Group Discussion technically used to enable the researcher to obtain deeper analysis on data taken from stakeholders related to the object study, in addition to apply validity over the data through other techniques, which was primarily conducted to keep the data away from biases. The content analysis was performed to study all documents related to the regeneration of Sriwedari *wayang orang* art-observers. The validity of the data was checked by using the source triangulation and the method triangulation, that is, an effort to gain a higher degree of confidence by comparing and re-checking the degree of confidence of pieces of information obtained from a source through different information sources and different techniques. Then, the data were analysed using the interactive analysis model which comprised data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing (Miles & Huberman, 1984; Moleong, 1989; Sutopo, 2006). Data reduction used in this study was a process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, and abstracting the raw data found in the lists of observation. The display of data was set according to the informational organization that led the researcher to draw a conclusion about the study.

RESULTS

The history of *wayang orang* in Surakarta can be traced back far to the beginning of *Praja Mangkunegaran* reign in the

middle of the 18th century (Kumar, 2008). The emergence of this classic art was a part of the Javanese classic arts revival after the Majapahit downfall. Surakarta style *wayang orang* was believed to be created by Mangkunegara (MN) I (1757-1795) and intended to give a boost and life spirit to Mangkunegara subjects in fighting the Dutch oppression. Thus, at the beginning, *wayang orang* served as a means of amplifying the legitimization of the kings/rulers through the created symbols (Fananie, 2005; Kuntowijoyo, 2006). *Wayang* became the source of legitimization since through the knight characters in the world of *wayang*, a king identified himself as one. The heroic story in the story of Mahabharata depicted the magnitude of a real figure in power. *Wayang orang* still became the attributes of the king's magnitude until the days after. The height of the *wayang orang* development happened in the era of MN V (1881-1896). Since then, many modern fashion creations have been inspired by *wayang kulit*, consequently the popularity of *wayang kulit* was widely known at that time. MN V then authored a book entitled *Pratelan Busananing Ringgit Tiyang* (Explanation on *Wayang orang* Clothing) which became a reference for Surakarta style *Wayang orang* fashion (Hersapandi, 1999). Up to the end of the 19th century, *wayang orang* was virtually unknown outside the walls of *Karaton* (palace) walls.

Wayang orang performance in Mangkunegaran palace was managed by king's servants (*abdidalem Langen*

praja) under the coordination of the assistant head (*Kawedanan Reksawibawa*), whose responsibility was connected to the matter of beauty/pleasure. The institution covers several types of king's servants: *abdidalem Reksawarsastra*, *Reksawahana*, *Reksabusana*, and *Langen praja*. *Abdidalem Langenpraja* consists of *abdidalem dhalang*, *niyaga*, *tledhek*, *badut*, and *palawijaya* (disabled persons) (Hersapandi, 1999). *Wayang orang* performance in a palace could not escape the king's control and authority. It represented the king/castle's interest through the roles of the *abdidalem* who took care of that matter. The story (*lakon*) that was performed, which often claimed as the work of the ruling king, was included. As a system, *wayang orang* performance was supported by several sub-systems: *niyaga* (*gamelan*/music performers), dancers, make-up artists and costume directors, and performance property.

However, along with the economic degradation of Kadipaten Mangkunegaran by the end of the 19th century (Pringgogidgo, 1950; Soedarmono, 2011), arts activities in general and *wayang orang* especially faced a decline. The palace's economic resources were channelled to other activities especially those related to economic and social activities. The palace's *wayang orang* decline continued in the era of MN VI (1896-1916). Several traditional ceremonies and art performance activities were diminished due to the increased economic pressures. Arts which needed a considerable amount of financial support started to be rarely staged and even some of its art-observers had to

leave the palace. Many *wayang orang* art-observers then formed *wayang orang* groups outside the palace and *mbarang* (travelled to perform) to several places outside the palace. That opportunity was exploited by Chinese entrepreneurs to change *wayang orang* art into a commercial art. *Wayang orang* was no longer becoming sacred art which was confined inside the walls of the palace, but had changed into popular art that could be watched by the public. Ever since, there were the co-modification of *wayang orang* art, carried out especially by Chinese entrepreneurs by exploiting *wayang orang* art-observers previously served in the palace. *Wayang orang* was packed to be a spectacle product or creative industry and into the wider market network; for example, a Chinese entrepreneur, Hok Kam, staged *wayang orang* around Singasaren for commercial purposes. Then during the reign of MN VII, along with other Chinese entrepreneur, MN VII also staged *wayang orang* for commercial purposes in Harsono Building (Hersapandi, 1999).

The birth of commercial *wayang orang* outside the palace urged the birth of new creativity both in the stage setting and the staged story (*lakon*). *Wayang orang* no longer served the palace's interests but served the interests of the ever-changing spectators/city community. *Proscenium* stage, that was a stage completed with screen and side wings painted realistically as needed by the need for scenes, lighting, and sound, started to be introduced. The *proscenium* stage for travelling *wayang* (*mbarangan*) was appropriately called *tobong* since that place

was multi-functioned as temporal dwellings for the art-observer's families as well as a performing stage. *Tobong* later became an arena for social interaction and formed a unique and particular *tobong* cultural entity. At the beginning, travelling *wayang orang* (*mbarangan*) was considered low by the palace since it was judged to sell the noble values of the palace arts. The outlook waned after the palace consented for Sriwedari Park to be the performance place for the travelling *wayang orang* (*mbarangan*). The birth of Sriwedari *wayang orang* in 1910 marked the institution of commercial *wayang orang* which was oriented to the economic/profit interests.

Sriwedari *wayang orang* developed fast during 1901-1946 under the reign of *karaton Kasunanan Surakarta*. Sriwedari Park, built in 1899 with the *sengkalan* (encrypted year marker) "*luwihkatonesthiningwong*" (1831 J) (Sajid, 1984), was an amusement complex in which there were various kinds of animals and plants, and various types of entertainment such as film and *wayang orang*, including Radyamustaka Museum. In 1933 it was completed with a sport stadium. Sriwedari Park became a public space for every person from every walk of life. The established Park became the pride of the Solo and its surrounding community, since it provided easy and inexpensive amusement place. Sriwedari *wayang orang* group was established around 1912, on the initiative of PB X. At that time, that *wayang orang* was still under the name of *Persatuan Wayang orang Sriwedari* (Sriwedari *Wayang orang* Association). Since then, the *wayang orang*

performances in Sriwedari were carried out routinely under the supervision of *abdidalem Kepatihan*. Prior to the presence of permanent *proscenium* stage, Sriwedari *wayang orang* performance was executed in a simple way on an open stage, and the standing audiences watched it from every side using the ticket that was purchased upon entering the Park. Only in 1929-1930 for the first time the building of Sriwedari *Wayang orang* was built in the form of *proscenium* stage that was adapting European model performance technique.

Performers/*wayang orang* art-worker natural regeneration actually went along well when that art form was still part of palace art and even when it was developed into commercial art outside the palace walls. Art-worker regeneration was an actor transmission process from the previous generation (older generations) to the following generation (younger ones). In that context Sriwedari *wayang orang* regeneration meant the process of actor/*wayang* art-worker transmission from one generation to other oncoming generation. It had happened for a long time, even when *wayang orang* still became an inseparable part of palace arts or a high form of arts intended for kingdom's ceremonies. To present certain story, the *wayang orang abdidalem* had to exercise routinely; dancing, singing Javanese songs (*nembang*), vocalizing (*antawacana*), and playing Javanese musical instruments/*gamelan* (*karawitan*). Involving senior dancers, junior ones who joined children *wayang orang* was also prepared. The performers

of the children's *wayang orang* came from the circles of *abdidalem* (king servants), *sentana* (king's relatives), and king's sons and daughters. The institution of children's *wayang* was quite strategic since it could produce competent dancers/art-observers in the palace's environment.

When *wayang orang* art changed into commercial art and was routinely performed in Sriwedari, the regeneration process of *wayang orang* art-observers naturally continued. Sriwedari became the place to seed newcomers, trained by their parents who had already become art-observers. Since its establishment in the beginning of the 20th century, Sriwedari became one of the places for widely known *wayang orang* performances. Both Sriwedari *wayang orang* and travelling *wayang orang* group (*mbarangan*), routinely performed in that place. Sriwedari *wayang orang* group was a permanently formed art group in Sriwedari which had a routine schedule every day/week. Travelling *wayang orang* (*mbarangan*) was *wayang orang* group which travelled from one place to another, and which once in a while was performed in Sriwedari *wayang orang* building. It is mentioned in the history that Sriwedari *wayang orang* started to hold regular performances in Sriwedari King's Park since 1911. Prior to the establishment of Sriwedari *wayang orang* association, professional *wayang* performances were carried out in turn by several *wayang orang* groups. The establishment of Sriwedari *wayang orang* was supported by several stage *wayang orang* members who were more experienced

of staging travelling performance in big cities (Hersapandi, 1999).

At the beginning of its establishment, Sriwedari *wayang orang* association was managed by a Dutchman, Rademaker, and the head of Art section was RM Sastratanaya. The management was handled by Kepatihan *abdidalem*, so that the appointment of performers should meet the approval of *Kepatihan*. Outstanding performers were appointed to be *abdidalem Punakawan Langentaya* (servants who took care of dance art sector) in the office building of *Hamongraras*. Male dancers got the appreciation of *abdidalem* status with an additional name of *wibaksa*, and female ones got an additional name of *rini*. Gamelan performer (*pengrawit*) got the additional name of *rawita* or *pangrawit*. Wugu Harjawibaksa for example, was well known as Gatutkaca legendary performer. The name of Harjawibaksawas inherited to the next Gatutkaca performers, namely: Rusman Harjawibaksa, Nalawibaksa (performer of Gareng), Surana Harjawibaksa (performer of Petruk), the name of *rini* was given to Darsi Pudyarini, the performer of woman warrior Srikandi or Banowati. It was a tract called *nunggaksemi* in the regeneration process of Sriwedari *wayang orang*, which could be traced back through the use of additional names behind the real names. That name was granted to those who were able to inherit art capability in *wayang*, from one generation to the next.

Regeneration process needed certain requirement for young generation aspiring to be *wayang orang*. The main requirement

was mastering the acting abilities of *wayang orang* such as the ability of dancing, *tembang* (singing), gamelan performer/song repertoire (*gendhing*), vocalizing (*antawacana*), and other related knowledge. According to Kusumakeswa as cited by Hersapandi (1999), *wayang orang* must master five dancing movement, namely *sembahan* (giving obeisance), *sabetan*, *lumaksana* (walking), *ombakbanyu* (standing still, moving one's body left and right), and *srising* (darting about on tiptoe). Mastering the five dancing movements, one can be involved to play *wayang orang*. However, later one must master several more complicated moving patterns such as *beksanlaras* and *beksankiprahan*. Moreover, a *wayang orang* art-worker should also master dialog technique both in prose and Javanese song (*tembang*). Therefore, one should always practice to improve the performance quality, such as practicing dances, *udanegara* (politeness), *antawacana* (dialog), *uran-uran* (*tembang*), make up and costumes, and *karawitan*.

Under Tohiran's leadership (1954-67), the effort to regenerate art-observers had been carried out in Sriwedari *wayang orang* (Hersapandi, 1999). The effort to regenerate was meant to prepare talented young art-observers to replace the older generations' role in the future. Thus, to prepare for skilled and readily used art-observers, every Monday and Thursday there were practices of dancing techniques, vocalizing techniques for *antawacana* and *tembang*, and *karawitan*. Meanwhile in the production system, alteration was made

from a specific role specialization system as befitted character's self-image (*gandar*) to a more flexible one. A dancer was no longer fixed to play on one certain character only but had to be able to play various *wayang* characters. Transvestite tradition, in which a female played a male part, even also introduced on the Sriwedari *wayang orang* stage (Hatley, 1995; Sunardi, 2009).

Sriwedari *wayang orang* art-worker recruitment was based on the shapes of face and body of the candidates, as adjusted to *wayang* iconography such as to play the role of calm and polite male/female characters (*alusan*). Upon being accepted as an intern, the art-worker candidate had to practice, closely observe every performance, and join the performance in walk on role or supporting role which movement and dialog were not dominant. Often times, those beginners had to serve well known senior figures in order to be able to study more intensively and inherit the figure's expertise. Along with well-kept tradition, a Sriwedari *wayang orang* dancer was fashioned in accordance with the shape of face (*gandar*) and physical attribute.

In order to secure regeneration, every year Sriwedari *wayang orang* opened new admission for junior dancer candidates who wanted to be *wayang orang* art-observers. They could come from the children or grandchildren of senior art-observers as well as from public. Also, Sriwedari *wayang orang* accepted senior performers/dancers who had experienced joining travelling *wayang orang*. It was quite ideal for a means of regeneration, since

by the entrance of potential *wayang orang* young art-observers, concern over the loss of performers could be eliminated. While the entrance of experienced senior dancer would improve the performance quality and creativity. Several performers who then became the stage stars (*rol*) in Sriwedari *wayang orang* are for instance, Surana and Rusman, who at the beginning had only walk on roles (*baladhupak*), playing relatively easy characters such as Citraksa or Citraksi.

The young generation interest in becoming Sriwedari *wayang orang art-observers* was quite good. It could be observed from the number of youngsters who wanted to join the *wayang orang* art-observers and art lovers. They came from various educational and social backgrounds such as SMKI (Indonesian Art High School) and ISI (Indonesian Art Institute) graduates, who formally and informally wanted to join. Some joined through internship, and gradually and routinely practiced with senior performers. Backed by their art education, they were not foreign to several skills that needed to be mastered in *wayang orang* art. Meanwhile, there were also groups of young generation, students, university students, and high school and university graduates who voluntarily join edit as performers without any payment. Their involvement were only incidental, since they were not bound by performance schedules. They wanted to be *wayang orang* performers because of their wish to channel their talents and artistic desires for *wayang orang* art.

Other than high school and university graduates, many primary students and those who joined art studios had a high interest in *wayang orang* art. Several primary schools in Surakarta had *wayang orang* group which joined children *wayang* festival. Youngsters who learnt art in public art studios were also actively involved in art performance events such as children *wayang* festivals and other art performances.

Naturally, youngster group whose interests were high came from the children of Sriwedari *wayang orang* art-observers. Their talents and interests were developed naturally through intensive interactions and communications in their art-worker family so that art values were internalized, which then drove them to be art-observers. Some *wayang orang* children then joined their parents in that profession.

It should be noted, however, that young generations who wanted to be *wayang orang* performers or art-observers were few and far between. The previous revelation shows that the number of youngsters wished to be *wayang orang* performers generally came from two major groups. The first group was that of university students or graduates who took or were taking formal education in art or culture, such as in SMKI (now SMKN), *Institut Seni Indonesia* (ISI) Surakarta, and FIB (Faculty of Cultural Sciences) of Sebelas Maret University. They became the youngster core group interested to be *wayang orang* art-observers. They at least still had a high appreciation for traditional arts especially *wayang orang*, since they were already familiar with the art form since

childhood. The second group was that of youngsters who joined arts studio or those from public schools but had strong interests and talents in arts. That group had also a big potential in conversing and developing traditional arts.

The challenges faced in Sriwedari *wayang orang* regeneration were quite complex, internally as well as externally. The internal factors comprised various problems inside the organization itself, among others were the problems of institution management, leadership, performers' rights and obligations, performers recruitment pattern, and other supporting capacities which were directly and indirectly related to the regeneration process. Meanwhile, several external factors or objective conditions affecting *wayang orang* art-observers regeneration process among others were affecting the synergy and coordination between institutions related to Sriwedari *wayang orang*, government commitment as a regulator, and relation among Sriwedari, palace, and community.

At present Sriwedari has around 99 crews who are responsible to produce *wayang orang* performance. They act their role according to their own expertise, for instance as performers/dancers, music accompaniment performers (*pengrawit*), lighting directors, make-up artists and costume directors, sound system officers, stage manager, and other technicians. There are two groups of observers, civil servants and contract observers. Thirty-four of them are civil servants (PNS), comprise of dancers and musicians (*niyaga*). The other

65 are outsourcing observers/ contract observers who only receive minimal wage. The number of the first group is limited but they have their rightful rights as civil servants (fixed salary, pension, etc.). On the other hand, the outsourcing observers only get a limited income of Rp200,000.00/month, which is obviously still very far from meeting the employees' basic needs.

In short, after *wayang orang* performers became civil servants, their number keeps on diminishing because of retirement or job transfer, while the new worker recruitment is very limited due to bureaucratic hurdles and financial capability of the Surakarta City government's budget. In 2000, for instance, there were 20 retired civil servants while there were 3 new recruiters only in 2007. To augment the number of the performers, contract observers were recruited with very limited income. The condition brings further implication; decreasing the number of the performers as well as reducing the performers' artistic spirit. The decreased number of the performers disturbs *wayang orang* performance since the number of the needed actors/actress is not available, which lower its quality. Amid the deprived condition, it is difficult to expect the emergence of performers' innovation and creativity which can improve his/her performance quality (Puguh & Utama, 2018).

Those limited numbers of performers were bored with the role they had to play over and over again without any replacement. Since they 'have to' perform every day, the performers felt fed up, so

that there was not enough time to improve their skills and performance quality. It happened since as civil servants, they were tied down by obligation to go working every day according to their field. *Wayang orang* art-observers who had civil servant status had to go working every day and doing their profession, that was performing as *wayang orang*, whether they wanted to or not. Performing then became their duties as civil servants, treated the same as other civil servants, instead of as artistic expression which came from their heart as art-observers.

According to one informant, the regeneration process in limited way has actually been carried out. However, since the condition of Sriwedari *wayang orang* which is expressed as “*daya nanging during andayani*”, “*urip nanging durung nguripi*” (just about to survive but has not yet able to give life assurance), the regeneration goes very slowly. The expression affirms that being *wayang orang* art-worker is not an easy choice. On one hand, as an art-worker, one has to devote oneself entirely to the profession. On the other hand, appreciation for the chosen profession is still low, so as to make it difficult for one to support oneself as an art-worker. The low income that they get, about Rp200,000.00 per month and often late as it is, is indecent and incapable of supporting the life of Sriwedari *wayang orang* art-observers’ family.

Other than several aforementioned internal factors, some factors also hinder Sriwedari *wayang orang* art-worker regeneration process. There

is a misunderstanding that art-worker regeneration is the responsibility of Sriwedari *wayang orang* art-observers alone. While in fact, the problem belongs to every party concerned with the preservation and development of Sriwedari *wayang orang*, namely: art-observers, local government, university, and community in general. Regeneration is everyone’s responsibility. *Wayang orang* art-observers have limited authority in recruiting new observers/art-observers into *wayang orang* organisation. They actually are only executor of policies made by local government of Department overseeing Sriwedari *wayang orang* organization.

Other obstacle is related to communication between Surakarta Tourist Department and Sriwedari *wayang orang* art-observers which does not run well yet. As the managing department of Sriwedari *wayang orang*, the *wayang* art-observers thought that Tourist Department has not yet done its job optimally, the ones related to the organization development in general, and those related to preparing the art-observers in particular. Different perspective between Tourism Department and the art-observers in developing Sriwedari often obstruct the formulation of Sriwedari *wayang orang* future development. Such as on the problem of recruitment of new observers, since there is no clear regulation on the mechanism regarding outside art-observers who want to join; the requirement, rights and responsibilities, and others. Civil servant recruitment is obviously very limited due to limited civil servant formation limitation,

while the need for adequate number of performers is urgent. Also, there is a problem of Sriwedari *wayang orang* future development. There is not any development master plan nor strategic planning for the future development. Without any clear long term planning which is broken down into short and medium term activities, Sriwedari *wayang orang* development including its performers' regeneration are difficult to carry out. At present, there is only patchwork repair which does not solve the problem comprehensively and continuously.

DISCUSSION

Sriwedari *wayang orang* is quite old and well known by Surakarta community and by those of its surrounding area. At the beginning, *wayang orang* was a part of palace arts or great tradition, performed to support traditional ceremonies inside the palace. But, after *wayang orang* went out of the palace, that palace art changed into a popular and commercial art. The foundation of Sriwedari *wayang orang* is closely related to that change. Since the beginning of the 20th century, along with the establishment of Sriwedari Park, *wayang orang* became more popular since it was performed on an open stage - and then later in a closed stage (*proscenium*) - and was managed commercially. Along with the development of Sriwedari as the community centre of public entertainment, the *wayang orang* stage was visited by many. From that stage, emerged great artists who were capable of enchanting spectators.

Efforts to regenerate Sriwedari *wayang orang* art-observers are carried out in several ways such as internship (*nyantrik/magang*), in which young art-observers learned at older art-observers. Then, there is a term of *nunggak semi*, senior name is recruited by the junior who replaces him/her. Other way is by recruiting art-observers through bureaucratic work, by making the *wayang orang* art-observers as civil servants. To meet the needed number for an ideal performer, the head recruits art-observers and contract observers to be part of the group. *Wayang orang* next generation is from children *wayang orang* groups, art studios, and middle and high form of educations. The obstacles faced by the group are, among others: Sriwedari *wayang orang* group's limited authority in recruiting art-observers. Under the management of Tourist Department, *wayang orang* group becomes part of government bureaucracy, and the art-observers have to work according to their tasks as civil servants so that they do not have enough time to improve their artistic quality. Ideally, Sriwedari *wayang orang* group is led by a manager who has full authority to develop the group, including in recruiting or regenerating its art-observers.

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