Preservation and Practice of Wayang Kulit in Malaysia:
Interviews with Four Dalang

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Introduction

Shadow Puppetry, a form of theatre that involves manipulating carved puppets in front of a light source so that they cast shadows on a screen visible by the viewer, has appeared in various forms in China, Southeast, South, and Central Asia, and Europe. The concern of this study is Wayang Kulit Shadow Puppetry in Malaysia. In 2010, Larry Reed, a leading producer of Shadow Theater in the U.S, described Wayang Kulit as “endangered” in Malaysia. In 2008 noted Malaysian scholar Dr. Ghulam-Sarwar Yousof told American Beth Osnes, who had studied Malaysian Wayang Kulit 17 years earlier, “That’s it. It’s over,” referring to traditional Malaysian performing arts, including Wayang Kulit.

From June 3 to June 27, 2011 field research was conducted in Kelantan and Kedah to determine whether Wayang Kulit is indeed “endangered” or “over.” From preliminary research, it was determined that forms Malaysian Wayang Kulit are still being performed in Kelantan and Kedah, so that it is not “over.” However, like other traditional live performing arts, its future is in doubt in the face of growing competition from modern forms of entertainment. However, some contemporary dalang have been adapting to changing times, and this ability to adapt was seen as the key to Wayang Kulit’s future.

At this point, the research turned its focus to the actual practice of Wayang Kulit in contemporary Malaysia, and four tok dalang who are still practicing were interviewed - Pak Majiid of Kedah and Pak Dain, Eyo Hock Seng, and Pak Soh of Kelantan. The purpose of this research was to examine the work and backgrounds of these dalang, how they approach the performance and art, and discuss their perceptions about the future of Wayang Kulit in Malaysia. With the exception of Pak Dain, these dalang make some adaptations to modern culture and two see the future of Wayang Kulit in generally positive terms.

The journey to meet these dalang involved driving northeast on the North-South Highway from Kuala Lumpur (KL) to a small village in the state of Kedah in the northwest section of Peninsular Malaysia to interview Pak Majid. From Kedah the journey continued on the East-West Highway to the state of Kelantan on the east coast to conduct three more interviews. In Kelantan, I traveled from the northern part of the state where I interviewed Pak Dain and Pak

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1 Reed, Larry, Personal Interview, 29 May 2010.
Soh to Kuala Terengganu, Terengganu where I interviewed Eyo Hock Seng where he was performing on a beach and back to the north for a workshop with Pak Soh. From there I returned to KL. So, this turned out to be an extensive journey covering the length of two major highways in Peninsular Malaysia and several local roads which resulted in the following interviews.

**Pak Majid (Abdul Majid Mohamed Noh) - Wayang Kulit Seri Asun, Kedah**

![Pak Majid in front of his workshop in Kedah](image)

In 1999, Zubaidah Abu Bakar reported in *New Straits Times* that Pak Majid’s troupe, *Wayang Kulit* Seri Asun of Kedah was keeping *Wayang Gedek*, a form of *Wayang Kulit*, alive by using popular stories and music in his performance.³ *Wayang Kulit* Seri Asun has performed all over Malaysia and in Australia, Munich, Frankfurt, Bremen, Berlin, Milan, Sicily, Rome, Paris and several other world cities. Recently, on March 22 of this year, Intan Maizura Ahmad Kamal reported in New Strait Times that Perkumpulan *Wayang Kulit* Sri Asun was performing a shadow play to promote health.⁴ Pak Majid was born on January 24, 1949 in Kampung Kunluang, Mukim Binjai, Kubang Pasu, Kedah. He was the second son of renowned puppeteer, Pak Noh.

![Banners announcing performances of Wayang Kulit Seri Asun](image)


The interview with Pak Majid took place at his workshop located across the street from his home, Kampong Kunluag, Mukim Binjal, 06000 Jitra, Kedah Darul Aman, on June 4, 2011. Pak Majiid states that he always liked shadow puppetry, and when he was 12 years old he started to learn Wayang Kulit from his father, Pak Noh. Pak Noh was also 12 years old when started learned shadow puppetry from Thai puppeteer Ade Chong and his wife Rokiah, and he later became Ade Chong’s adopted son. Pak Noh had taught himself how to make puppets, and Pak Majid said that Pak Noh taught him how to make puppets. “To make puppets, you first have to have an interest, and then you have to have intuition to come from your heart. You have to be able to use a delicate artwork technique, and you have to be clever in drawing because the drawing is the outline of the puppet.” He states that his troupe only uses the traditional leather in making puppets.

As expected given his lineage, Pak Majid’s Wayang Kulit Seri Asun is influenced entirely by the Thai style, Nang Talung. “‘Nang’ means skin and ‘Talung’ means light or lamp. My father trained and was raised by a Nang Talung mastermind and carried on the tradition. Now I carry on that tradition.” The Thai tradition has its own rituals for opening the show. “In the Thai style they have a religious ceremony to call for the ancestors, where the dalang prays to the god of the land (Tuan Tanah) to get permission to perform. For offerings, we use pinang, (a kind of tobacco leaf), kapur (food), sirih (a kind of fruit seed), $0.25 RM in the past but now $12.25 RM, and three dian putih, a kind of white candle - one to be placed as an offering, to the Dalang, one to the musicians, and one to Wayang Kulit.”

However, while Pak Majid maintains traditions of Nang Talung in terms of the material he uses to craft the puppets, leather, and the rituals for opening the performances, he departs far
from tradition in terms of his performances. “In the old days we would perform stories from the *Hikayat Seri Rama*, the Malaysian version of the Ramayana. Now we still perform the old stories if the audience is older, but we mainly perform from the modern era, stories about the future, stories about social problems, and the right kind of behavior to have in today’s life….Our audiences are teenagers, school students, and old men. Old men like the traditional old stories from the *Hikayat Seri Rama*. Young people like new stories about modern times. For young people, we use and adapt the clowns. I can use the clowns anyway I want. The clowns are very popular with young people who want to be entertained, and people know my shows through my clown puppets. And we also use modern music.”

In terms of the impact of modern media like movies and TV, he sees the problem being that modern media is not being used to promote *Wayang Kulit*. “In Malaysia, *Wayang Kulit* is not shown on the TV channel (as it is regularly in Java). If it were, then people would become more aware of *Wayang Kulit*. We sell DVDs of *Wayang Kulit*, and some of these are very popular. I wish that government would show it on the TV channel to tell the people and community how *Wayang Kulit* can be entertaining and educational.”

Pak Majid sees the future of *Wayang Kulit* as uncertain, mainly in terms of developing future generations of dalang. He sees young people as not that interested because of the difficulty of being a dalang. He stated that occasionally someone will come to his center to learn, such as a woman from Japan, Aki, who now teaches in Japan. He receives government support for his workshop, has three students, and is hired to do shows in Asia and Europe. He pointed to a picture of his son in his album, and said that he has been trying to train his teenaged son, but it is not clear whether his son will continue and become a dalang. “But for the future,

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what we don’t have is somebody to inherit the show like I did from my father and he did from his adopted father. This has been the tradition. And I do not see it continuing. So if there is not a way to pass on Wayang Kulit, it does not have a future beyond the present generation.”

Pak Dain (Dain Muhammad Usman), Galeri Wayang Kulit Melayu Tradisional Kelantan

The interview with Pak Dain took place at his gallery and studio next to his home in Tumpat, Kelantan on June 6, 2011. He was born in 1952 in Tumpat, which was then called the Kebakat District. At that time there were ten dalang performing in Tumpat and every house had Wayang Kulit puppets. He states that even as an infant Wayang Kulit “…was in my blood.”

Pak Dain stated that even though he had a career in government service, Wayang Kulit was his life since early childhood, so in 1980 he devoted himself to formal training as a dalang. In his tradition Wayang Kulit Asli (original) Kelantan, lineage of the teacher is extremely important. Pak Dain is in the 11th generation of his lineage. The 9th of this lineage, Tok Dalang Aranglah, trained four dalang as the 10th generation: Sulaiman Bin Abdullah, Hamzah bin Awang Hamat, Yusof Bin Hassan (the oldest and most famous dalang in Kelantan at that time), and Omar Yunus. Pak Dain studied with the last three. About 80%, mainly dalang performance (perdalangan) he learned from Hamzah, who taught at Universiti Sains Malaysia and was a close associate of noted Malaysian scholar Dr.Ghulam-Sarwar Yousof. Pak Dain received about 20% of his training, mainly crafting puppets, from Omar Yunus. Pak Dain spent two ears in training and, in 1982, he graduated and officially became a dalang - "Performance Perdalangan"
Pak Dain’s group existed before 1970 under the name, Wayang Kulit Asli Melayu Kelantan (Original Malay Kelantan Shadow Puppetry), but then the name was changed to Wayang Kulit Melayu Modern (Modern Malay Shadow Shadow Play). Pak Dain now calls it Wayang Kulit Melayu Tradisional Kelantan (Traditional Kelantanese Malay Shadow Puppet Play). The reason for this name is because he sees the distinction between traditional and modern styles of Wayang Kulit as very important. His mission is to preserve the traditional Malaysian style that dates back to when a Siam-Chinese woman, Mak Rak, first brought Wayang Kulit to Kelantan the late 1770s. The first major distinction is in terms of music; the traditional style has 32 kinds of music that is arranged and created with a specific purpose in the story related to different characters and different situations in the plot, sad or happy. For instance, there are three kinds of music associated with Rama, and there is music for fighting, war, and starting and ending the show. In the modern style, “They do not care about characters or situations; they just compose whatever they want.” Second, the traditional style uses only Kelantanese Malay classical language, while the modern style uses modern Malay combined with southern Thai. Third, in the traditional style they had to have 12 musicians in the orchestra, seven main musicians (panjak 7) and five as backups (penganting 5). Pak Dain has reduced the number of musicians to nine since some musicians can play different instruments. In the modern style the number of musicians is left up to the dalang.

Fourth are the stories that are performed. The traditional style is based entirely on the Hikayat Maharaja Wana, the main story from Malaysia’s version of the Hindu epic, The Ramayana. In Wayang Kulit performances there are four types of stories. First is the main story, Tok Saman - from Hikayat Maharaja Wana, which is about Seri Rama’s wife, Siti Dewi being
kidnapped by Maharaja Wana, and Seri Rama’s battling Maharaja Wana to rescue her. The emphasis in the *Hikayat Maharaja Wana* is on Maharaja Wana or Ravana in the Hindu epic rather than on Seri Rama or Rama in the epic. Second are the branch stories, episodes from *Hikayat Maharaja Wana*. Third are side stories (*sisi*) that are created by the dalang but are related to *Hikayat Maharaja Wana*. Finally, outside stories (*cerita asing*), include any story that the dalang creates from the village of the performance, and these include all of the clown puppets. The modern style may take two episodes from *Hikayat Maharaja Wana* but then add create new stories that relate current issues and, most of all, make people laugh. Furthermore, the traditional style of performance consists of a live performance using puppets before a live audience with a *persembahan*, a religious ceremony for opening. The modern style uses modern technology, including animation and modern musical instruments, and does not require the *persembahan*. Modern performers record their performances and sell them on DVDs.

Pak Dain showing Lim samples of his traditional puppets

Pak Dain performs strictly the traditional form, *Wayang Kulit Asli Kelantan*. “I learned it, I preserved it, and I perform it.” He does not accept “all those animation things - must have a dalang and must have an inherited lineage and also master *perdalangan* (performance) and *persembahan* (religious ceremony), enough musicians, live dalang, musicians, time, and space and audience.” He rejects recorded performances on DVD.

In terms of the influence from Indonesia and Thailand, the puppets, including costumes and clothing, are 80% influenced by Siam (Thailand). The story is from Java; "Javan” means “land,” in other words, the legendary land of Southeast Asia. In performance he uses a version of the Ramayana story that is a combination of *Hikayat Maharaja Wana*, the original Indian epic by Valmiki, the Thai version, *Ramakien*, and the Cambodian version, the *Reamker*. Pak Dain described how, in Malaysia, *Wayang Kulit*, has variations in different states influenced in
varying degrees by Java and Thailand. *Wayang Purwo* is an imported Javanese version performed in Indonesian language in the southern Malaysia, Johor. *Wayang Melayu* is also Javanese but performed in Malay language. *Wayang Gedek* is from Thailand using southern Thai language mixed with Malay and performed in Malaysia. Sometimes this is referred to *Wayang Siam*, but so also is *Wayang Kulit Asli Kelantan* or *Traditional Wayang Siam*, which uses Kelantanese Malay dialect. Pak Dain call this the original Kelantanese Shadow Puppet Play.

As a Muslim, Pak Dain’s religion does not affect the stories he performs, but it does affect aspects of his performance, mainly when performances are given. First, he makes efforts to not disturb neighbors with the sound. Second, his performances cannot conflict with the time for Muslim evening prayers, so they are scheduled from 9:30 to 11:45 pm.

Pak Dain sees his role as preserving a traditional culture and does not try to keep up with current trends. He does make jokes, as do other dalang, but these have to be related to the story or issues. This makes it difficult for him to attract audiences, and most of his regular audience is over 40 years old or people from around his neighborhood who enjoy his performances. He trains new puppeteers twice a week and they also become part of his audience. Usually he attracts about 100 people while performing over three nights. People under 40 tend not to like his performances because modern society does not care about the story or understand it. He makes a statement "*Tak kenal tak cinta*" meaning “Not know it, not love it.” In addition, modern entertainment like TV and movies has almost destroyed or distracted from traditional Kelantanese *Wayang Kult*. As a result this tradition is left behind. This is why he places so much emphasis on preservation to make more people familiar with traditional *Wayang Kulit* and the *Ramayana* story. This is a lonely effort and he does not attract a lot of donors. Four people are regular donors to the gallery, and that touches his heart. Pak Dain sees the future of traditional *Wayang Kulit* as “not bright, in general.”

Nevertheless, Pak Dain pays his performers and craftsmen because of his devotion to preserving traditional *Wayang Kulit*. For instance, he has paid $10,000 RM for ten musicians. “People said I’m crazy, but I love it and preserve it, and I do not care how people say; but as long as I have money I preserve it. Buy books, write a book, and have a place, a gallery, to keep it.”
Eyo Hock Seng, Sri Campuran Dikir Barat, Pasir Mas, Kelantan

Eyo Hock Seng, who frequently performs at fairs and festivals, was interviewed on June 7, 2011 in his performance hut on the beach where he was performing at a Pesta Pantai Telepok (beach fair), Batu Rakit, Tanjung Gelam, Terengganu. He is unique among the dalang in that he is ethnically Chinese, the only Chinese dalang in Kelantan. While he can speak the Hokkien
Chinese dialect, he speaks mostly Malay with a distinctly Kelantanese accent. Had I not already known he was Chinese when I called him to arrange an appointment, I would have believed him to be Kelantanese Malay.

Eyo Hock Seng, who is 55 ½ years old, grew up in Kelantan, attended Malay schools, and had Malay friends, and he had always been fascinated with Wayang Kulit. When he was 14 years old he began to teach himself Wayang Kulit and people called him tok dalang muda (young tok dalang). He later learned how to play and perform from three teachers: Pak Dolah (Dolah Baju Merah), Tok Dalang Azrain Arifin, and Hassan Bin Daud. He became a tok dalang when he was 19 years old.

Eyo Hock Seng performs three styles: Wayang Kulit Kelantan, Wayang Gedek, and Wayang Melayu, the Javanese style, which he performs in Kelantanese Malay. Thus Indonesia and Thailand both influence his performances. He uses different dialects and different styles of puppets. Wayang Gedek puppets show a frontal view of the face of female puppets. Wayang Melayu puppets, like those of Java, have both arms moving, and the bodies are skinny. Likewise, when he performs stories from The Ramayana, the names of characters change according to the tradition. Rama in the Javanese tradition becomes Seri Rama in the Kelantanese tradition.

However, the stories Eyo Hock Seng performs are not limited to Ramayana stories. He classifies his stories into three types: (1) old stories from The Ramayana, (2) new stories based on characters and situations from The Ramayana, and (3) modern stories with contemporary characters and plots. There is no change in the music for these three types, but for new and modern stories he uses new material, plastic. Sometimes this is a clear plastic outline of the character with painted details. Eyo Hock Seng’s shortest performance with at least 20 puppets is 10 hours; typically his performances are 15 hours over a five day period, and even then, he cannot finish the story.
Eyo Hock Seng did not specify his religion but one website states that he still maintains the beliefs and practices of his Chinese ancestors who sailed across the South China in the 1800s. His religious principle in terms of *Wayang Kulit* is being able to adapt to different religions. He states that the stories in traditional *Wayang Kulit* have no Islamic issues, but the modern stories include Islam, mixed with daily life and politics. In general in his performances he follows the principle of "*keselesaan penonton,*" which is to change his performances according to the audience, setting, and what the audience likes. For example, when he performs for a governmental official, he has to be polite and serious and dressed formally.

The audience for Eyo Hock Seng’s performances are mostly Malay, and sometimes he charges admission, so these audiences tend to be small. Some of his performances are sponsored by the government or an organization, so admission is free. TV has not detracted from his audience much. *Wayang Kulit* is frequently performed at public locations like the beach where this interview took place. “People love the *Wayang Kulit* puppets, and I also sell CDs; I have already made two CDs. In Kelantan we have Chinese temple ceremonies and celebrations, so especially in February to October they will invite me to perform. I perform usually three or four nights for each show.”

To preserve *Wayang Kulit*, Eyo Hock Seng trains new dalang, and the government arranges for tok dalang to teach in universities. “The young tok dalang prepare scripts, but old dalang do not need scripts.” He has been training his 12-year-old son and a 50-year-old Malay dalang. He stated that he teaches the technique to hold the puppets, to play, to change between 12 and 20 different voices, and to make puppets. He said that he has simplified the opening ceremony or sometimes skips it altogether. Thus, he sees a promising future for *Wayang Kulit* in Malaysia. He has found that a lot of audiences have interest. This interest is due to his being Chinese, and he can used mixed languages for jokes and clown puppets. In addition, *Wayang Kulit* is used to teach Western children six to eight years old at The International School of Kuala Lumpur, exposing the art to a new generation of Westerners.

That evening I had the one opportunity to actually view a live performance of *Wayang Kulit*. It was held in the performing hut on the beach, and viewing the performance was impeded by a heavy rainstorm.
Sri Campuran Dikir Barat performance at Pesta Pantai Batu Rakit,
Tanjung Gelam, Kuala Terengganu
June 7, 2011

Traditional Ramayana puppet shadows

Modern clown puppet shadows

Musicians from the gamelan

Interviewer peaking through the screen in the rain

Audience in the rain
An attempt was made to visit Tok Dalang Pak Soh on June 7, 2011 at his workshop and theater located in his home in Kampung Laut, Kelantan, but he was not there. I rushed back from Kuala Terengganu at 4 AM to Kampung Laut June 8, 2011 to interview Pak Soh and have an individual workshop with him on Wayang Kulit craft and performance.

Pak Soh was born August 12, 1951 and started studying Wayang Kulit at the age of nine when he was in the third grade in elementary school. He started training in gamelan music and then tried to create puppets from paper from 1975 to 78. He then studied Wayang Kulit with Pak Hamzah (Hamzah Bin Awang Hamat) and also Omar Kedia Buloh and Pak Yusof Hassan. He was made a tok dalang in 1981 after he started making leather puppets.
Like Pak Dain, he states that he performs traditional Kelantanese *Wayang Kulit*. However, he has made some adjustments. Traditionally, performances would last non-stop one to three nights. Now his performances are from 10 pm to midnight, starting with young dalang and ending with older dalang. He performs stories from *The Ramayana* and *The Mahabharata*. He states that actually these stories are the same but were separated in India. He does not perform modern stories, but sometimes he performs stories from *Cerita Hanuman Besi* and another myth, *Cerita Si Paluga* about a goddess, Dewi Supaba, who comes to the earth to search her husband, Dewa Sayang Tunggal. He retains the traditional Kelantanese gamelan orchestra and instruments, some of which he crafts himself.

Opening (left) and closing (right) of a Kelantan *Wayang Kulit* Sri Cahaya performance

As a Muslim, Pak Soh adjusts his performances by performing an Islamic blessing at the beginning of the performance. Also, he does not perform *jampi*, magic spells, even though some other dalang still perform them. He believes that young dalang should not learn these spells because they are not real.

Pak Soh states that his audience is mixed, with some from the neighborhood and some visitors from other states and countries. He states that his audience has been affected by modern
media, particularly TV. “Before, people liked Wayang Kulit because there was no TV. Like Dikir Barat and Mak Yong Puteri, now Wayang Kulit is less popular.” At the same time, he admitted that loves football (soccer) and that he turns on TV when there's game rather than practice Wayang Kulit.

In terms of efforts to preserve Wayang Kulit, Pak Soh said that the difficulty he faces is financial. He now needs $25000 RM to perform. When he started performing it was $5000 RM, and his teacher, Pak Hamzah, sponsored him by giving him that amount to start. “Now if we want to preserve it, the government has to sponsor it.” So, the government, the Department of National Heritage, pays him to teach high school students music and Wayang Kulit at Tumpat High School (Sekolah Menengah Tumpat) and Tampung Laut school three times a week. He also teaches at Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM) in KL and, in fact, was just returning from teaching at UiTM at the time of this interview. He also taught in the capital, Shah Alam, in the Selangor State in 2009. He has trained two tok dalang in Kelantan, 70 year old Yusof Merah and 30 year old Zali, as well as a Japanese Ph.D student, a woman who now teaches Wayang Kulit in Japan.

Pak Soh and his wife, Zarah Binti Hassan, have 13 children. Of their children, a son and daughter are receiving instruction, but they are interested mainly in the music. Beyond teaching, Pak Soh has toured with his troupe since 1990 when he traveled back and forth to Thailand and has presented his show in Padam, Bukit Tigger, and Jakarta, Indonesia and in South Africa and Tokyo. Regarding the future of Wayang Kulit, Pak Soh said "Naik bukit,” “Go uphill;” and added, "Hayak Pak Soh ada, saya mau banyak orang tau" meaning “I will let a lot of people know as long as I have life and my spirit is there.” He continued, “I will teach with no secrets.”

Pak Soh also arranged for me to have a workshop with him. He demonstrated the tools for crafting puppets and showed how he also creates his own musical instruments. I practiced
working with the tools to carve leather puppets, and then practiced performing wearing the traditional clothing of a dalang.

Following the workshop, before I left, Pak Soh signed his oldest puppet that I had requested when I first entered his workshop and saw his puppets and presented it to me as acknowledgement of my commitment to learning Wayang Kulit.
Conclusions

This journey to meet and interview these four dalang provided an in depth view of how Wayang Kulit Shadow Theater is being preserved and performed in present day Malaysia, primarily Kelantan, which historically has been the country’s center for Wayang Kulit to the extent that Amin Sweeney referred to Kelantan as “the heart of Wayang Siam country.”\(^7\) The focus of these interviews was on how the dalang were introduced to and trained in Wayang Kulit, how they adapt to contemporary Malaysian cultures, how this art form can be preserved and spread, and each dalang’s view of the prognosis for Wayang Kulit’s survival.

From these interviews a distinction emerges between the traditionalist and the modern approach to Wayang Kulit, and to some extent this has determined the levels of optimism and pessimism. Eyo Hock Seng represents the most modern and flexible position, which tends to attract a wide audience, and was the most optimistic. Pak Dain, whose mission is to preserve traditional Kelantanese Wayang Kulit, particularly the lineage tradition, is the most pessimistic because of limitations placed by his mission. Both approaches are necessary to assure the future of Malaysian Wayang Kulit. The modern approach creates conditions for a wider audience who will attend performances for entertainment. The traditionalist approach provides the roots of Wayang Kulit as a reference point.

There is one additional aspect of this journey that goes beyond gathering information and insights from various practicing dalang in Malaysia for research. That is the heart to heart connection with Tok Dalang Pak Soh that I will carry with me for the rest of my life. Like Pak Dain, he is a traditionalist, but in a down to earth folk tradition. When I arrived at his workshop before the interview, June 8, 2011, I saw the old puppets from the teachers from his lineage along with samples of his earliest work as a dalang. Looking at one piece I asked him if I could have it, and without hesitation he said yes. He then explained that many visitors ask for samples of his work and he usually does not pass it to them. But he said that as we stood there together, he experienced a feeling from me that was different, a heart to heart connection as artists. This is similar to the heart to heart transmission of Zen from teacher to disciple. So, while I did not have the extensive apprenticeship with him to become a dalang, there was a connection. At that time my tears started to drop down, and I realized that this contact was going to be deeper than

the others. Pak Soh was passing his tradition of Kelantanese *Wayang Kulit* through his careful preparation and presentation of one of his oldest puppets for me to carry with me.

As I left Kampong Laut, I passed the monkey who greets visitors, and while still in Kelantan passed the mosque in the Chinese style, all the time carrying the carefully wrapped puppet that Pak Soh had given me. I then vowed to commit myself to spreading Malaysian *Wayang Kulit* in the West.
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