

Symbolic Meaning of Potehi Puppet Leather Clothes

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Abstract

Cloth and cloth motive of Potehi has uniqueness among other Javanese Puppets. Potehi leather puppet existence has become a part of Chinese community culture in Indonesia, so that anthropologically Potehi leather puppet expression form enriches culture unity in Indonesia. It would be interesting to know the symbolic meaning of Potehi puppet leather cloth. This research used qualitative approach. The researcher observed, interviewed the dalang, and described the symbolic meaning of the leather clothes. It was found that there were 15 human figures in Potehi leather puppet performance: 1) emperor; 2) queen; 3) emperor son; 4) emperor mistress; 5) emperor adviser; 6) prime minister; 7) judge; 8) general; 9) commander; 10) officer; 11) Buddhism monk; 12) priest tao; 13) soldiers; 14) swordsman, and 15) ordinary people. Human figures in Potehi leather puppet are divided into three groups. First group is kingdom family, consisting of emperor, queen, emperor mistress, and emperor son. Second group is emperor assistants; among others are emperor adviser, prime minister, judge, general, commander, officer, soldiers, Buddhism monk, and Tao priest. Third group is the ordinary people, consisting of swordsman and common people. Lion or dragon motive is found in emperor cloth, government official in empire and male empire family member. In general, dragon motive can be interpreted as grandeur symbol and shows high social status in society. Cloud motive functions to clarify grandeur impression and high social status. Lion motive is always found in cloth which also has cloud motive, except in general and commander cloth.

Key words: Chinese, symbol, cloth motive, Lion, wayang.

In an article at daily *Kompas* (June 30th, 2001), Sinombor (2001:12) quotes explanation of a *dalang* (narrator) of *Potehi* leather puppet "*Potehi* leather puppet actually means pouch leather puppet. *Poo* means cloth, *Tay* means pouch, and *Hie* means leather puppet. 'So *poo tay hie* is originally pouch leather puppet, performed by using hand.'

Visually, cloth and cloth motive of *Potehi* has different uniqueness from Java leather puppet especially *Purwa* (another kind of leather puppet). In *Potehi* leather puppet, cloth motive unites in leather puppet clothing cloth by using material element namely thread and elements or other material commonly used in ready used cloth. Other uniqueness found in *Potehi* leather puppet cloth motive is that there is no relationship between decoration and character formation at *Potehi* face.

Potehi Leather puppet *dalang*, Subur, confirms in interview with researcher that *Potehi* leather puppet cloth motive does not show character or characterization played by a figure.

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In the social reality, *Potehi* leather puppet presents as a performance art product which is very unique when reviewed from manner, place, and the staging time. *Potehi* leather puppet always presents and is performed at worship places Tri Dharma as part from religious ritual.

Potehi leather puppet existence has become a part of Chinese community culture in Indonesia, so that anthropologically *Potehi* leather puppet expression form enriches culture unity in Indonesia.

Based on the research done, *Potehi* leather puppet pays attention on education element very much. It can be found in every show especially oral story. Normative elements of social and Eastern values always exist in every show. The story played by *dalang* consists of assorted title with specific theme.

The inclination forming this research is *Potehi* leather puppet existence as culture product that still less get attention from social researchers in Indonesia. It relates to political policy in new order that limits Chinese culture activities. Sinombor (2001:12) explains in the article at daily *Kompas* (June 30th, 2001). The researcher would like to know the symbolic meaning of the *Potehi* puppet leather clothes.

Method

This research uses qualitative approach. According to Bogdan and Taylor (Bogdan and Taylor in Moleong, 2005:4) qualitative method is research procedure that produces descriptive data like written or oral words from people and behavior watched. Qualitative method is also defined by Moleong as follows:

A research producing descriptive data to explain individual characters, phenomenon condition, or certain group correctly, to determine frequency or distribution of a phenomenon or certain connection between one phenomenon with other phenomenon in society (Koentjaraningrat, 2003: 29). In this research, researcher uses descriptive analyses, as explained by Singarimbun that descriptive research describes and elaborates accurately a certain social phenomenon (Singarimbun, 1989:4).

Result and analysis

Human figure classification in *Potehi* leather puppet

Before explaining the cloth meaning of *Potehi* leather puppet, it will be discussed first about human figures in *Potehi* leather puppet. There are 15 human figures in *Potehi* leather puppet performance. They are: 1) emperor; 2) queen; 3) emperor son; 4) emperor mistress; 5) emperor adviser; 6) prime minister; 7) judge; 8) general; 9) commander; 10) officer; 11) Buddhism monk; 12) priest tao; 13) soldiers; 14) swordsman, and 15) ordinary people.

Human figure sequence order in *Potehi* leather puppet is put based on social status from each figure. Human figures in *Potehi* leather puppet are divided into three groups. First group is kingdom family, consisting of emperor, queen, emperor mistress, and emperor son. Second group is emperor assistants; among others are emperor adviser, prime minister, judge, general, commander, officer, soldiers, Buddhism monk, and priest tao. Third group is ordinary people, consisting of swordsman and common people.

Symbolic meaning of Potehi leather puppet clothes
The Emperor

Picture 1.
Front view of Emperor cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

Picture 2.
Back view of emperor cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

Emperor cloth are dominated with golden yellow either in front or back side. Golden yellow color in cloth shows that cloth wearer has high position at one particular empire. Yellow according to Buddhism religion follower has grandeur meaning, like grandeur owned by god. Besides having grandeur meaning, yellow indicates that cloth wearer is god's descent or god incarnation to be human. Like yellow color in emperor cloth, it shows that an emperor has important position as the highest chief in an empire. Golden color element adding in yellow color of emperor cloth has a purpose for luxurious impression and shows that the wearer has high position in empire.

Emperor cloth both front view and back view are filled with various motive. The motive can be pictures or figured lines. Picture motives number found on emperor cloth are the most and the richest color than motives in cloth worn by other figures. The purpose of many motives in cloth is that the cloth wearer has the highest position in empire. The dragon picture in front view of cloth is described completely from head part, body, until its tail, complete with hand and the foot.

In cloth frontage, precisely around dragon motive there is also blue colored cloud motive. Cloud motive around dragon motive indicates that the emperor has the highest position. Blue cloud has a purpose to confirm that emperor position is allegorized as high as sky.

At the backside of cloth, there is also blue cloud motive, not around dragon motive but around red triple circles motive. Cloud motives at backside are eight. It means emperor can give prosperity to the people continually. Inside part of triple circles there is letter symbol *Siu* that according to *Subur* it means longevity.

At the back, green lotus motive is also found. Lotus means fertility; the purpose is that emperor can guarantee the people life continuance properly so that they can live in prosperous condition.

The Queen

Picture 3.

Front view of queen cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

Picture 4.
Back view of queen cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

There is no special motive found on queen cloth; something found is only laces on waist part, arm, and neck, and beads as cloth decorator. There is no special motive so the sign that they are queen's cloth is seen from the bottom part. According to informant, nobody knows why the bottom part has such form. The fringed bottom part of cloth has various colors. Various colors use is because no fixed color that must be used. So the bottom part of queen cloth played by one *dalang* and another *dalang* is not the same, depending on *Potehi* leather puppet cloth producers.

The primary color of back and front view of queen's cloth is red. The red color used is exactly the same as commander frontage and emperor son cloth. The red use is like golden yellow use in emperor cloth showing that the cloth wearer has high position in empire. Red color on queen's cloth shows that queen is god's descent and has position in a line with emperor.

Generally, emperor son cloth form is seen the same as emperor adviser cloth. Something different in them is only the primary color. The primary color of emperor adviser cloth is green while primary color of emperor son cloth is red in both sides. So is the motive used; motive in adviser cloth is the same as the motive found on emperor son cloth.

Motives found on emperor son cloth are dragon head, eight clouds, motive that resembles three mounts, and bent line motive found on cloth arm. All the motives found in front and back have same position. Emperor son, emperor adviser and prime minister cloth motive can be same because their position in government is the same. The difference is the role of each figure.

The Emperor's son

Picture 5.

Front view of emperor son cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

Picture 6.

Back view of emperor son cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

Dragon head motive in emperor son cloth describes that since youth time before being empire leader, he has leadership soul. It means since he is young, emperor son is

prepared to be next emperor. To be the next empire candidate, emperor son is guided by queen and other empire officials.

The Emperor mistress

Picture 7.

Front view of emperor mistress cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

Picture 8.

Back view of emperor mistress cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

Eight clouds motive shows that cloth wearer is an official or emperor family member. In this case, the wearer is emperor son who is emperor family member; besides having such meaning, eight clouds motive also shows that emperor son is god's descent. As everyone known, emperor son is emperor biological child, in which emperor is god's descent as believed by China society.

Red primary color in the cloth has meaning that emperor son must be brave and must have strong opinion as future empire. Besides, red color also shows that cloth wearer is official or emperor family member.

Cloth form of emperor mistress is different from other figures. Bottom part of cloth has a part that resembles woman skirt form today. However, upper and bottom part cloth unite, not apart like cloth and age woman skirt now. Compared with queen cloth, form and existing cloth motive, mistress cloth is seen better than queen's form and motive. Queen's cloth have special motives, while mistress cloth have motive that decorates the cloth, namely *sulur* (plant having red color) motive. Primary color of upper and bottom part of mistress cloth is not the same: upper part is golden and bottom part is pink. *Sulur* motive in mistress cloth means fertility because exactly from mistress, emperor gets many children, not from queen. Like the kings now or Hindu- Buddha kingdom time in Indonesia, A king usually has many mistresses and from the mistresses he has many children. However, the children automatically cannot replace the king when the king is dead.

Primary color of mistress cloth upper part has a meaning that the cloth wearer is emperor family member. Yellow color here does not show that mistress is god's descent like emperor. Because mistress physical performance is relatively better than queen's physical performance, cloth primary color of upper part is made same as the emperor cloth primary color. In an interview, *Subur* says that:

While bottom part of cloth is given red because although mistress is not primary wife for emperor, permanent mistress still has aim and high life spirit. Besides as the emperor's wife, she is also the mother of their children. Thus, mistress also has an obligation to educate their children so that they can be the emperor family member who can make emperor proud.

In general, Front and Back views of emperor adviser cloth have aquamarine primary color. Motives in emperor adviser cloth are not as many as those in emperor cloth. Similar motives to emperor cloth are dragon and cloud motives. Front and back views have same motive and motive composition. Something different is there are buttons in front neck part indicating that part is the cloth frontage. Dragon motive in emperor cloth is described completely from head, body, until foot and hands; while in emperor adviser, dragon is only head, body and legs.

Cloud motive is also found in emperor adviser cloth. The meaning found on cloud motive indicates that cloth wearer is empire official. Other motive bottom part of cloth either front or back views are motives that resemble three mounts that have a meaning besides as emperor adviser, empire messenger, religion leader of *khonghucu* is as emperor protector. It means sometimes empire spy from other empire infiltrate and will spread/share untrue news to society in which the message can endanger emperor position so emperor adviser tries to keep away the spy.

The Emperor adviser

Picture 9

Front view/side of emperor adviser cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

Picture 10

Back view of emperor adviser cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

Prime minister

Picture 11

Front view of prime minister cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

Picture 12

Back view of prime minister cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

In a flash prime minister cloth seem equal to emperor adviser cloth. Something distinguishing it with the emperor adviser cloth is only the primary color and decoration in mount motive edge at the cloth backside. If primary color of emperor adviser cloth is

aquamarine, that in prime minister cloth is green. The number of cloud motive in the backside cloth is equal to that in emperor adviser cloth, namely ten fruits. In photo above, green color is added metallic color or glitter. The purpose of metallic green is to indicate that cloth wearer has high position in empire and to add luxurious impression.

Cloth color discrimination between emperor adviser and prime minister is only for distinguishing the two figure's cloth. In empire structure, prime minister's position is as high as and emperor's. Based on the same position in government, the motives in prime minister's cloth and emperor adviser's are relatively the same. Thus, the meaning in prime minister's cloth motives is approximately the same.

As empire official cloth, judge cloth also have dragon's head motive. However, dragon's head motive found in judge cloth is different from that in prime minister cloth. Dragon's head in judge cloth is described with opened mouth and four dragon fangs are seen. Besides found a rhinoceros horn, four horns, beard is found in bottom part of the head. Judge cloth primary color is blue. Besides dragon motive, it is also found cloud motive and sea wave is found in bottom part and at the back.

Opened dragon mouth indicates that nobody can escape from law if proved guilty. Horn motive also confirms that no one can get in the way of law process. Dragon motive is described in white color showing that judge figure is the one who can be followed by society as the figure who always obeys law and not to break it.

Besides as a judge, this figure also has a role as a minister. Cloud motive found in the cloth has an equal meaning to the motive in emperor, emperor son, prime minister, and emperor adviser cloth indicating that cloth wearer is an empire high official or emperor family member. Wave motive found in the bottom part has a meaning although there are many hindrances to maintain law, judge will always try to find a way to be able to overcome it.

The Judge

Picture 13

Front view of judge cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 01-04-2008



Picture 14

Back view of judge cloth

Source: primary data. Taken: 01-04-2008

Blue primary color use in judge cloth also relates to judge character. Good judge has wise character in maintaining regulation. It means that in finishing a problem judge can give sense of balance justice for whom that argue and can give punishment to someone as what (s) he has done. Besides, a judge must be able to cooperate with anyone when investigating a law case so that (s)he can give end balance or fair decision.

The form of general cloth differs from other figure cloth form. It is meant to distinguish civil figure military figure. The form of general arm cloth is relative short and it has a purpose to ease a movement when the general is compelled to go to war and use weapon. At the backside there are four holes for placing army symbols when war goes on. Every time leading a war, a general must bring several kingdom symbols having function to show that the general defends a certain empire. Symbols of every empire are various.

Bottom part form of general cloth is not like the other figures like judge, emperor, emperor advisor, and prime minister. Bottom part of cloth looks like apart into three parts. The bottom part form aims to ease when the general leads a battle. General position of the general in a battle is very important. Besides as soldiers highest leader, general is also as war strategy maker, general seldom goes to frontier. (S)he only watches closely from hind row.

The General

Picture 15

Front view of general cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 01-04-2008

Picture 16

Back view of general cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 01-04-2008

The motives in general cloth are not too many and cloud motive indicating that cloth wearer is empire official is not found. Dragon head motive is only found in cloth

front side, while in backside it is not found. Dragon head has a meaning that a general must have wise soul, brave, firm, and has strong leader soul. Another motive is S motive which is interdependent found on backside of cloth. S motive represents metal plaque that functions as general cloth protector. Metal plaque is also found in arm part, breast, back, and around thigh.

General cloth primary color is purple. Besides little yellow at lace in cloth edge is also found. Purple has a meaning that a general with all abilities fights for empire triumph, can win battle perfectly and actively watch over security in country so that peace atmosphere is created. Besides, a general must have spirit and strong willing to support task as empire general.

Unlike other empire figures, besides having dragon motive, commander cloth also has lion head motive or say in front side of the cloth. Commander cloth primary color has different primary color for the two sides. In front side, the primary color is red while backside color is orange. For form or cloth cut, it is similar to general cloth having relative short sleeves and the bottom part of cloth has 3 splits. In back part of general cloth, there is a place for empire symbol flag, while in commander cloth, there is no a place for empire symbol flag.

In shoulder part found scales motive that represents a kind of patron made from metal used as self patron. There is scales motive in bottom front side of cloth. The function is same as a means for protection from opponent weapon. Besides, there is *sulur* motive or plant that functions as a means to undercover or camouflage. Commander needs undercover because in a battle, commander joins to war with officers and soldiers. Besides leading soldiers, commander has to carry out command or battle tactics ordered by general. Almost the entire commander cloth is decorated with *sulur* or plant because commander needs protection better from enemy weapon attack.

The Commander

Picture 17

Front view of commander cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

Picture 18
Back view of commander cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

At the edge of cloth, either backside or front side, there is china great wall motive. It has a purpose that commander has leadership soul as strong as china great wall, so that (s)he can lead the soldiers well and get victory in every battle. Besides, it also indicates that military is empire stockade that can protect from other empire attack like china great wall that can protect from Mongolia.

Different cloth primary color use has also a purpose. The red primary color in front side indicates that commander spirit in running the duty is so big, commander has remarkable struggle spirit and brave heart. Orange color in backside shows that commander always competes with other empire commander to win every battle. Orange color also gives influence to commander to have domination character. It means that commander has strong will to win every battle.

Generally, officer cloth form is equal to general cloth form and war commander. Bottom part form of cloth looks like apart into three with short sleeves. Different from other empire official cloth using dragon motive, officer cloth use tiger head motive as the replacement of dragon motive. Officer cloth primary color is yellow but yellow in officer cloth is unlike yellow color in emperor one's. Besides yellow color, it is found blue and red as motive color from cloth. Another motive found is S motive which is interdependent on backside and the front side of cloth. S motive is the representation from metal plaque that functions as officer cloth patron. Officer is the only empire official figure who does not have dragon motive on the cloth and is not known the cause.

The Officer

Picture 19
front view of officer cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 01-04-2008

Picture 20
Back view of officer cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 01-04-2008

Yellow primary color use is as the officer character. Yellow indicates that the wearer has mobile soul, has will and high spirit, always follows development. It means officer can watch over empire security actively from disturbance coming from within and from other empire. High spirit is needed when the officer must fight, give spirit to soldiers (s)he leads. Besides, yellow color also influences the cloth wearer. It is hoped by wearing yellow cloth, officer can get success in running the duty at military area. Besides yellow, there is a little blue at cloth edge. Blue indicates that in facing every situation, officer must be calm so that (s)he can finish troubles correctly.

Cloth of does not have motive; it has only decoration namely cloth that blocks in waist part that is depiction from belt. In general, Buddhism monk cloth form resembles judge cloth form but the sleeves are longer. Buddhism monk cloth primary color is grey while the color of belt and sleeves is light blue.

There is no cloth motive indicates that daily life of Buddhism monk is simple. To survive, Buddhism monks only rely on contribution from Buddhism people. One of the simple applications in Buddhism monk life is that they forbid to consume everything containing meat and only consume vegetables and rice. Based on their faith, consuming meat can evoke over emotion while they are demanded to control emotion. Another purpose is that consuming vegetable can make body healthy.

Buddhism monk

Picture 21

Front view of Buddhism monk cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

Picture 22

Back view of Buddhism monk cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

Grey primary color indicates that Buddhism monk life is simple, does not like to let loose emotion in finishing problems. Besides, grey indicates life placidity because Buddhism monk is not permitted to interfere world affair, for example Buddhism monk is forbidden to get married. Blue also functions to strengthen simple character from Buddhism monk figure. In *Potehi* leather puppet story, Buddhism monks figure only play as Buddhism leaders that have a duty to lead Buddhism religious ceremony.

Unlike Buddhism monk figure, priest cloth *tao* has lots motives found in front side and backside. In front side and backside there are circle motives called with *liang gie*, and also four kinds of trigram motives. Trigram motive is three triple straight lines called *trigam*, while the second broken line called fire trigram. Two other *trigam* motives are not known. Motive at the edge, bottom part of cloth is not known and it is only as cloth decoration. Primary color of priest tao cloth is golden yellow, like yellow color found on emperor cloth, while *trigam* motive and *liang gie* are red.

Liang gie picture is used in priest tao cloth to show that cloth wearer is tao leader. *Liang gie* is the symbol of tao religion that has balance meaning.

Priest tao

Picture 23

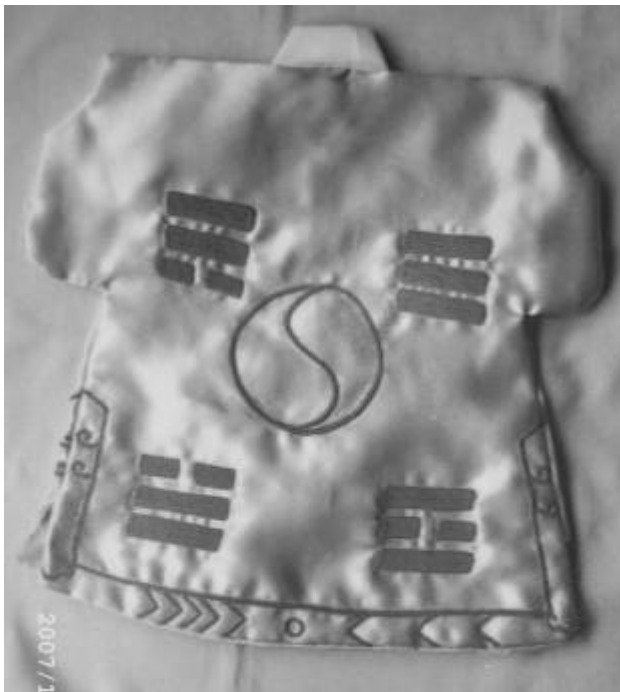
Front view of Tao priest cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

Picture 24

Back view of Tao Priest cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 21-11-2007

Soldiers

Picture 25

Front view of soldiers cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 01-04-2008

Picture 26

Back view soldiers cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 01-04-2008

Golden yellow color is the color symbol of tao religion. Similarity with golden yellow in emperor is because tao religion is the official religion of the empire. It does not mean Buddhism religion and Khonghucu are not official religions, but both religions have a few religion followers so that the empire religion is tao. Like in emperor cloth, golden yellow shows grandeur character and purity, but it does not show luxury because as religion figure, priest tao must have modesty soul in enduring life.

Front side of soldiers cloth form is not different from officer and commander cloth namely bottom part is apart into three. However, the backside of cloth is not apart into three but intact. The primary color of soldiers cloth is pink, and there is a little bit white and red. There is no motive in soldiers cloth but there are only laces that functions as decoration. No motive found is because soldiers are the lowest group in military structure. Besides, soldiers are also classified in ordinary people group who are not so often coming up in *Potehi* leather puppet performance. Thus, the motives in soldiers cloth are not needed.

Pink and white use in soldiers cloth has a meaning that soldiers must have character never give up. In a war, soldiers are in front. Thus, never giving up character is needed to win a battle. Little red color in bottom part has a function to clarify never giving up soul in soldiers figure. White color is used to show that soldiers fight to defend the empire and believe that the empire is at true side.

Swordsman

Picture 27

Front view of swordsman cloth



Source: primary data. Taken : 01-04-2008

Picture 28
Back view of swordsman clothes



Source: primary data. Taken: 01-04-2008

Swordsman is not a part of military, but (s)he is only ordinary people that has ability in martial art. Swordsman cloth resemble soldiers cloth but different color and motive. Swordsman cloth have a motive that resembles S like that found in general cloth and officer. S motive is found in waist part, collar, and back. Besides S motive, there is also a *siu* symbol motive in back part. *Siu* is drawn like that found in emperor cloth. The motive color in front and back sides is different. The front side uses violet and backside uses to pink. The primary color of cloth between front and back sides are different. The front side is purple while back side is green. Green color shows that a swordsman is a figure who likes to be admired because swordsman feel s to have surplus if compared with ordinary people. It does not mean swordsman is an arrogant figure, but flatter will make swordsman more enthusiastic to watch security and defend empire.

Ordinary people cloth form is same like emperor form, emperor adviser, judge, and emperor son. Motive used in ordinary people cloth is different one another. For ordinary people, cloth displayed above is one of the examples. Basically, cloth kind and motive used are cotton cloth and random motive choice, and the important thing is that there is no special motive in the cloth. Random motive is chosen because ordinary people do not have important characters in *Potehi* leather puppet story. In general, the motive describes simple ordinary people life. Ordinary people figure in *Potehi* leather puppet has many characters like fisherman, student, trader, teacher, beggar, subordinate official, etc. Remembering the character above, ordinary people cloth do not have special motive like other figures.

Ordinary people

Picture 29

Front view of ordinary people cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 01-04-2008

Picture 30

Back view of ordinary people cloth



Source: primary data. Taken: 01-04-2008

Conclusion

Data gathered in this research is used to analyze *Potehi* leather puppet cloth meaning for human figure impersonation of Tang dynasty. From finding result at field, it shows that cloth motives are found in the cloth of: 1) emperor; 2) emperor son; 3) emperor mistress; 4) emperor adviser; 5) prime minister; 6) judge; 7) general; 8) commander; 9) officer; 10) priest tao; and 11) swordsman.

The meaning of several cloth motives cannot be explained and it is only assumed as cloth decorator. It is because the limit of *dalang's* knowledge and the limited analysis stuff. Like in queen, Buddhism monk, soldiers, and ordinary people cloth, there is no motive that has certain meaning; something existing is only laces or a kind of it that aims so that cloth are not seen artless.

From the analyzed research, it can be known that *liong* or dragon motive is found in emperor cloth, government official in empire and male empire family member. In general, dragon motive can be interpreted as grandeur symbol and shows high social status in society. Cloud motive functions to clarify grandeur impression and high social status. *Liong* motive is always found in cloth which also has cloud motive, except in general and commander cloth. Based on the composition, *liong* and cloud is identical sky in China culture.

There is similarity in cloth form of military official like general, commander, and except officer soldiers cloth, bottom part form which is apart has function to give movement freedom in doing activities. In military official like general, commander, and official there are scales motive and the motive that resembles S which is actually a parable from plaque scales which has a function as patron from sharp weapon attack in a war. The form copies from the original form that is metal plaque of war cloth patron. There is also similar composition and motive form among emperor son, emperor adviser, and prime minister. Something distinguishing is only cloth primary color.

In *Potehi* leather puppet cloth there are two motives that come or is parable from vegetation. The motive is lotus found on emperor cloth and *sulur* motive in emperor mistress cloth. *Sulur* motive can also be said as leaf motive because its form looks more like a leaf. Lotus and *sulur* motive has same meaning that is the symbol of fertility.

There are some cloth which the primary color is added metallic element, like in emperor, mistress, prime minister, priest tao, and soldiers cloth. The purpose from metallic element adding is for luxurious impression in cloth. In general, red indicates courage and high spirit, yellow indicates grandeur, blue indicates soul placidity, and green indicates strong personality. Color in several motives has also symbolic meaning. All cloth forms, color and motive form found on *Potehi* leather puppet cloth indicate that China culture that has been progressive since years before and has symbolic meaning related to china culture.

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