Anyone going into the history of modern-javanese literature cannot fail to meet with the figure of Ranggawarsita, the famous author who died in Sala in 1874. Already in his lifetime Ranggawarsita ranked as the coping-stone of Javanese writers (pujangga panutup) and up till now he is still generally considered as such, because according to Javanese standards his oeuvre constitutes the culmination of creative genius and literary art.

With him the period of the renascence of modern-javanese letters, which had its centre in the principalities of central Java and in particular in Sala, draws to a close and it can be regarded as having ended in 1881, when the princely poet Mangkunagara IV passed away. Of course, this does not mean that all literary activity came to an end but the productions of later years are regarded as epigonous; they do not attain the level of the illustrious predecessors and, therefore, are less appreciated and less widely known.

This period of renascence lasted about 125 years. It can be said to have begun after the removal of the Kartasura kraton to Sala (Surakarta) in the years 1745—’46 or, perhaps more exactly, in 1757, after the political situation in central Java had been consolidated by the partition of the realm of Mataram into three separate states under the suzerainty of the V. O. C. (Dutch East India Company); the principalities of Surakarta, Yogyakarta and Mangkunagara.

It goes without saying that this date was not accidental. For the year 1757 marked the end of the period of strife and unrest that after the death of Sultan Agung Anyakrakusuma prevailed in Java for more than a century. War against outside enemies such as the Macassarese and the Madurese with their partisans in East Java; revolts and civil commotions; rebellions of royal sons against their fathers and the contest for rulership among the princes of the blood: all these wars and intestine quarrels weakened the realm of Mataram and facilitated the expansion of the V. O. C. over the whole of the island. It is true that the kings Mangkurat I and Mangkurat II, who ruled Mataram in the latter part of the 17th century, were always keen about expansion and consolidation of their command over East Java, but they could not dispense with the support of the V. O. C. in holding their own with their enemies. Mataram was made to pay for this help by the cession of territory, first in the westernmost provinces of the empire and on the North Coast, and the end of the matter was that on December 11th, 1749 Pakubuwana II in extremis signed a deed of cession by which the sovereignty of the realm of Mataram devolved upon the V. O. C.

The first half of the 18th century was not peaceful either. With the help of the V. O. C. Pakubuwana I succeeded in ousting his predecessor Mang-
kurat III, whom he had always considered an intruder. Then he settled accounts with the sons of the adventurer Untung alias Surapati and with Mangkurat III, who had fled to East Java and made trouble here. During his reign there were a number of revolts of various proportions such as, for instance, the politico-religious action started by Jayapusita, the governor of Surabaya, who granted exemption from a number of taxes as a reward for regular observance of religious duties and in this way brought about a short-lived religious revival. In his army — so we are told by the Babad Tanah Jawi — he had 800 pengulus and mosque officials, all clad in white, so that, as it says in the text, they made the impression of a marsh bristling with white herons. The war he waged against the combined forces of Mataram, the Madurese and the V.O.C. had to be a holy war. Hence at the outset he took exception to the use of Balinese auxiliaries who, being kālīrs, might impair the sacred character of the war (ambatalakēn ing sabilipun), for the rebels had prayers for ramparts and ditches (abēbiting pandonga ajajang pamuji), and the bullets of their adversaries would produce no effect on Jayapusita and his fighters for the cause of God.

Jayapusita, however, did more. From an ancient version of the well-known "Prophecies of Jayabaya" discussed by Brandes in 1888 we know that the year 1640 of the Javanese calendar (= A.D. 1715) was predicted as the year in which Erucaakra, the Javanese Messiah, would put in an appearance. Apparently Jayapusita was well-informed about this prophecy and made preparations for this event by stirring up the religious zeal of the population. The stage was completely set, it would seem, when he proceeded to proclaim Pangeran Dipanagara, who was sent to him from the Court as co-governor of the eastern provinces, king of all regions to the East of Mount Lawu under the name of Panėmbahan Erucaakra. The case is also interesting from this point of view in that we are dealing here with a prototype of the Dipanagara-Erucaakra of the Java war (1825—1830), as Brandes did not fail to observe. The course of events was similar too: success at the outset, then defeat and exile. Surprisingly, however, Brandes did not even mention the Islamic component of both movements, which certainly was not irrelevant.

The Erucaakra insurrection came to an end during the short-lived reign of Pakubuwana's successor to the throne, Mangkurat IV (1718—1726). This ruler, too, could not do without the help of the V.O.C. in vindicating his rights against his half-brothers, of whom Pangeran Blitar had proclaimed himself anti-king. A still sorer trial was in store for Mangkurat IV's successor, Pakubuwana II (1726—1749), a weak ruler who was chased away from his capital Kartasura and fled to Panaraga, while a grandson of Mang-
kurat III, R. M. Garêndi by name, was proclaimed king by the Chinese who had engineered the revolt. With the help of the V. O. C. he regained realm and capital, but he did not care to reside in Kartasura any longer, and so the capital was removed to Sala, to the East of Kartasura, where a new krator was built in the years 1745—46.

Very soon the newly restored peace was broken again when Pangeran Mangkubumi and R. M. Said, respectively a half-brother and a nephew of the ruling prince, tried to seize power, first in alliance against their common enemy, then in competition for undivided sway. After Pakubuwana II's death in 1749 this revolt developed into what is commonly called the third Javanese war of succession. Since a few days before Pakubuwana died the sovereignty of Mataram had devolved upon the V. O. C., the V. O. C. was the third party in this conflict, and it was her negotiator, Nicolaas Hartingh, who in 1755, after five years of unavailing warfare and parleying, contrived to bring the two sides together and achieve a settlement. The realm of Mataram was "split in two as a water-melon" (stinigar sêmangka): apart from the king of Surakarta, in contemporary Dutch writings usually referred to as "de keizer" ('the Emperor'), but later on called Susuhunan or Sunan, Pangeran Mangkubumi was recognized as Sultan of Yogyakarta with the title of Hamangkubuwana. Two years later, in 1757, R. M. Said (alias Pangeran Suryakusuma) showed himself amenable to reconciliation. At the expense of the Susuhunan he was assigned another part of the realm, henceforward referred to as the principality of Mangkunagaran.

The long period of unrest and tribulation was over now. People could afford time for things other than military drill, use of arms and campaigning. There was, as it were, an explosion of literary activity, the greatest writers of this period being Yasadipura the Elder, who died in 1803, and his son Yasadipura II. They were held in great respect by Pakubuwana III (1749—1788) and Pakubuwana IV (1788—1820). Of their predecessors in the literary field very little is known, although at the courts of Kuta, Plered, Wanakarta and Kartasura literary art would have been cultivated likewise, so that there must have existed a fairly extensive and variegated literature. It is very probable, however, that in the turbulent period from 1650—1750 a good deal of this literature was lost. Anyhow, a few names of authors and a number of writings have survived. What Javanese tradition has to say on this subject has been recorded by C. F. Winter in his famous Javaansche Zamen­spraken, Vol. I (1848), pp. 360 sqq., where reference is made to half a dozen of authors said to have lived in the Kartasura period. The reliability of these data is difficult to assess; all the same, among the works of both of the Yasadipuras there are quite a number which constitute recasts of subject-matter already dealt with by others before.

Everything written by the Yasadipuras was widely read in the circles of court, aristocracy and gentry. This is very understandable. People admired the language in which their works were written and everyone found something to his taste in the variegated contents of these works, which encompassed contemporary Javanese cultural life in its entirety. As regards the
language, this admiration has resulted in the acceptance of the literary idiom of Surakarta as the standard of correctness, and as regards the contents, in an abundance of adaptations, imitations and more or less revised re-editions.

Curiously enough, in the course of time the personalities of the authors themselves have become blurred. From their works no information concerning them can be gained, and other written sources are not available. All that could be gleaned from oral tradition concerning the life of Yasadipura the Elder, in particular among his descendants, was compiled by three of these into a booklet named *Kitab Tus Pajang* ("A book on the man from Pajang"); Pajang is the place Yasadipura hailed from), published in 1939 on the occasion of the bicentenary of the kraton of Surakarta (A.D. 1939 = A.J. 1870; A.J. 1670 = A.D. 1745). From this booklet Dr Soebardi (Canberra) has borrowed the data for his biographical sketch of Yasadipura the Elder which constitutes the beginning of his instructive paper on this author printed in the (American) periodical *Indonesia* (1969), to which the reader is referred for further information. Suffice it to say that Yasadipura I was born in 1729. At the age of 8 he was sent to a pesantren in Kèdu; here he was instructed not only in the tenets of Islam but also in kèbatinan, i.e., esoteric wisdom. Having completed his studies at the age of 14 he entered into the service of the kraton and, after the Chinese revolt had been quelled, was promoted junior clerk (pujangga taruna). The story will have it that his part in the foundation of the new kraton was not insignificant, for during meditation it was revealed to him in what way the swampy area intended for the construction of the new capital could be drained. He settled down here in the town districts of Pasar Kliwon, which remained the residence of his descendants, one of them the illustrious pujangga Ranggawarsita.

Yasadipura was a versatile author. He wrote mythological epics, moralistic and speculative works and an important history-book. So he was concerned with many, in our view heterogeneous subjects, which are, however, far less so in Javanese eyes, as Dr Soebardi properly remarks.

Nine out of Yasadipura the Elder’s numerous works are summarily discussed by Dr Poerbatjaraka in his *Kapustakan Djawi* (1952), while a more detailed discussion of the same works is to be found in the paper of Dr Soebardi referred to above. These works are: *Sèrat Rama*; *Bratayuda*; *Arjuna niwahaka; Menak* (Amir Hamzah); *Tajussalatin* (an adaptation of the Malay Makota sègala raja)*; Panitisastra* (in kawi miring, an adaptation of O.J. Nitisasstra); *Dewaruci* (the story of Bima going in search for the water of life); *Sèrat Cabolek* (a very characteristic story, in which it is related that a haji from Cabolek who professed a doctrine similar to that of Seh Siti Jenar, Sunan Panggung and Seh Amongraga — all of whom were sentenced to death because of heresy — was reprieved by Pakubuwana II as he had not professed his doctrine openly); and finally *Babad Gianti*.

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8 The date of this Javanese adaptation is uncertain. The years A. J. 1726 and A. D. 1759, given by Dr Poerbatjaraka and Dr Soebardi respectively, are incorrect, since they do not correspond with the given years of the Muslim era, viz. A. H. 1139 (= A. D. 1726) and A. H. 1247 (= A. D. 1831). In 1726 Yasadipura was not yet born; in 1831 he was no more alive.
This babad, also called Babad Surakarta, was rightly praised by the eminent Javanist Brandes as one of the best and finest Javanese historical writings (*Tijdschrift Bat. Genootschap*, Vol. 37, p. 431). It was written at the behest of Pakubuwana III as a sequel to the Babad Kartasura, said to be compiled by Carik Bajra during the reign of Pakubuwana II, and it is of great importance for the knowledge of events in Java about the middle of the 18th century. Yasadipura, who had access to official documents, describes these events, which happened in his lifetime, beginning with the prelude to the removal of the Kartasura kraton to Sala; that removal itself; the turbulent years of the third war of succession, and finally the partition of the realm, the *palihan nagari* which was negotiated at Gianti; hence the name Babad Gianti.

It has been held against him that he viewed things through Solonese spectacles and was not innocent of a certain bias. Therefore, it is worth mentioning in this connection that Dr Soebardi is of the opinion that on careful reading the author's approach is more differentiated than is generally accepted. So, for instance, in his opinion on Pakubuwana II and Pangeran Mangkubumi; the gallantry of the latter is not unclearly asserted and his title to the throne is not denied. As a matter of fact, this favourable opinion on the first Sultan of Yogya is also apparent in Yasadipura II's didactic poem *Wicara Kēras*, in which he is held up as an example of true manliness.9

As stated above, the Babad Gianti was written by royal order. From of old there have been, in Java and Bali, royal principals who commissioned authors in their service to write for them and kings who themselves came forward as writers and poets. Berg, for instance, has noticed the literary activity of Kyai Dawuh Bale Agung, who solicited commissions of the king of Gelgel (Bali) in the latter part of the 16th century. In the 19th century Pakubuwana V (1820–'23) and Pakubuwana VII (1830—'58) already before their accession to the throne gave patronage to men of letters. The *Sērat Cĕnthi* was written at the initiative of the first; the *Arjunasasarabau* at that of the latter. A great number of wayang *madya* plays were written by order of Mangkunagara IV (1853—1881), and likewise among the wayang *gēdog* plays mentioned by Pigeaud (*Lit. of Java*, Vol. I, p. 251, sub 31.130) as written by admirers of Ranggawarsita's *Pustaka Raja*, some were composed by R. M. Sontadikara, a son of Ranggawarsita, at the behest of Mangkunagara IV and Mangkunagara V. Many high-placed persons also wrote themselves. Pakubuwana III (1749—1788) is reputed to be the author of *Wiwaha jarwa* (*Mintaraga*); Pakubuwana IV (1788—1820) was the author of the widely read moralistic *Wulang Reh* and other similar poetry. Mangkunagara IV was a prolific writer, some of whose poems enjoy lasting apprecia-

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9 *Poebratjaraka*, *Kapustakan Djawi* (1952), p. 154:

... Kaya Sultan Mangkubumi
Atapa tur undagi
Ing wiweka gaţak-gaţuk
Micara tan sikara
Pēsaţa nalare mintir
Lamun aprang pada Jawa nora arsa.


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tion, as, for instance, *Tripama*. Pangeran Kusumadilaga, a grandson of Pakubuwana III, made himself a reputation as the author of the comprehensive *Ugér Pađalangan*, also called *Serat Sastramirda*, after the name of the *dalang* unto whom all this wayang lore is transmitted by the princely author.  

Besides the few books mentioned here as written by high-born authors numerous other ones were written, but not nearly all of these appeared in print. All in all one gets the impression of a considerable literary productivity. As a matter of course authors never looked for subject-matter beyond the confines of traditional Javanese culture, but, to quote Pigeaud's appraisal of their efforts, "Eighteenth and nineteenth century renaissance authors were masters in adapting the products of former periods of literature, as far as known to them..." (Lit. of Java, Vol. I, p. 8).

About the end of the Yasadipura period of the literary renascence the Dutch interest in the Javanese language and literature awakened. The second quarter of the 19th century can be characterized broadly as the pioneering period, during which the main effort was aimed at gathering materials for a Javanese grammar and a dictionary. The next period, setting in about mid-century, saw the beginning of the interest in Javanese literature, the collecting of manuscripts and the editing of important texts, among which Cohen Stuart's edition of the *Bratayuda* easily bears the palm. However, the works of contemporary authors lay beyond the scope of Dutch publications of these years.

The most important writers of the final period of the renascence were Ranggawarsita (died 1874) and Mangkunagara IV (died 1881). The collected works of the latter were edited in 1927—'34 by Dr Th. Pigeaud in four volumes, unfortunately without any introduction. A few years ago Dr Soebardi published a noteworthy study of two poems by Mangkunagara IV, namely *Tripama* and *Wedatama*, which are indeed the most widely known of his oeuvre. Dr Soebardi argues that in the *Wedatama* the influence of Ghazāli's ethics is clearly discernable; the intermediary being a Javanese adaptation of the gist of the third and the fourth part of Ghazāli's *Ihyā‘ulūm al-dīn*, his great work on the revivification of the sciences of religion. This adaptation, called *Kitab Munjiyat* (after the fourth part of the *Ihyā‘*), was not printed in Javanese characters until 1936, but in MS. form and written in pegon it must have been widely used in the pesantrens long before it was printed.

Ranggawarsita's works, however, are only in part available in print. Existing editions are hard to come by and the whole of his oeuvre has never been passed in review. With regard to some of the writings attributed to him there is uncertainty about the authorship, but before I go into this question with regard to the Pustaka Raja Madya, first a few particulars on the man himself.

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11 PIGEAUD, Jav. Volkvertoningen, p. 39 gives as his co-author R. M. KUSUMA-WERDAYA, a grandson of Pakubuwana IV.
Ranggawarsita was a great-grandson of Yasadipura I; his father was R. Pajangswara, later on called R. T. Sastranagara II; his grandfather R. T. Sastranagara I, better known under the name of Yasadipura II. He was born in 1802, one year before the death of Yasadipura I. As was customary in those times, at an early age he was sent to a pesantren for his education, namely to the pesantren of Hasan Bésari, the famous kyal of Panaraga. His stay here was to little purpose. He left school and went on the rove, as innumerable santris had done before, vagrant students being as common in Java as in medieval Europe. After his Wanderjahre he returned to Sala and for some time was employed in the office of the Crownprince. Here his vast knowledge and his interest in multivarious things made a favourable impression on his superiors, but when his expectations of a rapid promotion were disappointed he started wandering again, possibly even outside Java. In this period of his life he is said to have turned to mysticism, and though a certain amount of knowledge of this subject was indispensable to an erudite gentleman of the old stamp, it does not seem improbable that the frustration of his worldly designs had something to do with it. In 1840 he came back to Sala, this time to settle here permanently. He found favour with Pakubuwana VII (1830—1858), who in 1843 raised him to the position of pujangga dalêm, i.e., royal clerk. His official status, however, always remained that of a kliwon carik, one rank below that of a tumênggung. It may be wondered whether Ranggawarsita expected to be rapidly promoted tumênggung, the official status formerly conferred on both his father and his grandfather, and whether his famous poem Kalatîda, supposedly written in 1860 but still extremely popular nowadays, is an expression of his dis­pleasure with what in the long run he may have considered permanent official disregard of his literary merits. For he was not devoid of self-com­placency; otherwise he is still remembered as a witty man, quick at repartee, very well-mannered, open-handed. Always keen on enlarging his know­

14 Kalatifâ means 'The Age of Darkness'. The 7th stanza of this poem is widely known. In the printed edition (Tan Khoen Swie, Kediri 1927) it runs:

Amênangi jaman edan
Ewuh-aya ing pambudi
Milu edan nora tahan
Yen tan milu anglakoni
Mbaya kaduman melik
Kalirên wêkasanihpun
Ndilalah karsa Allah
Bêgja-bêgjane kang lali
Luwih bêgja kang eiling lawan waspada.

Translation: Living in a foolish age/One is much hampered in one's efforts/However loath to join in its follies/By keeping aloof /One will not share in the gains/And eventually perish with hunger/But what can one do? It was ordained by God/Still, be the heedless ever so lucky/Luckier by far are those who are heedful and keen­sighted. —

This stanza has been quoted and translated by Geertz, Religión of Java, p. 281, but apparently Geertz was not aware of the fact that it is a stanza of the Kalatifâ. His translation leaves much to be desired; I fully subscribe Uhlenbeck's opinion that "from the Javanese dedication of the book to the end there is hardly a Javanese sentence which has been interpreted correctly" (S. A. Wurm and D. C. Latcock, eds., Pacific Linguistic Studies in honour of Arthur Capell, pp. 448; 461, nt. 11).

15 See G. A. J. Hazev, Oud en Nieuw in de Javaansche Letterkunde, Inaugural address Leiden 1921.
ledge he sought the company of Europeans engaged in the study of Javanese, such as Winter and Cohen Stuart. It is well-known that the quintet, Mangkunagara IV, Pangeran Kusumadilaga, Ranggawarsita, Winter and Cohen Stuart occupies an outstanding place in the history of Javanese letters.

Ranggawarsita was a prolific writer and several of his works are very voluminous at that. A chronological survey of them has been given by R. Padmawarsita, who in 1908 wrote a biography of the author (ms. copy in cod. or. Leiden 6407), but the exactness of the given dates seems open to question. As far as I am aware, mss. of his works have never been collected systematically, nor has his authorship of many a work attributed to him ever been inquired into. All the same, such a scrutiny is not superfluous, for there was no lack of imitators, foremost among them his own sons.

Dr Pigeaud has expressed the opinion that Ranggawarsita never completed his main work, the “Book of Kings” (Pustaka Raja) and that only the first part of this voluminous work (Pustaka Raja Purwa) was written by himself, whereas the sequel to it, from the history of the kings of the middle period (Pustaka Raja Madya) on, was composed by others after his death. Before going into this question, however, I must deal first with wayang madya, as the origin of this kind of wayang is closely connected with it.

I call to mind that besides the repertoire of wayang purwa, in which above all the heroes of the Bratayuda fill prominent parts and which is performed with flat leather puppets, there are other kinds of wayang as well: wayang gêdog, dealing with Pañji and performed also with flat leather puppets; wayang kliJik or krucil, dealing with the story of Damar Wulan (at the time of Majapait) and performed with flat leather or wooden puppets; and wayang golek, dealing with the adventures of the valiant Muslim warrior Amir Hamzah (Menak) and performed with round wooden puppets. With the exception of Amir Hamzah the heroes of these plays are considered historical figures of the remote Javanese past and as such they are duly incorporated into works on the mythical history of Java as, for instance, the Major Serat Kauqada (MS. Bat. Gen. Jav. 7).

In this kind of quasi-historical works the periods covered by wayang purwa and wayang gêdog do not connect. The interval is filled with a medley of stories ranging over centuries and sometimes even furnished with chronograms. Most of them are concerned with Parikêsit and his countless progeny, among whom Jayabaya and Angling Darna occupy special places. It is this period which is the subject-matter of Ranggawarsita’s “Book of the Kings of the Middle Period” (Pustaka Raja Madya), that is to say, the period between Bratayuda and the “four kingdoms”, namely Jênggala, Kêdiri, Ngu­rawan and Singasari (catur Pandaha), which were the scene of Pañji’s adventures. It was planned to be continued in due time with a volume on the kings of the last period before the coming of Islam (Pustaka Raja Wusana). The total plan of the Pustaka Raja was still more ambitious, for the part on the Bratayuda is preceded by an elaborate mythological introduction of considerable length, which fills the five volumes of the edition of 1884—’92 without coming to an end.
To return to the wayang: despite the fact that in the Serat Kândas the centuries between the Bratayuda era and the four kingdoms are not a blank, there was no wayang that covered this period. Well then, Mangkunagara IV took the initiative to remedy this deficiency and fill this vacuum, at least in part. He ordered wayang plays to be composed in which the figures belonging to this period would be the principal characters. Eventually this resulted in a hundred lakons arranged in chronological order. These must have been completed before or at the latest in 1881, as five volumes of 20 lakons each were presented to the (former) Batavia Society by Mangkunagara, who died in 1881. A copy of these mss. is preserved in the Leiden library; the titles of the lakons are enumerated by Dr Pigeaud in his Literature of Java, Vol. II, pp. 406—407.

It is not impossible to give a more exact date of the composition of these lakons. The year ± 1850, given in a leaflet printed on the occasion of the wayang exhibition in Jakarta in 1968, is incorrect, and the same applies to the year ± 1880 given by Kats in a paper on wayang madya in the periodical Djawa (Mangkunagara issue, 1924). In fact Mangkunagara IV started the composition of these lakons at a much earlier date, as I learned by a personal investigation in the library of the Mangkunagaran.

Examining a ms. (no. P85) preserved here, which contains a prose summary of the lakons 5—14, I found a statement that Mangkunagara's order to compose wayang madya lakons was issued on Monday 9 Ramaqän A.J. 1798 (in an appropriate chronogram: ngesṭi tērus carita budâ) corresponding to A.D. 1869. The first performance of a wayang madya lakon, in the pringgitan of the palace, was on the 2nd of Rabî' al-akhir A.J. 1801 (A.D. 1872); chronograms: iku kombul pengestining bala and marga kombuling sarira budâ.

In another ms., being an autograph copy of R. M. Sumahatmaka's Serat Babad Ila-ila, compiled in 1912, I came across a somewhat different statement. The 22nd chapter of this compilation deals with the history of the wayang. At the end of this chapter, which is based on the well-known Sastramiruda of Pangeran Kusumadilaga, the editor has added some information concerning the origin of the wayang madya, to the effect that Ranggawarsita made Mangkunagara IV a present of a copy of his Pustaka Raja Madya; that the Prince ordered wayang plays to be made on the basis of this work, and that the size of the puppets required for these plays be that of the wayang purwa set Kyai Sebêt, which had been completed shortly before. This order was issued in 1867.

The puppets were made by and under the supervision of R. M. A. Tandakusuma, Mangkunagara IV's son-in-law and a brother of R. M. T. Yudanagara, the grandfather of Dr Poerbatjaraka. In Mangkunagaran tradition no corroboration was found for Dr Pigeaud's supposition that R. M. A. Tandakusuma was the author of the majority of the wayang madya plays. He is held in memory as a marvellous topeng dancer, whom the Prince's eldest daughter chose for her husband, and is also remembered because of his concern with the development of the langêndriyan, the Javanese opera, in which all parts are filled by women and which has become a speciality of the
Mangkunagaran. This highly stylized entertainment is said to have developed from a kind of operetta originally performed by female workers employed in the bajik shop of a Mr. Gottlieb, situated in the Sala kampung which after him is still named Godliban.16

The very well-produced wayang madya puppets made about 1870 are still preserved in the Mangkunagaran; the collection, which numbers no less than 422 separate figures, is named Ringgit Kyai Madya. The principal figures which during a performance are arranged at the right side of the dalang (sumpingan téngén), run to 90 individuals; those at the left side number 80. Furthermore, there are 197 subsidiary figures (dužahan), among whom we find a number of gods — with the exception of Baţara Guru, who belongs to the leading figures; the usual butas, patihs, aryas, punggawas, brahmins, sages, ascetics, merchants, umbuls, panakawans, êmbans, and also gandarwas, a new creation. These are supernatural beings, whose appearance on the stage gives rise to miraculous events intended to break the monotony of the rather uniform stories. The heads and faces of the gandarwas were executed after special new-made designs. Other subsidiary figures represent animals such as elephants, tigers, horses, a cow, a bull, a banteng, a dog, birds and snakes. Still another category(iwen) comprises other live stock (26 head), and finally there are weapons and a number of other attributes, 29 further items.

The manufacture of the puppets representing high gods such as Baţara Guru and persons endowed with potent magic such as Jayabaya was a costly affair on account of the danger allegedly involved. People were ajrih kuwatlat, fearful of punishment by superhuman powers. The story has it that R. M. A. Tandakusuma fainted three times before he could begin with the manufacture of the puppet representing Jayabaya. Both of these puppets, Baţara Guru and Jayabaya, are stored away in separate boxes. At my request Baţara Guru was taken out and I was allowed to have a photograph of the puppet taken, but Kangjêng Kyai Jayabaya remained safely stowed.

As compared with other sets of wayang figures the dimensions of the puppets, though still on the large side, are somewhat reduced. They are of a size with those of the wayang purwa set named Kyai Sebêt, that served for a model (sebêt means: of medium, handy size). This set in turn was modeled after the set called Kyai Kadung,17 borrowed from the Sala kraton. However, the dimensions were somewhat scaled down, as the puppets of the kraton set were not easy to manipulate on account of their size.

The wayang madya puppets are made of buffalo leather. The head and upper part of the body are after the model of the wayang purwa, but characteristic of the wayang madya puppets is the downward neck. From the waist downwards the model of the wayang gédog was followed. With some figures

17 Kyai Kadung was made after the model of the wayang set Kyai Kanyut, manufactured during the reign of Pakubuwana III, but the puppets were dressed as those of the set Kyai Jimat, dating back to Pakubuwana IV. This set was made of leather that had been braced on mosque drums (bêduug) and so was very dry and stiff.
the head-dress differs from that of the wayang purwa puppets, as it is a cross between supit urang and gêlung kêling. Among the male figures some wear a criss; among the females some wear a sienjang. Conspicuous among the figures of princes is the puppet of Jayabaya, who, as I was told, wears a makuña (crownlike head-gear) and foot-gear, just like in the wayang purwa Abyasa (Skr. Vyása), the author of the Mahâbhârata and the progenitor of the Pândavas and the Kauravas.

Wayang madya plays are performed in a way similar to that of the wayang purwa. As is well-known, the scheme of the introductory part of wayang purwa plays is well-nigh invariable. It is, in a few words, the following. The opening scene is always laid in the paseban jéro, the inner audience square, where the Prince puts in an appearance. Then he withdraws to the private apartments of the palace, where the next scene (kèdalonan) is laid. The third scene is laid in the paseban jaba, the outer square where the royal servants and nobles who were assigned tasks are preparing for their missions. Then comes budâlan, the marching off of the smart noblemen and soldiers. The introductory part is brightened with musical intermezzos and it is not until this part is finished that the story proper starts off and the play begins to vary.

All this is equally the case in the wayang madya, only that Mangkunagara IV himself composed special tunes (gênding) for the accompanying music of the gamèlan orchestra. It seems that these were not put in writing, and that they sank into oblivion after their composer and the musicians (niyaga) who had played them had passed away. Even the names of the gêndings are no longer remembered; for that matter, within living memory no performances have taken place.

What now is the source of the stories the wayang madya plays were adapted from? I already quoted from R. M. Sumahatmaka’s Serat Babad Ila-ila, written in 1912, that Mangkunagara IV had wayang madya plays composed and special puppets manufactured after having been presented by Ranggawarsita with a copy of his Pustaka Raja Madya. This information, supplied by Sumahatmaka himself, does not make Dr Pigeaud’s guess that the greater part of the Pustaka Raja Madya has flown from Sumahatmaka’s pen, look very plausible. On the authorship of this work I wish to add a few words.

In itself it is already hard to believe that the wayang madya lakons are anterior to the prose texts and poems dealing with the adventures of the princes which constitute the subject-matter of these plays. The strictly chronological order in which they were put — an order already evident in the lakons 5—14 that were the first to be composed — makes it a priori well-nigh imperative that they are based on a text that showed the same order.

Now there are preserved in the Mangkunagaras library no less than 27 MS. volumes of considerable size, all of them containing parts of the Pustaka Raja Madya. I have tried to recover among these the copy of the Pustaka Raja Madya presented to Mangkunagara IV, but unfortunately in vain; none of the extant mss. could be verified as such. An enumeration
and a very succinct synopsis of the extant mss. are included in a list of the writings of Ranggawarsita preserved in the library, which was made by order of Mangkunagara VII, may be about 45 years ago. Under the numbers 9—42 of this list the extant writings dealing with the pretended history of all the kratons between Parikesit and the "four kingdoms" are registered, in chronological order and furnished with dates in both (fictitious) solar and lunar years. The gaps in the collection are also indicated here. On comparison of this list with the 100 wayang madya lakons it appears that the period covered by these lakons is shorter than the madya era as defined by R. M. Sumahatmaka. In fact, the last lakon is set in the solar year 950/lunar year 979, during the reign of Prince Pañcadriya of Pengging-Dwarawati, whereas the madya era is considered to have ended in 1119.

Unfortunately the majority of these Mangkunagaran mss., among which there are quite a number that give the impression of being rather old, is not furnished with dates or chronograms indicating the time they were written or copied. One of them, however, contains a statement to the effect that it was copied in 1875. So there must have been an original of an earlier date, and as this MS. (P. 168) contains part of the story of Gendrayana, said to be the grandson of Parikesit and the father of Jayapurusa (= Jayabaya), it may be concluded that at least this part of the Pustaka Raja Madya already existed before 1875. Another MS. (P. 169) contains the note that it was copied in 1895; still another (P. 16), containing the story of Jayabaya, was copied in 1899. So in the nineties of last century there were older mss. dating back to the time of Mangkunagara IV.

How could it have been otherwise, since already in 1880 Mangkunagara IV presented the Batavia Society with a set of 7 mss. (MS. Bat. Gen. Jav. 142), which according to a note in Notulen ('Minutes') Bat. Gen., Vol. XVIII (1880), p. 101 contain the sequel to the Pustaka Raja Purwa, from the episode of Parikenan of Giling Wesi in the solar year 506/lunar year 521 up to and including the story of Sri Yudayana, solar year 785/lunar year 809, altogether 136 'historical' tales. On page 169 of the same volume of the Notulen another set of mss. presented by Mangkunagara IV (apparently MS. Bat. Gen. Jav. 180, though nowadays this ms. numbers only 4 volumes in stead of the 6 recorded in the Notulen) is summarily described as containing the sequel to MS. 142, without any further particulars. Since king Yudayana, allegedly the grandfather of the great Jayabaya of Kediri, already belongs to the madya period, the latter MS. cannot but proceed still further with the account of this period; consequently, Dr. Poerbatjaraka has mistakenly registered these mss. under the name of Pustaka Raja Purwa (Jaarboek Kon. Bat. Gen., Vol. I (1933), p. 344).

So the sequel to the Pustaka Raja Purwa, or at least a considerable part of it, existed already in the seventies of the 19th century and, therefore, could well have been composed by Ranggawarsita himself, who died in 1874. R. M. Sumahatmaka, himself a scion of the princely stock, apparently drew on mss. of these so-called chronicles for the composition of the extensive prose texts preserved in the Jakarta library and bearing the name of Pustaka Raja Wedda. But although this indefatigable compiler has rewritten, modi-
fied and added to the original texts, he cannot be considered the author of the Pustaka Raja Madya. As a matter of fact in the Mangkunagaran it was flatly denied that he had any share in the genesis of the book.

In this connection it is perhaps worth noting that according to Dr. Poerbarjaraka's Alphabetical List of the Javanese MSS. in the library of the (former) Batavia Society (in Jaarboek Kon. Bat. Gen., Vol. I), ms. B.G. Jav. 594 contains the text of Pustaka Raja Purwa, Madya and Wusana in twelve volumes, together numbering more than 2750 pages. This ms. passed into the ownership of the library in 1918, when it was bought from the estate of Pangeran Cakraningrat, a grandson of Pakubuwana VII, who was Ranggawarsita's patron. From his grandfather, who died in 1858, this same Pangeran inherited a collection of masks. An inquiry into origin and age of this ms., parts e, h and g of which (in this order) contain the greater part of the story of Angling Dharma and his sons, might be useful; much to my regret I could not make it myself.

Finally, in the library of the kraton at Sala I was shown a number of leather-bound mss. of parts of the Pustaka Raja Madya which once belonged to Bendara Raden Ayu Sedjah Mirah. The bindings of these volumes bear imprints giving years ranging from 1912—1915; these years apparently state the dates at which this high-born lady had these volumes bound. The mss. themselves make the impression of being of anterior date. Although the exact date of their origin could not be ascertained, they could well have been written towards the end of the 19th century at the latest. From the fact that these Pustaka Raja Madya stories formed part of the private library of a high-born lady it may be concluded that by offering reading-matter to the higher classes of the community they served the purpose of the novel in our part of the world.

Interest in these stories is also apparent from the fact that Javanese newspapers such as the Bramartani and the Darmakanda several times selected their serials from among them. In 1904 R. Dirdjaatmadja started editing them in book-form, which again does not make Sumahatmaka's authorship very likely, for why should his work have been edited by somebody else during his lifetime? This edition, which bears the title of Sérat Poestaka Radja toeloeoeetaning Poestaka Radja Poerwa, numbers eight volumes; the text is far from complete, as the story is not continued beyond Sudarsana, a son of Yudayana and later on king of Yawastina under the name Yudayaka. The printed text is more concise than the corresponding part of Sumahatmaka's Pustaka Raja Wedha, which apparently is an amplified adaptation of an older version.

I think the above observations lead to the result that for lack of cogent evidence to the contrary one cannot avoid concluding that there is much to be said for the possibility that Ranggawarsita himself was the author of the Pustaka Raja Madya. Even so, should further research raise doubt as to this, then I feel one should look for co-authors among the older epigones of the last quarter of the 19th century, such as, for instance, Ranggawarsita's sons. So much for the authorship of the Pustaka Raja Madya.

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19 PIGEAUD, Jav. Volksvertolmingen, p. 50.
What now is the content of these writings? They have no historical value whatsoever. The late Dr Poerbatjaraka still thought fit to add a thesis to this effect to his doctoral dissertation (1926), but sure enough this thesis, in fact a final thrust at the Sala savants of an older generation who had slighted him in early life, will not have called forth much discussion. For it is evident that Ranggawarsita should not be judged by the standards of modern historiography. The standard to be applied is that of pujangga-ship; therefore, the question should be: Why is it that he is called, and himself asserted to be, the pujangga panutup, the coping-stone of pujanggas?

We need not enter here into the origin of the much discussed word pujangga. Most of what has been written and speculated about this word has been summarized by Professor Gonda in his Sanskrit in Indonesia (1952) 26. In the time of Ranggawarsita pujangga also denoted a court-official; the pujangga dalém was the head of the literary and historical section of the kraton office, at the same time court-historiographer and poet laureate. The honorific pujangga panutup, however, does not mean that he was the last to occupy this function, nor that he brought up the rear of the famous pujanggas recorded in history. Its meaning is that among all of these he was the only one who was imparted the creative impulse and literary gift (wahyu kapujanggan) to the last degree.

The addition panutup has the same connotation as in the expression nabi panutup, which is the Javanese rendering of Arabic khātīm ʾal-ʾanbiyāʾ, i.e., 'the seal (last) of the prophets', namely Muhammad. Without derogating from the merits of his predecessors these words give to understand that prophethood culminated in Muhammad, so that there was no task left for any prophet after him. It seems to me that the term pujangga panutup has to be understood in the same way: after Ranggawarsita there is no task left for a pujangga, since the work started and in part accomplished by his predecessors was brought to a close by his efforts.

What now brought about this sense of the incompleteness of Javanese literary achievements? It is closely bound up with two fundamental ideas on literature that were universally entertained. First, the idea that the subject-matter dealt with in prose in the Serat Ka kulasa, in poetic form in some epical works and romances, and in theatrical shape in wayang plays, was the ancient history of Java and of the forebears of the Javanese. In and round the kratons of these princes the recorded events came to pass, and this view led to the drafting of a chronological order of events and kratons. The Major Serat Ka kulasa, possibly compiled in the Kartasura period, is already furnished with such a chronology, but in Ranggawarsita’s Pustaka Raja it was carried through in full and has attained its perfection.

Secondly, the idea that in imitation of the Bratayuda and Pañji themes a threefold treatment as mentioned above was due to all historical subject-matter.

As already mentioned before, in the Major Sērat Kaṇḍa the period between the end of the Bratayuda and the Pañji era is in part filled with

stories about the numerous progeny of Parikēsit, among whom the most outstanding figures are Jayabaya, the author of the famous Pralambang, and Angling Darma and his sons. Angling Darma, who is considered a descendant of Jayabaya, is the hero of a complete novel, which essentially is made up of a great number of Indian literary motives. (See further Pigeaud’s synopsis of this period in his Literature of Java, Vol. II, pp. 356—363.)

This Sērat Kānda or a similar one must have been the example after which Ranggawarsita modeled his Pustaka Raja, but the extent to which this has been the case will only show by a close comparison of both texts. Not until such an examination has taken place will it be possible to establish how much of the contents of the Pustaka Raja is based on earlier writings and how much is the product of Ranggawarsita’s undoubtedly very fertile imagination.

As regards the poetic versions of stories of the middle period the following may be remarked. Ranggawarsita was not the only one to describe in poetic form part of the events that took place between the end of the struggle of the Bhāratas and the Pañjī era. A sequel of the Bratayuda is the Karimataya; the Javanese explanation of this book-title is: karl mataya, i.e., ‘what remained to do was dancing’, namely, in order to give expression to the relief felt after the long struggle had come to an end. According to a statement that I found in the Mangkunagaran library the authorship is ascribed to R. M. Pañjī Yasakusuma, a scion of the Yasadipura family, who is said to have completed the work in 1856. The printed edition (in two volumes, Surakarta, 1903—08) comprises no less than 125 cantos; a synopsis is to be found in the Pratelan, Vol. II, pp. 255—272.

The subsequent period is dealt with in the Darmasarana, by an unknown author. In this work the central figure is Parikēsit. The first volume of the Pustaka Raja Madya mss. preserved in the Mangkunagaran library links up with this poem. It deals with the events of the (fictitious) years 771—791 (lunar years 794—815), during the rule of Udayana. In Sanskrit literature Udayana is a great-grandson of Parikēsit, but in Javanese literature he is said to be a son of Parikēsit. This Udayana is the grandfather of Jayabaya, who removed his kraton from Ngastina to Kēdirī and died here in 860. No wonder that the historian shudders at this kind of historiography; still, be there ever so much that is utterly fictitious in Ranggawarsita’s account of Jayabaya, it is not devoid of interest, as it seems that part of the material was drawn from folktales about this ancient monarch. One will find there, for instance, the tale of the origin of the weretiger and the banishment of Jayabaya’s loosetongued private weretiger to the forest of Lodaya, which he is said to haunt ever since.

Another descendant of Udayana was Angling Darma, whose father Purusangkara was Jayabaya’s second cousin. His romantic story is the subjectmatter of the Sērat Angling Darma, a long poem consisting of no less than 95 cantos, an older and shorter version of which is the middle-javanese Kidung Aji Darma. In this kidung Angling Darma bears the name Aji Darma, just as sometimes also in the Sērat Angling Darma. In the Pustaka Raja Madya, however, Aji Darma was made into a separate person, Angling
Darma's uncle. The Šerat Angling Darma is ascribed to an Adipati Pangeraning Semarang, whom Winter ranges under the authors of (early) Surakarta (Jav. Zamenspraken, Vol. I, pp. 361; 373), without giving any further particulars.

So in the poems Karimataya, Darmasarana and Angling Darma considerable parts of the history of the middle period were already available in versified accounts, but the gap between Angling Darma's sons and the Pañji era still had to be filled. Ranggawarsita set himself the task to do this. He began with composing the long poem Aji Pamasa, which was completed in 1862, ten years after he had finished the prose version of the story, as they say.

Aji Pamasa is another name of Kusumawicitra, son of Jayamisena, who was a grandson of Jayabaya of Kędiri. The story opens with the king of Mataun, Jayabaya's grandson Jayakusuma, being poisoned by order of Angling Kusuma, one of Angling Darma's sons, and, after many vicissitudes, ends with the downfall of the realm of Mamènang (= Kędiri), which was wiped out of existence by a heavy bañjir. This was not, however, the end of Aji Pamasa, for he survived the calamity and built a new kraton at Pèngging-Dwarawati. His further fortunes and those of Citrasoma, his son and successor, are related in a sequel to the poem Aji Pamasa called Witaradya (another name of Pèngging). This poem opens with the building of the new kraton and the marriage of Citrasoma to Rara Tèmon, a daughter of pândita Sidiwécaná. Both bride and groom had got astray at the time of the bañjir, Citrasoma being charitably received by the pândita, and Rara Tèmon by the king. It ends with Karawu, king of the gandarwas and faithful assisstant of king Citrasoma, being made king of the various spirits instead of Raja Parwata of Parswasta, after the latter's army had been annihilated by means of the magic weapon Cûndamani (Pratelan, Vol. II, pp. 219—'22).

What follows next in the Pustaka Raja Madya is the rule of the princes who came after Citrasoma, namely Pañcadriya and Angling Driya. The kraton of Pèngging-Dwarawati fell about the year 1000, when it was destroyed by the man-eater Dewata Cêngkar of Galuh. Stories about him and other mythological figures such as Sindula, Ratu Baka, Rara Jonggrang, and finally about Jayalèngkara (Kalasurya), considered by some as Pañji's great-grandfather, fill the rest of the history of the middle period.

As already observed above, the last lakon of the 100 wayang madya lakons is set in the year 950, during the reign of Pañcadriya. The lakons dealing with Aji Pamasa begin with no. 47 (Kalawisaya); those dealing with the realm of Witaradya with lakon 58 (Jaka pupon lan Rara Tèmon). As Kusumawicitra alias Aji Pamasa does not occur in the Major Šerat Kânda, in which Citrasoma is the son of Jayamisena and the grandfather of Angling Darma, it seems that here Ranggawarsita's imagination has been thoroughly at work. May be his object in creating this figure was to furnish the period after the temporary supremacy of Malawapati, the residence of Angling Darma, with another supreme king descended from Jayabaya and again residing in Kędiri. Thus the whole middle period would be dominated by
three supreme kings, Jayabaya, Angling Darma and Aji Pamasa, and their offspring.

In this very succinct synopsis of the Pustaka Raja Madya and the poems dealing with sections of it I have only drawn the main lines. It cannot afford more than a faint notion of the contents of this elaborate, although rather monotonous work. Elaborate, for it deals also with the contemporaries of the main figures, be it by themselves, in their mutual relationship, or in their relationship to the main figures. In and round the kratons of these numerous princes, as well as in and around the hermitages of their friends and foes and the residences of their enemies, both human and demoniac, an immense crowd of subordinate figures is in constant motion. Add to this that these figures often change their names, and one will understand that it is no easy reading. It would, in fact, have been difficult indeed to find my way in this labyrinth without the onomasticon compiled by Mr. Soegiarto during the years of world war II, which contains no less than about 1400 names.

Summarizing one could say that a twofold conception must have been present in Ranggawarsita’s mind: first, a continuous account of Javanese history from its very beginning until modern times, so a sort of super Serat Kanda, in prose; secondly, poetic versions of those sections of same that had not yet been dealt with in verse, that is to say, continuation and completion of the sequel to the Bratayuda started by others with the composition of the poems Karimataya, Darmasarana and Angling Darma. Should this supposition be valid, then Ranggawarsita’s Aji Pamasa and Witaradya should be considered as partial realizations of a plan that did not materialize to the full. What still is lacking is a poem in which the story of Angling Darma is connected upwards with the Darmasarana. In this work the main figure could have been no other than the great ruler Jayabaya. Was it, perhaps, Ranggawarsita’s awe of this famous monarch that restrained him from trying his hand at this momentous subject-matter?

At any rate, not until this gap had been filled would the series have been completed, so that well-nigh the entire ancient history would have been described in verse, in addition to its description in prose according to the comprehensive project laid down in the introduction to the Pustaka Raja, and in addition to the wayang version, almost completed at the instigation of Mangkunagara IV. But not until then would Ranggawarsita’s claim of being the pujangga panutup have been fully justified.

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2 I am deeply indebted to Mr. Soegiarto for the unremitting energy with which he achieved this laborious task under very difficult circumstances.