M. Ricklefs
The Yasadipura problem


This PDF-file was downloaded from http://www.kitlv-journals.nl
Soebardi (1975:20) describes Yasadipura I (1729-1803) as 'a prolific and many-sided writer, who may be studied equally as a poet, historian, religious teacher and mystic'. He 'left a legacy of books in Javanese which are still popular. His language has exercised a tremendous influence on the development of the Javanese language of Surakarta.' Poerbatjaraka (1964:129) wrote, 'Those who really have to be regarded as developing Javanese literature in the early Surakarta period are two high officials, Ky. Yasadipura I and II [flourished 1790-1820], father and son'. Pigeaud (1967-80:1, 237) referred to the two Yasadipuras as the 'leaders' in the flourishing period of Javanese literature in Surakarta in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The present writer, too, has described Yasadipura I as one of the greatest court poets in the history of Modern Javanese literature (Ricklefs 1974:xx). This man's name has a formidable stature in Javanese literary historical tradition. This article will suggest, however, that modern scholars may have been too uncritical in accepting this traditional view.

The life
The only published account of Yasadipura I's life is in a Javanese book published by his descendants in 1939 and entitled Tus Pajang (descendants of Pajang) (Sasrasumarta et al. 1939). This is the basis of Soebardi's discussion of the life (Soebardi 1975:18-20). It is worth noting that, so far as I am aware, no contemporary Javanese or European source of the eighteenth century (other than the chronicle Babad Pakepung, which is ascribed to Yasadipura I or II) sheds light upon his life. I am aware of a dismissive early-nineteenth-century European reference to Yasadipura II

1 BL add MS 18577, Javanese dictionary, grammar, etc., by John Crawfurd (see Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:54), f. 71r.: 'I have a concise Javanese version [of NiitiSastra] made by Yoso Dipuro a learned native of Suracarta which abounds in interpolations and false interpretations showing the spirit and manner in which works of this kind have been usually executed'. Crawfurd's views on all subjects were frequently acidic. On BL add MS 18577 ff. 71v.-72r., he rejects Javanese historiography as 'ludicrous', for example (this passage is published in Crawfurd's History of the Indian archipelago (1820:II, 27)). Yet it should be said that Crawfurd was far from being a fool. His character and knowledge of Javanese customs and language were such that they were highly praised in Png. A. Panular's contemporaneous Babad Bédhah Ngayogyakarta (Carey 1992:198-9, 394-5). It is, however, possible that Panular wrote this work so as to present it to Crawfurd (Carey 1992:19). Crawfurd was
and a somewhat later laudatory description of both Yasadipura I and II, but there are no known references to Yasadipura I from his lifetime. This matter will become particularly relevant when the problems about Yasadipura I are discussed below.

According to the 1939 book Tus Pajang, Yasadipura I was the son of R. Tg. Padmanagara, a royal judge (abdi-dalem bupati jaksa) in Pengging, appointed in the time of Pakubuwana I (r. 1704-19). Yasadipura I's birth was preceded by his father's prayers and the predictions of wise old men about his future greatness. The boy was born on Friday-Paing in the month of Sapar in the year Jimakir 1654, with the caul and umbilical cord about his neck, signs which astonished the old men. The date given for this birth is erroneous. Friday-Paing in the month Sapar in AJ 1654 fell only on 14 Sapar, equivalent to 9 September 1729. But AJ 1654 was a Je year, not Jimakir. If the year was instead Jimakir 1650 (AD 1725-6), then the combination Friday-Paing did not occur in the month Sapar at all. Nor did it do so in Sapar, Jimakir 1658 (AD 1733-4). So the date given for the birth of Yasadipura I contains at least one error in the name of the year and perhaps other errors as well. Since Friday-Paing, 14 Sapar, AJ 1654 (9 September 1729) was a combination which did occur, however, it is probably reasonable to think that the writers of Tus Pajang merely confused the name of the year in the eight-year (windu) cycle.

The child was named Bagus Banjar. Ky. Onggamaya, a pious and learned old man, said that when Bagus Banjar reached the age of eight he should be sent to pursue all forms of skill and knowledge in Kédhu and Bagélén.

As a child, Bagus Banjar's intelligence was soon evident. When he reached one windu (eight years), he was taken by his father to Ky. Onggamaya in Kédhu. Under the old kyai's instruction, Bagus Banjar soon displayed his abilities. He studied works in Javanese and Arabic as well as the pillars of Islam. He progressed quickly to higher wisdom and to great

---

not alone in his negative views of the work of Yasadipura II; see the opinion of Poerbatjaraka regarding Nitiśastra in 1964:137.

2 Ben Arps has kindly provided me with a reference to a letter from A.D. Cornets de Groot to his parents dated 3 July 1827, in which he explains the family background of his Javanese teacher Awikrama, a brother of Yasadipura II. Cornets de Groot refers to Yasadipura I as 'the late Mas Ingabei Yasadipura, secretary of the Susuhunan, who is reputed to have been the most learned native Surakarta has produced. This man having died, he was succeeded by his son ... with the same name of Mas Ingabei Yasadipura, who equalled his father's knowledge ... From generation to generation this entire family has been reputed for knowledge and erudition ... ' (... wijlen Mas Ingabey Yoso Dipoero, secretaris van den Keizer, die bekend staat als de geleerdeste Inlander geweest te zijn, die Solo heeft opgeleverd. – Deze man overleden zijnde, werd vervangen door zijn zoon ... onder dezelfde naam van Mas Ingebeey Yoso Dipoero, die de kunde van zijn' vader evenaarde ... De geheele familie is voor kunde en geleerdedheid van ouder tot ouder, bekend geweest ...).

3 The following account of Yasadipura I's life is taken from Sasrasumarta et al. 1939:5-18.
works of literature. Ky. Onggamaya also taught him invincibility and invulnerability. For five years he studied with Onggamaya, until he reached the age of fourteen (sic), ever more displaying his great intelligence and winning the love of his guru. He had now mastered both outer and inner knowledge: Javanese and Arabic literature, seemly behaviour and good manners, humility, meditation, prayer, self-control and moderation.

At this time the Chinese War broke out and Pakubuwana II fled to Panaraga (1742). Bagus Banjar left Kédhu and came to the king, who accepted him as a soldier (abdi-dalėm prajurit Namengjaja), whose task it was to carry the pusaka weapon Ky. Cakra. Then Pakubuwana II moved his kraton to Surakarta (1746).

The Tus Pajang biography now leaps to the time of Pakubuwana IV (r. 1788-1820). The Susuhunan wished to promote Ng. Yasadipura (who is given this name here for the first time) to be his Patih. But Yasadipura I declined on the grounds of his advanced age.

There are various other details of the life mentioned in Tus Pajang’s somewhat miscellaneous account of the times (see Soebardi 1975:19-20). The book’s general purpose is to show how illustrious was Yasadipura I’s role in court politics and literature in the second half of the eighteenth century. The text Babad Pakēpung also gives Yasadipura I a central role in the 1787-90 crisis in Surakarta (Ricklefs 1974:xxi n.8). This text should probably be ascribed to Yasadipura II (Poerbatjaraka 1964:160; Ricklefs 1974:xxi-xxii). According to Tus Pajang, Yasadipura I died on Monday-Kliwon, 20 Dulkangidah, Wawu 1728 (Sasrasumarta et al. 1939:18). This date, like that given for the birth, is erroneous. AJ 1728 was Be and in that year 20 Dulkangidah fell on Thursday-Lėgi. The intended date must be Monday-Kliwon, 20 Dulkangidah, Wawu 1729, equivalent to 14 March 1803.

The ascriptions

There are three main accounts of the works of Yasadipura I. In 1848, C.F. Winter Sr. (1799-1859) published a number of concocted Javanese conversations for use in teaching the Javanese language, which were subsequently reprinted several times (Winter 1911). This volume includes a conversation between a European and a Javanese scholar about the authors (ingkang nganggit) of Javanese literature. It is not, of course, possible to know to what extent the text of the conversation represents information actually provided by a Javanese authority on literature. The Javanese speaker (called Parakawi) is not identified, but says at one point

---

4 So far as I am aware, Ky. Cakra is not named as a pusaka in other sources from the time of PB II. The cakra (wheel) is well-known in the wayang theatre as Wisnu’s weapon.

5 Soebardi 1975:20 gives the same date, but does not inform his readers that he has altered the 1728 found in Tus Pajang to 1729.
Brief Communications

**Works ascribed to Yasadipura I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Winter 1911:</th>
<th>Sasrasumarta et al.</th>
<th>Poerbatjaraka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>352-4</td>
<td>1939:104</td>
<td>1964:129-45, 159-61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. *Tajusalatin*  
2. *Iskandar*  
3. *Panji Angreni*  
4. *Babad Paliyan*  
5. *Sewaka*  
6. *Anbiya* (new recension)  
7. *Menak* (new recension)  
8. *Bratayuda*  
9. *Babad Prayut*  
10. *Cabolek*  
11. *Pasindhen Badhaya*  
12. *Arjunawiwaha* (jarwa)  
13. *Rama jarwa*  
14. *Panitisastra* (kawi miring)  
15. *Dewa Ruci* (jarwa)  
16. *Babad Pakêpung*  

| Tajusalatin |  
| Anbiya |  
| Menak |  
| Bratayuda |  
| Babad Prayut |  
| Cabolek |  
| Pasindhen Badhaya |  
| Arjunawiwaha (jarwa) |  
| Rama jarwa |  
| Panitisastra (kawi miring) |  
| Dewa Ruci (jarwa) |  
| Babad Pakêpung |  

that his *guru* was Yasadipura II (Winter 1911:353). One may, however, reasonably suppose that the conversation represents the literary tradition of the first half of the nineteenth century in Surakarta, where Winter lived and worked as a teacher, translator and lexicographer for most of his life. The other two sources are from the present century. The first is the above-mentioned 1939 book *Tus Pajang* by Yasadipura I’s descendants (Sasrasumarta et al. 1939), which describes him as both doing new versions of old texts and composing new works himself (*ngarang piyambak*). The

---

6 Note that Poerbatjaraka says that it is often difficult to distinguish between the works of Yasadipura I and II. The list here excludes works which he clearly ascribes to Yasadipura II, but Poerbatjaraka’s observation means that there is an element of indeterminacy in his ascriptions.

7 Dated AH 1139 / AJ 1726, which is contradictory. See the discussion of problems below.

8 Ascribed to Yasadipura I, but with a date AJ 1731 (AD 1804-5), which is after the supposed date of his death.

9 Described merely as a Yasadipuran creation, without distinguishing which Yasadipura might have composed it.

10 Poerbatjaraka 1940b:7 refers to *Cabolek* as ‘a book which transports us to the time of Kartasura but which is in reality a work of Yasadipura I, thus from the early Surakarta period’. Poerbatjaraka does not explicitly repeat this ascription in the entry for *Cabolek* in 1964:144, but he does list the work in the section of his book concerning the writings of Yasadipura I and II (1964:129-48).
second is Poerbatjaraka’s *Kapustakan Djawi*, first published in 1952 (in both Javanese and Indonesian editions), which describes various works as being compositions (*gaweyane, yasanipun, damêlanipun*) of Yasadipura I (Poerbatjaraka 1964). Poerbatjaraka (1884-1964) was not only a Leiden-trained philologist (D.Litt. 1926) but also the son of a high *kraton* official of Surakarta. His book reflects both scholarly knowledge and local tradition. The ascriptions in these three sources are listed on page 276.

**The problems**

Significant questions arise concerning the biography of Yasadipura I. *Tus Pajang* is family hagiography and needs to be approached with scepticism for that reason alone. It contains errors in the dates for both the birth and the death of Yasadipura I, which may raise doubts about the accuracy of the family traditions which are published there. When it says, at the end of its list of works, that there are probably many other works written by Yasadipura I which are still forgotten, it suggests that the family compilers were not even sure what books to claim for their illustrious ancestor. The general distinction which *Tus Pajang* claims for Yasadipura I is hard to take at face value. The Europeans in Surakarta in Yasadipura I’s time knew enough about *kraton* affairs to have a reasonable chance of identifying who really mattered. Yet, so far as I am aware, they did not mention Yasadipura I. While the *Pakêpung* crisis of 1787-90 still awaits a full study, the records which I have seen do not support the prominent role in that affair which *Babad Pakêpung* ascribes to Yasadipura I (Ricklefs 1974:338 n.117).

Still more problems arise regarding the works ascribed to Yasadipura I. The fact that the three lists do not agree itself is grounds for doubt. Out of the sixteen titles mentioned, only one work, *Babad Giyanti*, appears in all three lists. Only six (*Tajusalatin, Anbiya, Menak, Bratayuda, Babad Prayut* and *Cabolek*) appear in two lists. So over half of the works ascribed to Yasadipura I are found in only one of these lists. Even where a work is found in more than one list, this does not constitute independent corroboration. The compilers of *Tus Pajang* (Sasrasumarta et al. 1939) were probably ignorant of the list in Winter’s *Zamenspraken* (1911), but Poerbatjaraka surely would not have been. It would have informed his own account, which is therefore presumably in part derivative from it. Poerbatjaraka was probably familiar with *Tus Pajang* as well. To some extent, indeed, all three lists are probably to be regarded as deriving from Surakarta court literary tradition, recorded at different times.

---


Of these sixteen works, there are reasons to doubt or reject the ascription to Yasadipura I of at least six. The works in question are *Tajusalatin, Menak, Iskandar, Sewaka, Arjunawiwaha jarwa* and *Cabolek*. These include three of those that can claim at least the questionable authority of appearing in two lists.

There is confusion surrounding the dating of the Javanese *Tajusalatin*. Poerbatjaraka, Pigeaud and Vreede all give internally inconsistent dates for the two MSS which they describe. Poerbatjaraka (1964:143) ascribes the work to Yasadipura and says that the Jakarta Perpustakaan Nasional MS KBG 582 is dated AH 1139 [AD 1726] and AJ 1726 [AD 1799]. Vreede (1892:298) says that the Leiden Cod. Or. (LOr) 1821 is dated AH 1139 [AD 1726] and 1247 [AD 1831], while Pigeaud (1967-80:11, 34) reports that it is dated AH 1207 [AD 1792] and AJ 1759 [AD 1831], and that these dates are equivalent to AD 1831. If dates equivalent to AD 1792 and 1799 were actually found on these MSS, then they would evidently go back to the lifetime of Yasadipura I. But all of these dates are mutually inconsistent and, in fact, plain wrong.

LOr 1821 is clearly dated Monday, 1 Jumadilakir, wuku Wayang, mongsa Kalima, Dal tèrusaning tata titihaning aji [AJ 1759] and (in words) [AH] 1247. All elements of this date are mutually consistent; it is equivalent to 7 November 1831.\(^{13}\)

The MS of KBG 582 says that it was written in the time of Susuhunan Pakubuwana VII (r. 1830-58) on Wednesday, 9 Sura, wuku Wukir, mongsa Kasonga, Je ngujongga [sic, i.e., bujongga] trus pandhitanireng Narpati [AJ 1798] and (in words) AH 1247. The Javanese date is equivalent to 21 April 1869 (long after the death of Pakubuwana VII) and its elements are mutually consistent except for the wuku, which should be Sinta. But the AH date is not consistent with AJ 1798 / AD 1869, since AH 1247 is equivalent to AJ 1759 / AD 1831-2 (during the reign of Pakubuwana VII). At the end, KBG 582 is dated Wednesday-Wage, wuku Wukir, mongsa Kalima, Sura, Alip, bumi bona naga raja [AJ 1801]. This date is confused. Wednesday-Wage, wuku Wukir, in the month of Sura, AJ 1801, was equivalent to 10 Sura or 20 March AD 1872. But AJ 1801 was Wawu, not Alip, and the mongsa at that time would have been Kasanga. So there is confusion in the dates on the MS KBG 582, just as there is in the references by Poerbatjaraka, Vreede and Pigeaud.

It seems reasonably clear that in AH 1247 / AJ 1759 / AD 1831, in the reign of Pakubuwana VII, this version of *Tajusalatin* was written (composed?) in Surakarta, as is testified by LOr 1821. The reference to AH 1247 in KBG 582 presumably refers to that version, which is recopied.

\(^{13}\) I am grateful to Ignatius Supriyanto of Leiden University for sending me his transcription of Canto I:5-8 of LOr 1821, containing the date. This enabled me to see that both Vreede and Pigeaud were simply wrong and that the MS is quite clearly dated.
Brief Communications

there. The KBG 582 references to AJ 1798 and 1801 [AD 1869-72] must give the dates when that copy was done.

All that is proved here – aside from the fact that even the best-known modern scholars can become tangled in the details of Javanese dating – is that the Jakarta and Leiden MSS provide no support whatever for an ascription of Tajusalatin to Yasadipura I. Indeed, one may reasonably suppose that the Javanese Tajusalatin dates from the 1830s, long after Yasadipura I’s death. On the other hand, of course Yasadipura I may have created a Javanese version which was then recopied at the behest of the Susuhunan in the 1830s. It is possible that a Surakarta kraton MS of Tajusalatin (140 ca; Florida 1993-:I, 195-6) was written in the 1780s, but the dating of that MS, too, is confused, and it is ascribed to the king of Surakarta. One must conclude, at the very least, that there is no positive evidence to support an ascription of Tajusalatin to Yasadipura I, and there are grounds for doubting such an ascription.

Menak also raises problems. There is no doubt that there are Menak MSS older than the time of Yasadipura I. Prominent among these older recensions is the AD 1715 MS of Pakubuwana II’s formidable grandmother Ratu Pakubuwana, then known as Ratu Mas Blitar (Perpustakaan Nasional MS KBG 613; Poerbatjaraka 1940a:30). So here one is brought back to Kartasura times. But Winter’s Zamenspraken and Poerbatjaraka (probably relying on Winter) merely claim that a new recension of Menak was done (dipunanggit malih, dipunwangun malih) by Yasadipura I, so the existence of earlier recensions does not disprove the claim.

Iskandar is demonstrably not a work by Yasadipura I. Ratu Pakubuwana commissioned (ayasa) Iskandar in 1729 (Ricklefs forthcoming: ch. 2). The only MSS of Iskandar known to me are Ratu Pakubuwana’s 1729 version (Radyapustaka MS no. 262 carikan), three copies (LOr 1805, Sonobudoyo MS PB A.257, and Surakarta kraton MS 145 na) of a 1791 kraton recension which claims descent from Ratu Pakubuwana’s version, and the apparently unrelated Royal Asiatic Society MS Raffles Java 14, which is probably from Palembang, not Java. Ratu Pakubuwana’s MS was indubitably already in existence when Yasadipura I was an infant, so he cannot have created it.

Sewaka can also be ruled out as a creation by Yasadipura I. A text is found in Berlin Staatsbibliothek MS Or. fol. 402 (Pigeaud 1975:226-7), a collection of works owned by Png. Purbaya of Kartasura shortly before his exile in 1738, when Yasadipura I was (according to Tus Pajang) still a child just commencing his studies with Ky. Onggamaya in Kêduh. There are grounds for believing that Sewaka’s original date of composition was indeed AD 1697-8. Purbaya’s MS has a date janma paksa amayang bwana (AJ 1621 / July 1697 - July 1698). Poerbatjaraka (1964:102), who was not familiar with this Berlin MS, also reported a Sewaka with the same
chronogram and regarded AJ 1621 / AD 1697-8 as the year of Sewaka’s original composition. In any case, the work was certainly known in the court of Pakubuwana II before the fall of Kartasura and before the commencement of Yasadipura I’s literary career.

Poerbatjaraka (1964:130) ascribed the jarwa version of the kakawin Arjunawiwaha to Yasadipura I. Kuntara (1990:3, 6, 325) has established, however, that the version to which Poerbatjaraka refers was in fact composed by the Dutch translator C.F. Winter Sr. (1799-1859) in AJ 1776 / AD 1848.

The problems surrounding Yasadipura I’s supposed authorship of Cabolek are discussed in Ricklefs, forthcoming: ch. 4. It is argued there that Cabolek appears to have been an account of actual events at the court of Kartasura c. 1731, but that this account is now witnessed only in later MSS. Clearly Yasadipura I, who was two years old in 1731, cannot have composed such a hypothetical original account of events at the time. Nor, in my view, could someone who created such a text many years later, after the intervening chaos of the 1740s and 1750s, have achieved the accuracy in such matters as courtiers’ names which one finds in Cabolek.

To be sure, this hypothetical original text underwent a subsequent process of recopying, whereby variant versions grew up, but the claim made for Yasadipura I is not that he recopied the text but that he composed it. This seems at least improbable, and probably impossible.

Finally, one should note that there are some MSS which refer to Yasadipura I, but they do not include any of the texts listed above, so far as is presently known. One such MS mentions Yasadipura I as having composed a Modern Javanese macapat version of an Old Javanese kakawin, but this is not a work listed in Winter’s Zamenspraken, in Tus Pajang, or in Poerbatjaraka’s Kapustakan Djawi. In this case, Jakarta MS KBG 232 of Arjuna Sasrabau by Yasadipura II says that Pakubuwana III (r. 1749-88) had earlier ordered a macapat version done by Ng. Yasadipura ‘the first’ (ingkang kapisan). This was apparently an abbreviated version and is no longer to be identified with certainty.

Further evidence for an older Sewaka tradition is provided by Royal Asiatic Society MS Raffles Java 43 (A). This text is dated rupa catur syaraning wong (AJ 1741 / AD 1813-14), but refers to an earlier original dated ardi samodra obah sadaya (AJ 1647 / AD 1722-3).

For a brief biography of Winter, see Bezemer 1921:617.

I am grateful to Barbara McDonald for giving me a copy of her transcription of the KBG 232 colophon. The text says, duk waune pan sampun/ginupiteng juru panganggit/ri wus sêkar macapat/karsane Sang Prabu/kaping tri Pakubuwana/kang tinuduh sira Ngabehi Yasadi/pura ingkang kapisan/hanging kathah khang tinilar nguni/aming pinrih kang prêlu kewala/binuwang kang ronce-ronce/saking ing kawinipun ...

See also Supomo 1977:II, 338; Behrend 1990:226-7. Arps and Van der Molen (1994:xxxiv-xxxv) suggest that the MSS Sonobudoyo PB D.4 (= Behrend L33) and NBG 74 may contain the Yasadipura I text, although he is not named in those MSS.
Moreover, the reference to Yasadipura as 'the first' unequivocally demonstrates that this statement was made in the time of Yasadipura II or later. Little more can be said of this ascription. Similarly, a Surakarta *kraton* MS of *Sérat Jugul Mudha* opens with a prose note which says that the work was composed (*kaanggit*) by Yasadipura 'the first' (*kapisan*) at the wish of Pakubuwana III in the year AJ 1681 [AD 1755-6]. This clearly indicates that the note was appended to a copy of this work done at some later time, at least in the time of Yasadipura II. The physical characteristics of the MS, employing the cover of a Dutch picture-book, show that it was written in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. *Jugul Mudha* is not ascribed to Yasadipura I by Winter, Poerbatjaraka or *Tus Pajang*.

With regard to all of the texts claimed for Yasadipura I, one final point needs to be made. So far as I am aware, there does not exist anywhere a MS of any of the works ascribed to Yasadipura I which is from his lifetime and which identifies him as its author or scribe. Where his name is mentioned, it seems only to be given in the form of a note added externally to the text itself and clearly after his time. Nor, to the best of my knowledge, is there any other contemporaneous evidence verifying Yasadipura I's literary activity. It may perhaps seem unreasonable to look for such corroboration, but it needs to be said that it has been possible to establish a good deal from a variety of sources about literary activity at the court in Pakubuwana II's time (Ricklefs forthcoming). One may of course hope that further research will bring to light new information with regard to Yasadipura I as well.

**The suspicions**

It was noted in the preceding section that an examination of some of the works ascribed to Yasadipura I leads one back to the *kraton* of Kartasura in the time of Pakubuwana II, before Yasadipura I began his career. A version of *Menak* was associated with the king's grandmother, the formidable Ratu Pakubuwana, as *ingkang ayasa*. She was also the *ingkang ayasa* of Iskandar. *Sewaka* is evidenced by a MS from the reign of Pakubuwana II owned by Png. Purbaya. *Cabolek* concerns events early in this reign. Indeed, the only works among those ascribed to Yasadipura I which must have been written after 1742 are the chronicles which describe post-1742 events: *Babad Giyanti, Babad Prayut* and *Babad Paképung* (although the last is more probably to be ascribed to Yasadipura II). It was noted also that the family biography claims a political prominence for Yasadipura I which is, at least so far, not consistent with other evidence.

The MSS were written in 1778 and 1794 respectively.

On the kawi miring version of *Arjunawijaya* done just after the time of Yasadipura I's death (as given in Sasrasumarta et al. 1939), see Supomo 1977:II, 336-7.

17 Surakarta *kraton* MS 226 ha (= Florida KS 237; note that Florida 1993-:I, 149, has a typographical error giving the MS number as 266 ha).
This supposedly culminated in a request by Pakubuwana IV that Yasadipura I become Patih, which the old man declined.

There is another figure in eighteenth-century Javanese history for whom both literary and political prominence is claimed: Carik Bajra/Tirtawiguna, the poet-politician of the reign of Pakubuwana II. Many works of literature are ascribed to him (Winter 1911:254, 259; Djajadiningrat 1913:222-4). He was certainly a major figure at Pakubuwana’s court, as is confirmed by both Javanese and Dutch contemporary sources. He became Patih, with the name Sindurēja, in 1743 and held this post until his death in 1751. If Tus Pajang is to be believed, Yasadipura I joined the service of the king in the year when Tirtawiguna rose to this final eminence.

One can prove nothing. Indeed, one would find it as impossible to prove Tirtawiguna’s authorship of the works ascribed to him as to demonstrate Yasadipura I’s. But of the former’s political significance there is no doubt, whereas regarding the political significance of the latter there can be nothing but doubts at this time.

One can only raise questions. Among the works ascribed to Yasadipura I by later traditions, were there some (or many) which were in fact composed by Kartasura literati in the time of Pakubuwana II? And if the authorship of such works was later appropriated for the greater glory of Yasadipura I, was the biography of Tirtawiguna found to be a useful model upon which to construct a grander life story? Is the Yasadipura I legend, in other words, at least in part – perhaps indeed in large part – a concoction of the nineteenth century and later, which borrowed creatively from the court of Pakubuwana II?

REFERENCES

Arps, Bernard, and Willem van der Molen (intro.), 1994, Serat Lokapal[a] kawi; An eighteenth-century manuscript of the Old Javanese Arjunawijaya by Mpu Tantular; A facsimile edition of manuscript Cod. Or. 2048 in the library of Leiden University, Leiden: Indonesian Linguistics Development Project in co-operation with Legatum Warnerianum in the Library of Leiden University.


Crawfurd, John, 1820, History of the Indian archipelago, containing an account of the manners, arts, languages, religions, institutions, and commerce of its inhabitants, Edinburgh: Constable, 3 vols.

Djajadiningrat, Hoesein, 1913, Critische beschouwing van de Sadjarah Banten; Bijdrage ter kenschetsing van de Javaansche geschiedschrijving, Haarlem: Enschedé.


-, 1975, Javanese and Balinese manuscripts and some codices written in related idioms spoken in Java and Bali; Descriptive catalogue, Wiesbaden: Steiner. [Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland XXXI.]

Poerbatjara, 1940a, Beschrijving der handschriften; Menak, Bandung: Nix.

-, 1940b, ‘Dėwa-roetji’, Djawă 20-1 (Jan.):5-55.

-, 1964, Kapustakan Djawi, Djakarta: Djambatan.


Sasrasumarta, Sastrawaluya and Yasapuraya, 1939, Tus Pajang; Pengėtan lalampahanipun swargi Raden Ngabei Yasadipura I, abdi-dalėm Kaliwon Pajongga ing Surakarta Adiningrat, Surakarta: Pangėcapan Budi Utama.


