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How a Javanese gentleman put his library in order


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The matters that people choose to discuss, considering the circumstances in which they find themselves, are an important but underexposed constituent of culture. Encyclopedias provide an excellent way into this field of inquiry, since they are designed to survey a broad range of noteworthy discursive themes, which moreover tend to be identified explicitly. In this essay I scrutinize a number of texts of an encyclopedic nature to demonstrate an approach to thematics that may prove fruitful within the framework of comparative culture studies. This approach does not focus on themes as such but on the practices by which they are created; rather than trying to determine what some piece of writing or speech is about, I reflect on how people have devoted discourse to themes and recognized themes in discourse, that is, how they thematized.

1. The design of encyclopedic texts

How to portray the conduct of skills, the recollection of events, the fruits of reflection on things and circumstances? In responding to this question, encyclopedia makers are faced with three elementary practical problems. What matters to isolate for treatment? How to record their representation? Furthermore, how to put together the resulting collections of texts?

If encyclopedism is the desire to inventory and clarify the notable aspects and components of a world of experiences, and to present the results following some organizing principle, then encyclopedism is a time-honored passion and answers can often be found by turning to established practice. In Indonesia all three problems – let me call them selection, description, and arrangement – have at least a millennium's worth of solutions, as a few examples may illustrate.

Selection, description, and arrangement in some Indonesian compendia

Old Javanese lexicography provides the first example. Each entry in the reference books known as kretabhasa is usually a series of synonymous nouns, alternative proper names, or alternative epithets in Sanskrit-derived Old Javanese, terminating in a Javanese or Balinese definition (see Schoterman BKI 155-3 (1999))
The entries follow a pattern that can be schematically rendered in English as 'a, b, ..., c are the names for X' or 'a, b, ..., c are named X' (... ngaraning ... or ... ngaranya ..., usually abbreviated to ... nga ...). Entries tend to be grouped into modules that represent classes of phenomena. The modules follow each other in an order that seems, broadly speaking, to reflect the classes' decreasing ideological value: deities – dignitaries – animals – parts of the body, and so on.

*Kretabhasa* by no means cover the entire Old Javanese vocabulary in the ten or so palm leaves that they usually comprise, let alone the whole experiential world of their makers. What they single out for treatment is nomenclature, mostly of Sanskrit provenance and mostly denoting or referring to entities. The description consists in the juxtaposition of semantically equivalent words or referentially equivalent names and epithets, and a gloss in a more familiar register.

The arrangement of a *kretabhasa* involves two principles: classification and ranking. The inclusion of words in entries and entries in modules is governed by the allocation of their typical referents to classes. The order of treatment appears to follow an evaluative scale: the more esteemed a class of phenomena is in the Hindu-Buddhist context where the text is composed, the earlier it is likely to be dealt with. Meanwhile the arrangement of the little texts (the lists followed by definitions) that make up the modules and the arrangement of the modules that make up a *kretabhasa* are not made visible in the manuscript's page layout and typography. As in most books in Javanese and Balinese characters, the reader is confronted with pages filled with letters of a single type that follow each other in continuous sequence. Entries, modules, or other textual units are not separated by empty space but solely by punctuation. No columns are used, nor are headings or typographical devices like underlining, bold-face, or italics. If the manuscript contains other works beside the *kretabhasa*, as is often the case, punctuation marks are the only graphemic signals of the boundaries between those works. Readers may consult a *kretabhasa* to find the synonyms, thus using it as a thesaurus, or to find the definitions, using it as a dictionary, but if they want to do so efficiently, they must first know their way around the manuscript.

The tradition of making and studying *kretabhasa* has endured nevertheless. The oldest known example – which, incidentally, is not titled *kretabhasa* – is perhaps to be dated to the eighth century CE, and alongside western-style dictionaries they remained in use in Bali in the 1970s as aids to interpreting Old Javanese poetry (Schoterman 1981:427, 439). In Java they seem to have been ousted by other lexicographical formats in the eighteenth century.

Another case of ancient encyclopedia-making is found in the Old Sundanese *Sang Hyang Siksakandang Karesian*, an ethical treatise in prose, the sole known manuscript of which bears the date 1440 Saka (1518/19 CE) (Holle...
The Siksakandang Karesian contains a section, about five leaves in length (one sixth of the whole), that names the specialists one should approach for information on particular spheres of experience. The general lesson is: 'find the right place to ask your questions' (ulah salah geusan nanya). Thus, for instance, if one wants to know about all manner of stories (sakwehning carita) – a series of fifteen titles is quoted – one should ask the performer (memen), to learn about the contents of holy books (sing sawatek eusi pustaka) one should ask the pandit (sang pandita), for information about chronology (dawuh nalika, 'instants and periods') one should approach the expert in traditional knowledge called the bujangga. Likewise for songs, games, mythical narratives, ornamental drawing patterns, tools and weaponry, cookery, battle arrays, ways of ritual worship, nautical lore, arithmetic, foreign idioms, and more, each class being furnished with a list of titles or technical terms from that class and the type of expert one should request for information (Saleh et al. 1987:82-6). The Siksakandang Karesian offers a directory indexing a variety of cultural themes. It is in people that the actual information resides, however, and through them that one should access it.

The spheres of practice thematized in the Siksakandang Karesian appear to have been selected on the basis of, first, the existence of classes of people with specialized expertise in the environment where the text was composed, and second, the technical terminology and nomenclature that featured in each field of expertise. In the absence of knowledge of the cultural context of the Siksakandang Karesian's creation, it is difficult to ascertain how exhaustive the treatment is. There may well have been other kinds of professionals, and thus fields of expertise, that remain unmentioned. Agriculture is absent, for instance, presumably because expertise in it was taken for granted, widespread as it was among the Siksakandang Karesian's projected audience. This suggests that the terrains of expertise were selected for inclusion on the basis of their limited social distribution. (The inclusion of games might then indicate that these were becoming obsolete.) Furthermore it is possible that the experts commanded more specialist knowledge than indicated by the titles, terms, and names listed in each module. The lists were not necessarily complete.

The Siksakandang Karesian's description is minimal. Each sphere is thematized only by providing a brief general label ('all manner of stories', et cetera), the labels of a series of items, and, in conclusion, a pointer to an external source. Further description is postponed. As to arrangement, the manuscript's page layout is as uniform and its typography as flat as those of the kretabhasa (a photograph is in Ekadjati 1996:107). The order of treatment seems to reflect a chain of cultural affinity with some superordinate classification into units resembling a kretabhasa's modules, but I can detect no signs
of ideological ranking. Beginning with a set of practices that may be characterized as entertainments, the texts proceed to a set of crafts, then spiritual learning, to conclude with more utilitarian – though still not universally mastered – lore. The arrangement principles of classification and concatenation are loosely applied, however, and they remain implicit.

In constructing this section of the *Siksakandang Karesian*, the author or authors relied on existing practices in the discursive management of experience in two main ways. The encyclopedia is introduced by a Sanskritic stanza (*siloka*), which is paraphrased in Old Sundanese and epitomized in the precept to find the right place for asking one's questions. This 'Sanskrit stanza–vernacular paraphrase' textual format is known from several Old Javanese compendia as well, some of which hail from the first millennium CE. The encyclopedic section of the *Siksakandang Karesian* is a kind of excursus prompted by the precept. Secondly, as they directed the reader to human resources outside the text, the authors linked it to a body of specialist competencies which could presumably be taught in the environment where the text was to be consulted.

The nineteenth-century Central Javanese *Serat Centhini*, my third and last example, tells of people who happen to take the approach that the *Sang Hyang Siksakandang Karesian* advertises. The protagonists of the story, which is set in the early seventeenth century, travel all across Java, visiting an array of learned men and women in their homes. The specialists set out their learning in detail. Their expositions are reproduced in the text.

The *Centhini* claims encyclopedism for itself. The opening stanza states that the crown prince of Surakarta ordered his scribe Sutrasna to fashion a story about events in the past, bringing together 'the whole of Javanese knowledge' (*sanggyaning kawruh Jawa*) and casting it in verse in order to engage and please those who would listen to it (Kamajaya 1985:1). A few stanzas onwards it is revealed that the prince formed this desire on the eve of 8 January 1815. It is unclear when the task was completed. The *Centhini* as we know it may have been added to throughout the nineteenth century (Pigeaud 1933:1-3). It reached massive proportions. The published edition totals some 1.5 million syllables in almost 30,000 stanzas making up over 700 cantos. It must be noted, though, that this comprehensive version was put together from various manuscripts in the 1920s. Most *Centhini* manuscripts are partial.

The *Centhini* covers a range of cultural domains resembling the fields of expertise indexed in the *Sang Hyang Siksakandang Karesian* (including, unlike the Old Sundanese work, a great deal of Muslim and especially mystical thought). At the base of the expositions lies a broad and implicit kind of cultural classification. They are focused on a particular field and coherent in their discussion of it, which means that their subject matter has somehow
been delimited and thus forms a class. Its exceptional length notwithstanding, we do not know whether in the eyes of his princely patron and others, the author – or, more likely, authors (Pigeaud 1933:2-3; Kamajaya 1985:iii-iv) – succeeded in encompassing all Javanese learning of note. The classification that underlies the selection of themes in the Centhini is less systematic than in the kretabhasa and the Siksakandang Karesian, which give the impression of being exhaustive within the limits set for them. What is certain is that the Centhini's authors incorporated a vast number of earlier treatises on manifold themes, versifying them if the exemplars were in prose, reversifying them if they were already in verse. Though the protagonists are described as turning to experts, then, the authors worked in a different way. The selection of subject matter was guided in large part by the availability of written treatments. The Centhini is in this respect a compilation of earlier scholarship, as its third stanza indeed declares: 'It was the prince's wish / that the source works of Javanese knowledge / be laid out to make a story' (Kamajaya 1985:1). Meanwhile it is likely that some expositions were not adapted from written exemplars but derived from oral sources or the authors' own explorations. This applies also to the descriptions of visits to gravesites, caves, ancient ruins, and other landmarks, and to the many scenes of merry-making involving dance, song, music, puppetry, magical acts, or sex, which alternate with the scholarly passages.

The Centhini describes the specialists presenting their learning in an exposé to their visitors. Some of the visitors also command knowledge which they set forth to their companions and hosts. The specialists treat their fields of expertise step by step in an informal atmosphere. In a few cases the learning is explicitly presented as an account of a named text or doctrine. Often it has the shape of a list of items which may take up many stanzas. The elements in such lists are often grouped into classes explicitly, or the lists are framed by comments about their internal classification. To mention just one example, the exposition on medicines given by an elderly lady, Nyai Wanakarta, to one of her and her husband's male guests, Ki Saloka, is occasioned when Ki Saloka chews betel and has put too much lime on it. This causes a huge blister to grow on his lip. Nyai Wanakarta's remedy makes the pain and the blister disappear. Apparently because he realizes that she is an expert, Ki Saloka asks for information on medicines (saserepan bab usada). Stressing first that it depends on God whether or not the cures work, Nyai Wanakarta names a long series of ailments (fever, wounds, worms, smallpox, et cetera), providing between one and four prescriptions for each. Ki Saloka proceeds to ask about medicines 'for men only'. Nyai Wanakarta gives the recipes of a few aphrodisiacs. He asks for invigorating tonics and gets recipes for them, too, with comments about their purpose and the age categories of those who may take them. Because by now he has forgotten the names of the
ingredient herbs, many of which he has never seen, Nyai Wanakarta shows him the contents of her medicine chest. She then details the particular combinations of days from several calendrical cycles on which certain conditions are best cured, and, in conclusion, states that if treatment cannot wait, one should rely on God. Ki Saloka expresses his thanks (Kamajaya 1986:321-30).

The Centhini describes dozens if not hundreds of such scenes with experts who give learned exposés. The protagonists travel through Java following specified and, it seems, geographically realistic routes, but the location of the expertise is not self-evident. Why are chronograms explained in a meeting in the Priangan highlands of West Java, the medicines in a Central Javanese forest, or an Old Javanese treatise on morals on a mountain in East Java? The curious reader is left in the dark. It is the journeys, not a ranking or concatenation of cultural classes, that pattern the arrangement of themes, and the geographical progression and the thematic succession appear to be unrelated. From the point of view of the knowledge itself, the order of treatment is fortuitous.

The nineteenth-century Centhini from Surakarta can be traced back through a lineage of subsequent adaptations and enlargements to an early seventeenth-century narrative which recounted travels punctuated with discussions on Islam (Behrend 1987:79-93). Besides the Centhini several other works, in Old as well as Modern Javanese, are plotted as travelogues with visits to people of learning. In fact 'vagrant students' romances containing encyclopedical passages' have been identified as a distinct textual genre (Pigeaud 1967:227-9; Behrend 1987:325-38). In another way, too, the Centhini's text-based selection, largely monologic description, and epistemologically random arrangement of themes reflected well-established textual practices. Numerous narratives that are not so explicitly organized around journeying, including Old Javanese adaptations of Sanskrit works, recount meetings that involve teaching, and inclusion of extracts from other texts is common throughout the corpus of literature in Javanese. And finally, while it is unlikely that the Centhini's authors were acquainted with the Siksakandang Kare- sian, the precept of choosing the appropriate authorities for one's questions had probably been widespread in Java for centuries. Seeking a guru to apprentice oneself to for a period of time remains a common cultural pattern today.

As Anderson has noted, the Serat Centhini's prosody and narrative nature show that it was designed first and foremost as a text for leisurely reading rather than purposive consultation (Anderson 1990:274). It is composed in the metrico-melodic verse forms that are known collectively as tembang. To read it is therefore by default to intone it (see Arps 1992). The layout and

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1 Anderson (1990:274) found it difficult to reconcile the passages consisting of lists with sung performance: 'one gets the distinct feeling that such passages are actually meant less to be recit
typography of a poem in Javanese characters are as dense and level as those of prose and hence not conducive to rapid skimming. Though it is encyclopedic both in intent and content, then, the Centhini's size and format render it unsuitable for reference in the manner of a dictionary, thesaurus, or directory – unless, of course, one has read it or heard it being recited and is able to recall which episode framed the exposition on the theme one wants to look up and that episode's place in the overall travelogue. It is in fact quite feasible to use the narrative as a mnemonic aid. To read the Centhini from beginning to end in the tempo that is currently common in Central Java for works in tembang would require no less than 560 hours of recitation. Prohibitive though this may seem, it does not prevent enthusiasts from undertaking to sing through an available text, albeit serially. At least one reading group in Yogyakarta has tried to do so with astonishing perseverance (Arps 1992:127). Meeting once every 35 days for two to three hours, they read and discussed the first 200 cantos between 1978 or earlier and 1991, and possibly continued the project in later years. It is not at all improbable that they, and others too, got to know the work well enough from reading and hearing to be able to look up specific themes.

The kretabhasa, the encyclopedic part of the Sang Hyang Siksakandang Karelian, and the Serat Centhini approach the selection, description, and arrangement of themes in rather different ways. Meanwhile they share one major concern and one major indifference. The common principle by which they manage their worlds of experience is classification. It underlies the selection of themes and features prominently in their description. Though implicitly and with the apparent exception of the Centhini, classification also guides the arrangement of the thematic blocks that make up these works. What the three kinds of compendium lack is an interest in accessibility.

Retrieval

Beginning around the mid-nineteenth century, due to more and faster interactions with other parts of the world, Indonesian compendia grew larger in size and more diverse in content than had been usual before. (The Centhini was unusual.) This century and the first half of the next saw the rise of European ethnography in the Indies (in the broad sense that includes the
study of texts and history), the introduction of a school system along European lines, the establishment of a print-media industry, Islamic reformism, colonial government campaigns to enlighten the indigenous populace of the Indies, and a range of subsequent and competing kinds of nationalism aiming towards the same in conjunction with liberation from Dutch oppression. Like before, the knowledge banks constructed by or for Indonesians in this era were made up of smaller, relatively independent, and potentially movable textual units; witness the dictionaries and thesauri, publisher's and library catalogs, anthologies, almanacs, newspapers and magazines, bibliographies, and proper encyclopedias that now came to be compiled and were often published. A fourth elementary problem, attached to the selection, description, and arrangement of themes but especially closely to the last, gained urgency. This problem was pragmatic; it was the question of retrieval. How to enable unfamiliar readers to make out and locate the increasingly numerous textual ingredients of such voluminous stores of information with ease? This was also the time when to the perennial race against the sun, moon, and calendar was added a race against the clock. It became less and less convenient to rely on the users' familiarity with a compendium's internal organization, their access to experts, or their ample leisure and love of reading. The compendia's richness and length threatened their feasibility as reference books.

One relatively simple way out was to furnish these works with a list or table of contents—a kind of post factum description that is meant to bring out the arrangement of that which has been selected, and which is structurally superimposed on and physically added to the compendium. This is something that many book makers actually did. The Centhini manuscripts copied in the 1890s for Major R.M.A. Soerjawinata of Surakarta, for instance, are prefaced with content lists (Behrend 1990:267-8, 270; Arps 1992:362). Another form of second-order description, which shades into listing the contents, is to make a summary. Several Javanese, Dutch, and Indonesian synopses of the Centhini were published from the 1930s onwards. Adding an index was a more laborious solution, which was rarely practiced.

The most user-friendly response was for the compiler to take retrieval into account when arranging the compendium. If this was done a table of contents would also be easiest to survey. It is necessary in all encyclopedias to draw the contours of spheres of experience, and the more internally coherent and mutually proportionate the spheres are, the simpler retrieval will be. It is necessary also to identify themes within those spheres, while the book format demands that the order of their discussion be set down (unlike, for instance, speech, hypertext, or card and electronic databases). In this era of Indonesian history there arose a pressing need to put the spheres and themes into not only a sensible but also a readily recognizable order relative to each
other. The cultural repertoire was rapidly changing and, due to a continual
and at times explosive addition of recorded texts engendered by the printing
industry, expanding fast. If the compendia were to be consulted easily for the
discrete portions of information they contained, then their authors should
devote serious attention to the identification of thematic categories, the allo-
cation of individual texts to them, and their arrangement on paper.
And so some of them did, as demonstrated by the inventory of a gentle-
man's library to which I now turn.

2. Kartasupana's catalog

After dusk on Thursday 16 December 1948, Raden Ngabehi Kartasupana sat
down at his desk in his home in Surakarta, took a new exercise book, and
wrote on the first page: 'Account of the constitution of the books owned by
Raden Ngabehi Kartasupana' (Pratelan kawontenaning serat-serat gadhah-
anipun Raden Ngabehi Kartasupana). It was a major project on which he
thus embarked. His personal library contained several hundred volumes of
printed books, pamphlets, magazines, and manuscripts, in Javanese, Indo-
nesian, and Dutch. Kartasupana completed his remarkable catalogue raison-
né some time in the following year, filling a total of 39 pages of the exercise
book. Later on, as he discovered mistakes, rethought earlier decisions about
the inventory's arrangement, and came across new items, he made small
emendations, recorded some addenda, and inserted four leaves, but the cat-
alog remained the same in outline.

The printed books and periodicals in the inventory that I have been able
to date were published between 1879 and 1947 and the datable manuscripts
were inscribed from 1890 or earlier to 1934 or 1935. This was a period of
increasingly intense Dutch involvement in Javanese intellectual life and,
conversely though not symmetrically, Javanese interest in European intellec-
tual life. The catalog provides a fascinating view of their interaction in circles
of the Central Javanese gentry in the mid-twentieth century and preceding
decades. But in spite of the richness of the information that can be gathered
from the catalog, it remains difficult to relate it to the individual who pro-
duced it. By means of the inventory, R.Ng. Kartasupana may have shown us
his library, and indeed this enables me to say something about him, but even
the bare outlines of his personal life remain indistinct nevertheless.

When Kartasupana composed the catalog, he was or had been married,
judging by the fact that it contains an item 'The Pedigrees of R.Ng. Kartasu-
pana and His Spouse' (Asalsilahipun R.Ng. Kartasupana – Sarimbit). This
puts his date of birth around 1930 at the latest. An entry describing a two-vol-
ume set of handwritten musical notations 'compiled by R.Ng. Kartasupana'
(kaklempakaken dening: R.Ng. Kartasupana) demonstrates that he played or had played gamelan in 1948/49. It is known from other sources that in the 1970s and 1980s he worked as a caretaker in Sanapustaka, the library of the susuhunan's palace in Surakarta (Girardet et al. 1983:vii, xi; Florida 1993:9, 47). I have probably spoken with him when I did research there in 1982 and 1983, but I did not know his name. (How different this essay would have been had we been introduced!) He married off a daughter in 1982.

Over the course of several months in early 1983 I bought the catalog itself as well as three dozen items listed in it from second-hand bookstalls in Surakarta. (I also purchased a few other books that appear to have belonged to Kartasupana’s library but are not in the catalog, presumably because he acquired them after 1949 and did not care to record them.) My question as to where these books came from remained unanswered. I took it that the owner had died and his books had been or were being sold to a bookseller by his heirs. But according to Florida, R.Ng. Kartasupana was very much alive in May 1985 when she left Java after several years of working there. He had passed away when she returned in 1991.

Kartasupana’s library

Kartasupana must have been a book collector. The different ways of acquisition that Benjamin sketches in his introspective essay on the subject (Benjamin 1973), and others besides, may have played a role in the formation of his library. Kartasupana wrote at least three of the books himself, the two volumes of musical notations and the catalog, but he was not the first owner or the writer of many of the items listed. This emerges from the dates of publication or inscription that I could ascertain – because I have the books in question and they are dated or datable or because, being multi-volume periodicals, they are recorded in the catalog with a date – and from the traces that earlier owners have left in them. The various ‘ex libris’ stamps, seals, stickers, and signatures feature eight decipherable personal names beside his own. I have been able to trace only a minimum of data about the people who bore these names, though. The names, the accompanying titles, and a few other snippets of information show that most of them were affiliated with one of the Surakarta courts as medium-rank officials. They evidently belonged to

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2 I assume that the R.Ng. Kartasupana who made the catalog and the R.Ng. Kartasupana who worked in Sanapustaka three decades later were the same person. This is not entirely certain, however. The nunggak semi ‘like a sprouting tree stump’ pattern of naming, common in circles of court officials, may have been in play. It meant that someone could succeed a parent or elder sibling to the same office while being awarded the same name and title.


the social and occupational class known as 'the little nobility' (priyayi cilik).

Perhaps Kartasupana bought part of his collection. One manuscript has the price of f.1.50 inked in, and many books and manuscripts are known to have come on the market in the period of hardship that was the Japanese occupation. Others may have been given to him by friends, he may have borrowed and not returned some (a pattern no less common in Surakarta than in Benjamin's environment), and there is a distinct possibility that he inherited part of his collection. The probable variety of origins makes it difficult, indeed in most cases impossible, to state with certainty what Kartasupana's personal interests were - apart from systematizing books. Like Benjamin and his expert authorities, he did not necessarily read further than the title pages. Tempting as it is, I shall try to refrain from making inferences about the person merely on the basis of the works he owned.

What I am interested in is how Kartasupana organized his library and why. A careful consideration of the manuscript coupled with knowledge of some of the books recorded in it and a general knowledge of the environment in which he worked will make it possible to draw conclusions about his approach to the thematization of cultural concerns.

One thing that is safe to conclude is that Kartasupana's catalog is the product of an encyclopedic frame of mind. However complex his actual intentions may have been, what he did in compiling his catalog was integrate separate and often disparate items into a whole and capture that whole by describing and arranging it on the basis of their contents. The catalog is a text superimposed upon a particular collection of books, a superstructure laying

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5 For the benefit of historians of Javanese culture, these are the other names and the further information I could gather: R.Ng. Atma Umarmadi, who was court orderly (abdi dalem mantri urdenas) in 1895; Broto roemekso, who in 1913 dated a book in his possession, published 1880; Ng. Bratasanjaya, the owner of books published in 1880, 1913, and 1922; M.Ng. Hamong roemekso, who was a court official (mantri kraton) in 1912, lived in the ward of Jagasuran, and seems to have been the first owner of books published between 1879 and 1907; Wjoatmodja, who owned an item dated 1912; Ng. Surasanjaya, who owned books published 1879-1932 and had children before 1949; Supana, who lived in Jagasuran and owned items dated 1900 and 1907; and R.L. Surasupana, who lived in the ward of Baron, was circumcised or, more likely, held a circumcision ceremony in 1938, and owned books published 1884-1939.

One item may contain up to four names, indicating several promotions or changes of ownership. R.L. Surasupana may have been R.Ng. Kartasupana's father or another close relative. Both names are often found in the same items. It may also have been an earlier name of Kartasupana himself, in which case he signed many of his books again after he was awarded the new name and raised in rank from lurah to ngabehi. Ng. Surasanjaya - another name that recurs in the ex libris - is perhaps to be identified with the 'Ng. Surasanyanya' (a very improbable Javanese name which converts into Surasanjaya by two simple orthographic operations) mentioned in Behrend and Titik Pudjaistuti 1997:835. In February 1930 this man provided M. Sinu Mundisura, one of Pigeaud's collaborators, with a Babad Nitik Ngayogyakarta (of which Kartasupana indeed owned a copy), which was subsequently romanized in Pigeaud's scriptorium.
links among and drawing boundaries between the texts in those books. It endowed the library as a whole with an encyclopedic character. It arranged the thematic domains that the writers of Kartasupana’s books had mapped out for Java, the Netherlands Indies and Indonesia, or even the world, for easy retrieval.

Kartasupana, then, was not only a collector in Benjamin’s sense, a person whose passions are acquisition and ownership. He was also an encyclopedist. The encyclopedic urge that he indulged in in late 1948 made him emphasize, unlike Benjamin’s idealized collector, the ‘functional, utilitarian value’ of the objects in his collection. In ‘the dialectical tension between the poles of disorder and order’ that inhabits the collector’s life (Benjamin 1973:62), Kartasupana insisted on order.

Classification by cultural domain

Kartasupana owned a wide variety of books. They ranged from the Koran rendered into Javanese to *Organisasi* by J. Stalin, from handwritten verse narratives of Javanese dynastic history to a booklet called ‘Chocolate Cakes (29 Recipes from: Droste)’ (*Koewe-Koewe dari Tjoklat (29 Recept dari: Droste)*, in Indonesian), and from a manuscript in Javanese characters identified as ‘Lessons in the Science of Magnetism’ (*Piwulang Ngilmu Mahnetisme*) to W.J.S. Poerwadarminta’s ‘Japanese Primer’ (*Poentja Bahasa Nippon*, in Indonesian) and ‘Practicing Japanese Conversation’ (*Ngiantih Gineman Nippon*, in Javanese). Of the 588 entries in the catalog, many of which in fact represent multi-volume books or periodicals, 403 are in Javanese, 115 in Indonesian, and 70 in Dutch. (The appendix provides more detailed numerical data.)

Kartasupana insisted on order in his large and heterogeneous collection. What he did to establish it was assign his books to classes, and these classes were defined on thematic grounds. Thus he encompassed the worlds of experience that were in his possession (*gadhahanipun*) and therefore in principle directly available to him. In the catalog or the books from it that I have seen there is nothing to indicate that Kartasupana’s library was a public one. But even if it was primarily for personal use it may have been open to consultation by relatives or friends. By classifying systematically and according to theme he rendered the experience set down in his voluminous store of texts accessible to himself and other potential users.

This was the result, though at the time, his undertaking may have served no immediate practical necessity. It may have been first and foremost a desire

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6 Commercial lending libraries of Malay and Javanese manuscripts existed in various places since at least the mid-nineteenth century (see Chambert-Loir 1991, Behrend 1993:430-3). Personal libraries, too, might be consulted by many. One case from Java in the 1930s is noted in Teeuw (1993:15)
to survey, characterize, and organize an assemblage of objects in his possession that underlay the enterprise. In late 1948 Surakarta was in a state of political and social turmoil. Perhaps composing the catalog was little more to Kartasupana than a way of killing time in the relative safety of his home. Still, if the considerable effort that he put into ordering his library was meant to achieve a longer-term goal, it was to facilitate retrieval of individual texts within classes that were conceived thematically.

Otherwise a mere enumeration would have sufficed, or the arrangement would have been different. Kartasupana might have given precedence to other properties of his books, which could serve as organizational principles equally well. Mutually exclusive and thus potentially taxonomic features like the distinction between texts cast in the cherished tembang verse forms and texts not in tembang, the different languages, the two scripts (Javanese and Roman), the distinction between book, periodical, and manuscript or that between manuscript and print, and the wording of the titles presented themselves as obvious options. Kartasupana did consider these features important, seeing that he marked them in the catalog or represented them indirectly, but he treated them as subsidiary information. Yet other potentially significant variables, such as the books' or texts' provenances and dating or the books' dimensions and numbers of pages, were of no concern to him. He recorded years of publication only for periodicals, primarily as a way of identifying the sequence of volumes – something that he also noted for multi-volume printed books and manuscripts, by means of volume numbers. Authorship interested Kartasupana, but he did not mention it throughout. In fact this would have been impossible because this information was often lacking. Like the makers of the kretabhasa, the Sang Hyang Siksakandang Karesian, and the Serat Centhini before him, Kartasupana recognized that his texts pertained to distinguishable cultural domains. These domains transcended the languages and other formal or historical properties of the texts that contributed to the representation if not the creation of those domains. Among the many options available, it was this recognition that furnished the criterion according to which he chose to arrange his books.

Kartasupana labeled his manuscript 'Catalogus' in big, carefully drawn sanserif Roman letters, as well as 'Account of the books' in Javanese, using the upright and regular characters (mbata sarimbag 'like bricks from a single mold') associated with the scriptorial tradition of the Surakarta court. Though clearly he saw his inventory in both Javanese and Dutch terms, it is not certain whether he devised its classes himself or derived them from another source, Javanese, Indonesian, or Dutch.

If Kartasupana got his classification from another source, obvious candidates would be an acquaintance or a text. He did not own the well-known Javanese bibliography of Poerwasoewignja and Wirawangsa (1920-21) and
Ockeloen's bibliography of books and periodicals in various Indonesian languages (1966, originally published in 1940), but then these are not arranged thematically anyway. While there were no treatises on bibliography or library science in his collection, he may have studied someone else's or come across an article in one of the periodicals he owned.

It is also possible that Kartasupana found inspiration in a library that used a similar system for ordering its holdings. There were precedents. The colonial government's Committee for Popular Reading Matter had set up school libraries from 1910. In 1917 there were 772 in the Javanese- and Sundanese-speaking districts and in 1919 their number had risen to 909, with another 75 in the Madurese-speaking areas and 371 containing Malay books in other regions (Een weg n.d.:47). In 1926 the Committee's successor, the Office for Popular Reading Matter, or Bale Pustaka in Javanese, managed 80 indigenous popular libraries (Inlandsche volksbibliotheken) in the district of Surakarta, all of which specialized in Javanese. By now there were 2244 such libraries throughout the Indies containing books in the same four Indonesian languages as in the preceding decade (Resultaten 1926 n.d.:22). In 1930 the number of indigenous popular libraries in Surakarta had risen by six, among a total of 1248 holding Javanese books, and 2528 in the four languages together (Kantoor 1931:29).

These libraries may or may not have been ordered along thematic lines, but the Committee and Bale Pustaka certainly did assign the works that they had placed in them to broad thematic classes. Though labeled in Dutch, some are close to those that Kartasupana used. In the same period there was talk of training the librarians of Dutch public collections in the Netherlands Indies in the Dewey Decimal Classification system for cataloging purposes (Een weg n.d.:115). This system is thematic. Whereas the palace library where Kartasupana was later to work did not code or shelve its collection by theme or genre, the manuscripts in the library of the Paheman Radyapustaka, the Javanese learned society founded in Surakarta in 1890, had been cataloged in 1927 according to 11 textual classes, and the printed books according to 21 (Behrend and Titik Pudjiastuti 1997:498-9). This was done apparently at the instigation of Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, the colonial 'language officer' who was based in Surakarta from 1926 to 1932. I do not know the details of the classification. In the 1970s the Reksapustaka library of the Mangkunagaran court was found by Girardet to have its own content-based classification (Girardet et al. 1983:xi). It is possible that this was made by R. Tanaya (a former associate of Pigeaud), who wrote a catalog of the Reksapustaka collection only a few years before Kartasupana did the same for his own books.7

Irrespective of whether and to what extent he had created it himself or got it from another source – a question to which I shall return – Kartasupana used a classificatory system whose main defining principle was thematic, and which allowed him to assign the books in his collection to proportionate classes, leaving no gaps. Unlike Borges’s famous classification of animals from a ‘Chinese’ encyclopedia that set Foucault pealing with laughter (Foucault 1970), Kartasupana’s system had several levels that were organized hierarchically according to the taxonomic principles of contrast and inclusion. This yielded sets, subsets, further subsets, and so on. The terminal level was that of the books, identified by their titles.

3. The catalog’s design

We know little about the historical circumstances in which the kretabhasa, the Sang Hyang Siksakandang Karesian, and even the Centhini were put together. This makes it difficult to study the thematization that their makers engaged in under the aspect of cultural practice. About the circumstances preceding and surrounding Kartasupana’s project much more is known. But before I can attempt to contextualize the kind of encyclopedic thematization he engaged in when he made his catalog, it is necessary to delve into its design. I shall address the levels of the taxonomy, their interrelations, and the choice of classes later. First I focus on Kartasupana’s response to the problems of description: the format of the catalog entries and the headwords that designated the classes.

The entries and their description

Kartasupana organized his inventory as a table. Each page has three columns, headed ‘ordinal number’ (angka urut), ‘title of the book’ (namaning serat), and ‘commentary’ (katrangan). The ordinal numbers are Arabic – that is to say European – not Javanese and start from 1 for each main thematic class. Their sole purpose seems to have been to count the entries in each class (for which I have not used them in the appendix since they are unreliable).
The second column, besides quoting the title, gives volume numbers where applicable and marks with a code (in Roman characters) if the book is handwritten or in tembang. The commentary in the third column is a brief characterization of the item's contents. In the case of printed books this often consists of the subtitle or a shortened version. This column also mentions the author's name if it was readily recognizable. One example must suffice (the italics denote Javanese characters):


That is:

16. | The Prime and the Ultimate + Specifications for the Gnostic Insight into God's Living. MS. | Teachings from – I mention his name with respect – His Reverence of Bonang, which are widespread in the Javanese land.

This manuscript, now in my possession, consists of two quires of paper bound together. The first contains the Purwa Wasana. It is in tembang. Kartasupana took his description of the manuscript's contents from the title page of this part: 'Book of Specifications for the Gnostic Insight into God's Living, a legacy of teachings from – I mention his name with respect – His Reverence of Bonang, which are widespread in the Javanese land: and so forth'. (The saint of Bonang is one of the legendary figures credited with the dissemination of Islam in Java.)

Occasionally the third column just names the author or is left empty altogether, presumably because the entry's title and its allocation to a particular class provided sufficient thematic information for the time being. Kartasupana left further description of the realms of experience that his books related to, to the texts in the books themselves.

The language Kartasupana used for the commentary was the same as that of the book he was describing. Likewise it seems that he wanted to mirror the script of each book in the script he used in the second and third columns. He did this consistently in all cases that I could check. This inference is further supported by the fact that the title and commentary of one entry, initially noted in Roman script though the book was actually printed in Javanese

put at the bottom of the table describing the class or on an additional leaf that he pasted in later, sometimes without numbering them. The books from Kartasupana's collection that I have seen are not marked with numbers.

9 Serat Wirit Makripat Kayatolah, wasiyat piwulang sangking tabe-tabe Jeng Sinuhun ing Benang, kang sumebar ing tanah Jawi: sapitutupin.
characters, were later corrected to yield exactly the same wording in Javanese script. There are no entries in Arabic script, presumably, then, because none of the books were entirely in this script.  

Kartasupana disliked horizontal and vertical emptiness in the first two columns. He symbolically filled the rows that would otherwise remain blank with hyphens, dots, and horizontal and oblique lines of the kind that one associates with a ledger. (Whereas there were no works on library science in Kartasupana’s library, he did own a three-volume manuscript titled The Science of Bookkeeping [Ilmoe Mentegang Boekoe, in Indonesian], characterized in the third column as ‘Lessons’ (Peladjaran).) As mentioned earlier, full inscription of the area between the margins is a long-standing feature of Javanese page design. No doubt this tradition played a role for Kartasupana. He did not fill in the third column and even left it blank for some entries. Here practical considerations overruled aesthetic ones. He needed room to be able to comment on those items at a later stage.

Describing the items in his library, then, Kartasupana relied primarily on information they offered themselves. In most cases he considered the titles and subtitles, which indeed were mainly thematic characterizations, sufficient information about the diegeses of the texts. He seems to have opted for a tabular layout for reasons of convenience. When cast in the cells of a table, textual units are easier to retrieve than in continuous writing of the traditional kind. Moreover Kartasupana envisaged that he would finish the inventory in stages, and this format allowed him to leave space open for later completion.

The headwords in the class titles

The classes among which Kartasupana distributed his books bore titles, some of them consisting of a single word, others of a structured list. There is an overview in a table of contents on p. 2 of the catalog (see Figure 1a):

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This is remarkable. Religious, ethical, and philosophical works abounded in Kartasupana’s library, but it seems he owned no lithographed or manuscript Arabic treatises of the kind that was studied in Islamic schools. (Some of his books to which I have access do include loose words and phrases in Arabic script.) While he possessed texts on Balinese religion, Gautama Buddha, and Christianity, including a Javanese translation of St. Luke’s Gospel, Kartasupana probably considered himself a Muslim. It cannot be a coincidence that the first three items in the first class of his catalog are renditions of or commentaries on the Koran. Titled Kur’an jawen, Kur’an kajazvekaken, and Tapsir Kur’an jawen, they are described in Javanese script, however. The second probably contained the Arabic text in Arabic characters and a Javanese version in Javanese characters (see Ockeloen 1966:258); the others I have not been able to identify.

I use the term diegesis to refer to the configurations of entities, processes, conditions, and moods that are represented in discourse and moored to the situations of discourse in variable ways and degrees. See Arps 1996 for a discussion.

The manuscript was unpaginated. The page numbers are mine.
Peranganing buku:

A bab: agami.
B " ngelmu.
C " piwulang.
D " kasusastran—tetembungan.
E " anggambar—joged, nabuh, nembang—natah.
F " pakriyan, pakaryan—kasarasan, sasakit—tataneman, ingah-ingahan.
G " kawruh warni-warni.
H " babad, sajarah—asalsilah.
I " cariyos wayang: purwa—madya—gedhog—klithik.
J " cariyos—dongeng—anggitan—pengetan. [added later:] (cathetan—primbon)

In English translation:

The division of books:

A on: Religion.
B " [Esoteric] science.
C " Teachings.
D " Philology—vocabulary.
E " Painting/drawing—dance, playing the gamelan, singing—chiselling.
F " Crafts, work—health, diseases—cultivated plants, domesticated animals.
G " Miscellaneous knowledge.
H " Histories, genealogies—pedigrees.
I " Wayang stories: purwa—madya—gedhog—klithik.
J "Stories—tales—fiction—commemorative writings.[added later:] (notes—compendia)

Periodicals.
Figure 1a. Page 2 of Kartasupana’s catalog.
Legend and the list of categories, showing their initial clustering.
Figure 1b. Page 3 of Kartasupana’s catalog.
Beginning of the category ‘A Agami’.
In respect of their denotation the headwords in the titles are of four types, which I shall examine closely because they show how Kartasupana thematized the texts in his books on a more abstract level than that of the description of the entries.

The first kind of headword is a noun or verb that denotes the domain of experience which the texts in question contribute to or portray. For example: agami 'religion', ngelmu '[mystical, philosophical, magical] science', kasusastran 'philology, [the study of] letters', joged 'dance', pakaryan 'work, occupations, professions', kasan san 'health', ingah-ingahan 'domesticated animals'. The verbs are ainggambar 'to paint, draw', nabuh 'to play the gamelan', tembang 'to sing [texts in tembang]', and natah 'to chisel'. These headwords identify themes — broad ones, but themes nevertheless. In the table of contents Kartasupana introduced each class with the word bab, which means — besides 'paragraph, section, chapter' (in a written text) — 'theme, topic, subject' (of discourse) and can be used, as Kartasupana did, as a thematizing preposition meaning 'concerning, regarding, on, about'. Most of the themes are represented by nouns and thereby portrayed as things. Only a few are represented by verbs, revealing a more processual conceptualization.

Secondly, and closely related to the preceding, Kartasupana used a phrase outlining a very broad, cognitively conceived thematic class: kawruh warni-warni 'miscellaneous knowledge'.

In the third place, Kartasupana labeled some of his classes with nouns — in one case, a noun phrase — that designate the genres to which the texts in the books could be said to belong. They are piwulang 'teachings, lessons', babad 'histories', sajarah 'genealogies', asalsilah 'pedigrees', dongeng 'tales', anggitan 'fiction', cariyos wayang 'wayang stories', cariyos 'stories' without a qualification, pengetan 'commemorative writings', and primbon 'compendia'. Some of these genre names, such as piwulang, babad, dongeng, and anggitan, may be used to refer to both oral discourse and writing. Others, like sajarah, asalsilah, and pengetan, usually refer to written texts. Though these labels themselves do not designate cultural domains like those of the first kind, most of the genres are associated with particular thematic complexes. It is not just any kind of teachings that is termed piwulang, but lessons on social conduct grounded in moral philosophy. Babad recount the history of dynasties or geographical regions, or the exploits of renowned individuals. Primbon are compendia of information on occult practice, especially augury and the determination of the import of calendrical units. Even anggitan suggests a field of experience, namely one that is not regarded as factual. Only the label 'stories' (cariyos) has no thematic connotations. By using these genre names Kartasupana thus did thematize domains of experience, albeit indirectly and with one exception. This is perhaps why he had no scruples about using the thematizing preposition bab in the table of con-
tents to introduce not only the classes whose titles named themes, but also those that named genres.

It is obvious that Kartasupana worked with a notion of genre. He did not use a metadiscursive term representing this particular theoretical concept, but this is hardly surprising since a dedicated term for it did not exist in Javanese. In textual scholarship of the preceding two decades I have come across words like *werna* 'appearance, form, color; type, kind, sort', *golongan* 'group, class', and *digolong-golongake* 'assigned to groups/classes' and *diperang* 'divided (into)' in reference to types of texts. Kartasupana himself used *perangan* 'division' in the heading of the table of contents, and in the body of the catalog he titled one manuscript *'[To be] classed as a History of Surakarta' (kagolong Babad Surakarta)*. These words are not terminologically restricted to texts. Though their use in this connection is rare, it shows that Kartasupana and others before him conceived genre as a class to which a text belongs. (This is a widespread conception also in Euro-American scholarship, but not the only one; see Bauman 1992.) A classificatory conception of genre (and of theme) was endorsed in Kartasupana's case by the format of the inventory, namely one organized in sets. Kartasupana was putting a collection of material objects in order, assigning each of them to a class once.

Finally, the nouns *cathetan* 'notes' and *kalawarti* 'periodicals' name types of written text or books in respect of their production. These words do not invoke particular themes.

Only in two cases out of twenty-eight, then, did Kartasupana use words that actually denote classes of books for describing his classes of books. Most of the headwords represented either spheres of practice and phenomena or classes of texts. The labels denoted or connoted themes in the diegeses of the texts. By tagging the classes of books, characterizing them with diegetically descriptive headwords, Kartasupana equated the classes of tangible objects that were his books with types, with cultural categories.

The arrangement of classes

Kartasupana used classification not only to typify the contents of his books, but also as the principle for arranging the catalog. Four taxonomic levels are

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13 Kats (1934) used these words. This textbook on Javanese literature was originally written in Dutch (see Arps forthcoming). Though Hardjowirogo (1952) and Raosing *Serat-Serat* (1928) discussed literary genres comparatively, they lack a term meaning 'genre'. Other options from the Javanese lexicon, like *jinis* 'genus, kind, race', *rupa* 'appearance, form, kind', and *bangsa* 'nation; kind, sort', are not used in these sources to refer to texts.

14 *Cathetan* is derived from the verb *nyathet*, literally 'stitch up loosely', and *kalawarti* is a compound of *kala* 'time' and *warti* 'report, news'. *Primbon*, now the designation of a manual for occult practices, probably originates from *imbuh* 'add, increase' through *pra-imbuh-an* which would mean 'accumulation', alluding to the accretion of notes over time in such texts.
Figure 2a. Page 26 of Kartasupana's catalog.
Some items from the category 'H Babad, sajarah—asalsilah'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Item Description</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Item 10</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Item 11</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Item 12</td>
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<td>Item 21</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Item 22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 2b. Page 27 of Kartasupana's catalog.
Some items from the category 'H Babad, sajarah — asalsilah'.
clearly and regularly demarcated by formal means. All are represented in the
table of contents, reproduced earlier. They are, firstly, the ten major classes
coded with Roman capital letters (A–J), most of which are composed of sev-
eral named themes or genres. Kartasupana stuck pieces of paper stamped
with the codes on the brown paper dust-jackets which he put on his books.
This suggests that the codes served as shelfmarks too. The ten classes are
followed by one uncoded class on the same level, containing periodicals. The
classes’ titles serve as headers above the sections into which the body of the
catalog is divided (as in Figure 1b and 2). Hence the table of contents, a sec-
ond-order description that represents the inventory’s arrangement of the
selected themes and genres, provided a simple solution to the problem of
retrieval.

The class titles that are lists are hierarchically structured. There are two
levels of subclasses, whose boundaries are drawn by means of punctuation
in the lists. The headwords on the first sublevel are followed and/or preced-
ed by a dash (not, by the way, a conventional element of the Javanese
graphemic repertoire), those on the second by a *paten* or *pada lingsa* (which
are functionally equivalent in standard Javanese orthography and corre-
spond roughly to the Roman script’s comma). A tree diagram of class E may
serve to illustrate the hierarchy:

```
E
   painting/drawing  ?  chiselling
         dancing  playing the gamelan  singing
```

Not all major classes with composite titles have both sublevels. Some of the
titles on the first sublevel are lists as well, others consist of one word.

Finally, Kartasupana grouped the coded classes into four clusters, which
received neither codes nor titles (Figure 1a). The eleventh major class was
excluded from the clustering.

Of particular interest are the classes and subclasses characterized with

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15 Some of Kartasupana’s books contain evidence of earlier classification, perhaps by previ-
ous owners, in the shape of other codes consisting of Roman capitals and/or Arabic numbers,
but it is impossible to ascertain on what principles the classification was based.
several headwords, class G, and the uncoded class of periodicals. Kartasupana titled major classes A, B, C, and G with single words or phrases, and I with an overall genre label, 'wayang stories', followed by four labels for subgenres concerned with consecutive periods in the wayang mythology. But he failed to give D to F and H and J a single headword. Their labels are composite despite the fact that the classes, being classes, are represented as wholes. Exactly the same applies to the subclasses whose titles are lists. If one scrutinizes their contents, it emerges that they are polythetic, that is, they are constituted by serial likenesses or sporadic resemblances. Unlike those of monothetic classes, their individual constituents are not necessarily identical in any respect (Needham 1983). Kartasupana was disinclined or unable to represent the overall unity of the polythetic classes in their labeling. The obvious explanation is that the maker(s) of the scheme could not think of a suitable Javanese word that denoted the general themes and genres in question or even that they were not lexicalized at all. This does not mean that Javanese could not think or speak of them as wholes; Kartasupana, at least, evidently did. But perhaps they were less 'naturalized' (Hanks 1996:246) in the Javanese discourse that the scheme's creators were familiar with than those which did receive a single name. These polythetic classes may have been derived from Dutch sources, though in most cases cover terms for labeling them do not spring to this Dutch speaker's mind either.

The class titled 'G Miscellaneous knowledge' bore in effect an uncharacteristically vague designation. When one surveys the titles and commentaries in this class – with the benefit of hindsight, a benefit that Kartasupana lacked if the scheme was prefabricated or if he devised it before studying the books in depth – certain thematic tendencies become apparent. Kartasupana did mark some of these in the body of the catalog. (See this category in the appendix.) He could have been more explicit and systematic than he was in this case.

That the eleventh class, that of periodicals, is not coded and not included in a cluster, is striking, as is the fact that the coded classes contain some periodicals as well. The most likely explanation is that Kartasupana considered the periodicals that he set apart too diverse textually to justify characterization by theme or genre. Class 'G Miscellaneous knowledge', by contrast, is heterogeneous as a whole, but each of its books is more easily seen as thematically homogeneous. Placing some periodicals in a separate class, Kartasupana gave priority to formal properties over contents. It is probably due to its aberrant constitution that he did not code this class and excluded it from the fourfold clustering, which was thematic.

I thank Douglas Lewis for introducing me to this concept and directing me to Needham's essay.
Dividing into classes is a rigid way to typify. Since the diegeses of the texts that Kartasupana was putting in order were complex and could be thematized in more than one way, uncompromising classification was prone to be unsatisfactory. Kartasupana indeed subverted the strictness of the system. In the first place, the correspondence between the themes named in the composite class titles on the one hand, and on the other hand the order in which the books are actually registered in the catalog, is indistinct. It is often unclear which books Kartasupana allotted to which named theme because the two levels of subclasses are not marked or even consistently reflected in the listing of titles. The entries of each class are not clearly and regularly arranged in sets of a lower order. This may be due in part to later additions (see my remarks in the appendix, categories D-F, H-J).

Another way in which Kartasupana effectively attenuated the inflexibility of the classificatory grid was by qualifying some class titles in the headers of the body of the catalog. The qualifications indicate further thematic categorization, but they do not establish a further taxonomic sublevel. They are absent from the table of contents and not unequivocally mirrored in the order of the entries. 'A Religion' is specified with the phrase 'Islam and other', 'B [Esoteric] science' with 'mental and other', and 'C Teachings' ditto. 'G Miscellaneous knowledge' was initially qualified only with 'ideas, instruments'. Later 'teachings' was added in pencil to the header of the last page of this class, thus, in this case, suggesting taxonomic subranking in the second instance. (See the appendix.) The clarifications are found in all and only the classes that are titled with a single headword or phrase (except 'Periodicals', but that is a different sort of class anyway). Kartasupana failed to title these classes with lists as though he considered them thematically homogeneous, yet by means of the qualifications he did acknowledge thematic subcategories in them. I do not know why he did not (possibly with one later exception) give these taxonomic status while singling them out nevertheless. The occurrence of 'mental and other' in both B and C, a thematic characterization transecting the otherwise two-dimensional taxonomy, might be considered an indication that Kartasupana was moving toward a three-dimensional classificatory model, but the other qualifications do not bear this out. As things stand Kartasupana merely marked that classes B and C intersected in that some doctrines in both domains of discourse were concerned with the mind.

Finally, Kartasupana did not maintain the system of classification represented in the table of contents rigorously in the catalog itself. There are a few discrepancies. Above I have reproduced the table of contents, which includes a class 'J Stories—tales—fiction—commemorative writings. [added later:] (notes—compendia). However, in the body of the catalog, 'stories—tales—fiction' on the one hand, and 'commemorative writings' on the other, are separate classes (see the appendix). It can be inferred that Kartasupana worked
Figure 3. Loose leaf from Kartasupana’s catalog (formerly pasted inside the front cover). The later reclustering of coded categories.

with a fixed grid of classes. When he actually recorded the books, he made changes to the classification, while he did not amend the table of contents. He did the opposite in the case of ‘notes—compendia’, adding these headwords to the table of contents but not to the page headers in the catalog.

The clustering of classes

The grouping into four clusters is marked only in the table of contents, not in the body of the catalog. The clusters are not labeled, which suggests in this case too that the general categories they represent were not naturalized in Javanese discourse. Assuming that the clustering is thematically based and that each cluster has a monothetic core, their common denominators seem to be something like: scholarship – skills – history – narratives.

Kartasupana had second thoughts about the clustering. He later added a loose leaf to the catalog, regrouping the ten coded classes (see Figure 3). It suggests a partial rethinking of the connections between the classes, a rethinking that was quite radical. The sequential order of the classes remained the same, but their boundaries were – quite literally – redrawn:

I know that this happened later because the reclustering was recorded on a leaf that was
Religion
[Esoteric] science
Teachings
Philology, vocabulary
Art, performing arts.
Health, diseases, work
Miscellaneous knowledge
Histories, genealogies
Stories
Tales—fiction, notes

The new clusters were coded with Roman numerals, but they still received no descriptive tags. The clusters and their codes do not reappear elsewhere in the catalog. Perhaps the common denominators are: spiritual scholarship (I) – the arts (II) – everyday knowledge and skills (III) – narratives (IV). Cluster IV names discourse genres, clusters I to III, with the exception of ‘c Teachings’, thematic categories.

It is remarkable that the sequential order of classes could remain the same. This was feasible because they had been arranged in such a way that adjacency in the listing implied thematic affinity. From a logical point of view, the order in which the constituents of a set are listed is irrelevant – unless it is polythetically constituted, which is what the clusters are. The boundary between G and H is the only one that is drawn in both clusterings. Roughly speaking it signals a conceptual divide between expository texts classed by theme on the one hand, and narratives classed by genre on the other (though the narratives in fact frame many expositions).

Some of the classes had different titles in the second list of contents. Headwords were inverted, a few were left out, and their hierarchical structure was simplified. Most importantly, Kartasupana reduced the complexity of the earlier titles by generalizing further, using new headwords, thus bringing greater unity to categories that were first represented as more composite.

physically an addition to the catalog, and because it was written not with a dip- or fountain-pen like the rest of the catalog but with a ball-point, just like a number of evident additions to the list of entries.
Category 'E Painting/drawing—dance, playing the gamelan, singing—chiselling', for instance, was now represented as 'e Art, performing arts'.

Selection: assigning books to classes

The range of discourse themes that Kartasupana inventoried was constrained by two factors. He was concerned only with fields of experience about which had been written, and with writings that he happened to own. Within these boundaries I do not know whether Kartasupana began with a ready-made grid of categories and fitted his books into it, or, on the basis of a preliminary survey of the themes and genres of his books, devised a categorial grid himself. But seeing that he reformulated and added to the category titles, both approaches were involved in the later stages of the catalog's production. Either way Kartasupana had to face the problem of selection. He and his possible sources had to identify discourse themes and genres generally, and he had to identify a theme or genre for each book.

As to the selection of themes generally, it is clear that the categorial scheme as a whole was geared for Javanese discourse. Besides the words and phrases in the class titles discussed above, many other words and phrases denoting themes and discursive or textual genres occur in the catalog entries. (See the appendix for some examples.) Kartasupana did not promote them to headwords, however. Apparently he or his sources considered them more restricted in thematic scope than the nomenclature selected to characterize the classes' contents, or they ignored them for other reasons. The small proportion of potential thematic categories that were elevated to classificatory status are Javanese, diegetically in some cases and always lexically. There can be no doubt that wayang, for example, and primbon, babad, nabuh, and nembang were thoroughly Javanese in Kartasupana's eyes. All the words in the category titles were part of the Javanese vocabulary. I have glossed them in English and even used the glosses to refer to them, but in fact only a few correspond neatly to an English or Dutch word. Labels like pakriyan, kasarasan, and kalawarti, possibly loan translations of ambachten 'crafts' or nijverheid 'industry', gezondheid 'health', and tijdschrift 'periodical', had been in use for decades. Kartasupana did not coin them. To the extent that the labels were loanwords of non-Austronesian stock (like agami 'religion' from Sanskrit agama 'sacred doctrine, sacred text', sajarah 'pedigree' from Arabic shajara 'tree'), they had been fully naturalized in the course of several centuries. On the other hand Kartasupana did not use patently European-derived words in the primary classification, such as tehnik or ekonomi, although these words featured in the Javanese discourse of the time and texts on the fields of experience they denote, as well as others such as international law, were in his catalog. Nor did he use another relative novelty in the Javanese thematic repertoire, one that had been frequently discussed by the
intelligentsia over the preceding forty years or so, namely the category of 'literature'. I shall briefly return to these glaring omissions (which is what some would have judged them to be) below.

When Kartasupana assigned his books to cultural domains, he relied in the first instance on the themes proposed by the book titles and, where present, subtitles. He was particularly interested in keywords that corresponded to the titles of his classes. Having looked at the texts in more detail, he changed his mind in several cases, adding a comment to this effect to the description. (Two examples are noted in the appendix under category A, and there is more in the catalog.) Kartasupana moved an item to another class once. Initially he recorded a manuscript whose title contains the word weddha, which is semantically close to ngelmu ['esoteric] science', in category B. This category lists several other works entitled weddha, which do contain philosophically tinted speculations. However, realizing later that the text was in fact about the princely houses of Mangku Nagara and Paku Buwana, Kartasupana struck the entry out, added a note 'see H' (zie H), and re-registered the manuscript at the bottom of 'H Histories, genealogies—pedigrees'. The keywords that he found on the title pages could be misleading.

The book titles were not always Kartasupana’s yardstick, as a number of peculiar placements make clear. Kartasupana included a work by F.L. Winter entitled 'An Account of and the Regulations for the Orders and Medals of the Netherlands, with Plates' (Pratelan tuwin Pranatan Bintang ing Praja Nederland, mawi Gambar) under 'E Painting/drawing [...]', as well as a Dutch pocket guide to minerals, plants/fishes, and insects. He took the fact that they were illustrated as thematically primary. He may have made a similar move when he classed a book 'The Minor Civil Servant’s Certificate without a Teacher' (Kleinambtenaars Diploma zonder onderwijzer) under 'D Philology—vocabulary'. One should think that this was better suited to 'F Crafts, work [...]', but maybe it resembled a dictionary in its organization. (I have not seen it.) In a similar vein Kartasupana put Padmasusastra’s Bauwarna in D. The articles of this encyclopedia are arranged by headword in the order of the Javanese syllabary (Behrend and Titik Pudjiastuti 1997:475-7; Wieringa forthcoming). Kartasupana saw the headwords as terms that were explained, like in a dictionary.

Kartasupana exercised ample classificatory leniency when he registered 'Predators in Winter' (Roofdieren in den winter) in the subcategory 'domesticated animals' of category F. This book was part of a series titled 'Animals and Their Environment' (Dieren en hun omgeving). The same series’ volumes on insects, insectivores, rodents, and reptiles, among others, were also in F although I suppose that very few Javanese, or Dutchmen for that matter, were keen on keeping such beasts. An even more radical attempt to reconcile a theme of European extraction with a Javanese theme was the placement of
'The Printing of Books and Plates' (Het drukken van boeken en platen (Rentjana pentjetaan boekoe dan gambar)) in the subcategory 'chiselling' of category E, alongside Sukir's well-known treatise on the chiselling and coloring of wayang puppets. These examples signal that Kartasupana described the books proceeding from a preconceived scheme (which he may have contrived himself or borrowed) and did not always care to amend it as he was confronted with anomalies.

Kartasupana was classing books above all, and sometimes one book comprised several texts of a totally different character. He put a manuscript containing the story of Pranacitra (suitable for inclusion in 'H Histories [...] or 'J Stories [...]'), a text on etiquette (usually classed under 'C Teachings'), and one on courtly idiom in category 'D Philology—vocabulary', treating the last text as criterial. It cannot be inferred from the catalog alone on what grounds he decided where to class compilations like this, and why he did not create a separate class for them analogous to periodicals, where he solved the same problem, that of thematic heterogeneity in a single book, in a different way.

Kartasupana thematized by categorizing. He took his books, and classed them according to the themes or thematically grounded genres of their texts, which he made explicit by labeling the classes. He labeled types, making them into categories, he labeled classes, making them into categories too, and mapped the two kinds of categories onto each other. He indicated thematic affinity by arranging the classes in an order that revealed their concatenation. Kartasupana's classification of books was taxonomically ordered and its taxa were established through typifying texts by theme or genre. The taxonomy of the books was a typonomy of the texts.


Two days after Kartasupana had started on his catalog, the Republic of Indonesia's capital Yogyakarta, only 60 km south-west of Surakarta, was invaded by Dutch troops; it fell the following day. The Dutch invaded Surakarta on 20 December. Political and economic circumstances here had been chaotic for several years before. Bandits were afoot. Armed conflict had broken out between communist militants and Republican army divisions, later joined by other anti-communists, after mid-September 1948. And all this in a city where two princedoms, a territorial and a municipal government, the Republic of Indonesia, and from 20 December the Dutch were making more or less open attempts to maintain or establish administrative control, not to mention various autonomous local governments in the surrounding rural areas (Soejatno 1974:105-10).
Perhaps Kartasupana felt it wise to stay off the streets for a while and took advantage of the chaotic situation outside to order his book collection. At any rate his home town was a fertile environment for composing a text about the themes of texts. Surakarta was a center of text and book production, and had been since its foundation two centuries before. The most celebrated Javanese scholars and authors had been Surakartanese, the two courts and some princely mansions had had scriptoria where texts were created, copied, and rewritten (the *Serat Centhini* being one among many), the first Javanese-language periodicals were edited and published in Surakarta from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, and the city housed several publishers and booksellers. Its schools attached to various institutions, including the courts, had made it a major center of teaching. With its libraries it was also a center of book preservation. In the course of all these activities texts and their contents were talked about.

The transference of discourse themes

Work and talk on texts being widespread in Surakarta, Kartasupana could readily turn to thematization practices in his environment when he inventoried the world of experiences represented by his library. He did not coin the words that typified his classes, nor was he the first to single out the themes and genres that he did. He built on entrenched traditions as well as relatively recent trends of thematization, some transferred to him through written texts, others perhaps in face-to-face encounters as well.18 This is apparent from the descriptions of each of the books, their placement, and the selection and naming of the categories.

As noted earlier, Kartasupana was concerned not with all discourse that circulated or had circulated in his environment but only with fields of interest that had been written about in his books. The producers of these books, their authors, editors, publishers, had already done a great deal of thematizing for him. They gave their books titles, for instance, and Kartasupana usually relied on title pages.

Titling often serves thematization. Many of the titles of the Javanese books in Kartasupana’s library included keywords that named their themes. It was not uncommon, for instance, to open a title with the preposition *bab*. Examples from the catalog include: *Bab Kasarasaning Lare Alit* ‘About the Health of Infants’, which Kartasupana classed in ‘F […] health, diseases […]’, *Bab Natah sarta Nyungging Ringgit Wacucal* ‘About the Chiselling and

18 Certain ways of being are invested with authority due to the perception that they are or should be shared by a group of people: back into the past and forward into the future, or across social and geographical space. I use the term ‘tradition’ for the former, ‘trend’ for the latter, and ‘transference’ to cover both.
Coloring of Shadow Puppets', registered, as noted above, in 'E [...] chiselling', and Bab Pangerehing Kapal 'About the Training of Horses', which he classed in 'F [...] domesticated animals'. Thematic titles were also common for the Indonesian and Dutch books.\(^{19}\)

The titles of Javanese books especially often contained genre labels of the kind that Kartasupana was also keen to find. Texts composed according to the conventions of the genres called babad, wirid 'mystical specifications', nitik 'close examination', and primbon, for example, were usually given titles that begin with precisely these words, as in Babad Surakarta, Wirid Makrifat Kayatollah, Nitik Surakarta, and Primbon Warni-Warni. Even if the genre names in the book titles did not correspond to headwords in the titles of his classes, like wirid and nitik, Kartasupana was helped by them. Wirid was in keeping with category 'B [Esoteric] science', and nitik with 'H Histories [...]'.

Some of the institutions that had commissioned books in Kartasupana's library, like the Committee for Popular Reading Matter and Bale Pustaka, had done so proceeding from themes (health, agriculture, et cetera) that were in his categorial scheme. The authors and patrons of more traditional Javanese literature had also composed and commissioned texts proceeding from certain thematic categories and genres. The Serat Centhini, for instance, mentions that the crown prince gave order 'to fashion a story about events in the past' and that 'the source works of Javanese knowledge / be laid out to make a story'. Indeed it was in class 'J Stories [...] that Kartasupana placed his copies of the Centhini. The books' producers, then, had already suggested some of the classification for Kartasupana.

When Kartasupana or his sources composed the categorial grid, they selected categories from the thematic repertoire of the texts and other discourse available at the time. These may have been categories that had been identified in earlier reflection on themes, or themes and genres that simply circulated and which may or may not have been identified as such before. They made choices when they drew up the grid; innumerable potential themes and genres were not selected for the typonomy. I can detect four considerations that may have played a role: the feasibility of an existing categorial scheme, and the generality or inclusiveness, Javaneseness, and noteworthiness of categories.

The themes of Kartasupana's scheme were worded in Javanese. This does not mean that he devised it himself. There had been other attempts to classi-

\(^{19}\) Unlike the Balinese practice of titling palm leaf manuscripts discussed by Zurbuchen, which often involves quoting the first text's opening words (1987:86-7). Many of the individual texts in such manuscripts – at least the Old Javanese ones I am familiar with – do bear thematic titles, however, which are mentioned at the beginning or end or in a colophon. Further research into titling and its relation to thematization is clearly called for.
fy book collections in Java using the Javanese language. It is possible that one of these had produced a scheme that he judged satisfactory, and which he was therefore content to adopt integrally or in part. This may have been from a library catalog, but if it is, I cannot say which. Kartasupana labeled his classes of books with Javanese words, but some of the categories so created seem not to be of Javanese derivation. I have suggested that the polythetic categories, not labeled with single words or phrases, were less naturalized in the discourse of Kartasupana’s environment. The fact of their thematization as single categories seems colonially inspired. A possible source is thus of the Committee for Popular Reading Matter or Bale Pustaka, which used genres and themes when it commissioned and advertised its books.

A comparison reveals no full correspondence, only a number of suggestive similarities. The working programme for the Committee for Popular Reading Matter drawn up in 1918 distinguished, first of all, between reading matter for adults and for children (Een weg n.d.:131-3), a distinction that Kartasupana did not make. The former was divided into two: ‘reading matter for relaxation’ (ontspanningslectuur) and ‘developmental reading matter’ (ontwikkelingslectuur), with the caveat that the division could not be maintained for all works; in children’s books it was still less applicable. Kartasupana did not make this distinction either. There was another classification, however:

I. stories and novels;
II. [works of] moral import, pedagogy, political economy;
III. knowledge of language;
IV. history, geography, travelogues;
V. agriculture, animal husbandry, fishery;
VI. health science;
VII. miscellanea, including art, folklore and ethnology.

(Een weg n.d.:133, in translation)²⁰

Religion and esoteric science were lacking – of course, because the Committee had decided, as they put it, to adopt as neutral as possible a stance on religious convictions (Een weg n.d.:129) and considered stories that might strengthen the population’s superstitious convictions unsuitable for publica-

²⁰ A very similar classification had been used earlier (see the table reproduced in Jedamski 1997:184, concerning 1916), while in later years it was simplified to: a. recreational reading matter; b. popular scientific literature (which included themes that classes II, III, IV, and VII had covered before, as well as physics, law, biology, psychology, accounting, and more); c. agriculture, animal husbandry, industry; d. medicine and hygiene (Resultaten 1926 n.d.:59-79; Kantoor 1931:47-9). Brongeest and Drewes (n.d.:30-l) present a slightly different categorization, with ‘Economics, Administration, Ordinances, et cetera’ replacing popular science, and adding ‘Periodicals’
tion (Een weg n.d.:132). Nor was there a separate category of wayang stories, these being subsumed under stories and novels. But if one disregards the differences in language and translation, the classes and some subclasses which one also finds in the scheme that Kartasupana applied do shine through.21

The person, or persons, who drew up the scheme that Kartasupana used, rejected many categories that were prominent enough to be taken into consideration. Whether or not Kartasupana was responsible for the choices, he endorsed them by applying the scheme. Among the evaluative grounds for these choices, one is of a technical nature. It concerns the denotation, the range of typical referents, of the genre labels. Words like babad and piwu-lang, on the one hand, and nitik 'close examination [of a historical episode or figure]' and pitutur 'advice', on the other, by no means need to have an inherently different status in ordinary discourse. They are nothing but nouns that denote discourse genres, that signify and thereby typify portions of experience. Yet Kartasupana used the former as headwords for titling sets of books, giving them a typonomic function. He used them not just to typify but also to classify. This may be due in part to the feeling that the latter were less general, less thematically accommodative than the former.

A further evaluative ground for choosing the categories in Kartasupana's scheme concerns both the labels themselves and their typification potential. It is Javaneseness. As noted above, Kartasupana gave the categories Javanese labels, not Dutch ones, and some of the categories should be seen as distinctly Javanese in content too.22 This is significant because Kartasupana did conceive the inventory itself, as a text, in both Javanese and European terms, seeing that he gave it a Javanese title in Javanese script and a Dutch one (from Greek by way of Latin) in Roman script.

Kartasupana disregarded a number of thematic categories that had been vigorously promoted, placing the texts that thematized them in other cate-

21 The Committee's classification was hardly revolutionary in the western context. It is probably genealogically related in some way to the Dewey Decimal Classification system for library cataloging, which in some respects resembles Kartasupana's scheme more strongly than the Committee's did. I want to note this but have not done enough historical research to be able to specify, let alone explain the relations. The DDC was created by the American librarian Melvil Dewey in 1873 and first published in 1879 (Hamakonda and Tairas 1998:2). Indonesian accounts of it appeared since at least 1959, and at present it is widely used here. Most of its main classes (Hamakonda and Tairas 1998:4, 58-201) resemble coded categories in Kartasupana's scheme: 000 general works; 100 philosophy (compare Kartasupana's B and C); 200 religion (compare A and B); 300 social science (similar to G); 400 language (D); 500 pure science; 600 applied science (F); 700 art and sport (E); 800 literature (I and J); 900 history and geography (H).

22 This does not rule out the possibility that the classification scheme was not devised by a Javanese or not by Javanese alone. Presumably Pigeaud, to name but one foreign Javanist who had been involved in the cataloging of Javanese writings for the benefit of Javanese readers, was sufficiently well equipped to be able to make it.
gories. I can mention only two examples; there was surely a much wider range to select from in the current repertoire of themes amassed and shaped, however ameably, by traditions and trends. Kartasupana did not use the names of evidently western categories, like those identified in a magazine published by Bale Pustaka in 1933: 'contemporary knowledge, on themes like technology [tehnik], manufacture [indhustri], economics [ekonomi] and so on', which contrasted with 'tales and ancient teachings, including occultism if you're lucky'. Kartasupana owned the latter, and used approximately the same classification, but he classed his books about the former themes, which he owned too, under other headings, which had Javanese labels. Also, there is no category of Literature in the sense of belles lettres. The Javanese word kasusastran, which now has this meaning, does not denote 'literature' in Kartasupana's usage; it means '[study of] letters, philology'. Three decades of concerted effort of a number of influential Javanese and Dutch theorists to promote the notion of 'Literature' as 'Art' in respect of Javanese writing (Arps forthcoming) had not impressed Kartasupana or his sources. In both these cases, then, Kartasupana did not succumb to thematization trends that he regarded as alien, but chose to follow Javanese traditions – probably those of the Surakarta courts.

The last consideration concerns the cultural value of the categories. The book producers selected themes that they considered worthy of discussion. The deviser of the categorical grid did the same. Kartasupana did not create categories on politics, male-female relations, food, or money, for instance, even though these were in all likelihood as popular and useful themes of day-to-day discourse as they are in Surakarta fifty years onwards, and he did own texts that addressed these matters. But Kartasupana made a text about texts, and texts are by their very nature suitable for transference to other contexts than those in which they are created. Texts can be regarded as 'discourse rendered decontextualizable' (Bauman and Briggs 1990:73), and thereby a potential input for further processing under different circumstances (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Kuipers 1990; Silverstein and Urban 1996). Kartasupana and the makers of his texts looked towards the future and chose their categories accordingly. They wanted their discourse to be worth attending to within as well as without the short-lived interactional settings of their production.

The concerns of text producers
This may be illustrated by three institutions that used texts to publicize their ideas in late 1940s Java and the preceding decade or two, which texts are

found in Kartasupana's library: the susuhunan's court in Surakarta, the Committee for Popular Reading Matter, later Bale Pustaka, and the radical youth (pemuda) organizations that were a major force in the independence struggle of 1945-1949.

Many works in Javanese in Kartasupana's library were composed in Surakarta court circles. They cover a broad range of themes and genres. Among those that I have been able to place in the 1920s and 1930s, however, two types are especially prominent: commemorations of the ruler's birthdays and coronation days and versified accounts of his exploits. This was a period when, as Larson puts it, the susuhunan 'was definitely making a sustained attempt to reassert his role as the King of Java' (Larson 1987:189). The court was concerned to glorify tradition and to counter trends imposed by the Dutch.

The Committee and its successor, by contrast, were concerned to create new traditions, both on the 'relaxation' and 'developmental' front, modeled on European ideas. By the time Kartasupana made his catalog, the trendiness of their writings had waned, however. They had either been established or set aside. But their publications are amply represented in his catalog, in almost all of its classes.

If Kartasupana was born in the 1920s, in 1948/1949 he had the right age to be a candidate for membership of a pemuda organization. His library contained eight books and pamphlets that I have been able to identify with reasonable certainty as publications of such groups. One was in Javanese, the others in Indonesian. With the exception of a glossary of terms, which he put in category 'D Philology—vocabulary', Kartasupana classed them under 'G Miscellaneous knowledge'. Their themes are socialist, Marxist, even Stalinist. The pemuda were concerned to establish a new tradition which was absolutely opposed to both Javanese feudalism (perhaps a dilemma for Kartasupana if his ownership of these works signals commitment or membership) and Dutch imperialism.

It should be obvious that the thematizations, implying categorizations, of these three institutions were not universally accepted and in fact contested.

24 They were a glossary of Marxist terms; a pamphlet issued by the information department of the Partai Sosialis in Jakarta in or around 1946, concerning the nature of this party (no. 2116 in Klooster 1997:252); a publication on socialism and capitalism in Javanese; Stalin's essay on organization; a pamphlet on the revolution of laborers and peasants published in 1945 by the Barisan Boeroh Indonesia (Indonesian Laborers' Front) in Yogyakarta (no. 2212 in Klooster 1997:258); a pamphlet on the direction that the Pesindo (Pemuda Sosialis Indonesia, 'Indonesian Socialist Youth') would or should take, published in 1946 by Pesindo's information department in Surakarta (no. 2493 in Klooster 1997:274); the first volume of a work by G. Dimitrov (the Bulgarian Stalinist) on tactics for the struggle against fascism, capitalism, and imperialism, probably published in Yogyakarta in 1945 or 1946; and a pamphlet on economic prosperity and social justice, published in Yogyakarta, 1945 (no. 2162 in Klooster 1997:255).
In some respects they categorized the same world of experiences in different ways, or recognized different worlds of experiences in the same culture-historical and material climate.

A universal Javanese grip on dissent

The scheme of Kartasupana’s catalog, as it lies before me – a manuscript, inscribed with a text that time and travel have detached from its context of inscription – is easily regarded as the approved scheme for categorizing experience, or even as ‘the Javanese’ scheme for doing so. But the catalog was born from disagreement and struggle, and no doubt these continued also during and after its making. Aristocracy, colonialism, and revolution challenged one another’s agreements and contested the right to be heard, read, and believed. One domain in which they did this was that of thematization: what were noteworthy-enough concerns to discuss, to represent as the basic concerns of discourse?

It is possible to see in Kartasupana’s library reflections of the principal cultural innovations of the late colonial period (ethnography, formal education, the printing press, enlightenment campaigns, Islamic reform, nationalisms), the Japanese occupation, the social and political turmoil in Surakarta during the revolution, and the struggle against the Dutch. These historical changes and sociocultural movements had brought new texts, new themes and genres, and new formats of text-making, which are represented in the catalog. This is reflected even in the purely formal data given in the appendix, such as the ample presence of Indonesian and Dutch texts (20 and 12 percent, respectively, of the total number of entries), the predominance of printed over manuscript books (87 versus 13 percent), and the fact that only a minor proportion (29 percent) of the Javanese works is in tembang, once the dominant vehicle for narrative as well as expositions by Javanese authors.

Kartasupana, however, wanted to accommodate such works into his thematically based categories along with the nineteenth-century and older Javanese texts, mostly in tembang, that still enjoyed prestige in Surakarta court circles. Though he opened every class with a book in Javanese and Javanese characters, none of the coded categories contain exclusively traditional Javanese works.25 ‘G Miscellaneous knowledge’, for instance, grouped together, inter alia, handwritten manuals for calendrical divination with pamphlets published by Marxist youth organizations and the texts of colonial laws and regulations. Even ‘C Teachings’, with its pervading Javanistic moral-philosophical flavor, included a book in Indonesian on the etiquette of

25 With the possible exception of the class of wayang stories (I). It contains an entry described in Roman script as ‘Dwitawana = door: Kridajatmaka.’ This suggests that it was in Dutch. Kartasupana seems consistently to have used dening ‘by’ (in Javanese or Roman script, as the
the Dutch nation, another on modern etiquette for men, and an illustrated work in Dutch on sexual morals, subtitled 'Humor in Sexual Life' (*De humor in het geslachtsleven*). On the other hand, while category 'D Philology—vocabulary' was dominated by textbooks of Japanese and Dutch, it also contained manuscripts of a *kawi-jarwa* vocabulary (listing poetic, archaic words with Modern Javanese glosses) and a *Kridhaksara* (a text speculating about the association of characters of the Javanese script with parts of the human body).

When he indulged in his bout of encyclopedism, Kartasupana used a thematic scheme that encompassed the diegeses in *all* his books (I assume), and without explicit evaluation. The cultural domains that he recognized in them transcended the histories of the texts, even if, retaining the language and script of the books in his description, he replicated some of their formal properties. Meanwhile he did make one significant choice if he adopted his categorization scheme, or more of them if he constructed it and when he amended it; and he did also show certain preferences in further, more subtle ways.

Kartasupana represented his inventory in Dutch and Javanese terms at the same time when he titled it both *catalogus* and *pratelan*. We may be inclined initially to regard some of its formal features as Dutch: its tabular format resembling a ledger, the coding of the major classes (as far as I know, a practice of European origin) and the use of Roman capitals for the codes, the numerals attached to the entries, the codes for manuscript and *tembang*, the dashes in the composite class titles. Such devices had, however, been used in the writing and printing of texts in Javanese characters for half a century or more, and Kartasupana is likely to have seen them as ordinary rather than alien. More studied Javaneseness is also present: the symbolic filling of empty space on the page, the use of Javanese categories, and the rejection of some European ones in spite of their prominence in authoritative discourse. Kartasupana opened every class with a book in Javanese and Javanese characters, and, marking them in the catalog, showed a special interest in manuscripts (while 73 out of the 76 manuscripts in his collection were in Javanese) and in *tembang* texts (all of which were in Javanese). In all these respects, then, the catalog and its categorization were Javanese, if not by birth, then by naturalization.

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26 As noted earlier, the library of the Mangkunagaran court used the same method to mark its holdings. The *susuhunan*’s court’s Sanapustaka library, by contrast, gave its books shelfmarks consisting of a number followed by a Javanese character – creating a stronger impression of Javaneseness even if the idea of coding was imported.
Like other encyclopedic compendia, Kartasupana's library was an aggregate, accumulated over time. Kartasupana failed to represent and perhaps was not interested in the historical depth of his library. He did not note years of writing or publication (except for periodicals, but for other reasons); I had to cull these from other sources. He represented his library as a collection of texts for the here and now; more precisely, he represented it as universal, and thereby relevant in the present too. The themes in Kartasupana's catalog are not propositions, as they might have been, but entities and processes; nouns and verbs are used to name them. These entities and processes are not unique ones, for instance historical individuals or events. Rather, they are generic. The words that label the classes have indefinite and plural or uncountable meanings. They signified themes that Kartasupana treated as universal in his context, their utility not specific in temporal, spatial, and personal respects. To the extent that their constituents, the texts in the books, did possess a more context-specific relevance, their juxtaposition was potentially useful. Putting books on kindred themes but from different contexts in one generic class, enabled Kartasupana to compare and evaluate.

The categorial grid, then, glozed over the disagreements from which it was constructed. The scheme, both Javanese and universal, enabled a grip on the dissent from which it was born.

It was in uncertain, perhaps even threatening political circumstances that Kartasupana toiled over his catalog, struggling to impose order on its heterogeneity. But the contents of the catalog transcended the situation in which he worked. They reached far beyond Central Java and back several centuries from the 'Second Police Action' that swept Java in December 1948. Taken together they represent a cultural repertoire, accumulated from traditions and trends, from which Kartasupana and the other users of his library could construct their versions of modernity.

Kartasupana succeeded in encompassing the distant and the near – temporally, spatially, personally, materially – by using thematically grounded categories with broad generic definitions. Using the classification that he did, based on generic themes, enabled R.Ng. Kartasupana to order and, in the process, render retrievable all manner of information that might be of interest to him and others in his environment. Of course this included what had been branded 'the whole of Javanese knowledge' in a nineteenth-century princely scriptorium. Kartasupana owned five manuscripts of Centhini episodes, a published commonplace book which contained extracts, and the four-volume edition of the central part published in 1912-15. But he could avail himself also of such matters as 'Practical Photography in the Tropics; For Amateur Photographers' (Practische fotografie in de tropen; Voor amateur-fotografen, in Dutch), 'For Private Study of English' (Oentoek Beladjar
Bahasa Inggris dengan Sendirian, in Indonesian), and 'About Cholera; The Ways to Guard One's Body' (Bab lelara Kolerah; Rekane roemeksa awak, in Javanese).

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Bernard Arps
The Contents of Kartasupana's Catalog

This appendix offers an impression of the contents of the collection and quantitative data on some of its lingual, graphological, and codicological features. The data are presented according to the major thematic categories in the body of the catalog.

A Religion (agami) – pp. 3-4 of the catalog

In the top margin of the first page of this category Kartasupana added the clarification *Islam, sanesipun 'Islam and other' in small letters and red ink (the rest is largely written in blue ink). The list indeed begins with Islamic works and ends with five items relating to other religions. Besides three Javanese renditions of the Koran, there are three periodicals from the 1920s concerned with the doctrines and history of Islam, all in Javanese characters, and treatises on ritual practices such as the *Sekaten* festival, the fast, ritual prayer, weddings, and funerals. There is also a versified biography of the Prophet Muhammad. It was at a later time marked between brackets as *babad 'history', but nevertheless not invalidated and moved to category H, where Kartasupana listed several works with the same subject matter. Likewise, a book on sufism was tagged later as *kawruh ngelmu 'esoteric knowledge', suggesting that it was actually best suited to category B. Though some of the titles in the present category are Arabic, none of the volumes seems to have been in the Arabic script only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of entries</th>
<th>30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Indonesian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Dutch</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Javanese</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– in Javanese script</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– in Roman script</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– in tembang</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of manuscripts</td>
<td>3  (all in Javanese script)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
By analogy to category A, Kartasupana specified the label *ngelmu* by adding *budi, sanesipun* 'mental and other' in the top margin in red ink. Most entries have a Javano-Islamic bent. A relatively large number is said to be concerned with the science of true nature (*ngelmu sajati*), the science of perfection (*ngelmu kasampurnan*), or gnosis (*makrifat*). There are three manuscripts containing mystical poems (*suluk*), a few printed books and manuscripts with mystical specifications (*wirid*), including the manuscript whose description I quote in section 3, and a printed collection of mystical incantations (*kidungan*; the copy from which the text discussed in Arps 1996 derives). Also listed are a printed *Cabolek*, a handwritten *Darma Gandhul*, and two collections of prophecies regarding the Javanese land (*jangka tanah Jawi*). Typical products of the twentieth century are a discussion of the Christian trinity, theosophy, and occultism by a member of the reformist Muslim organization *Muhammadiyah*, a few works on magnetism, and the 1923-24 volumes of the periodical *Kumandhang Teyosopi* ('Theosophy Resounding'; issued by the Surakarta lodge).

Total number of entries 53
Entries in Indonesian 3
Entries in Dutch 5
Entries in Javanese 45
  – in Javanese script 44
  – in Roman script 1
  – in tembang 19
Number of manuscripts 11 (all in Javanese script)

Kartasupana specified *piwulang* in the same way as category B by adding *budi, sanesipun* 'mental and other' in red in the top margin. The list contains explicitly didactic works, mostly about ethics, quite a number about etiquette, and several about male–female relations. While the texts of category B on the whole contribute to personal spiritual enlightenment, those in the present category are primarily about social relations. In most cases the didacticism of the texts is immediately clear from their titles or the commentary, which abound in words like 'directions' (*pitedah*), 'disquisition' (*wejangan*), 'suggestions' (*pratikel*), 'advice' (*pitutur*), 'instructions' (*wawarah*), and of course 'teachings' (*wulang, piwulang*). There are several compendia identified as 'miscellaneous teachings' (*wulang warni-warni*) and 'extracts from va-
rious teachings' (pethikan wulang-wulang). Most are in manuscript. A number of them are ascribed to the susuhunan Paku Buwana IV, VI, VIII, and IX.

The famous expository poems Wulangreh (Paku Buwana IV) and Wedhatama (attributed to Mangku Nagara IV) are represented in printed and handwritten form, respectively. There are three periodicals, all in Javanese characters: Wiwararaya ('The Great Door'[?], no years mentioned) which is said to promote conduct that leads to order and peacefulness (tata tentrem), Estri Utama ('The Eminent Woman'; the 1916-18 volumes), and Tasawuf Islam ('Islamic Mysticism'; years not given), said, despite the title, to contain 'miscellaneous teachings'. The two Indonesian books are about Dutch and modern etiquette, respectively, and the Dutch book (illustrated) is about sexual morals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of entries</th>
<th>52</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Indonesian</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Dutch</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Javanese</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- in Javanese script</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- in Roman script</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- in tembang</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of manuscripts</td>
<td>13 (all in Javanese script)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D Philology—vocabulary (kasusastran—tetembungan) – pp. 12-14

There is no clear boundary in the list of entries between the two subcategories named in the title. Category D contains several dictionaries and language textbooks, including two textbooks of English (in Indonesian) and quite a number of textbooks of Japanese (in Indonesian, Javanese, and Dutch). I have used the language of the title or subtitle as the yardstick for determining the language. The items in Javanese script are mostly dictionaries, word lists, and collections of proverbs and sayings. Padmasusastra's encyclopedia Bauwarna is also listed here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of entries</th>
<th>52</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Indonesian</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Dutch</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Javanese</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- in Javanese script</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- in Roman script</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- in tembang</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of manuscripts</td>
<td>4 (all in Javanese script)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
E. Painting/drawing—dance, playing the gamelan, singing—chiselling (anggambar—joged, nabuh, nembang—natah) – pp. 14-16

As in the previous category, Dutch and Indonesian are conspicuously present. The themes named in the title of the category are in this case easy to identify, especially because the books are listed in the order represented in the title. Most entries concerning painting and drawing are manuals in Dutch. A set of illustrated floras and faunas and an illustrated treatise in Javanese on Dutch orders and medals are also in this subcategory. The books on the three performing arts are in Javanese script with the exception of a collection of Japanese songs which seems to be in Indonesian (and is counted as such here). The last subcategory contains Sukir’s treatise on the carving and painting of shadow puppets and one on the printing of books and pictures, probably in Indonesian (and counted as such), but perhaps bilingual in Indonesian and Dutch.

Total number of entries 33
Entries in Indonesian 4
Entries in Dutch 13
Entries in Javanese 16
  – in Javanese script 16
  – in Roman script 0
  – in tembang 0 (some do contain texts in tembang)
Number of manuscripts 2 (both in Javanese script)

F. Crafts, work—health, diseases—cultivated plants, domesticated animals (pakriyan, pakaryan—kasarasan, sasakt—tataneman, ingah-ingahan) – pp. 16-20

Here, too, the proportion of Indonesian and Dutch books is large. The three main subcategories in the title were initially reflected in the sequence of entries, but a number of additions upset this order later. Most texts on crafts and vocations are in Indonesian and Dutch. Included are essays on how to choose an occupation and achieve success, and guidebooks for electricians, painters, carpenters, and accountants. All three languages are represented in the second subcategory, which features texts about child health, including several handbooks for midwives (dhukun bayi), about diseases, the perils of opium and alcohol, human anatomy, and gymnastics. The last subcategory, which also contains three languages, covers such themes as horticulture, equine physiognomy, offshore fishing, and zoology.
Total number of entries 74
Entries in Indonesian 24
Entries in Dutch 19
Entries in Javanese 31
- in Javanese script 18
- in Roman script 13
- in tembang 0
Number of manuscripts 4 (of which 2 in Javanese script, 1 in Indonesian, 1 in Dutch)

G Miscellaneous knowledge (kawruh warni-warni) – pp. 20-24 and one added leaf

This category is indeed a miscellany, but some thematic tendencies are apparent. Kartasupana added the qualification pikiran, pirantos 'ideas, instruments' in red ink in the top margin of the first pages of this category, and at a later stage, in pencil, wulang 'lessons' on the last page. Included under the former qualification are several books about law and political treatises (mostly Marxist and in Indonesian) – presumably representing 'ideas' – and a relatively large number of items in Javanese identified as petang '[prognostic] calculations' – presumably considered 'instruments'.

The majority of items on the page that was later marked wulang are cookery books in Javanese, and Indonesian manuals of, inter alia, typing, chess, photography, and (a later addition) international law. The teachings of category C Piwulang differ from these in that the former are concerned with social conduct, have a moral-philosophical leaning, and – no coincidence given their themes and bent – are in Javanese, while the latter are about practical skills and techniques imported from the west. Kartasupana later pasted in a leaf also headed 'G'. Its contents are diverse.

Total number of entries 80
Entries in Indonesian 34
Entries in Dutch 7
Entries in Javanese 39
- in Javanese script 27
- in Roman script 12
- in tembang 1 (Roman script)
Number of manuscripts 5 (4 in Javanese script, 1 in Indonesian)
It is possible that the subcategories noted in the title were initially reflected in the order of entries, but this is not so in the catalog's final form. This category is dominated by *babad*. Besides six items called *Babad Tanah Jawi*, in prose and verse, in print and manuscript, there are a *Babad Pagedhongan*, a number of *Babad Kartasura*, two series of *Babad Surakarta* (Giyanti), a *Babad Surakarta-Ngayogyakarta*, et cetera. Most are multi-volume. There are also several texts called *nitik* ('close examinations' of historical episodes or figures). A number of items identified as *babad* are biographies of the Prophet Muhammad, and the present category also includes the published biographies of Yasadipura I, Ranggawarsita, and Rajiman Wedyadiningrat. The items identified in their titles as *sajarah* 'genealogy' relate to Ranggawarsita and the Central Javanese royal families. Only one work is explicitly called *asalsilah* 'pedigree'; it concerns Kartasupana and his wife. Two collections of treaties between Javanese rulers and Dutch and British colonial authorities are also here.

The titles in Dutch relate to Javanese and Dutch history, respectively, and those in Indonesian to Prince Dipa Nagara, the Japanese in World War II, and mosques and Islamic gravesites.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of entries</th>
<th>57</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Indonesian</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Dutch</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Javanese</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– in Javanese script</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– in Roman script</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– in tembang</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of manuscripts</td>
<td>15 (all in Javanese script)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kartasupana used the names of *wayang* types primarily to identify story matter. Only a few items are concerned with *wayang* as puppetry. The books are listed in the order of subcategories marked in the title, which conforms to the standard periodization of *wayang* mythology. They include canonical late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Surakarta adaptations of Old Javanese narrative poems, versified renditions of *wayang* plays, *wayang* scripts and scenarios, the published *Angling Darma* poem, several volumes
of versified Panji stories, librettos for the langendriyan dance opera, and seven of the eight volumes of the Menak epic poem first published in the 1880s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Entries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of entries</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Indonesian</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Dutch</td>
<td>1(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Javanese</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- in Javanese script</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- in Roman script</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- in tembang</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of manuscripts</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

J Stories — tales — fiction — commemorative writings (cariyos — dongeng — anggitan — pengetan) — pp. 32-37 and one added leaf

Books in the genre identified as 'commemorative writings' (pengetan) are not actually listed here but in the next category. The remainder still forms the largest set in terms of number of entries. It is wide-ranging, including as it does travelogues, five manuscripts with Centhini parts and the 1912-15 published edition, accounts of historical events, novels, animal tales, collections of anecdotes, readers and anthologies, primbon, and descriptions of cultural practices such as Padmasusastra's Tata Cara (framed in a narrative, whence probably its inclusion here). The order of subcategories in the title of category J is not recognizable in the listing of entries.

As mentioned in section 3, Kartasupana appended the headwords cathetan — primbon 'notes — compendia' to the title of this category in the table of contents (though not in the top margin of the pages describing the entries). This may have been spurred by Kartasupana's acquisition of two particular books, one containing notes (tjatetan) on the susuhunan's court, the other a compendium (primbon) of instructions for rituals accompanying birth, marriage, and death. The addition to the table of contents is written in the same ink as these two entries, which were added at the bottom of the last page of the present category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Entries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of entries</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Indonesian</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Dutch</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries in Javanese</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- in Javanese script</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- in Roman script</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bernard Arps

- in tembang 24
Number of manuscripts 15 (all in Javanese script)

J['] (Stories—tales—fiction)—commemorative writings ((cariyos—dongeng—anggitan)—pengetan) – p. 38

This list of titles is under the same heading as the previous category and coded 'J', but the entries are numbered afresh from 1 and the first three genre names in the header were put in parentheses at a later stage. The list contains texts that celebrate the birthday or accession of a Javanese ruler, special anniversary and commemorative books and issues of periodicals, a series of almanacs covering the years 1929-1940, with some gaps, and an annual report of the Surakarta branch of the Muhammadiyah (year not mentioned). In a few cases the language is a conjecture, in one case also the script.

Total number of entries 18
Entries in Indonesian 10
Entries in Dutch 1
Entries in Javanese 7
- in Javanese script 6
- in Roman script 1
- in tembang 0
Number of manuscripts 0

Periodicals (kalawarti) – p. 39

This last category stands on the same hierarchical level as the previous ones but is not coded with a Roman capital. It is also excluded from the fourfold clustering of categories (figures 1a and 3). Not all periodicals in Kartasupana's library are found here: some are in other categories. Listed here are Sasadara (1901-02, published by the Radyapustaka Society), Candrakanta (1901-03, published by the same), Pusaka Jawi (1928-33, published by the Java Institute), Padhalangan (1935-40, devoted to wayang), and the Indonesian-language periodicals Doenia Film dan Sport ('The World of Film and Sport'; 1929-32), Kemadjoean Ra'jat ('The People's Progress'; 1937-39), and Kemadjoean Masjarakat ('The Progress of Society'; 1940-42).

Total number of entries 7
Entries in Indonesian 3
Entries in Dutch 0
Entries in Javanese
- in Javanese script 4
- in Roman script 4
- in tembang 0

(No doubt the Javanese periodicals contained passages in tembang, but Kartasupana did not note this.)

Number of manuscripts 0

**Totals**

Total number of entries 588 (of which many are multi-volume!)
Entries in Indonesian 115 (of which 2 in manuscript)
Entries in Dutch 70 (of which 1 in manuscript)
Entries in Javanese
- in Javanese script 403 (of which 73 in manuscript)
- in Roman script 355 (of which 73 in manuscript)
- in tembang 48 (all printed)
- in tembang, not marked as manuscript (that is to say, printed) 74 (of which 1(?) in Roman script)
- in tembang and manuscript 41
- in manuscript but not marked as tembang 32
Number of manuscripts 76 (of which 2 in Indonesian, 1 in Dutch)