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PART II

THE RĀMĀYAṆA AT CAṄḌI PRAMBANAN
AND
CAṄḌI PANATARAN

Imagine Lanġapura at Prambanan

Arlo Griffiths

Introduction

Fundamentally based on Walther Aichele's refinement of Poerbatjaraka's dating of the KR to make it contemporary with the important events referred to in the so-called Śivagrha inscription of 856 AD, among which quite possibly the foundation of the greatest Śaiva monument of Indonesia, the main purpose of this contribution is to propose the hypothesis that this monument was called Lanġapura.¹

The monument I am alluding to is the one that is at the center of attention in the contributions of Levin and Jordaan to this volume, and goes there variously by the name Prambanan or Loro Jonggrang. That the latter is not the original name of the monument is an evident and well-known fact, and there is no strong reason to believe the former is an ancient name either.² In fact we know virtually none of the original names of the Central Javanese monuments

1. I am grateful to Roy Jordaan for comments on an earlier version. The *transliteration* used in this contribution adheres strictly to international norms for the transliteration of Indic script types. This means that I use *v* (not *w*) and that *anusvāra/cecak* is *m̐* irrespective of its pronunciation. The only additions to the internationally standard repertoire of signs are the raised circle (°) which precedes 'independent vowels' (namely vowels which form a separate *akṣara*) and the median dot (·) which represents *virāma/ḥ*. Since some (sequences of) phonemes can be spelt in more than one way, there is occasionally need to work with a normalized *transcription*. In this case I use *ñ* for what is spelt *ṅ* or *m̐* (phoneme /ŋ/); *h* for what is spelt *h/ḥ* (/h/) and *rə* for *r̥* (/rə/).

2. See Jordaan 1996:9–12. Regarding the name Prambanan, I do not share Jordaan's opinion that "it is not unlikely that the name derives from an old expression associated with the temple" (p. 9), for I do not know any cases where modern temple names have been convincingly explained in ancient terms, and find Jordaan's own proposal (p. 11, note 1) to derive it from *parambrahma(n)* unconvincing for several reasons: the supposed phonetic development seems unnatural; the final *n* of Sanskrit stems in *an* (for example, *brahman*) normally disappears in concrete usage and would not be retained in any form that could have been the starting point of a Javanese derivation; and the supposed original name is entirely untypical of the known names of sanctuaries in ancient Southeast Asia. See my note 4 for some examples.

now all indiscriminately designated as Candi. One exception that comes readily to mind is the Abhayagirivihāra that doubtless formed a part of the complex now known as Candi Ratu Baka.³ In comparison with contemporary monuments from elsewhere in the Hindu and Buddhist world, our ignorance of the original names of Central Javanese sanctuaries is an anomaly.⁴ The original name can tell us important things about the conception of a sanctuary, which fact explains the long but consistently unpersuasive history of attempts to explain such names as Borobudur and Prambanan. Any addition to the record is therefore welcome.

The evidence in support of my hypothesis comes mainly from a group of inscriptions which I refer to here as the 'Kumbhayoni corpus'. One of these is an unpublished Sanskrit inscription that was discovered in 1954 on the Ratu Baka prominence.⁵ Another is the Dawangsari inscription discovered on the Ratu Baka prominence in 1979, and published in an unsatisfactory manner in 1989, which contains only the second known example of extensive epigraphical Old Javanese poetry after the Śivagrha inscription. The extreme rarity of Old Javanese poetry from this period suggests that the author (or authors) of this Kumbhayoni corpus is (are) likely to have been familiar with the contemporary literary monument, the KR. What I propose to do here is to read the Kumbhayoni inscriptions in the light of Poerbatjaraka's (1932) and Aichele's (1969) seminal papers on the KR, and of Andrea Aciri's new identifications of passages in the Kakawin that may be read allegorically (2010, this volume).⁶

The Kumbhayoni corpus

There is a group of inscriptions from the ninth century emanating from an aristocrat (*raka*) calling himself Kumbhayoni or equivalent synonyms of that Sanskrit epithet of the Ṛṣi Agastya. These are the Sanskrit and Old Javanese Pereng

3. See Sundberg 2003, 2004; Degroot 2006.

4. A few random examples may suffice: the Ta Keo at Angkor was called Hemaśṛṅgagiri; the Phnom Bayang in southern Cambodia was called Śivapura; the famous site Māmallapuram/Mahābalipuram of the Pallavas in South India, was already known as Māmallapuram in contemporary inscriptions.

5. See Dinas Purbakala, *Laporan Tahunan 1954* (Jakarta 1962), pp. 18–9 and plate 2.

6. I am presently preparing for publication a substantial selection of Central Javanese inscriptions, to be presented as a book which will contain also the entire Kumbhayoni corpus, and I wish to avoid as much as possible duplication of what I will present in that book. For this reason, I attempt here to focus my discussion on the data relevant to the Laṅkapura hypothesis and the *Rāmāyaṇa* connection, requesting the reader's patience until my book has appeared to see the complete epigraphical context of the passages presented in this contribution.

inscription of 863 AD; the six Sanskrit inscriptions of the Ratu Baka prominence each recording the installation of a differently named *liṅga*;⁷ and the metrical Old Javanese inscription of Dawangsari mentioned above.⁸ Following the example of De Casparis (1956:248ff., 341–3), I choose Kumbhayoni (and not any other of the equivalent epithets) as the designation for the corpus, since it is this name that occurs in the context of the Old Javanese prose portion of the Pereng inscription, lines 8–9: *rake valaim pu kumbhayoni*. The names Kalaśaja, Kumbhaja, Kalaśodbhava are attested only in Sanskrit verse context, and therefore liable to have been dictated by the requirements of Sanskrit metre.⁹

Arguably the most important of these inscriptions, and the first one to have been published, is the bilingual Sanskrit and Old Javanese inscription (Fig. 1) found in the village Pereng at the northern foot of the Ratu Baka prominence, just South of Prambanan.¹⁰ It bears a precise date in the *śaka* year 784, con-

7. These have been partly published by De Casparis (1956:244–79), as items Xa (A: ‘Kṛttivā-saliṅga’, Museum Nasional Indonesia D 104, currently not traceable at the museum, one may fear that it is lost), Xb (B: ‘Tryambakaliṅga’, BPPP Yogyakarta BG 533), Xc (C: ‘Haraliṅga’, BPPP Yogyakarta 355 / BG 529). In his *Addenda c* (De Casparis 1956:341–3), De Casparis reported on the discovery of the three other inscriptions of this group, namely ‘Śambhuliṅga’ (D: BPPP Yogyakarta 532; photo OD/DP 19399), ‘Pinākiliṅga’ (E: BPPP Yogyakarta 531) and a sixth inscription most probably also related to the foundation of a *liṅga* whose name is lost in a lacuna (F: BPPP Yogyakarta 603 = BG 352). The sequence indicated in capital letters is adopted here from unpublished work by Jan Wissemann Christie, while the nomenclature by *liṅga* names for the first five is that proposed/implicit by Damais in his valuable notes on De Casparis’ readings and interpretations (1968:460–773 and 496–500), and adopted also in his list of Central Javanese inscriptions, which excludes E–F (Damais 1970:46–4). The inscriptions B–F are included in a 2007 publication of BPPP Yogyakarta (*Pusaka Aksara Yogyakarta; Alih Aksara dan Alih bahasa Prasasti Koleksi Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala Yogyakarta*), which contains numerous errors of fact and of omission, and will therefore not be referred to in this contribution. Inked estampages of inscriptions B–F are available at the EFEO. It is the last inscription, F, that will mainly concern us here.

8. BPPP Yogyakarta 355; an inked estampage is available at EFEO. See Setianingsih 1989.

9. All of these variants of the epithet refer to one aspect of Agastya mythology, namely that he was born from a Pot (*kumbha* or *kalaśa*). In repeatedly using the word *jaladhi* ‘ocean’, the incompletely preserved stanzas VII and IX of the inscription Ratu Baka F to be included in my forthcoming publication of the complete inscription may have alluded to another important aspect of Agastya mythology, namely that he had drunk the ocean (see Sanderson 2003–04:375, note 86, mentioning the epithet Pītābdi ‘He who drank the ocean’, with *abdhi* a synonym of *jaladhi*, besides presenting a hypothetical reconstruction of the name Pātañjala/Pṛtañjala of the fifth of the five Kuśikas as *Pitañjala, which would have had the same meaning). If a reference to the ocean-drinking myth was indeed included in Ratu Baka F, before the stone got severely damaged, Aichele’s argument (1969:140) assuming the conscious non-mentioning of this second aspect of Agastya mythology in the KR must be reconsidered.

10. First published by A.B. Cohen Stuart and J.J. van Limburg Brouwer in 1872. See also Kern

verted by Louis-Charles Damais (1952:33) to 863 AD. Two of the above-mentioned *līṅga* inscriptions (A and B) are dated to the *śaka* year 778, without further specifications, and their date must thus have fallen between March 10th 856 and February 27th 857 AD.¹¹ The remaining *līṅga* inscriptions lack an internal date.

Only some of the *līṅga* inscriptions are completely preserved, while several of them are severely fragmentary and/or weather-beaten. But to the extent that their contents can be known, they share with the Pereng inscription the common feature of mentioning the name Kumbhayoni or equivalents thereof, and doing so in direct association with the toponym Valaiṅ (in various spellings, mostly dictated by the demands of Sanskrit metre). As stated above, I propose to consider these inscriptions as corpus including also the Dawangsari inscription, although this does not share the mentioned characteristic. The reasons for my proposal can only be summarized here.

In the first place, all of the inscriptions give a very uniform palaeographic impression. Secondly, the Dawangsari inscription shares not only the same physical features, but also agrees very nearly in its dimensions with the *līṅga* in-

1873 and the revised publication by Cohen Stuart (1875) as *Kawi Oorkonde* nr. XXIII; readings are also offered by Poerbatjaraka (1926:45–51) and Sarkar (1971:171–7); see De Casparis (1956:248–58 and passim) and Damais (1964:121–33, 1968:498–500) for discussion of many issues in the interpretation of this inscription. In the currently predominant system of nomenclature introduced by Damais, which prioritizes toponyms internal to the epigraphical document in question, this is the ‘Wukiran’ inscription. I take the liberty of retaining the older nomenclature here.

11. See Damais 1952:31. In a later publication, Damais (1970:46) narrowed down this bracket claiming that the date of the two *līṅgas* must have fallen in 856 AD before that of the Śivagrha inscription, which is November 12th, 856. He stated in his pertinent note 5 that the text of the Śivagrha inscription implies by its context that it was composed after the *līṅga* inscriptions Ratu Baka inscriptions A–F, but did not explain why this would be the case. As long as this point is not really proven, the wider dating bracket earlier admitted must be given preference. In his final (posthumously published) statement on the matter, Damais (1970) did not give any reference to his earlier discussion of it (Damais 1964:135), which is also quite terse, but if I have understood it correctly depends strongly on his being influenced by De Casparis translations of two Sanskrit compounds, *valaiṅgagoptrā* (Ratu Baka A, stanza III) and *valaiṅgajetrā* (B, st. III), as meaning ‘by the protector of V.’ and ‘by the victor of V.’ (that is as *tatpuruṣas*), to the exclusion of the possibility, equally permissible in grammatical terms, that these compounds are rather to be interpreted as *karmadhārayas*, namely as ‘by the protector [named] V.’ and ‘by the conqueror [named] V.’. These latter interpretations seem to me at the present stage of my investigations of the Kumbhayoni corpus better to suit all the available data. I am thinking especially of Pereng st. III *bhaktir valaiṅnāmmaḥ*, which must mean ‘devotion of the one named Valaiṅ’ (see De Casparis 1956:253, note 47). See also Damais’ posthumously published review (1968:472) of De Casparis 1956 for a fuller discussion of the same compounds, again ignoring the possibility of a *karmadhāraya* interpretation, and without reference back to his own discussion of 1964.

scriptions A and C. Thirdly, all of the inscriptions have been found on or at the foot of the Ratu Baka hillock, some of them (including the Dawangsari inscription) in the desa Sumberwatu, which is also home to a stone image of Gaṇeśa, whose dimensions have been reported to be 3.40 × 3.10 × 2.15 m (Figs. 2a, 2b), and at whose side the Dawangsari inscription was reportedly once placed.¹² Now the Dawangsari inscription is a metrical hymn of praise to Gaṇeśa, under the name Vināyaka, as he is found ‘on the mountain’ (*di parvata*), which there seems to be no reason to doubt must be none other than the colossal Gaṇeśa image still found on the hillock, and referred to as *saṃ hyaṃ vināya* in line 11 of the Pereng inscription.

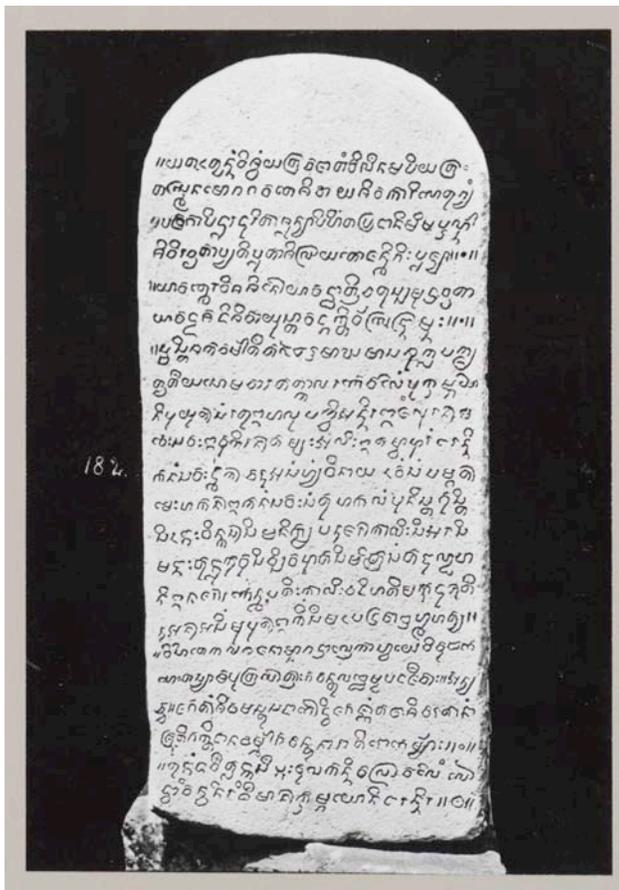


Figure 1: The inscription of Pereng (photo Isidore van Kinsbergen, nr. 182)

12. I rely here on the information cited by Setianingsih (1989:143).



Figure 2a: Arca Ganesa at Sumberwatu (photo Marijke Klokke, July 2009)



Figure 2b: Arca Ganesa at Sumberwatu (photo Marijke Klokke, July 2009)

I am hesitant to claim any first discovery concerning an inscription that has prominently figured in as abundant (and unwieldy) secondary literature as has the Pereng inscription, but I am presently not aware that interpretation of this deity as Vināyaka, now strongly supported by the Dawangsari inscription, has been previously proposed.¹³ The omission of the last syllable in the Pereng inscription might seem to be a problem, but in fact the same form is found not only elsewhere in Old Javanese epigraphy¹⁴ but also in Old Javanese literature,¹⁵ and even beyond the Archipelago in Khmer epigraphy, where the bilingual inscription K. 1185 of Prasat Ta Muean Thom in Thailand shows a correspondence between Vināyaka in the Sanskrit portion and Vināya in the Khmer,¹⁶ and again in the Campā inscription C. 4 of Cho Dinh (in Phan Rang) dated to śaka 1149.¹⁷ The frequency of the form Vināya suggests that we should not consider it as an error, but as a variant of the name Vināyaka accepted widely in ancient Southeast Asia. The fact that the Pereng and the Dawangsari inscription share a close association with the cult of Vināyaka, to whose former importance in the vicinity the Gaṇeśa image is a magnificent witness,¹⁸ is my fourth argument.

The fifth and last is the metrical shape of the Dawangsari inscription. It is entirely composed in the Anuṣṭubh metre, that is the most common verse-form found in Sanskrit literature. The oldest dated epigraphical instance of the use of this verse-form in Old Javanese language is again found in the Pereng

13. Ignoring the long vowel ā, earlier scholars (for example Sarkar 1971:173 with note 30, going back to Poerbatjaraka 1926) have assumed a most unlikely connection with *vinaya* '(Buddhist) discipline'.

14. See the entry *ṣaḍwināya, ṣaḍwināyaka* at OJED 1590; reference is there made to an attestation of *ṣaḍvināya* on plate v verso, l. 7, of the inscription 'Waharu IV' = Museum Nasional inv. nr. E. 20, published as *Kawi Oorkonden* VII and in *Prasasti Koleksi Museum Nasional*, pp. 60–5; I have confirmed the published reading by checking the rubbing of E. 20 kept in the Kern Institute, Leiden, and its facsimile in *Kawi Oorkonden*.

15. See Teeuw 1998:380–1.

16. This inscription is undated but may be assigned to the first half of the 11th century AD. For its text, see Chaem Kaewklai 1999:80–1. The published reading being debatable at many points, I have checked the EFEO estampages n. 1682 and 1683 for the facts mentioned here.

17. The inscription has not yet been properly published, but extracts have been presented by Aymonier (1891:50–2), who misread the passage in question as *ṅap rumah mandi rumah śrī vinaya*. My reading *ṅap rumah nandi rumah śrī vināya* 'built a shrine for Nandin and a shrine for Gaṇeśa' is based on inspection of the inscription (National Museum of Vietnamese History, Hanoi, B 2, 15 = LS^b 21166) and EFEO estampage n. 143.

18. The dating of the Gaṇeśa image can probably not be determined with any exactitude, but may safely be presumed to agree with the dated Kumbhayoni inscriptions, and hence, in the interpretation advocated here, with the Dawangsari inscription.

inscription, where the final stanza is an Anuṣṭubh in Old Javanese language.¹⁹ No other epigraphical instances of vernacular language epigraphical compositions in the form of the Anuṣṭubh metre are known to me from Indonesia at this time, except the unique ‘Mañjuśrīgṛha’ inscription of 792 AD, also from Central Java, which is composed in Old Malay prose and verse.²⁰ In fact no other vernacular epigraphical poetry is known at all, besides that found in the Śivagr̥ha inscription (which contains no Anuṣṭubh-stanzas), and this very rarity again speaks in favour of a close association of the Pereng and Dawangsari inscriptions, the one with the other, insofar as they both contain Old Javanese Anuṣṭubhs, and of course in a more general sense of these two inscriptions with that third record of epigraphical Old Javanese poetry, the Śivagr̥ha inscription, which figures prominently in Hunter’s and Acri’s contributions to this volume. All cases of epigraphical Old Javanese poetry date from a period of only two decades, the 850–860s AD, and there is every reason to consider that their composition at precisely this period, presumably contemporary with the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa*, was no coincidence. This was in all likelihood the birth period of Kakawin as a genre.

Lañkapura as the Prambanan Śiva Sanctuary

I have just referred to the fact that the Pereng inscription, dated to śaka 784, which consists of three Sanskrit Āryā-stanzas, followed by ten lines of Old Javanese prose, followed by two more Āryā-stanzas in Sanskrit, is concluded by one Anuṣṭubh-stanza composed in Old Javanese language. This sixth stanza, as I said, must be the oldest dated Anuṣṭubh stanza in the Old Javanese language. It runs as follows:

VI. Anuṣṭubh

(21) tuṅgaṃ davət lañka sə°ṛḥ vulakanni²¹ valā valaiṃ

lo(22)dvāṃ vanvaniraṃ dhīmān· kumbhayoni nārannira || ◉ ||

19. Even after Krom (1919:19) correctly identified the last two lines of the Pereng as an Old Javanese stanza, this fact was ignored by some subsequent scholars, who took these lines as prose. For example, Damais (1964:133, note 3 and apparently also Damais 1968:499) still assumed these lines to be prose.

20. This inscription has not been properly published and will also be included in my forthcoming publication of a selection of Central Javanese inscriptions. Sundberg (2006:106–9, 125–7) has rightly criticized existing readings and the theories built thereon, but his own readings and statements are also not entirely reliable.

21. Damais (1964:133) prefers the interpretation *vulakann i*, with the type of consonant doubling that is attested also elsewhere in contemporary Old Javanese epigraphy.

In his *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, volume I, Himansu Bhusan Sarkar translated this stanza as follows:

Tunggang, Davēt, Langka, Sērēḥ, waterfall of Valā, Valaing, Lodvāng are the *desa*-s of the wise one whose name is Kumbhayoni.

As far as I know, no scholar has ever taken special notice of the name Lanġa that we find in the Pereng inscription among several toponyms. It first drew my attention when I was trying to decipher one of the unpublished Ratu Baka inscriptions (Fig. 3).²² In the present context, I need present only one of the stanzas that I am best able to reconstruct, namely its stanza VI, which is composed in the long Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.

VI. Śārdūlavikrīḍita

[- - - ṽ *mahe*](6)ndrasatkaruṇayā tuṅgaṃ davā(kh)yaṃ puram
pūrvvaṃ lanġapuraṃ sa pāti matimān tāmvo[*la* - - - ṽ -
- - - ṽ - - - ṽ *ta*](7)(thā) tan nirjjharākhyam śubham
nākaṃ (v)ṛ(tra)ri(pu)r yyathā kalaśajo vālaingasamjña[*ś ca yaḥ* ||]

Indeed, I am not the first to have noticed the parallels between these two stanzas. Based on the place names cited from the Sanskrit stanza by De Casparis (1956:342), ‘the lofty Dava (*tuṅgaṃ dawākhyam puram*), then Lanġapura, further Nirjjhara and, finally, Walaing,’ Damais had observed the correspondences between the two stanzas and presented his understanding of these correspondences. It is piquant in the present context to recall that he considered that

Lanġapura does not require any explanation. It is just certain that this city must be situated in Java, unfortunately we do not know precisely where.²³

Since Damais could only argue on the basis of the limited elements cited by De Casparis, it is only natural that his interpretation leaves scope for improvement, now that we have at our disposition all readable remains of the stanza. We therefore have to return to these correspondences before taking up the issue of the localization of Lanġapura.

22. As stated above (p. 135, note 7), all of the inscriptions D, E and F, whose discovery was reported in 1956 by De Casparis, were included in *Pusaka Aksara Yogyakarta*, but this publication is so unreliable, especially where Sanskrit inscriptions are concerned, that its very lacunose transliteration, which does not display the slightest trace of understanding of what is being transliterated let alone of its metrical form, cannot be counted as a publication of this inscription.

23. Damais 1968:499. Here and below, citations from Damais are given in my translations from his French.

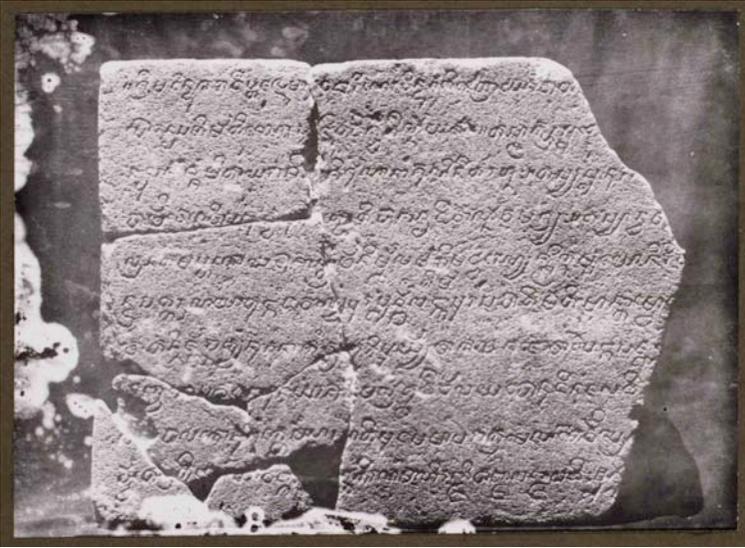


Figure 3: The inscription Ratu Baka F (Photo OD/DP 19471, LUB)

Even at first sight, two parallels with the quoted stanza from the Pereng inscription are evident: the consecutive Sanskrit sequences *tuṅgaṃ davākhyam puram* and *pūrvvam laṅkapuram* evidently correspond to the consecutive words *tuṅgaṃ davət laṅka* in the first verse quarter of the Old Javanese stanza. We notice that one of the two correspondences (*davākhyam*) is couched in the form of a compound with the structure *X-ākhya* meaning ‘named X’.²⁴ Moreover, De Casparis (1956:341–2) had already observed a similar correspondence between the Pereng inscription and another still unpublished Ratu Baka inscription, which contains the toponym *musalākhyarāṣṭra*, literally meaning ‘the land named Pestle’.²⁵ As De Casparis rightly observed, this is a direct translation of the toponym *Halu*, meaning ‘pestle’, found in the title *saṃ ratu °i halu* of Kumbhayoni’s great-grandfather (Pereng l. 9, see Damais 1968:499). We thus

24. The discrepancy between *davət* (Old Javanese) and *dava/davā* (Sanskrit) still is in need of an explanation. Damais (1968:499, note 3) admitted this difficulty but proposed no solution. His attempt to argue that *tuṅgaṃ* in the Sanskrit ought to be considered not as an acc. sg. form of the Sanskrit adjective *tuṅga-* ‘lofty’, as De Casparis took it, but rather as an untranslated Old Javanese word *tuṅgaṅ* (glossed ‘to mount, ride on, sit on’ in OJED 2070), which might according to Damais mean ‘slope’ in the context of this toponym, relied on the assumption that *davā*, which he assumes could mean ‘long’ besides its normal meaning ‘length’ (OJED 379), is the underlying form. It is hardly possible in the Pereng stanza to explain the final *-t* as the pronominal complementizer (*a*)*t* or as the morpheme *t-* in imperative function, so I consider Damais’ argument rather unconvincing.

25. Ratu Baka D / Śambhuliṅga, line 9; OD/DP photo 19399.

have tentative grounds to hypothesize that the Kumbhayoni corpus is marked by Sanskrit-Old Javanese translations, with the Sanskrit correspondents sometimes marked by the quasi-suffix *ākhyā*. This hypothesis is borne out by the rest of our Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanza from Ratu Baka F, where we see one more such *ākhyā*-compound in the preserved portion of the inscription (*nirjjarākhyāṃ*). If we realize that *nirjhara* is a Sanskrit word for waterfall, we immediately think of the Old Javanese word *vulakan* in the Pereng inscription.²⁶

The correspondences thus far have already been noticed and explained in the manner indicated above by Damais (1968). We can, however, no longer retain his suggestion (Damais 1968:500) that

Lanġapura corresponds to *Laṅka Sārāh* [...] in Javanese, which might designate two different toponyms. This is probably not the case.

For this interpretation was made without knowledge of the fact that the Sanskrit stanza contains a separate translation of the Old Javanese *sə^oṛh*, that is *sārāh*, which means ‘betel’. The most common Sanskrit word for the same is *tāmbūla*, which, despite a small discrepancy, seems to correspond so closely to the last two syllables preserved of line 6, that I do not feel any hesitation in restoring at least the *la* of a presumptive spelling variant *tāmvola*.²⁷ We thus end up with at least four topographic correspondences between the Old Javanese and the Sanskrit, and can attempt a translation of the Sanskrit stanza:

And he, the wise Pot-born one who also bears the name Valaiṅ,²⁸ rules the Lofty city called Dava (or: the city Tuṅgaṅ Davā), the eastern City

26. OJED 2323 glosses ‘well, spring, source’, but all the quoted examples also seem to permit the translation ‘waterfall’, which Poerbatjaraka (1926) and, following him, both Damais (1964:133, 1968:499–500) and Sarkar, actually chose in the case of Pereng, st. VI.

27. I do not know any other attestations of the Sanskrit word for ‘betel’ with the *o* that is evident on the stone and that I thus retain in restoring *tāmvola* [*la*]; but, in the light of the types of spelling variations that are widespread in Sanskrit manuscripts and inscriptions, the assumption that such a variant might have existed somewhere in the Sanskrit tradition does not seem altogether far-fetched either. Perhaps more pertinently, I may refer here to Damais’ important discussion (1968:450) of spelling variants *ū/o* in Old Javanese words, for example in the proper name *pu manukū* also found spelt as *pu manuko*.

28. Given the parallel in Pereng, st. III *valaiṅnāmaṅ* ‘of the one called Valaiṅ’, and given the occurrence of an equivalent compound ending in *saṃjñaka* in Ratu Baka C, st. IV (the stone quite clearly shows *kalaśodbhavasamjñakaḥ* instead of De Casparis’ reading *kalaśodbhavasamjñitaḥ*), and given finally the unmistakable appearance of the syllables *saṃjñā* before the lacuna starts in line 7, I have no doubt that a compound like *vālaiṅgasamjñāś* must be restored. As far as I can see, De Casparis’ words (1956:342–3) ‘At least it follows from the new discovery [that is Ratu Baka F] that Walaing was the last of the four residences of king Kumbhayoni, undoubtedly connected with his final victory’ represent an erroneous interpretation. The toponym Valaiṅ

of Lan̄ka, the [...] Betel, [...] and that beautiful [city] called Waterfall, and does so with the compassion of Mahendra,²⁹ as Vṛtra's enemy (that is, Indra) [rules] the heaven.

I have somewhat facetiously rendered the Sanskrit element *pura* here with the default translation 'city', although this was quite certainly not the precisely intended meaning. The word *pura* is used here as equivalent of the Old Javanese *vanua*,³⁰ a phenomenon we also observe, for example, in the Sanskrit portion of the important but still not properly published inscription 'Wanua Tengah III',³¹ which nicely illustrates in one document the same phenomenon of translation we have just observed between two Ratu Baka inscriptions on the one hand (D, F) and the Old Javanese portions of the Pereng inscription on the other.³² Compare the Old Javanese prose portion on plate I *verso*:³³

patiḥ °i pikatan saṃ vanu°a tñah pu culiṃ, saṃ (iB11) tuṅgal añin pu
ra mvat, lekan pu glam, saṃ ra gunuṃ pu °intap,

The *patihs* of Pikatan: Sir Vanua Tñah, Lord Culiñ; Sir Tuṅgal Añin, Lord Ramvat; the *lekan*, Lord Glam; Sir Ra Gunuñ, Lord Intap.

With the fourth of the Sanskrit stanzas that follow on the same plate, where instead of the expected compound *maddhyapure* we find an inversion, which reinforces, if any such reinforcement is required, the impression that we are dealing with a direct calque upon the Old Javanese:³⁴

is in our context applied to the ruler Kumbhayoni alias Kalaśaja (see De Casparis 1956:48 and Damais 1964:124 on this type of transposition of names). Contrary to what one might expect given the *prima facie* inclusion of Valaiñ on a par with the other toponyms in Pereng st. VI, the words of the inscription Ratu Baka F precisely fail to put Valaiñ on a par with the other toponyms that it mentions. Hence my decision to retranslate *vulakanni valā valaiṃ* as I do below (p. 145), which means Valaiñ itself is not among the localities being listed. This is another small point to be corrected in Damais' interpretation.

29. Note that the restoration of the name Mahendra is fully hypothetical, only the last syllable actually being preserved on the stone.

30. The epigraphical data from Java eloquently support Kulke's interpretation (1993:171) of *vanua* in the Old Malay inscriptions of Śrīvijaya as equivalent of *pura* or *nagara*.

31. This inscription is also to be included in my forthcoming publication of a selection of Central Javanese inscriptions.

32. This phenomenon of translation would seem to be the precursor of such correspondences as Majapahit = Bilvatikta or Variñin Pitu = Variñin Sapta still found centuries later on Java.

33. Translit. from the original set of plates held at BPPP Jawa Tengah (inv. nrs. 1118 and 1119).

34. The inverted compound *puramaddhye* recurs in the same metrical position in st. X of the same inscription.

iv. Anuṣṭubh

puramaddhye culiṃsa(m)jñāḥ, ramvat· tuṅgalaṅin· tathā,
glam·sa(m)(IB14)jñāḥ³⁵ tathā lekan·, °intap· saṃ ra gunuṃ punaḥ ||

So we have reduced the problem of the translation of Sanskrit *pura* in the inscription Ratu Baka F to the observation that it must have been intended to mean the same as *vanua*. Rather than trying to determine the precise meaning in which that Old Javanese word was used, we will simply accept here the usual translation ‘village’, and return to the Pereng stanza with which we started. Just as that Old Javanese stanza helps to restore and interpret the Sanskrit stanza from Ratu Baka F, so also the Sanskrit helps us to refine our understanding of the Old Javanese. A revised, though still partly tentative, translation of the Pereng stanza cited on p. 140 would then be as follows:

The Lofty Davət (or: Tuṅgaṅ Davət), Laṅka, Betel, the waterfall of Valā Valaiṅ³⁶ [and] Two Banyans (*lo dvā*)³⁷ are the villages of the wise one whose name is Kumbhayoni.

Summing up the findings concerning the toponym Lanġa(pura), we now have two closely related attestations of it, both of them dating from the ninth cen-

35. Read *gālamaṣaṃjñāḥ* m.c.

36. On the interpretation of the sequence *vulakanni valā valaiṃ*, and especially the possible meaning of *valā* (possibly m.c. for *vala*), see the long but inconclusive note of Damais (1964:133, note 3, also Damais 1968:500).

37. It seems to me very likely that the final nasal before *vanvaniraṃ* represents the enclitic article (just as does the final nasal of *vanvaniraṃ* itself), whereas all predecessors have interpreted the name as *Lodvāṅ* (and it is recorded thus in Damais 1970:714, although the structural classification as “1 d w/b” there might indicate that this author implicitly agreed with the analysis advocated here). Moreover, as my translation makes clear, I propose to interpret the place name as a new example of the combinations of tree-names with numbers to form toponyms that we see in many modern place names (Sala Tiga, Duren Tiga, Mangga Dua, Kelapa Sepuluh) and in epigraphic Poh Pitu, Variṅin Pitu (Damais 1970:743–4, 599–600). OJED 1042 cites two attestations of the spelling *lo* of a tree-name denoting a type of Banyan (*Urostigma*) from relatively recent texts, whereas two attestations from KR (16.44, 25.83) are cited in OJED 1070, but the tree-name is there spelt *lva* (apparently not only *metri causa*). As regards the second element *dvā* (that is, *dva*—there is no metrical reason for the occurrence of a long vowel here, and this spelling perhaps simply reflects the fact that the vowel in question is metrically heavy by force of the two ensuing consonants, unless it indicates use of the irrealis morpheme *-a*) rather than normal Old Javanese *rva*, a comparable appearance of a Malay form with *d* for *r* occurs elsewhere in the Kumbhayoni corpus (*di parvata* in st. iv of the Dawangsari inscription). I am not aware of any specific explanations that might have been proposed for this type of toponym, and do not wish to exclude with the chosen translation the possibility that it is to be interpreted in a different manner, for example as ‘Banyan-2’.

tury AD, both appearing in direct association with the ruler Kumbhayoni, and both hailing from the (immediate vicinity of the) Ratu Baka prominence. One of them is further specified as the 'eastern' Lañkapura. Moreover, Damais' *Répertoire onomastique* (1970:740) lists several other attestations of the same toponym from the Central Javanese Period, suggesting that it may have been a relatively important locality.³⁸ And furthermore, in his 1964 article Damais proposed to identify one of the toponyms in the Sanskrit and Old Javanese stanzas we have been discussing with a modern place name from the eastern extremity of Central Java, at about 80 km distance from the Ratu Baka prominence.³⁹

We may hence ask ourselves if any other of the toponyms from the Kumbhayoni corpus can be positively identified with localities still known today in the immediate or wider vicinity of the Ratu Baka prominence. I will focus here only on the possibility of identifying Lañkapura in that part of Central Java, and, as a subsidiary question, on what the significance of the qualification 'eastern' could have been.

My answer to the latter question is that it explicitly indicates the type of geographical transposition of South Asian toponyms onto the Southeast Asian landscape that we know well, for instance, from the corpus of Khmer inscriptions,⁴⁰ namely that we are dealing with the 'localized' Javanese counterpart of the more westerly Lañkā famous from Vālmiki's Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, but also, of course, from the Old Javanese KR, to which I now finally turn.

Aichele (1969:139–42 and again 163–6) discussed the significance of the Kumbhayoni corpus in relation to the KR, focusing specifically on the episode at the beginning of *sarga* 25, where Rāma and Sītā fly over the Vindhya mountain

38. I do not have the impression that anything useful can be drawn from these other attestations for my present purposes, so I do not give any details here. It may however be noted that at least two of these attestations cite the apanage Lañka in close association with that of Halu (see above, p. 142), and that in most cases it appears in immediate association with the toponym *tañjun*.

39. Damais' article deals with the toponym Valaiñ in a comprehensive manner. His hesitantly proposed modern identification—that seems quite plausible to me—is the *desa* Waleng, *kecamatan* Girimarto, *kabupaten* Wonogiri. Ninie Susanti has suggested to me that another choice might be the *desa* Wareng in Wonosari, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, but this is probably not acceptable on the grounds of phonological incompatibility of modern /r/ with ancient /l/ (personal communication from Sander Adelaar). De Casparis (1956:254–6), by contrast, identifies Valaiñ with the Ratu Baka prominence itself, but decisive arguments in favour of this identification are lacking and in this case there is not even the argument of modern toponymy.

40. See Sanderson 2003–04:403 and following pages. From Java itself, one might add such cases as the names of the Serayu and Progo rivers (from Sanskrit Sarayu and Prayāga). But the phenomenon does seem to have been much rarer here.

and Rāma not only points out to his wife the mountain's name, but also repeats to her a specific element of Agastya mythology which Aichele interpreted as an allegorical reference to political affairs in ninth century Java. He also interpreted the name Vindhya as allegorically denoting the Ratu Baka prominence. Parts of Aichele's 1969 observations will certainly have to be reformulated to the extent that they take as their point of departure the speculative historical narratives offered by De Casparis (1956) in *Prasasti Indonesia II*, which new epigraphical discoveries have since required to be fundamentally revised. But the attempt to link data from the KR with epigraphical data more directly reflecting the real world of the Central Javanese Period seems convincing, and can serve as inspiring model for further explorations in the toponymical domain.

Our KR contains many references to the toponym Lānkā or Lānkāpura.⁴¹ As is clear for example from the translation of KR 24.87–126 provided by Hooykaas in his 1958 article that bears the apt title 'The Paradise on Earth in Lānkā', our text at various places paints a paradisiacal picture of this Lānkāpura. Moreover, in *sarga* 8, the Kakawin contains the by now rather famous description of a Śaiva temple (*prasāda*, from Sanskrit *prāsāda*) at Lānkā, which, as F.D.K. Bosch seems to have been the first to have noticed, is strongly reminiscent of specifically Central Javanese monumental architecture. Bosch's idea was taken up by Poerbatjaraka as an important element in his persuasive attempt chronologically to situate the KR in the Central Javanese Period.⁴² The possibility that the KR is not describing the ideal type of a Central Javanese monument, but is describing specifically the Loro Jonggrang complex, seems to be very close to the surface throughout Aichele's arguments (1969:159 and following pages) on the relationship between the Śivagrha inscription and the KR, but, as far as I can see, everywhere remains implicit. In any case, the epigraphical attestations of the toponym on and around the Ratu Baka prominence play no role in Aichele's argument.⁴³ They strongly suggest that the toponym was not only an allegorical designation in the KR,⁴⁴ but in fact denoted a real place in the ancient

41. The spelling as Lānka/Lānkapura (with *a* for *ā*) is also well attested in the text, the metre in most cases clearly being the determining factor for which spelling was chosen.

42. See Poerbatjaraka 1932:161 and following pages; on the text passage in question, see also the important philological and historical observations of Aichele (1969:160–2).

43. And of course they hardly could have done so, since both Damais' *Répertoire onomastique* and the text of Ratu Baka F that I present in this paper were still unavailable at the time, and the mere two syllables *lanġa* in the final stanza of the Pereng inscription are of course liable easily to escape notice.

44. As would be the case with the name Vindhya for the Ratu Baka prominence, if De Casparis' hypothesis that the plateau's ancient name was Valaiñ, could be proven true. As is clear from my note 39 above, I do not expect that it will, so the possibility that the Ratu Baka prominence

Central Javanese landscape. In fact Acri (2010:489–93) has tried to suggest a connection, based on his reading of KR 24.95–126 and the Śivagr̥ha inscription, between Vibhīṣaṇa in the poem and Rakai Kayuvaṇi, both king in Laṅkā, which means that, at the level of worldly realities, that toponym would have to be situated in Central Java.

The correspondence between the various pieces of epigraphical evidence presented above, on the one hand, and the textual evidence from the KR, on the other, naturally lead to the hypothesis that Laṅka(pura) indeed was the name of the ancient *vanua* corresponding to the modern desa Karangasem where the Prambanan complex is located. Since temple-names containing the element *pura* are well known both in Indonesia and elsewhere in Asia,⁴⁵ it seems possible to go one step further and to propose that the complex itself bore this name.⁴⁶

was actually known in ancient times as Vindhya cannot be excluded. The original (Sanskrit) name of the hillock was probably mentioned in st. VIII of the Ratu Baka F inscription, but has unfortunately been lost in a lacuna.

45. See Sanderson (2003–04:402): ‘The pyramid-based state-temples built by the major Khmer rulers of the Angkorean period at the centre of the ceremonial capitals (*puram*) whose foundation marked their reigns were mostly temples of Śivas incorporating the ruler’s name installed by Śaiva officiants’. The practice (on which, see Sanderson’s note 195) of incorporation of royal names into names of temples seems however not to have been in vogue in ancient Indonesia.

46. To preempt one possible objection, let me point out, as did Aichele (1969:159), that the words *śivagr̥ha* and *śivālaya* in the inaptly designated Śivagr̥ha inscription, if indeed connected with the Prambanan complex at all, may only refer to the Śiva shrine within that complex and are in any case so general in meaning that they are no serious candidates as ‘names’ of any specific Śiva shrine. If one likes, one may speculate that the specific name of the Śiva installed in the main Prambanan shrine was Bhadrāloka (Pereng, st. IV: *vihite kalaśajanāmnā bhadrālokāhvaye vivudhagehe*) although this implies the identity of Kumbhayoni with the founder of the Śiva shrine of the Śivagr̥ha inscription, an identity that several historians including myself would currently no longer be willing to accept (see Wisseman Christie 2001:41–2).