



Rediscovering an Old Javanese Inscription: Mpu Mano's Donation in Favor of a Buddhist Dignitary in 888 Śaka

Arlo Griffiths

► To cite this version:

Arlo Griffiths. Rediscovering an Old Javanese Inscription: Mpu Mano's Donation in Favor of a Buddhist Dignitary in 888 Śaka. *Archipel*, 2020, 99 (99), pp.107-141. 10.4000/archipel.1976 . halshs-02860492

HAL Id: halshs-02860492

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-02860492>

Submitted on 8 Jun 2020

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

*ARLO GRIFFITHS*¹

Rediscovering an Old Javanese Inscription: Mpu Mano's Donation in Favor of a Buddhist Dignitary in 888 Śaka

“Tugas seorang ahli epigrafi sekarang ini tidak saja meneliti prasasti-prasasti yang belum diterbitkan, tetapi juga meneliti kembali prasasti-prasasti yang baru terbit dalam transkripsi sementara. Kemudian ia harus menerjemahkan prasasti-prasasti tersebut ke dalam bahasa modern sehingga sarjana-sarjana yang lain, terutama ahli-ahli sejarah dapat menggunakan keterangan-keterangan yang terkandung di dalam prasasti-prasasti itu.” (Boechari 1977: 3 / 2012: 5)

1. Introduction

Of the inscription that will occupy us in these pages, so far only the opening paragraphs are known to scholarship in the form of the first of what must have been a set of copper plates on which the inscription, originally issued in 888 Śaka (966 CE), was reissued in the Majapahit period. The remaining plates of this set have never been found, nor has any trace been discovered of the

1. École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris ; UMR 5189, Histoire et Sources des Mondes Antiques, Lyon ; <arlo.griffiths@efeo.net>. My thanks are due to Henri Chambert-Loir for encouraging me to finally write up some of the results of a decade that I have spent working on Old Javanese inscriptions without publishing much about them. The research for this article has been undertaken as part of the project DHARMA 'The Domestication of "Hindu" Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and Southeast Asia', funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no 809994). See <https://dharma.hypotheses.org>. I thank my fellow project members Timothy Lubin, Annette Schmiedchen and Marine Schoettel for their comments on an earlier draft. I also thank Nigel Bullough (alias Hadi Sidomulyo) and Jan Wisseman Christie for the useful comments that they furnished as reviewers for this journal.

original inscription that must have been issued on stone or copper-plate in the 10th century.²

Although the publication of an edition with translation was announced by H. Kern (1908: 51), this plan never materialized (Kern 1917b: 185 n. 2). Rather, it is among the transcriptions left by J.L. Brandes after his death and edited by N.J. Krom in 1913 under the title *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden (OJO)* that we find the only edition ever published. In that collection, it is item no. LV. To my knowledge, no integral translation has ever been published.

In his introductory note, as editor of Brandes' work, Krom explains that the reading of the inscription had been done on the basis of a set of rubbings. He refers to the *Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuursvergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (NBG)* vol. XXXVI (1898), pp. 102, 153, 181, and quotes at length from pages 122–123, where Brandes had summarized the contents of the plate noting its connections with what is known to scholarship today as the Sobhamerta inscription dated to 861 Śaka.³ A religious master named Mpuñku i Nairañjana figures in both, as does the term *podgālika*. Brandes also remarked that both inscriptions, dated within 27 years the one from the other in the 10th century CE, show a script form that appears considerably younger than the period to which they are dated, in other words that both would be later reissues of grants originally issued in the 10th century, and refers in this connection to the evidence from the *Deśavarṇana* that reissuing of earlier grants took place on a large scale during the reign of Hayam Wuruk in the 14th century.⁴

Krom (*OJO*, p. 116) states that the plate was said to have been found at Trowulan. It was held by Haji Doolkarim, a resident of Kepanjen near Malang, when it was first mentioned in the scholarly literature in 1898.⁵ Subsequently, it came into the hands of a certain Mr. Wiederhold who resided at Malang. While it was in Wiederhold's hands, a reproduction was sent to H. Kern which allowed him to read the inscription and comment on its contents (Kern 1908, 1911). The original plate was shown by Wiederhold to N.J. Krom in 1912.⁶

2. Cases where we do have both are rare. One of them is the Cunggrang inscription, for which we have the original stone and a Majapahit-period reissue.

3. Damais 1952: 60–61, 1955: 60; Nakada 1982: 104–105 (entry no. 142); Titi Surti Nastiti 2007.

4. See Damais 1951: 31–32, essentially repeating Brandes' remarks in *OJO* LV, but adding in a note that the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, nowadays more appropriately called *Deśavarṇana* by most scholars, “indique expressément que Hayam Wuruk, au cours de son voyage dans l'île, renouvela plusieurs privilèges tombés plus ou moins en désuétude”, with particular reference to stanza 73.2.

5. See *NBG* 1898, esp. p. 181.

6. See *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1912, p. 62: “Door bemiddeling van den Heer van Hinloopen Labberton te Buitenzorg kreeg ik inzage van een drietal koperplaten en afschriften van nog vier andere, de eerste in bezit van den Heer Wiederhold te Malang, de laatste in het bezit van dienzelfden, van Mr. Krüseman en van den Heer Römer te Soerabaja. Eén daarvan, gedateerd 888, bleek de reeds door Dr. Brandes behandelde, in *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1898 (p. 102, 122, 153, 181) besprokene te zijn. De overige

After it was seen by Krom, the plate has come to be considered lost, and this is the main reason why it has never been restudied.⁷ But my documentation since 2008 of the epigraphic collections of Indonesian inscriptions kept in the Netherlands in the framework of the collaboration between the Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional and the EFEO to compile an inventory of ancient inscriptions of the Nusantara archipelago⁸ has revealed that the plate was acquired in 1975 by the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (presently called Museum Volkenkunde) in Leiden, from a Mr. A.J. Dirks (of Den Haag), through the intervention of a Mrs. F. Groosbeek-Baretta (of Apeldoorn).⁹ The plate has the inventory number RV-4801-1 in the merged collection of the recently formed Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, measures $8.2 \times 41.5 \times 0.3$ cm, and bears five lines of writing on both sides. Good photographs of the plate ordered from the Museum make it possible to check and correct Brandes' reading on several points, and to propose a translation on the basis of the revised edition.

In the spirit of Boechari's words quoted above as motto, the first purpose of this article is to submit this inscription to a fresh study and to offer a translation into English. But my second purpose is to use this inscription to illustrate the significant progress that can be made more generally in the study of the epigraphic material of ancient Java — from the documentation of the physical whereabouts of inscribed artefacts, through the correct decipherment of the texts and the proper interpretation of the grammatical forms and lexical meanings of their words, to their exploitation for historical research.

2. Text

Using Brandes' edition as base text, I offer here a new edition of the inscription, following the transliteration conventions of the ERC-funded research project *DHARMA*,¹⁰ i.e., largely the ISO standard 15919 but with some adaptations, some of which now mean a break with the system that I have used in previous publications,¹¹ notably the use of capital letters for *akṣara* vowels that I would previously have indicated with a raised circle.

waren mij nog niet bekend." The information about Mr. Wiederhold is repeated in *Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië* 1915: 185.

7. Damais (1955: 183): "Perdue ? Il n'existe ni photo ni estampage. [...] Rien ne semble subsister de cette inscription en dehors de la transcription Brandes. Nous sommes donc dans l'obligation de la reproduire sans changement." Without any apparent source, Nakada (1982: 106–107, entry no. 148) indicates "M[useum] of Malang?" — note the question mark.

8. See Perret, Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma 2003–04. A first installment of the inventory will soon be published online through epigraphia.efeo.fr/nusantara/idenk.

9. This information about the acquisition history is taken from the Museum's inventory card, which also indicates "ex collection Wiederholt" (*sic*).

10. See Balogh & Griffiths 2019.

11. See especially Aciri & Griffiths 2014.



Fig. 1. The recto face of plate 1 of Mpu Mano's inscription. Formerly Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden; now Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, coll. no. RV-4801-1.

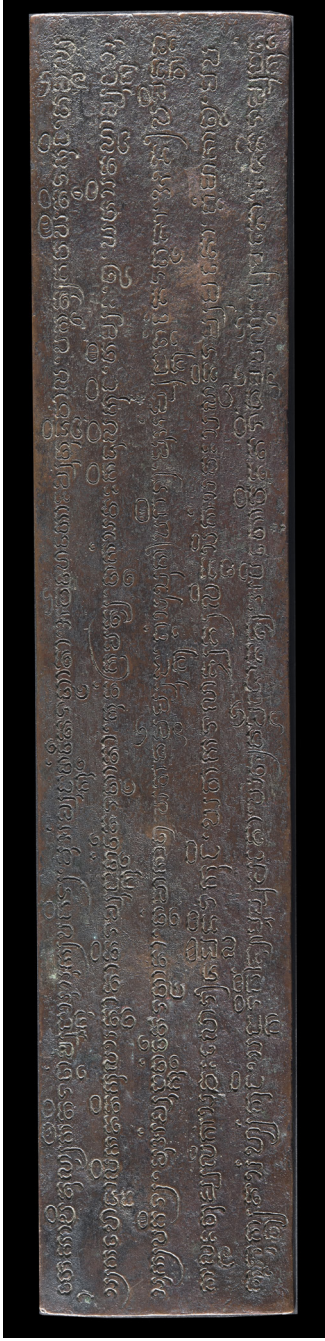


Fig. 2. The verso face of plate 1 of Mpu Mano's inscription. Formerly Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden; now Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, coll. no. RV-4801-1.

1 recto (**fig. 1**)¹²

(1) // ☸ // namo stu sarvvabuddhāya // ☸ // svasti śakavarṣātīta, 888, śrāvaṇamāsa, tīthī,¹³ Aṣṭamī kṛṣṇapakṣa,¹⁴ ha, va, ra, vāra, sinta, (2) bāyabyastha grahacāra, rohiṇīnakṣatra, prajāpatidevatā, mahendramaṇḍala, harṣaṇayoga, vijayamuhūrta,¹⁵ śaśīparvvaiśa,¹⁶ (3) kolavakarāṇa,¹⁷ sinharāśi, Irika divāśanira, mpu mano, muṇyākən· lmaḥ sīma, kaputrāṇśanira, kalilīranira¹⁸ saṅke kavvitanira (4) Ikaṁ¹⁹ harahara, kidul i pomahanira, hīnanya lor· kidul im pagər· kinalihan·, muAṁ mpu mano, hīnanya kulvan· Aṇalihi²⁰ pagər·, muAṁ (5) Im paviḍənan·, hīnanya vetan·, Aṇalihi pagər·, muAṁ Im kalampayan·, hīnanya kidul·, Ikaṁ pagər· lor· saṅke kalimusan·, ya t-

1 verso (**fig. 2**)

(1) ekā²¹ pinuṇyakənira Im mpuṅku susuk·²² pagər·, muAṁ mpuṅku Im²³ nairaṇjanā, Arthahetoḥ mpu buddhivāla, paknanya gavayənnira kuṭi, dharmma lpa(2)s· kapodgālikanani kulasantānānira mpuṅku Im nairaṇjanā, kunaṁ kramanya, Ikaṁ savaḥ kidul im kuṭi, təmpaḥ, 3, ya ta sinandā mpuṅku su(3) suk·²⁴ pagər·, muAṁ mpuṅku Im²⁵ nairaṇjanā, Im mā kā 2(,) ²⁶ ya ta dharmma mpuṅku,²⁷ Im susuk· pagər·, muAṁ mpuṅku Im nairagjanā,²⁸ An· paminta

12. The plate-number 1 stands in the left margin, rotated 90° clockwise vis-à-vis the text.

13. *tīthī*: *tithi* Brandes.

14. *kṛṣṇapakṣa*: *śuklapakṣa* Brandes. Damais' suspicion of an error in Brandes reading is thus confirmed. See below, §4.

15. *-muhūrta*: *-muhūrta* Brandes.

16. *-parvvaiśa*: *-parvveśa* Brandes.

17. *kolava-*: the *taling* stands at the end of line 2 but is repeated at the start of line 3. See another occurrence of this (actually rather widespread) phenomenon indicated in n. 21.

18. *kalilīranira*: *kaliliranira* Brandes.

19. *kavvitanira* *Ikaṁ*: *kavvitanira*, *Ikaṁ* Brandes. No punctuation sign is engraved between these words.

20. *Aṇalihi*: *Aṇalihi* Brandes.

21. *ya tekā*: the *taling* stands at the end of line 5 of the recto, but is repeated at the start of line 1 of the verso. See also n. 17 above.

22. *mpuṅku susuk*·: since in most cases we find *Im* between these words, I assume that we must emend *mpuṅku Im susuk*· here and in lines 2–3.

23. *Im*: *I* Brandes.

24. *mpuṅku susuk*·: see n. 22.

25. *Im*: *I* Brandes.

26. *kā 2(,)*: the punctuation sign is very faint; it was not read by Brandes.

27. *mpuṅku*·: the punctuation sign was not read by Brandes.

28. *Im nairagjanā*: *I nairaṇjanā* Brandes. Brandes did not observe that the plate here shows an error for the spelling of the toponym seen repeatedly in this text. Emend *nairaṇjanā*.

I(4)ka lmaḥ tumpal ika²⁹ savaḥ lor· damlənira³⁰ kuṭi, ya ta kāraṇanyan· linbas³¹ ikaṁ savaḥ saṇḍanira mpu mano, Im mā kā 3, mapa(5)k(na) bhuktyana saṁ hyaṁ kuṭi, saṅka ri gə:ṁnyāmbha mpu mano,³² yat³³ dharmma donanya, Apitovin ana riṁ dharmma parṇaḥ³⁴ mpu mano, denira mpuṅku Im

3. Translation

(r. 1–3) Homage to every Buddha! Hail! Elapsed Śaka year 888, month of Śrāvaṇa, eighth *tithi* of the waning fortnight, Haryaṁ, Vagai, Sunday, (the *vuku*) Sinta, the *grahacāra* in the Northwest, the lunar mansion Rohiṇī, the deity Prajāpati, the *maṇḍala* in the East, the conjunction Harṣaṇa, the *muhūrta* Vijaya, the regent of the astronomical node being the Moon, the half-*tithi* (*karana*) Kolava, the zodiac sign Leo.

(r. 3–5) That was the time that Mpu Mano made a meritorious donation of *sīma* land that was his patrimony as child,³⁵ his inheritance from his ancestors, the uncultivated field (*hara-hara*)³⁶ south of where he resided. Its northern limit is south of the fence (*pagər*)³⁷ shared with Mpu Mano. Its western limit shares the fence with Paviḍəṇan.³⁸ Its eastern limit shares the fence with Kalampayan.³⁹ Its southern limit is the fence north of Kalimusan.⁴⁰

29. *tumpal ika*: *tumpalikaṁ* Brandes. I think the *cecak* read by Brandes is actually just a scratch above the *ka*, although perhaps we do need a *cecak* here, if we are to understand *tumpalnika(n)*.

30. *damlənira*: *damlira* Brandes.

31. *linbas*: *linbus* Brandes. I do not see the needed *suku*. Emend *tinbus*.

32. *gə:ṁnyāmbha mpu mano*: *gə:ṁnyā*, *mpuṅku mano* Brandes. Emend *gə:ṁnyāmbhək mpu mano*. The emendation is supported by analogous phraseology in several Parva texts, thought to date to roughly the same period as this inscription. See *Ādiparva*, p. 97: *saṅka ri gəṇni prabhāvanira*; *Bhīṣmaparva*, p. 84: *saṅka ri gəṇniṁ krodha saṁ bhīmasena*; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, p. 126: *saṁ hyaṁ indra ta jugāgəṇ vələsny ambəknira*. On the spelling *bh* in the word *ambək*, consistently found in the Majapahit-period manuscript of the *Dharma Pāṭaṅjala*, see Aciri 2017: 55 / 2018: 40.

33. *yat*: emend *yan*· or *yar*·.

34. *parṇaḥ*: *parṇnah* Brandes.

35. On the meaning of *kaputrāṇśan*, see §6.1.

36. On the meaning of *hara-hara*, see §6.2.

37. On the way I translate *pagər*, see §6.3.

38. Zoetmulder (1982) records the word *viḍəṇ* in the meaning “(= yuyu) crab”, but cites only one occurrence. If *paviḍəṇan* is derived from that word in that meaning, it would have to mean ‘crab farm’, or such. But it seems imaginable that the word is to be connected rather with *hiḍəṇ/ṛiḍəṇ* “(subst.) standing still”, *iniḍəṇ* “(pf) to make st. the constant object (of meditation, etc.)”, *mapahidəṇan* “to stand one’s ground, recover, rally” (Zoetmulder 1982). The meaning of *paviḍəṇan* could then be ‘place for solitary retreat (for meditation)’ or ‘rallying ground’. But it can also simply be a toponym, as I assume for the time being. The word does not occur elsewhere.

39. Or *kalampayan* could be a common noun connected with *lampyay*? *kalampyayan*? “a part. kind of plant (creeper)?” (Zoetmulder 1982). The word does not occur elsewhere.

40. In origin, at least, *kalimusan* must be a common noun derived from *limus* “a

(r. 5–v. 2) That is what he made a meritorious donation to the Master of Susuk Pagər and Master of Nairañjanā, [whose name mentioned here only] for practical necessity [is]⁴¹ Mpu Buddhivāla,⁴² to serve for the monastery (*kuṭi*) to be made by him (Mpu Mano), a tax-exempt foundation (*dharma ləpas*) that is to be individual property (*kapodgalikan*)⁴³ of the lineage of the Master of Nairañjanā.

(v. 2–5) As for its details: the wet-rice field south of the monastery (*kuṭi*), [measuring] 3 *təmpah*, had been taken in security by the Master of Susuk Pagər and Master of Nairañjanā for 2 *kāṭi* of gold. That (field) was the foundation of the Master of Susuk Pagər and Master of Nairañjanā, who (*an*) requested a border land, the wet-rice field to the north, (to be used) for his (Mpu Mano's) founding of a monastery.⁴⁴ That is the reason why the wet-rice field given in security by Mpu Mano was redeemed by him for 3 *kāṭi* of gold, to serve for being used as resource by the Holy Monastery (*kuṭi*), out of the greatness of the intent (*ambək*) of Mpu Mano that (*yan*) Dharma should be striven for by him. The more so as regarding the foundation (*dharma*), the relation of Mpu Mano to the Master of ...

4. Date

The inscription's date has been discussed in exemplary fashion by Louis-Charles Damais (1955: 183). Unable to convert the date with the parameter *śuklapakṣa* as read by Brandes, Damais had to assume an error with regard to the fortnight, because 888 Śrāvaṇa *kṛṣṇapakṣa* 8 Haryaṇ Vagai Sunday yielded

part. kind of fruit (mango? cf *sund.*; GR: = *timun*)” (Zoetmulder 1982), i.e., ‘limus orchard’. The word occurs as the name of a *sīma* in an inscription which I suspect may be a reissue of a grant originally issued in the 11th century (Kalimusan, see Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma 1996: 7). In its two occurrences in the Waringin Pitu inscription (ed. Boechari 1985-86: 125–136, lines 8r2, 11r3), it could be either toponym or common noun, although the former seems a bit more likely, because of the occurrence of the toponyms Malaie and Kamalagen in the same contexts. An occurrence of the former in the Balawi inscription of 1305 Saka has been identified by Hadi Sidomulyo (2018: 237) with a village situated about 40 km northwest of Trowulan, but homonymic villages may of course have existed elsewhere; the latter is the name of a *sīma* known from the Kamalagyan inscription of 959 Saka, which mentions it in close association with Variṇin Sapta, none other than the *sīma* which is the focus of the Waringin Pitu charter. (On that charter, see also §6.2.)

41. On the meaning of *arthahetoh*, see §6.5.

42. This name appears as Boddhivāla in the Sobhamerta inscription. It seems that a single person called Mpu Buddhivāla (or something like that) was master of two establishments, one called Susuk Pagər and the other Nairañjanā, although the text does not consistently mention both affiliations.

43. On the meaning of *kapodgalikan*, see §6.4.

44. An alternative translation might be: ‘That (field) was the endowment (*dharma*) for the Master of Susuk Pagər and Master of Nairañjanā, such that (*an*) he requested a border land, the wet-rice field to the north, (to be used) for his (Mpu Mano's) endowment of a monastery.’

a perfect match with 12 August 966 CE. My new edition of the text confirms Damais' suspicion. In their review of Damais' data emphasizing the traditional Indian *pañcāṅga* ('calendar with five elements'), which Damais generally ignored in his approach to date conversion based more on indigenous cyclical elements, Eade & Gislén (2000: 68) confirmed Damais' result:

There is no kaulava karaṇa on astronomical tithi 8 waxing, though there is one in the second half of 8 waning and Damais indicates (...) that a confusion between waxing and waning is "very easy to make". The diagram's figures for Kaulava (58' 21 to 18' 38) indicate that it, the nakṣatra, and the yoga are all in place for just over half the civil day (...).

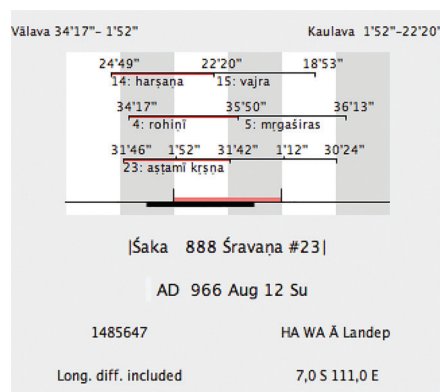


Fig. 3. Diagram showing the dating parameters of Mpu Mano's inscription.

To visualize what is explained here, see my **fig. 3**, a diagram which reproduces and enhances the one given by Eade & Gislén.⁴⁵ The only remaining incongruity is that the *wuku* is stated to be Sinta, whereas the combination Haryaṅ Vagai Sunday should be the first day of Landep as shown in the diagram and in Damais 1955, Appendix 1. On this unresolved issue, see Damais 1955, Appendix 9.

Damais also mentions that some parameters of the dating formula are incompatible with a date in 888 Śaka, which indicated to him that he was dealing with a reissue in the Majapahit period. The idea, not made explicit here by Damais, is that the dating formula would have been expanded, without incidence on the critical parameters, to suit the customs of the Majapahit period by inserting parameters that were never included in earlier periods. The anachronistic parameters in our inscription may be brought out by juxtaposing its dating formula with a few others from inscriptions that are not reissues.⁴⁶

⁴⁵. I have created the diagram with the application called HIC that can be obtained through <http://home.thep.lu.se/~larsg/Site/download.html>.

⁴⁶. I quote the opening passages of the following inscriptions: (1) Hering, (2) Alasantan (ed. Wibowo 1979), (3) Muncang, (4) our inscription, (5) Cane.

1. sakavarṣātita 859 jeṣṭamāsa tithi ṣaṣṭi śuklapakṣa ha va vṛ vāra agneyastha pūrbaphalguṇanakṣatra toyadevatā bajrayoga garadhikaraṇa
2. śakavarṣātita 861 bhadravādamāsa, tithi pañcamī kṛṣṇapakṣa, vā, pa, śu, vāra, aśvinīnakṣatra, aśvīdevatā, viṣkambhayoga
3. śakavarṣātita 866 cetramāsa tithi ṣaṣṭi śuklapakṣa tu pa ā vāra, rohiṇīnakṣatra karṣalaśādevatā, prītiyoga
4. śakavarṣātita, 888, śrāvaṇamāsa, tithi, aṣṭamī kṛṣṇapakṣa, ha, va, ra, vāra, sinta, bāyabyasthag**grahacāra**, rohiṇīnakṣatra, prajāpatidevatā, mahendram**maṇḍala**, harṣaṇayoga, vijayam**muḥūrta**, śaṣṭi**parvvaiśa**, kolavakarana, sinhar**rāśi**
5. sakavarṣātita 943 kārtikamāsa tithi caturthi kṛṣṇapakṣa tu va śu vāra landəp pūrṇnavasunakṣatra śubhayoga ariditidevatā **grahacāra**pūrvvastha vavakarana bāyaby**maṇḍala**

As Damais observes in a footnote, our inscription is “le seul document javanais retrouvé de la période s’étendant de la dernière charte de Pu Sindok à la grande stèle de 913 śaka dont le nom royal n’a pas encore été déchiffré”,⁴⁷ so that we cannot usefully compare the date of 888 Śaka with any date in the following decades until the Cane inscription of 943 Śaka, which does show some new elements vis-à-vis the dates of 859, 861 and 866 Śaka (*grahacāra*, *maṇḍala*), but does not yet show any of the elements that become customary only later (*muḥūrta*, *parveśa*, *rāśi*).⁴⁸

5. Palaeography

Both Brandes and Damais were undoubtedly right in arguing on the basis of the inscription’s dating formula that they were dealing with a reissue. In Brandes’ time, experience with Javanese palaeography was not sufficiently advanced for him to use any palaeographic argument, while Damais was unable to do so because he had access neither to the plate itself nor to any reproduction. Now that the documentary situation has changed, we can observe that the script is clearly different from what we see in original issues of the 10th century CE on stone and copper plate. The Alasantan inscription of 861 (**fig. 4**) may serve as example of the script typical in that period. On the other hand, the script we have seen in **fig. 1** and **2** is entirely compatible with the hypothesis of reissue in the Majapahit period.

It seems that the hand that we see on our plate is particularly similar to, and therefore contemporary with, the one responsible for the engraving of

47. The published reading (*OJO* LVII) of the stèle of 913 Śaka is too fragmentary to use for comparison, and none of the dating formula is preserved in the case of the more recently discovered but still unpublished Wwahan (or Bandar Alim) inscription, except the Śaka year 907. On this inscription and its date, see Boechari 1986: 190 n. 33 / 2012: 322 n. 31, Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma 1996: 46 (photo on p. 71), and Boechari 2012: 184. I was able tentatively to confirm the extremely faint reading 907 at the top of the almost entirely effaced front face of this stone during a visit to Pusat Informasi Majapahit in 2015.

48. See De Casparis 1978, Appendix II (“Gradual lengthening of the expression of dates in Old-Javanese inscriptions”).

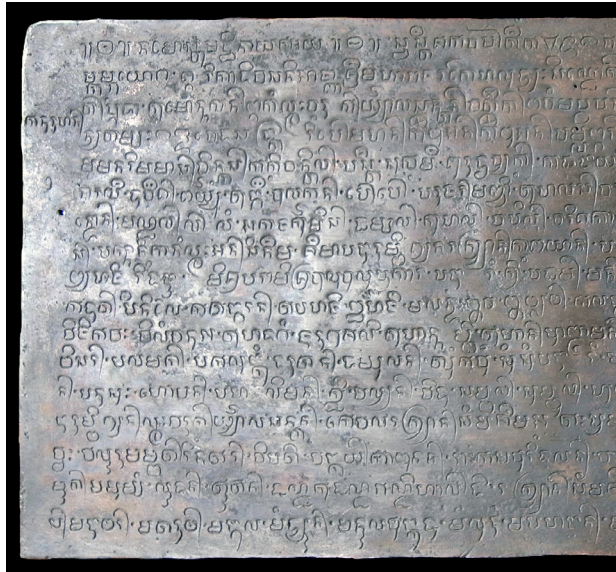


Fig. 4. Alasantan inscription, left half of text on plate 1. Pusat Informasi Majapahit, no. 5-8/Tbg/BJJ/63/BPG. Photo courtesy of Nigel Bullough.



Fig. 5. Gajah Mada inscription. Museum Nasional, Jakarta, inv. no. D. 111. Photo OD OD-741A, courtesy of Leiden University Library.



n. 2228 / N. Inscription de Kusmala

Fig. 6. Kusmala inscription. Museum Airlangga, Kediri. Estampage EFEO n. 2228. Photo courtesy of the EFEO.

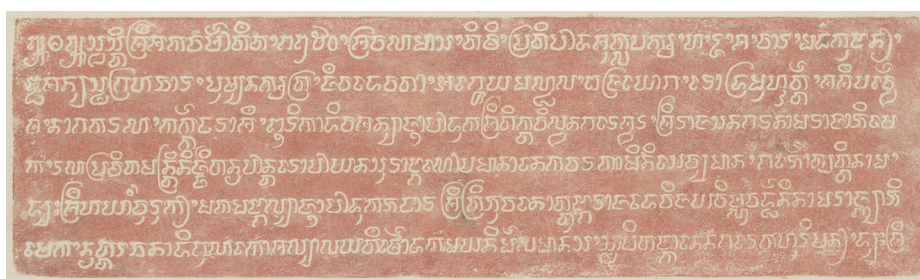


Fig. 7. Canggu inscription, plate 1 recto. Museum Nasional E. 54a. Rubbing kept at Leiden University Library. Photo courtesy of Leiden University Library.

the famous Gajah Mada inscription (**fig. 5**), dated to 1273 Śaka, or 1351 CE. The force of this comparison is brought out by showing another stone inscription of 1272 Śaka (**fig. 6**) and another copper plate of 1280 Śaka (**fig. 7**), both of which lack the peculiar roundedness that is common to our plate and the Gajah Mada stone inscription but that I have not found in any other inscription — giving reason to speculate that the same engraver may have been responsible for both. And it is further noteworthy that the script used to reissue Mpu Mano's grant is quite different from that used in the reissue of the textually related Sobhamerta charter.⁴⁹ The two grants were probably not reissued during the same century.

6. Vocabulary

6.1 *kaputrāṇśan*

After the dating formula, the object of the grant is described in the following words: *irika divāśanira, mpu mano, muṇyākən lmah sīma, kaputrāṇśanira, kalilīranira saṅke kavvitanira, ikaṇ hara-hara, kidul i pomahanira, hīnanya lor kidul in pagər kinalihan, muaṇ mpu mano*. While the words *hara-hara* and *pagər* will be discussed in §6.2 and §6.3, we shall first concentrate on *kaputrāṇśan*. In the *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* (Zoetmulder 1982, henceforward *OJED*), we find the following entries:

putrāṇśa, kaputrāṇśa, kaputrāṇśan

putrawaṇśa = putrāṇśa

kaputrawaṇśa, kaputrawaṇśan apanage, land assigned to a son by the king.

With the exception of two references to the *Navaruci*, all of the textual passages cited by Zoetmulder are epigraphic. When checked against the most reliable editions available, it appears that none of the occurrences actually requires postulation of a form *kaputrāṇśa* or *kaputrawaṇśa*, without *-an* suffix.

Including the one in our inscription, we can list the following epigraphic occurrences (cited here in somewhat normalized transcription):

1. Wahu I, reissue of a grant dated 795 Śaka, lines 1r3–4: *parṇnahanya sīma kaputrāṇśana, kalilirana deniṇ anak putu buyut santāna pratisantāna saṇ hadyan*⁵⁰

49. See Damais (1955: 60 n. 1): “Ainsi qu’on peut le voir dans le fac-similé de KO, XXII, l’écriture de cette copie diffère nettement de la plupart des autres copies tardives. Elle leur est probablement antérieure, mais nous n’osons préciser plus pour le moment.” See already Damais 1952: 60–61, n. 6. Five of the inscription’s seven plates are kept at the British Library, and can be viewed through that institution’s online database: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=MSS_Jav_106.

50. Ed. Boechari 1985–86: 22–25.

2. Pupus, a reissue, possibly in the same hand as that of Waharu I (no. 1),⁵¹ of an original grant possibly dated to around 800 Śaka, lines 1v2–3: *tatkālanikaṇ van[v]a ri pupus vatak vatu humalaṇ sinīma de rahyaṇta sañjaya lbak vukirnyadohnyaparā lmaḥ kəbvanya tka ri kalaṇ kalagyanya pañurumbiginya sīma kaputrañśan de rahyaṇta sañjaya*. Same inscription, lines 2r5–6: *samaṇkana lvāni lmaḥ saṇ hyaṇ sīma i pupus kaputrañśan rahyaṇta sañjaya*⁵²
3. Paradah II, 865 Śaka, front face, lines 9–11: *putrañśa*⁵³ *kalilirāṇa deniṇ anak putu puyut mani antah santāna pratisantāna saṇ śluk dāyanya rikana sa saṇ maputra tiṇkahnikanan*⁵⁴ *lmaḥ savah sima pacaru i saṇ hyaṇ dharmma kamūlān blah 1 pañajyan su ku 1 (?) a ka 1 putrañśa tampaḥ 1 ikanan lmaḥ gagā ... i tagiṇ tampaḥ blah putrañśa juga mañuṇsī i pinḥai panigaran i paraḍah*. Same inscription, back face, lines 28–29: *asiṇ umulahulah ikaṇ lmaḥ savah i paraḍah sīma inarpanākan sagluk i saṇ hyaṇ dharmma kamūlān i paraḍah lorniṇ luaḥ muaṇ ... i tagiṇ putrañśa iṇ dlāha hlām an babatataya ṇunivaiḥ yan davuta saṇ hyaṇ vatu sīma kabuattananya patyananta ya*
4. Kancana, a reissue dated to 1295 Śaka of a grant originally issued in the 10th century CE,⁵⁵ 4v4–5r3: *samaṇkana pañaturdeśani lmaḥ saṇ hyaṇ darmmasīma iṇ kāñcana, kavibhajyanikaṇ savah, maprayoga i bhaṭāra, tēmpah, 2, iṇ asana uṇḡvan aṇśa bhaṭārī, jāṇ, 2, ki, 1, bayai, jāṇ, 5, mapakna mpu sthāpaka, tēmpah, 2, iṇ gayanti uṇḡvanya, mpu brahmā ta sthāpaka, mpu asthavira*,⁵⁶ *jāṇ, 1, pamubur paragi, jāṇ, 1, mariṇ parivāra, jāṇ, 2, gavainiṇ parivāra kinonkon adoh aparək hābniṇ bapra, jāṇ, 2, kaputrañśan, tēmpah, 20 dyah imbaṇi, mvaṇ dyah anārgha pramāṇa ikā, tka i santāna pratisantānānikā, tka mne hlām riṇ dlāhaniṇ dlāha*

51. On the Pupus inscription, see Damais (1952: 11 n. 2): “L’inscription de Pupus (*OJO*, LXV) forme un cas à part. Elle a une date complète (c’est à tort que la transcription de Brandes ne donne que quelques mots des lignes 1 et 2 car elles sont presque entièrement lisibles). Le style rappelle nettement les inscriptions de la fin du viii^e et du début du ix^e siècles Śaka. Comme cependant le nom du *wuku* s’y trouve indiqué, on pense à une date postérieure. L’écriture, anguleuse, est difficilement datable. Le millésime ne saurait en tout cas être 1022 Śaka et Stutterheim a certainement eu tort de partir de cette date pour l’article qu’il a consacré à ce document (*BKI*, 90, 1933, 282–287). Nous n’avons pu jusqu’ici trouver de solution satisfaisante pour l’interprétation de la date et nous en reparlerons ailleurs.” Note the similarity of the words used by Damais (1955: 31) when discussing Waharu I: “il s’agit d’une copie, mais non d’une copie tardive car l’écriture est nettement antérieure à la période de Majapahit. Anguleuse, elle est difficilement datable et il s’agit peut-être de ce que nous avons appelé une « copie conforme ».” My suggestion that the two copies were made by the same hand is based on inspection of rubbings of the plates (Museum Nasional E. 3 and E. 24) kept in the Kern Institute collection of Leiden University Library.

52. Ed. Boechari 1985–86: 75–77.

53. Emended. Brandes reads *patlañśa*, with indication of uncertainty.

54. Emended. Brandes reads *titah nikanan*.

55. On this dating, see §7.

56. Emended. The plate reads *hasthavāra*.

5. The present inscription: *muṇyākən Imah sīma, kaputrāṇśanira, kalilīranira saṅke kavvitanira, ikaṇ harahara*
6. Pabuharan, a reissue of a grant originally issued possibly under the reign of Siṇḍok or Airlaṅga, lines 1b2–4: *ika ta makadrabya ikaṇ kaputravaṇśan, lukat tampah, 1, muaṇ kamūladharmman, lukat, ki, 1, makamukhya savah bhaṭāra kabhaktin, an lukat, jəṇ, 1*⁵⁷
7. Waharu III, a reissue of a grant originally issued possibly under the reign of Siṇḍok or Airlaṅga, line 3r3: *atəhər inanugrahan kaputravaṇśan savah*⁵⁸
8. Wimalasrama, reissue of a grant originally issued possibly under the reign of Siṇḍok or Airlaṅga, Hageman transcript, page 3, lines 2–3: *damlən kaputraṇśan satṇaḥ paniklana susur kapaṅgiha kalilirani vka vetnira mpuṅku muntun*⁵⁹
9. Rameswarapura, 1197 Śaka, lines 6r4–6: *ya teka parṇah kaputrāṇśanani santāna pratisantāna śrī brahmarāja, mvaṇ ikaṇ ulihniṇ amabaki, kunəṇ ikaṇ gagā, kubvan, parṇah kaputrāṇśan ika*⁶⁰
10. Sukhamerta, 1218 Śaka, line 11r3: *hana pvekāṇ savah kaputrāṇśan, irika ta saṇ apaṇji patipati yan tan ārthakāraṇa*

Besides these epigraphic occurrences, predominantly dating from the 10th and 11th centuries, in the transmitted Old Javanese literature there are the two passages from the *Navaruci* cited in *OJED*, and a further passage not cited there:

11. *Navaruci*, chapter 2, first paragraph (pp. 29–30): *kañcit maṅkat rahaden bhīma. kapuṅkur in gajāhoya. tan kavarṇaa tikaṇ kalagen, kaputravaṇśan, muvah tikaṇ kaperin mvaṇ kalintaṇan*. ‘Immediately Bhīma set out. He had left Gajāhoya behind. The religious establishments (*kalagen*) and *kaputravaṇśan* will not be described, nor will (the places) he passed by and came across.’ Same text, chapter 3, first paragraph (p. 34): *aglis maṅkat rahaden bhīma, kapuṅkur ing gajāhoya. aṇlakvani juraṇ səṅka aparāṇ aparuṇ, mārgātrəbis, iriṇ-iriṇ. akveh tikaṇ vanādri bhaya kalintaṇan, muvah səma, vatəs, pabajaṇan,*

57. Ed. Boechari 1985–86: 13–14. Despite what is suggested by inclusion in Boechari’s work, it is unclear to me whether the original plates forming this inscription have ever been actually kept at Museum Nasional. What is certain, is that the British Library now preserves the plates under shelf mark Ind. Ch. 57. Photos are accessible online, enabling me to check published readings of the lines in question: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Ind_Ch_57&index=13.

58. Boechari 1985–86: 89–92.

59. Van Stein Callenfels 1924: 25–26; reading corrected on the basis of my inspection of the manuscript kept at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, and further emended.

60. No edition of this charter has been formally published, although there is a reading in an unpublished “Laporan penelitian prasasti di Museum Mpu Tantular dan di Museum Purbakala Trowulan tahun 2003” by Machi Suhadi. I quote from my own forthcoming edition.

peñanan in avan; gunuñ pipitu kalintañan; mvañ kapuñkur tekang taruk-tarukan, muvah kalagen, kaputravañśan, dusun, kuluvutan. ‘Immediately Bhīma set out. He had left Gajāhoya behind. He marched through steep ravines with rocks and cliffs. The path was rocky terrain and slopes. On the road, he came by numerous dangerous forest mountains, cemeteries, boundary markers, children’s graveyards, demarcations. He came by seven mountains. And he left behind settlements, as well as religious establishments (*kalagen*), *kaputravañśan*, and remote villages.’

12. *Rājapatiguṇḍala*, transcribed by Pigeaud (1960–63, vol. I: 88–89) from manuscript LOr 5056: *ikā ta dharma sañ vikū, matanhyan sañ yogiśvara, hayva hinavara deniñ jagat, āpan sira tirthaniñ bhūvanā, mnəñ kañ pramananiñ rāt, kāryyanira nukusakən dupā, riñ śūklapakṣa, makañūni hanadah akinkin dharma, bumi lvirnya, jumput kuluvut, kañlañ, kalaṅgyān, kaputravañśān, tani, hanālaga dalun, salviraniñ bhūmi carik, lmah aheñ, tan salah amūktyakna.* In this passage, *kalaṅgyān* must correspond to the *kalagen* of the *Navaruci* passages.

Clearly, the data reveal that the original and older spelling is (*ka*)*putrāñśa(n)*, i.e., from Sanskrit *putra*+*añśa*. Prijohoetomo explains in his glossary (1934: 220) that *vañśa* is the Middle Javanese form of *añśa* (i.e., *añśa*),⁶¹ and translates *kaputravañśan* as “inherited land” (*erfland*). This was also the interpretation given by H. Kern and after him by H.B. Sarkar for the occurrence in the Kancana inscription (no. 4), where the former translated “*erfdeel*” and the latter “patrimony for the children”.⁶² The occurrences listed above do not give clear support for Zoetmulder’s more specific interpretation as “apanage, land assigned to a son by the king”, because there is only one case of direct involvement of the king (in no. 2). But the idea that the word designates some kind of land is confirmed by its regular collocation with the words *sīma* (nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 5) and *savah* (3, 4, 6, 7, 10), while Prijohoetomo’s idea that we are dealing with inherited land is supported by collocation with such phrases as *kalilirana deniñ anak putu buyut santāna pratisantāna* (1, see also 3 and 5), which can be read as glosses of *putrāñśa*.

In his glossary, Sarkar 1971–72, vol. II: 355 cites “sanskrit *Putrāñśa*, patrimony of the children” suggesting that it is a common Sanskrit term. It is remarkable, however, that this word, despite being entirely transparent as a Sanskrit compound meaning ‘son’s (or sons’) share’, does not seem to occur in Indian Sanskrit sources. It is therefore likely to be a compound of Javanese vintage. But I see no reason not to accept the translation proposed by Sarkar in

61. This claim is not confirmed by the entry *vañśa* in *OJED* (a dictionary which, despite its title, also covers Middle Javanese). Another way to interpret the form *putra-v-añśa* might be to consider the extraneous consonant to serve as hiatus-bridge allowing to avoid vowel sandhi in *putra+añśa*.

62. See Kern 1917a: 23; Sarkar 1971–72, vol. I: 147 and vol. II: 355.

favor of the more specific one indicated in the *OJED*. The *ka-...-an* circumfix found in most occurrences can then be interpreted as expressing the status of the lands as *putrāṇśa*.⁶³

6.2 *hara-hara*

Ever since Louis-Charles Damais introduced a new nomenclature for Indonesian inscriptions taking text-internal toponyms as basis,⁶⁴ and listed this inscription under the designation “Hara-Hara”, almost all scholars have adopted this designation which implies that the word *hara-hara* is a toponym, an implication which is sometimes presented as fact.⁶⁵ Although she does not state this explicitly, Jan Wisseman Christie (2009: 46, 180) must have considered that such is not the case, because she chooses a different designation, “Mpu Mano inscription”. I recommend adoption of this new designation, because *hara-hara* is more likely to be a common noun than any kind of toponym. Indeed, Kern (1911: 199) translates the term as “woeste gronden” and the *OJED* has an entry **hara-hara, ara-ara** “treeless and uncultivated field or plain”. The dictionary cites only non-epigraphic occurrences, among them two telling stanzas from the *Deśavarṇana* (which I quote in normalized transcription, along with Robson’s 1995 translation):

sampun prāpte kulur mvañ batañ i gañan asəm teki lampah narendra,
tis-tis hyaṇ sūrya pintən ghaṭita pitu sirəm kāmukan sañhub avrā,
skandhāvāre tənahnin **hara-hara** dinunuñ śrī narendre kamantyan,
prāptañ vyāpāra sampun panadahira madum sthāna tekiñ vvañ akveh (18.8)
‘Having reached Kulur and Batang, the King now went on to Gañan Asəm; the
holy sun grew cooler and at about the seventh hour (4.30 p.m.) was dimmed,
veiled by a spreading mist. At a camp in the midst of a **grassy field** the King was
presently lodged. Refreshments arrived and after he had eaten we ordinary people
each went to our own abode.’

śīghrān datən i pajarakan patañ dina lavas narapatin aməgil,
ñkāneñ **hara-hara** kidul in sudharma sugatāsana makuvu-kuvu,
mantrī viku haji karuhun sañ ārya sujanottama parən umarək,
kapvānaturakən upabhoga bhojana vineh dhana padākasukhan (32.1)
‘The King soon arrived in Pajarakan where he stayed for four days; **the grassy field**
to the south of the Buddhist foundation was where they set up camp. The
officials and King’s priests led by the excellent Ārya Sujana came forward to pay
their respects. And having offered him refreshments and food they were given
money, which pleased them.’

63. See Zoetmulder 1950: 74 (no. 2); Zoetmulder & Poedjawijatna 1992, vol. I: 88–89 (no. 2).

64. Damais 1952: 7–9 (§18–25).

65. See, e.g., *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, vol. II, p. 196, speaking of a “tanah *sīma* ... yang terletak di Desa Hara-Hara” (Bambang Sumadio & Endang Sri Hardiati, eds., 2008).

The *OJED* cites no epigraphic occurrences for the word, but besides the one in our inscription, at least one more is known to me:

Waringin Pitu, 1369 Śaka, 10v1–3:⁶⁶

muva hana **hara-hara** kagarbbha riṃ bəron·, pañt vetan·, dpa, 83, pañlari kidul·, dpa, 202, pañt kulon·, pañlari lor·, paḍa lavan vetan kidul· // muva hanālas kabhukti sakim sam hyam ḍarmma riṃ variṇin pitu, riṃ pūrvvāsīḍakətan lavan niru, ...

‘And there is a *hara-hara* falling under Bəron: (its) eastern barrier 83 fathoms, (its) southern length (? *pañlari*) 202 fathoms, its western barrier (and) northern length equal to the western and southern ones. And there is a forest used as resource from the holy foundation of Variṇin Pitu, at its eastern points it adjoins Niru ...’

Here, the parallelism between *muva(h) hana harahara* and *muva(h) hana alas* clearly demonstrates that *hara-hara* must be common noun and not a toponym.⁶⁷

6.3 *pagər*

The problem of whether a given word is to be interpreted as a toponym or as a common noun is indeed confronted very frequently when dealing with Old Javanese inscriptions, the data often being insufficient to make a reasoned choice. Some minor cases have been briefly discussed above in footnotes 38, 39 and 40. I turn here to the more important case of *pagər*.

Hadi Sidomulyo (2010: 22, n. 67), in discussing royal foundations in the ancient region of Jaṅgala (corresponding to modern Sidoarjo regency), took this *pagər* to be a toponym: “It can be added that the name Pagər is recorded in a number of very early inscriptions originating from this same region, among them *Kaladi* (909) and *Hara-hara* (966)”. In an earlier work, the same author has discussed the toponym at greater length, and referred to the mention made in the Mula-Malurung and Sukhamerta inscriptions, dated respectively to 1177 and 1218 Śaka, of a foundation (*dharmma*) at Pagər.⁶⁸ There is even a passage, among the inscriptions of that period, where the word undeniably serves as toponym in the determination of land boundaries:

66. Edited by Boechari 1985–86: 125–136. Reverified against my photos of the original.

67. I have found one other possible occurrence, the second set of Ukir Negara plates, a reissue of a grant originally issued in 1120 Saka, 1v4–5, where I read from photos of the plate: *kulvan i humah dagal, 5 jum luḍum, 2 jum, a(k)ulu (h)ara-hara ḍrṽya haji ma l*. I am unable to determine the meaning here, because I do not understand the word *akulu*, if that reading is correct. Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma 1996: 9 read *ahulu*, which I cannot interpret either. Nigel Bullough (pers. comm.) kindly informs me that Issatriadi (1975: 18, 22 — unavailable to me), who likewise reads *ahulu hara-hara*, translates this as “di hulu padang”. The reading *ahulu* is perhaps possible, but it seems impossible to me to translate *ahulu* as ‘di hulu’.

68. Hadi Sidomulyo 2007: 83–84, with note 187 on page 108.

Rameswarapura, 1197 Śaka, 6v5–6.⁶⁹

Asiḍaktan lavan· blut·, mañalor amgat· lvaḥ, ḍpa 340, Asiḍaktan lavan· pagə:r·, mluṭ· mañetan añalor·, ḍpa 80, Asiḍaktan· lavan· soso, mañalor amnə:r·, tkem paścima, ḍpa 110

‘Adjoining with Blut, it goes North cutting through the river, for 340 fathoms. Adjoining with Pagər, windingly (?) it goes North-East, for 80 fathoms. Adjoining with Soso, it goes straight North, and arrives at the West point, for 110 fathoms.’

But if we assume *pagər* is a toponym also in the context of the land demarcation in our inscription, the resulting translation would have to be something like this: ‘That was the time that Mpu Mano made a meritorious donation of *sīma* land [...]. Its northern limit is the south (side) of Pagər that is shared with Mpu Mano. Its western limit shares Pagər with Paviḍəñan. Its eastern limit shares Pagər with Kalampayan. Its southern limit is Pagər north of Kalimusan.’ This seems to make less sense than if we translate *pagər* as a common noun meaning ‘fence’. By contrast, I assume that it is part of a toponym in the combination Susuk Pagər. For the time being, within the limits of my knowledge and the sources available to me, I am unable to propose identifications of any of these toponyms on the modern map.⁷⁰

6.4 *kapodgalikan*

The purpose of the transaction recorded in the inscription is stated in the words *paknanya gavayənnira kuṭi, dharmma lpas kapodgālikanani kulasantānānira mpuñku in nairanjanā*, which I have translated ‘to serve for the monastery (*kuṭi*) to be made by him: the tax-exempt foundation (*dharma*) that is to be individual property (*kapodgalikan*) of the lineage of the Master of Nairāñjanā.’

The word *kuṭi* is used quite commonly in Buddhist sources from ancient Indonesia to designate some kind of Buddhist establishment, probably monastic, not clearly distinguishable from and often appearing in collocation with the more familiar term *vihāra*.⁷¹ Indeed, in the Sobhamerta inscription, the object of donation to the same protagonist — the Master of Nairāñjanā called Boddhivāla or Buddhivāla — as the one who figures in the inscription that concerns us here, is called *vihantən*,⁷² a *krama*-like derivation from the Sanskrit word *vihāra*.⁷³ In Old Javanese sources, the word *vihāra* is a

69. See n. 60 above. I quote from my own forthcoming edition and translation.

70. In his article dedicated to toponyms in several Old Javanese inscriptions, van Stein Callenfels (1929: 382) also admitted his inability to identify any of these items. Nigel Bullough (pers. comm.) suggests to me that it is most likely that the toponyms are to be sought in the area between Surabaya and Trowulan.

71. See Griffiths 2014: 216.

72. Ed. Titi Surti Nastiti 2007, lines 2v3, 3v2, 3v5, 4v2.

73. The same form is also found in the Hering inscription that I will cite below. On

sure marker of a connection with Buddhism. While the word is found in all literary and didactic texts preserved to us that have explicitly Buddhist preoccupations, it is, to my knowledge, hardly ever attested in such texts which have other religious affiliations.⁷⁴ In epigraphic texts, the context is often insufficient in itself to determine with certainty whether a monastery of Buddhist or some other affiliation is intended, but in all cases where the context does throw light on the matter, it is clear that *vihāra* designated specifically Buddhist establishments.⁷⁵ Even if we forget the fact that the Mpu Mano and Sobhamerta inscriptions open with brief Sanskrit expressions of homage to all Buddhas,⁷⁶ these other reasons alone would suffice to remove any doubt that we are dealing in both inscriptions with a transaction involving a Buddhist beneficiary.

In this light, it is remarkable that the *OJED* contains the following two entries for words quoted from the same two inscriptions, Mpu Mano and Sobhamerta, but occurring nowhere else in transmitted or epigraphic Old Javanese texts known to me:

podgalika Śiwaite

CSt 22 (939) 1b.4: muan tan pañjurwa kaliliran i kula santāna mpuñku tēka riñ dlāha nin dlā<ha>, parnahanya podgalika.

kapodgalikan establishment of Śiwaites, Śiwaite sanctuary

OJO 55 (966) b2: gawayēn ira kuṭi, dharma lēpas kapodgalikana ni kulasantāna nira mpuñku in Nairañjana.

Now the base word *podgalika*, in the standard Sanskrit spelling *paudgalika*,⁷⁷ is a well-known technical term of Buddhist monastic discipline (*vinaya*),⁷⁸ and

such *krama*-like formations in Old Javanese, see Damais 1950, Damais 1951: 12 n. 1 and Hoogervorst 2017, table 3. Several examples can be added from epigraphy, among them the toponym *ālasantan*, in the eponymous inscription of 861 Saka, which is the equivalent of the common modern toponym Wonosari (i.e., *vanasāri*, meaning Flower Forest), although in modern Javanese *alas* is the *ngoko*-form while *wana* is the *krama*-form. Damais (1950: 269, 276) has emphasized the importance of *krama*-forms of modern toponyms, and a significant percentage of the *krama*-like forms found in Old Javanese are indeed toponyms or, like *vihantān*, words that designate respected places.

74. See, by way of example, the occurrences in manuscripts of the prose recensions of the Kuṇḍarakarṇa story (van der Molen 1983: 136–137); in the *kakavin Kuṇḍarakarṇa Dharmakathana* (1.7, 6.8–9, 11.4, 15.9, 16.2, 32.6); in the *Advayasādhana* part of the so-called *San Hyañ Kamahāyānikan* (Lokesh Chandra 1997: 343); and in the *Deśavarṇana* (93.1, in this text the word *kuṭi* is far more common). Exceptions, always in rather stereotypical lists of various religious establishments: *kakavin Rāmāyaṇa* (3.70); *Agastyaparva* (27.22–29 and 69.8–16).

75. The most noteworthy example is the Wanua Tengah III inscription (Boechari 2012: 484–491).

76. The invocation reads *namo stu sarvvabuddhāya* in Sobhamerta.

77. Representation of the Sanskrit diphthong *au* as *o* in Old Javanese is normal: see Gonda 1973: 369–370 (1st ed. 239–240).

78. See, for instance, Schopen 2001: 111–112.

the corresponding entry in Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (1951) reads as follows:

paudgalika, adj. (Pali puggalika; to pudgala plus ika; in different sense recorded pw 4.302), *individual, personal*, always contrasted with **sāṃghika**, sometimes also **staupika**: sāṃghikāḥ puṣpavṛkṣāḥ...°ka-paribhogena bhuktāḥ Divy 342.19, ...were put to individual, personal (not selfish, with Index) use; staupikam sāṃghikam... vittam °kaṃ ca RP 29.8; similarly Sikṣ 63.14; Bbh 166.26; MSV ii.123.19.

Zoetmulder's interpretation of Old Javanese *podgalika* was clearly determined by the meanings ascribed to the word *pudgala* and *podgala* in his dictionary: "(Skt pudgala, a name of Śiwa) Śiwaite, follower of the Śiwaite way".⁷⁹ Although Edgerton's dictionary is among the sources consulted by Zoetmulder when he was preparing the *OJED*,⁸⁰ his entry for *podgalika* reveals that he failed to observe the clearly Buddhist context of the quoted phrases, and forgot to consult Edgerton's dictionary. In brief, when a second edition of the *OJED* is prepared, the meaning for the entry *podgalika* and its derived form *kapodgalikan* will need to be corrected.

In that perspective, it must be noted that while *paudgalika* is an adjective in Sanskrit, the identification of the word class of Sanskrit words borrowed into Old Javanese is often problematic,⁸¹ so that we may either consider the word *podgalika* to have remained an adjective in Old Javanese, with the meaning: 'belonging to (a Buddhist monk's) individual property', or to have been borrowed as a substantivized noun meaning '(a Buddhist monk's) individual property'.⁸² The function of the circumfix *ka-...-an* in the derived form is in any case certainly not to indicate an establishment or sanctuary (as Zoetmulder presumed), but would either be to resolve the ambiguity of its word class, to create an abstract noun, or to indicate a status as in the case of *kaputrāṇśan* discussed above.⁸³

6.5 *arthahetoḥ*

The beneficiary of Mpu Mano's donation is identified as follows: *ya tekā pinuṇyakənira in mpuṇku susuk pagər; muan mpuṇku an nairaṇjanā, arthahetoḥ mpu buddhivāla*. Above, I have proposed the following translation: 'That is what he made a meritorious donation to the Master of Susuk Pagər

79. Gonda 1973: 275 (1st ed. 172).

80. See Zoetmulder 1982, vol. I: XXIII.

81. Gonda 1973: 582–584 (1st ed. 388–390).

82. The latter might be deemed to follow from the juxtaposition of the phrase *parṇahānya podgālika* in Sobhamerta with such phrases as *parṇahnya sīma svatantrā* (Turun Hyang) and *kevalā sīmā svatantra juga parṇahnya* (Garaman, Boechari 2012: 503–512).

83. Cf. p. 122. See Zoetmulder 1950: 73–75 (nos 1, 2, 4); Zoetmulder & Poedjawijatna 1992, vol. I: 87–90 (nos 1, 2, 4).

and Master of Nairañjanā, [whose name mentioned here only] for practical necessity [is] Mpu Buddhivāla.’

The word *arthahetoḥ*, obviously of Sanskrit origin, occurs in a limited number of Old Javanese inscriptions all dating to the 10th century CE:

1. Wurudu Kidul, 844 Śaka, verso, l. 19: *likhita tambra arthahetoḥ ḍaṇ ācāryya i griḥ prāmodyajāta*⁸⁴
2. Kanuruhan, 856 Śaka, l. 6: *irikā divaśa rakryān kanuruhan arthahetoḥ dyah muṃpaṇ umanugraha*⁸⁵
3. Hering, 859 Śaka, face A, l. 23: *i sira arthahetoḥ saṃ prasantamatiḥ*
4. Sobhamerta, 861 Śaka, seven occurrences (1r4–5, 1r6, 1v2, 1v6, 2r1–2, 2v3 3v2), always in the same sequence *mpuṅku i nerāñjanā, arthahetoḥ boddhivāla*⁸⁶

If we include the occurrence in the Mpu Mano inscription itself, this amounts to five epigraphic sources, all but one of which (no. 2) were cited in the *OJED* entry *arthahetoḥ* which is furnished with the gloss ‘for the benefit of?’. No non-epigraphic occurrences are cited in this dictionary, but I have identified one and will return to it below.

In all cases, the word stands between the designation of a respected person and his name. The gloss proposed with a question mark by Zoetmulder does not fit in the contexts. And indeed other scholars have proposed different interpretations. Let me first quote from unpublished notes on the Kanuruhan inscription (above, no. 2) by J.G. de Casparis:⁸⁷

Finally, there is a minor problem concerning the term *arthahetoḥ* in l. 6. This is a correct Sanskrit compound meaning ‘on account of (for the sake of) a purpose (material gain etc.)’, but in Old Javanese inscriptions this term is generally used between the title and the name of a person, as in the present case between *rakryān kanuruhan* and *pu mumpang*, where this Sanskrit meaning does not make good sense. It is, in fact, an apposition to the title *rakryān kanuruhan*. Also the translation in the dictionary of Zoetmulder-Robson, s.v. *arthahetoḥ*, viz. ‘for the benefit of?’ is unsatisfactory. Stutterheim 1925: 59 f., notes a similar use of the term in *likhitatāmbra arthahetoḥ ḍaṇ=ācāryya i gēriḥ* and translates ‘for the sake of financial gain’ (‘terwille van het gewin’), which does make sense (the scribe who writes the edict for a certain fee), but is grammatically difficult to understand, as the term defines the function of the scribe.⁸⁸ I therefore suppose that this term,

84. Edited by Stutterheim (1925: 59–60) and again by Boechari (1985–86: 121–122).

85. Reading by Boechari published in Edi Sedyawati 1994: 325.

86. Edited by Titi Surti Nastiti (2007).

87. This passage is found among the unpublished archives in preparation of a corpus of inscriptions of the reign of Siṇḍok that De Casparis was working on in the years before his death, and that are preserved in the Kern Institute collection at Leiden University Library.

88. I have not been able to trace the publication where De Casparis found the translation “terwille van het gewin”. The reference to p. 59 is that of the page where Stutterheim

originally an ablative formation, has been lifted from a Sanskrit context and used as a noun in the meaning of accountant or treasurer of a monastery or temple. The committees controlling the financial affairs of such institutions must each have had a treasurer for the income and expense, as is well known from the South Indian and Srilankan religious institutions. [...].⁸⁹ In the present case the R. Kanuruhan not only issues the edict but also keeps some financial control of the new foundation.

In her publication of the Sobhamerta inscription (no. 4), Titi Surti Nastiti (2007: 25, n. 60) noted:

Seperti yang dijelaskan oleh Christie dalam naskah yang diberikan kepada penulis, di dalam kamus Zoetmulder *arthahetoḥ* berarti untuk kepentingan seseorang, oleh sebab itu Christie membandingkan kata *arthahetoḥ* dalam prasasti Hara-hara (888 S/966 M), prasasti Wurudu Kidul (844 S/922 M), dan prasasti Hriṅ (856 S/934 M). Dalam prasasti Hara-hara disebutkan *arthahetoḥ i Buddhiwala*; dalam prasasti Hriṅ (856 S/934) disebutkan sebagai bagian dari titel sang Prasantamatih yang mengepalai sebuah wihara; dalam prasasti Wurudu Kidul disebutkan *arthahetoḥ dan=ācāryya i Grih*. Oleh karena itu Christie tidak menerjemahkan kata *arthahetoḥ*. Sedangkan Boechari menerjemahkan *arthahetoḥ* dengan bernama. Beliau menerjemahkan *mpuṅku i Nerañjana arthahetoḥ boddhiwala* dengan Mpungku dari Nerañjana bernama Boddhiwala (Sumadio 1984:169).⁹⁰ Menurut pendapat penulis terjemahan kata *arthahetoḥ* dengan bernama dapat diterapkan dalam prasasti ini.

But Boechari had on an earlier occasion (1975: 83–84 / 2012: 242–243) interpreted the final phrase of the Wurudu Kidul inscription, *likhita tambra arthahetoḥ dan ācāryya i grih prāmodyajāta*, as follows: “Rupa-rupanya ada seorang pendeta dari desa Grih yang bernama Prāmodyajāta yang merasa perlu untuk mengutip kedua keputusan itu di atas tembaga” — here, the words “yang merasa perlu” seem to be an attempt to paraphrase *arthahetoḥ*. Sarkar (1970–71, vol. II: 204) translates *arthahetoḥ* in this same sentence as “against the payment of money”.

Clearly, none of the quoted scholars was aware of the technical usage of the word *arthahetoḥ* in Buddhist *vinaya* literature. See the long note of Nolot (1991: 388–390) on the expression *arthahetoḥ ... nāma grhṇāmi*, conveniently accessible even to a non francophone readership in the English summary of her work (pp. 530–531), from which I cite:

The phrase *arthahetor nāma grhṇāmi* actually means, quite normally, « I mention the name because of the present circumstances », and expresses a pan-Buddhist (and pan-Indian) reluctance to pronounce the name of a revered person [...].

(1925) edits the plate in question, but no translation is joined to that edition.

⁸⁹. De Casparis here inserts a reference without page specification to Gunawardhana 1979.

⁹⁰. The reference here is to volume II (*Jaman Kuna*), edited by Bambang Sumadio, of *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*. I do not have access to the 1984 printing cited by Titi Surti Nastiti, but find the same words on the same page in the *cetakan ke-6, edisi ke-4* of 1990.

Among the epigraphic occurrences in Old Javanese listed above, the Kanuruhan inscription (no. 2) contains no explicit trace of religious affiliation, and the fact that it is engraved on the back slab of a Gaṇeśa statue might indicate that the context here is not Buddhist. The Wurudu Kidul inscription (no. 1) is not explicit about any religious affiliation either, but the name Prāmodyajāta is nevertheless a sure indicator that the one who bore it was a Buddhist.⁹¹ The two remaining inscriptions are both explicitly Buddhist. Although the evidence is not entirely unequivocal, it is not incompatible with the hypothesis that the use of the word *arthahetoḥ* in our inscription is another instance of specifically Buddhist terminology, this expression serving to preempt any offense that might be caused by designating a respected Buddhist master with his name.

This hypothesis is only slightly complicated by the occurrence of the same word in at least one Old Javanese literary source, where any direct Buddhist connection is out of the question. The passage is found in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (pp. 64–65):

*anugraha rahadyan sañhulun mata sira; makasākṣi rama rahadyan sañhulun arthahetoḥ namaskāra bhaṭṭāra brahmā an tinarimakən de rahadyan sañhulun ri sira*⁹²

‘may he be granted eyes by milord; taking as witness milord’s father, Lord Brahmā (by name, mentioned only) for the practical purpose of obeisance, (as to the fact) that they have been given by milord to him.’

I imagine that the usage we see in this literary text may have been adopted (and adapted, by insertion of the word *namaskāra*) from the kind of contexts seen in the quoted inscriptions, where the *arthahetoḥ* applies to men of religion who can, in all but one instance, be identified without doubt as Buddhists. We may be dealing with a case of influence from Buddhist scribes on the literary language as a whole. The case would then be analogous to the influence exerted “behind the scenes” by Buddhist parties on chancery language in first-millennium India identified by von Hinüber (2013).

7. Relevance to economic history

In the context of debate about the colonial government’s agrarian legislation (*Agrarische Wetgeving*) of 1870, Kern (1911) drew attention to

91. See Edgerton 1953, Dictionary, under *prāmodya*.

92. Is it necessary to emend *anugrahana*? Gonda’s text edition (1933) gives *arthahetor*, but I have changed this to *arthahetoḥ*, as we find in the inscriptions, because Gonda informs us on p. 247: “*arthahetor*, vgl. Bmḍ. Pur. 1, 13, 58 *abravīd vacanam devī namaskṛtya Svayambhuve*. De beide woorden *arth° nam°* zijn m.i. als citaat op te vatten, al is het onzeker welke buigingsuitgang aan *nam°* is toe te kennen. De hss. hebben *arthahetoḥ*”. Zoetmulder probably failed to record this occurrence of *arthahetoḥ* in *OJED* because Gonda’s edition prints the words *arthahetor namaskāra* as though they were lemmata from the Sanskrit text — comparison with the Sanskrit *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (1.13.58–66) shows that they are not.

this inscription, even before its text was published, for its relevance to the history of land ownership in Java.⁹³ A century later, it was used by Wisseman Christie in her “Preliminary notes on debt and credit in early island Southeast Asia” (2009). One of the points of interest of this inscription indeed lies in the light it casts on economic transactions in ancient Java and notably on the role that pawns (*saṇḍa*) played in the endowment of religious establishments. The relevant passage must first be quoted again (this time in normalized and emended form):

ya tekā pinunyakənira ... pakənanya gavayənnira kuṭi, dharma lpas kapodgalikanani kulasantānānira mpuṅku in nairāñjanā, kunaṅ kramanya, ikaṅ savah kidul in kuṭi, tēmpah, 3, ya ta **sināṇḍā** mpuṅku susuk pagər, muaṅ mpuṅku in nairāñjanā, in mā kā 2, ya ta dharma mpuṅku, in susuk pagər, muaṅ mpuṅku in nairāñjanā, an paminta ika ləmah tumpal ika savah lor damələnira kuṭi, ya ta kərəṇanyan tinəbus ikaṅ savah **saṇḍanira** mpu mano, in mā kā 3, mapakəna bhuktyana saṅ hyaṅ kuṭi

‘... That is what he made a meritorious donation ... to serve for the monastery (*kuṭi*) to be made by him (Mpu Mano): the tax-exempt foundation (*dharma*) that is to be individual property of the lineage of the Master of Nairāñjanā. As for its details: the wet-rice field south of the monastery (*kuṭi*), [measuring] 3 *tēmpah*, **had been taken in security** by the Master of Susuk Pagər and Master of Nairāñjanā for 2 *kāṭi* of gold. That (field) was the foundation of the Master of Susuk Pagər and Master of Nairāñjanā, who (*an*) requested a border land, the wet-rice field to the north, (to be used) for his (Mpu Mano’s) founding of a monastery. That is the reason why the wet-rice field **given in security** by Mpu Mano was redeemed by him for 3 *kāṭi* of gold, to serve for being used as resource by the Holy Monastery (*kuṭi*), ...’

I tentatively interpret the chain of transactions to be intended as follows:

1. Mpu Mano (A) wishes to endow a monastery to become property of the Master of Susuk Pagər and Nairāñjanā (B) and his descendants.
2. A wet-rice field south of the monastery had been pawned by A to B against 2 *kāṭis* of gold.
3. It is used by B to make a foundation of his own.
4. B requests other land to be used for A’s foundation of a monastery.
5. A pays B 3 *kāṭis* to redeem the land he had pawned to B.
6. The whole sum of 3 *kāṭis* (or at least the difference, so 1 *kāṭi*) is itself made object of donation to serve as resource for the newly founded monastery.

Other scenarios are possible, depending on how the word *an* and some of the instances of the pronominal suffix *-nira* are interpreted. However far we stretch our imagination, it seems to me impossible to be sure about any particular scenario, because the language of the text is simply too ambiguous. But if the *OJED* entry “**anāṇḍa, sināṇḍa, kasaṇḍa** to take st. in security”

93. “Wanneer iemand woeste gronden, die hij uitdrukkelijk zegt van zijn voorouders als kindsdeel geërfd te hebben, vrijelijk wegschenkt, moet hij toch als eigenaar in den volsten zin des woords beschouwd worden” (Kern 1911: 199).

is reliable, it seems difficult to interpret the transaction as it has been by Wisseman Christie (2009: 47):

The text records a substantial meritorious gift made by an individual donor to a sanctuary, part of which involved the redemption of land that had previously been pawned for the benefit of that religious foundation. This land, which had been pawned for 2 *kaṭi* (1536 grams) of gold, was redeemed, on behalf of the sanctuary, at the cost of 3 *kaṭi* (2304 grams) of gold, the additional *kaṭi* of gold presumably representing the interest on the loan for which the pawned land acted as pledge.

For this interpretation requires translating *sinandā* as ‘pawned’, i.e., ‘given in security’, which is the opposite meaning of the one indicated by *OJED*. I am therefore a bit skeptical with regard to the conclusions that Wisseman Christie thought she could draw (*ibid.*) from a group of just three inscriptions, including the one that concerns us here:

Four points of interest arise from this small group of inscriptions. The first is the fact that, in at least one case,⁹⁴ the cost of redemption of the land was apparently greater than the original sum loaned to the person who pawned it. This indicates that profit in the form of interest was expected from the loan, over and above that derived from the creditor’s right to use the land. The second point is the fact that religious establishments, like individuals and communities, apparently borrowed substantial sums of money. The third point is that a serious argument could be mounted in court over the ownership of land allegedly pawned three centuries earlier. This suggests that the ownership of land in pawn did not automatically lapse after a set period of time. The fourth point is that there were apparently, by the fourteenth century, a number of existing law codes and a considerable body of customary law to be consulted by judges in such disputes.

Renewed study of the juridical texts from which most of the textual evidence underlying the relevant set of entries in *OJED* has been taken by Zoetmulder, as confronted both with the *saṇḍa*-related data from some unpublished texts of the same genre⁹⁵ and with new epigraphic evidence still unpublished at this time, may give reason to revise the dictionary and perhaps confirm Wisseman Christie’s interpretation. But until such a comprehensive study is undertaken, it seems that any conclusions for economic history based on this inscription should be treated with circumspection.

Let me conclude this discussion by presenting the most important new piece of epigraphic evidence that I am aware of at this time. The passage in question, which requires much more commentary than I can give here, is found in the unpublished Patitiḥan charter issued by Kṛtanagara. I cite it from my forthcoming edition, along with a tentative translation that attempts to retain the meanings for forms derived from the base *saṇḍa* as they are indicated in the dictionary:⁹⁶

94. The single case intended here is precisely the one at issue in the present section.

95. For instance, the unpublished juridical text that is often, though erroneously, referred to as *Svarajambu* in the secondary literature (the correct reading is *Svayambhu* but this is not actually the title of the work), currently being edited and translated by Timothy Lubin and myself, contains a substantial passage on *saṇḍa*.

96. A private collector holds four plates of this charter, which in its original state

muvaḥ tu/ru\nyānugraha śrī mahārāja, Irikam baṇigrāma riṁ patitihaṇ, ri (5r4) sdaṇanyāna **saṇḍa-saṇḍa**nikam baṇigrāma riṁ patitihaṇ salviranya, An titam⁹⁷ tahun, tigam lek, tigam vni kamnā ya LL(5r5)ba, yan tapvan paṇivā maṇisyaṇi kalāntara, ndan mājara tam baṇigrāma riṁ patitihaṇ rumuhun, ri sam **masaṇḍa**, yan tan aṅga (5r6) sam **masaṇḍa** manbusa mvaṁ tan paveha kālāntara, Irika yan LLba, mvaṁ pivruhakna ta riṁ vvaṇ akveh, lāvan yan hana saṣ(5v1)ṇḍa katarivāl, yan mās, vinujuran⁹⁸ savratṭya, yan karavaṁ, sinalakan savratṭya, yan ratna halyana sabatavasa(5b2)nanyan **sumaṇḍa**, muvaḥ yan hana ḍṛvya Uliḥniṁ maniliḥ salviranya, **saṇḍakna** ta ya denikam maniliḥ, dvaLn kunām, sa[m]ka (5v3) ri lavasnikam ḍṛvya tan muliḥ denikam maniliḥ makadivaṣam rvaṁ tahun, pjaha tekam⁹⁹ maniliḥ nuni-nuni pjahana denika sam (5v4) panilihaṇ, tan ḍampulana tekam ḍṛvya, An tabusen sakavvit denikam panilihaṇ, kunām yan ahurip ikam ma(5v5)niliḥ, sikapən ta ya de sam panilihaṇ, srahakna ri sam patitihaṇ katamvanim ḍṛvya, ḍampulana lkam ḍṛvya, Apan ta(5v6)n (ma)lim lkam maṅkana, maṅkana tekam ḍṛvya vinkasakən mvaṁ ḍṛvya pinarcchayakən, salvirnikam ḍṛvya siniliḥ lviranya, [... plate 6 unavailable ...] (7r1) yan hana doṣanika sam **masaṇḍa** denim deṣa, lunhā teka sam **masaṇḍa**, gumantyāṇisyaṇa takər turun teka **maṣ(7r2)naṇḍa** yan mākārmātitiḥ ...

‘And the descent (i.e., concrete form?) of the grant of the Great King to the merchant guild of Patitihaṇ, while the merchant guild of Patitihaṇ holds all kinds of pawns, is that three years, three months, and three nights [should pass] before [the pawns] be forfeit if [the pawner] does not attentively comply with the interest (*kālāntara*).¹⁰⁰ But the merchant guild at Patitihaṇ should first make an announcement about the pawner, that the pawner is both unwilling to redeem and to furnish interest, [and] then that it will be forfeit, and it will be made known to many people. Moreover, that there is a (5b) pawn that has been lost; that gold has been sprinkled over (*vinuvuran*) so that it is similar in appearance (*savṛṭṭya*); that filigree (*karavaṇ*) has been silvered so that it is similar in appearance (*savṛṭṭya*); that a jewel is to be replaced equal to its price (*batavasan*) when they took it as pawn.

And if there is property that results from borrowing anything, it may be pawned by the borrower. It may even be sold, on the grounds of the duration of [holding] property that does not revert from (*de*) the borrower for as long as two years. If the borrower should die, and certainly if he should be killed by the lender, that property should not be confiscated so that the whole principal can be redeemed by the lender. And if the borrower lives, [the property] should be seized by the borrower [and] what is found of the property should be handed over to the Patitihaṇ. The property should be confiscated, for one like that is not a thief. Property left behind and property given in trust are like that: all types of borrowed property will be of its kind.

(7a) If the pawer should be at fault vis-à-vis (*de*) the district (*deṣa*), the pawner leaves. The pawnee takes over fulfilling the *takər turun* (tax) when he works as fighter (? , *atitih*).

would have formed a set comprising at least ten plates. Alas plate 6 is unavailable.

97. Emend *tigam*.

98. Emend *vinuvuran*.

99. Emend *pvekam*?

100. It results from Timothy Lubin’s and my research on the text referred to in n. 95, and from consultation of standard Sanskrit dictionaries, that the entry *kālāntara* in *OJED* is in need of correction. The Sanskrit term *kālāntara* (with *ka*, not *kā*!) means ‘interest’. This meaning seems to fit in all of the Old Javanese contexts cited in *OJED* and in those known to me from unpublished sources.

8. Excursus on the dating of the Kancana and Kuti inscriptions

In §6.1, I have presented textual material from the Kancana inscription (no. 4) and assigned to it a 10th-century date. In doing so, I have gone against the current *communis opinio*, because I am persuaded by the arguments offered more than a century ago by Krom (1914, Ep. Aant. VIII) concerning the date of this inscription.¹⁰¹ Recording a grant by king Śrī Bhuvaneśvara Viṣṇusakalātmakadigvijayaparākramottuṅgadeva Lokapālalāñchana and dated to 782 Śaka, this text contains many elements that would be highly anomalous for a grant issued in the Śaka 700s while they would agree well with what we find in original issues of the Śaka 800s. Krom proposes that the king in question can be identified with the Lokapāla, father of Śrī Maṇḍavaśavardhana, figuring in Sanskrit stanzas VIII through IX of the Pucangan inscription issued by Airlaṅga in 963 Śaka, and tentatively suggests that the year 782 engraved at the start of the inscription could have been an inversion for 872.

I have trouble understanding why Damais (1955: 26 n. 1) felt confident that he could ignore Krom's general arguments in favor of a date in the 10th century CE while also ignoring the possible link with the Pucangan inscription and opposing, against Krom's more specific hypothesis of inversion 782 for 872, only the observation that "Les données ne sont réductibles qu'en gardant le millésime du texte, soit 782 śaka". Damais wanted the date 782 to be correct because he had decided in an earlier publication (1949: 1–6) to include it as an element in his dossier establishing the existence of a king called Lokapāla in the Śaka 700s.

It is possible to retort that the dating elements which Damais took to confirm the date in 782 Śaka may well have been calculated *a posteriori* for that year, and this is precisely the kind of situation that Amrit Gomperts seems to have had in mind when he wrote (2001: 123):

Calendar conversion of the Old Javanese calendar is essentially nothing more than a computational check on the consistency of all calendar and other *jyotiṣa* elements. Indo-Javanese astrologers were mathematical craftsmen skilled in calculating time. They could easily falsify any day from a remote past into a perfectly consistent date in the Indo-Javanese period (A.D. 700–1500), as, for example, may be the case where the copper plates of Kuṭi are concerned (...).

Somewhat surprisingly, the parallelism between the Kancana case and that of the Kuti inscription, mentioned here by Gomperts, seems never to have played a role in the evaluation of the issue of dating the former, and was indeed not used by Krom himself, because he was convinced that the Kuti inscription

¹⁰¹ See also Krom 1931: 221–222, 224.

is spurious.¹⁰² This idea is still found expressed in recent scholarship,¹⁰³ even though Damais himself (1955: 19–20 n. 2) had elaborately and convincingly argued against it. Now the Kuti inscription is a grant of king Śrī Lokapāla Harivaṇśottuṅgadeva bearing the date 762, convertible almost as flawlessly as the 782 date of the Kancana inscription. Despite his demonstration that the date is basically convertible, and despite his arguments against rejecting the inscription as spurious, Damais arbitrarily rejects this king Lokapāla as an anachronism (1949: 6, 1955: 20) while he does not reject the similarly named king in the similarly dated Kancana grant.

A clinching argument in favor of Krom's hypothesis regarding Kancana, and for applying the same reasoning also to the Kuti inscription, comes from the passage where the latter mentions the children of king Lokapāla (lines 2v2–3):

hana tha vkanira pāduka śrī mahāraja, maṇaran sira cañcu **makuṭa**, sira cañcu maṅgala, sira cañcu **makuṭa**, añher iñ kuṭi kulvan, sira cañcu maṅgala, añher iñ kuṭi vetan
'His Majesty the Great King had children, the one with the famous name Makuṭa (and) the one with the famous name Maṅgala. The one with the famous name Makuṭa dwelt in Kuṭi West (and) the one with the famous name Maṅgala dwelt in Kuṭi East.'

In my view, it cannot be a coincidence that stanzas VII–IX of the Pucangan inscription clearly state Airlaṅga's ancestor Makuṭavaṇśavardhana to have been the son of Lokapāla. I therefore propose,

1. to consider that the nearly synonymous titles Śrī Bhuvaneśvara Viṣṇusakalātmakadigvijayaparākramottuṅgadeva Lokapālālāñchana (in the Kancana charter) and Śrī Lokapāla Harivaṇśottuṅgadeva (in the Kuti charter) designated one and the same king;
2. to identify this king and his son Makuṭa with the Lokapāla and his son Makuṭavaṇśavardhana of the Pucangan inscription, which situates these two persons respectively three and two generations before Airlaṅga, and from which we learn that Airlaṅga was sixteen years of age in 939 Śaka, which means that he was born around 923 Śaka;¹⁰⁴

102. Krom (1914: 478, my emphasis): “Dat andere inscripties van soortgelijken opzet, uitvoerige privileges, enz. geen van allen een zoo vroegen datum dragen — *natuurlijk blijft de door Cohen Stuart uitgegevene van 762, waarvan Brandes overtuigend de onechtheid bewezen heeft, buiten beschouwing* — kan aan het toeval te wijten zijn en behoeft dus geen argument te zijn tegen de vroege dateering. Toch verdient het de opmerking, dat in het algemeen alle bekende oorkonden uit de achtste en nog het begin der negende eeuw een veel eenvoudiger karakter dragen.”

103. Gomperts (2001: 116): “The contents of the inscription appear fictitious as the *dramatis personae* never appear in Indo-Javanese history again.” I will show below that this point about *dramatis personae* seems to be wrong.

104. See already Sarkar (1971–72, vol. I: 84/91, n. 25), on the name Cañcu Makuṭa: “This name reminds us of Mukuṭavangśavarddhana, the son of king Lokapāla, who is

3. to date the original issues of the Kuti and Kancana inscriptions well into the 10th century CE, i.e., after Śaka 850, and to consider the dates 762 and 782 Śaka engraved on the Majapahit-period reissues as spurious.¹⁰⁵

It does not seem entirely impossible that the original dates would have been altered only for the century, and were precisely 862 and 882, because nothing precludes the hypothesis that our 10th-century king Lokapāla was sovereign ruler over territory independent of that ruled by his father-in-law Siṇḍok — whose latest inscription (Muncang) is dated to 866 Śaka. But it is perhaps slightly more likely that both inscriptions belong to the Śaka 880s, as does Mpu Mano's.¹⁰⁶

9. Conclusions

I hope to have shown how important it is to go and seek out Old Javanese inscriptions, whether they are kept in Museums or can be found in the field, because the reliability of the historical data that we extract from any inscription depends on a chain of interpretation that is only as strong as the reliability of every step beginning with our decipherment of the text. Several inscriptions considered lost are waiting to be rediscovered, while some others that have simply not been studied at all are waiting to be documented, read and analyzed.

The rediscovery of the plate that has been the focus of this article has made it possible to act upon Boechari's instigation in the quote with which I started. Rereading the Mpu Mano inscription more than 100 years after Brandes' 19th-century reading of it was published has yielded 19 improvements of

referred to in the so-called Calcutta stone-inscription of Airlangga...". The reading in stanza IX of the Pucangan inscription is actually *-makuṭa-*, not *-mukuṭa-*.

105. It might be objected that the appearance of the name Dakṣot(t)ama immediately after that of the king in two passages of the Kuti inscription contradicts my proposal, for Dakṣa, as is well known, was first Balitūn's Minister of Hino and then succeeded Balitūn to reign during the second decade of the 10th century. The first passage (plate 2v–3r) is *dinulur de rakryan mahāmantri katriṇi, rakryan mantri hiṇo, dakṣotama, rakryan mantri halu, pratipakṣasaṇśāya, rakryan mantri śirikan, mahāmāhino*, while the second (plate 10r) is *yan hanā vvaṃ lumaṅghāṇani Ajñānira pāduka śrī mahārāja, dharmmodaya, mahāsambhū, mvaṃ mahāmantri dakṣotama, bāhubajrapratipakṣasaṇśāya*. I think we can safely discard both passages in attempting to date the original issue of the Kuti charter, because the text has quite obviously been distorted in the first passage, parts of Dakṣa's well-known titulare (*mahāmantri hiṇo pu dakṣottama bāhubajra pratipakṣakṣaya*) being redistributed to supply the names of the three Great Ministers. I assume that an attempt was made at the time of the charter's reissue to rewrite the text in order to create the impression that it has originally been issued by Balitūn, by a person who was apparently unaware or did not care that the date 762 Śaka would be incompatabile with original issue during Balitūn's reign.

106. It should be noted that I am assuming the authenticity of the year 888 Śaka engraved on it, although we know that other parts of the date of this inscription are the result of manipulation at the time of reissue. See §4 above.

reading, a small handful among them significant.¹⁰⁷ The result is a text in generally clear Old Javanese, unmarked by most of the errors and confusions that one might be led to expect by reading what our predecessors in Old Javanese epigraphy have written with regard to the fidelity of Majapahit-period reissues of earlier grants, called *tinulad* in the Indonesian-language scholarly literature. We often find such qualifications as “erroneous”, “revised” or “confused” applied to such reissues.¹⁰⁸ It seems that at least the present inscription was a particularly faithful copy of its original, for evident anachronisms are found only in the dating formula, and evident errors (which might have occurred in the copying process) are rather few. The photos now available have also allowed me to propose an unusually specific paleographic comparison that confirms Brandes’ original suggestion that the reissue would have taken place in the 14th century, during the reign of Hayam Wuruk.

The process of translating even this short text has required reconsideration of the meaning of several headwords in the Old Javanese dictionary, and led me to propose revision of the meanings in more than one case. I have shown that the word *hara-hara* in the inscription is not a toponym and recommended that the inscription be designated henceforward after its main protagonist, Mpu Mano. In attempting to interpret the inscription, the fact that Mpu Mano wished to make merit by donating land to a Buddhist beneficiary has been an important guide, while I have tried to adopt a holistic approach to the problems of interpretation, taking into account both epigraphic and non-epigraphic evidence, including evidence in Sanskrit where it is relevant to the local history of Buddhism.

And this leads me to perhaps the most important implication of this study. The meritorious donation made by Mpu Mano is part of a noticeable spike in patronage of Buddhism in the middle and lower Brantas river in East Java during the second half of the 10th century — already noticed by Krom (1931: 219–221), and recently discussed again by Hadi Sidomulyo (2011: 129) — corresponding to the reign of Siṇḍok and his immediate successors, so Mpu Mano’s donation must be regarded in this context. Other epigraphical traces of

107. See above, notes 14, 30, 31 and 32.

108. See Damais 1952: 10 n. 2 for a collection of Dutch qualifications used in the scholarly literature; see also Boechari 2012: 9 (“Kekacauan semacam itu sering kali terjadi apabila kita dihadapkan kepada prasasti *tinulad* yang ditulis beberapa abad sesudah prasasti aslinya”), 75 n. 11 (“tetapi prasasti itu jelas *tinulad*; menurut bentuk hurufnya mungkin sekali dibuat dalam zaman Majapahit, sehingga tidaklah mengherankan apabila di dalam prasasti itu terdapat istilah yang biasa terdapat dalam prasasti-prasasti dari masa yang lebih muda”), 93 n. 43 (“Prasasti itu jelas *tinulad*, sehingga pencampurbauran gelar Siṇḍok dan Dakṣa itu sebenarnya tidak perlu dibicarakan, sebab mungkin sekali si penyalin berhadapan dengan prasasti asli yang sudah sangat usang, dan ia menambahkan saja gelar yang terlintas dalam ingatannya (cf. Damais, 1955b:181, catatan no. 3)”). See for further references the index entries ‘*tinulad*’ and ‘copy’ in Boechari 2012.

this spike have been listed in §6.1 (no. 4) and §6.5. In my §8, I have restored two important inscriptions to their rightful place in this dossier.¹⁰⁹ This epigraphic evidence can in turn be linked with other archaeological evidence of Buddhism in this area in the same period, such as the Muteran hoard and the finds at Candi Gentong (both at Trowulan), or the important hoard of bronze sculptures found in the village Candirejo in Nganjuk regency (where the Hering inscription originates as well),¹¹⁰ and it can perhaps be linked also with the issue of the dating of some of the Buddhist texts transmitted on Bali, associated (albeit unhistorically) in scholarship with the title *San Hyañ Kamahāyānikan*, for mention is made in rare manuscripts of a “noble guru in Vañjan”, a *sīma* “which was an offering to this master (*guruyāga*)” by king Siṇḍok.¹¹¹ The *Deśavarṇana* (78.8) lists Vañjan as one of the main Buddhist sanctuaries in Java but the site has to my knowledge not yet been identified. Perhaps a problem that future investigation of the history of Buddhism in this period and area will be able to solve!

10. References

Editions and translations of primary sources

Designations of inscriptions are simplified to conform to the spelling of Indonesian (*Ejaan yang disempurnakan*), so I spell, e.g., Sobhamerta instead of Śobhāmṛta, etc. Inscriptions cited without reference to any edition are quoted from editions that can be identified via Nakada (1982). For inscriptions published since Nakada’s time, I refer to the relevant edition. The following editions have been used for citing non-epigraphic primary sources:

<i>Ādiparva</i>	Juynboll 1906
<i>Agastyaparva</i>	Gonda 1933a
<i>Bhīṣmaparva</i>	Gonda 1936
<i>Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa</i>	Gonda 1933b
<i>Deśavarṇana</i>	Pigeaud (1960–63, vol. I)
<i>Kuñjarakarṇa Dharmakathana</i>	Teeuw & Robson 1981
<i>Navaruci</i>	Prijohoetomo 1934
<i>Rāmāyaṇa</i>	Kern 2015
<i>Uttarakāṇḍa</i>	Zoetmulder 2006

¹⁰⁹. On the grounds that the foundation is called *kuṭi*, I assume that we are dealing in the case of Kuti with a grant in favor of a Buddhist establishment, although the rest of the inscription is silent as to its religious affiliation. Cf. above, §6.4.

¹¹⁰. On the Muteran hoard and its 10th-century dating, see Lunsingh Scheurleer 2005; on the Buddhist finds at Candi Gentong, see Titi Surti Nastiti 2015; on the Candirejo finds, see Fontein 1990: 231–233.

¹¹¹. I quote from Hudaya Kandahjaya 2016: 93. This author believes the passage is attested in only one manuscript (kept at Leiden), but I have found it also in a transcript of the lontar IIB. 246 belonging to the collection of the Kirtya in Singaraja, Bali.

Secondary sources

- Acri, Andrea. 2017. *Dharma Pāṭaṅjala: A Śaiva Scripture from Ancient Java, Studied in the Light or Related Old Javanese and Sanskrit Texts*. Second Edition. Sata-Piṭaka Series 654. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan.
- . 2018. *Dharma Pāṭaṅjala: kitab Śaiva dari Jawa zaman kuno, kajian dan perbandingan dengan sumber Jawa Kuno dan Sanskrit terkait*. Translated by Arif Bagus Prasetyo. Naskah dan dokumen Nusantara 36. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia; École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Acri, Andrea, and Arlo Griffiths. 2014. "The Romanisation of Indic Script Used in Ancient Indonesia." *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 170 (2/3): 365–78. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-17002005>.
- Balogh, Dániel, and Arlo Griffiths. 2019. "Transliteration Guide for Members of the DHARMA Project." <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-02272407>.
- Bambang Sumadio, ed. 1990. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*. 4th edition, 6th printing. Vol. II. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Bambang Sumadio, and Endang Sri Hardiati, eds. 2008. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*. Edisi pemutakhiran. Vol. II. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Boechari. 1977. "Epigrafi dan sejarah Indonesia." *Majalah Arkeologi* 1 (2): 1–40.
- . 1985–86. *Prasasti Koleksi Museum Nasional, Jilid I*. Jakarta: Proyek Pengembangan Museum Nasional, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- . 1986. "Perbanditan di dalam Masyarakat Jawa Kuna." In *Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi IV, Cipanas, 3-9 Maret 1986*, IV. Manusia-Lingkungan Hidup-Teknologi, Sosial-Budaya, Konsepsi-Metodologi: 159–96. Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian Purbakala / Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- . 2012. *Melacak sejarah kuno Indonesia lewat prasasti / Tracing ancient Indonesian history through inscriptions*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia (KPG); Departemen Arkeologi, Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia; École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Brandes, J.L.A. 1913. *Oud-Javaansche oorkonden: nagelaten transcripties*. Edited by N.J. Krom. *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 60 (parts 1 and 2). Batavia; 's-Hage: Albrecht; Nijhoff. <https://archive.org/details/verhandelengenv601913bata>.
- Casparis, J.G. de. 1978. *Indonesian Chronology*. Vol. 1. *Handbuch der Orientalistik*. 3. Abt., Indonesien, Malaysia und die Philippinen 1. Leiden: Brill.
- Damais, Louis-Charles. 1949. "Epigrafische aantekeningen." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 82: 1–26.
- . 1950. "Les formes de politesse en Javanais moderne." *Bulletin de la Société des études indochinoises* 25 (1): 265–80.
- . 1955. "Études d'épigraphie indonésienne, IV: Discussion de la date des inscriptions." *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 47 (1): 7–290.
- Eade, J.C., and Lars Gislén. 2000. *Early Javanese Inscriptions: A New Dating Method*. *Handbuch der Orientalistik*. 3. Abt., Südostasien 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Edgerton, Franklin. 1953. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. 2 vols. William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Edi Sedyawati. 1994. *Gaṇeśa Statuary of the Kaḍiri and Siṅhasāri Periods: A Study of Art History*. *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 160. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Fontein, Jan. 1990. *The Sculpture of Indonesia*. Washington: National Gallery of Art; Abrams.
- Gomperts, Amrit. 2001. "Sanskrit Jyotiṣa Terms and Indian Astronomy in Old Javanese Inscriptions." In *Fruits of Inspiration: Studies in Honour of Prof. J.G. de Casparis, Retired Professor of the Early History and Archeology of South and Southeast Asia at the University of Leiden, the Netherlands, on the Occasion of His 85th Birthday*, edited

- by M.J. Klokke and K.R. van Kooij, 93–133. Gonda Indological Studies 11. Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- Gonda, Jan. 1933a. “Agastyaparwa, een oud-javaansch proza-geschrift.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 90: 329–419. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90001420>.
- . 1933b. *Het Oud-Javaansche Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa: proza-tekst en kakawin*. Bibliotheca Javanica 5. Bandoeng: Nix.
- . 1936. *Het oudjavaansche Bhīṣmaparwa*. Bibliotheca Javanica 7. Bandoeng: A.C. Nix & Co.
- . 1973. *Sanskrit in Indonesia*. 2nd edition. Śāta-Piṭaka Series 99. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. (1st edition 1952.)
- Griffiths, Arlo. 2014. “Inscriptions of Sumatra, III: The Padang Lawas Corpus Studied along with Inscriptions from Sorik Merapi (North Sumatra) and from Muara Takus (Riau).” In *History of Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, II: Societies of Padang Lawas (Mid-Ninth – Thirteenth Century CE)*, edited by Daniel Perret, 211–53. Cahier d’Archipel 43. Paris: Association Archipel.
- Gunawardana, R.A.L.H. 1979. *Robe and Plough: Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka*. Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies 35. Tucson: published for the Association for Asian Studies by The University of Arizona Press.
- Hadi Sidomulyo. 2007. *Napak tilas perjalanan Mpu Prapañca*. Jakarta: Wedatama Widya Sastra bekerja sama dengan Yayasan Nandiswara Jurusan Pendidikan Sejarah Unesa.
- . 2010. “From Kuṭa Rāja to Singhasāri: Towards a Revision of the Dynastic History of 13th Century Java.” *Archipel* 80: 77–138. <https://doi.org/10.3406/arch.2010.4177>.
- . 2018. “Notes on the Topography of Ancient Java: Identifying Four *Sīma* Territories from the Majapahit Period.” In *Writing for Eternity: A Survey of Epigraphy in Southeast Asia*, edited by Daniel Perret, 223–41. Études Thématiques 30. Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient.
- Hinüber, Oskar von. 2013. “Behind the Scenes: The Struggle of Political Groups for Influence as Reflected in Inscriptions.” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 56 (3–4): 365–79. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15728536-13560304>.
- Hoogervorst, Tom. 2017. “Lexical Influence from North India to Maritime Southeast Asia: Some New Directions.” *Man in India* 97 (1): 293–334.
- Hudaya Kandahjaya. 2016. “*San Hyan Kamahāyānikan*, Borobudur, and the Origins of Esoteric Buddhism in Indonesia.” In *Esoteric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia: Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons*, edited by Andrea Acri, 67–112. Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.
- Issatriadi. 1975. *Laporan Sementara Penemuan Tiga Buah Prasasti di Daerah Ukir Negara Blitar*. Surabaya: Museum Mpu Tantular.
- Juynboll, H.H. 1906. *Ādiparwa: Oudjavaansch prozageschrift*. ’s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.
- Kern, Hendrik. 1908. “Een Oudjavaansche oorkonde gevonden op de helling van den Kawi.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 60: 45–51. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90001908>.
- . 1911. “Mededeeling in de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen op 9 September 1907 over recht van privaateigendom op den grond op Java in de Middeleeuwen.” In *Adatrechtbundel I, bezorgd door de commissie voor het adatrecht, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 198–200. ’s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.
- . 1917a. “Over eene Oudjavaansche oorkonde (gevonden te Gĕdangan, Surabaya) van Çaka 782 (of 872).” In *Verspreide Geschriften*, 7:17–53. ’s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.
- . 1917b. “Een Oudjavaansche oorkonde gevonden op de helling van den Kawi (oost-Java; ±850 Çaka).” In *Verspreide geschriften*, 7:176–85. ’s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.
- . 2015. *Rāmāyaṇa: The Story of Rāma and Sītā in Old Javanese*. Edited by Willem van der Molen. Javanese Studies 1. Tōkyō: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

- Krom, N.J. 1914. "Epigraphische aantekeningen, VIII: De dateering der oorkonde van Kancana, IX: De inscriptie van Prapancasarapura." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 56: 477–89.
- . 1931. *Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis*. Tweede, Herziene druk. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Lokesh Chandra. 1995. "Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan." In *Cultural Horizons of India*, Vol. 4, 295–434. Śāta-Piṭaka Series 381. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan.
- Lunsingh Scheurleer, Pauline. 2005. "The Finds from Muteran and Wonoboyo." In *Indonesia: The Discovery of the Past*, edited by Endang Sri Hardiati and Pieter ter Keurs, 52–67. Amsterdam: KIT Publishers.
- Machi Suhadi, and Richadiana Kartakusuma. 1996. *Laporan Penelitian Epigrafi di Wilayah Provinsi Jawa Timur*. Berita Penelitian Arkeologi 47. Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian Arkeologi Jakarta, Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Molen, Willem van der. 1983. *Javaanse tekstkritiek: een overzicht en een nieuwe benadering geïllustreerd aan de Kunjarakarna*. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 102. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Nakada, Kōzō. 1982. *An Inventory of the Dated Inscriptions in Java*. Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko 40. Tokyo: Toyo Bunko.
- Nolot, Édith. 1991. *Règles de discipline des nonnes bouddhistes: le Bhikṣuṇīvinaya de l'école Mahāsaṃghika-Lokottaravādin — Traduction annotée, commentaire, collation du manuscrit*. Publications de l'Institut de civilisation indienne 60. Paris: Collège de France; Édition-diffusion de Boccard.
- Perret, Daniel, Machi Suhadi, and Richadiana Kartakusuma. 2003–04. "Le programme franco-indonésien d'inventaire des inscriptions « classiques » du monde malais." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 90–91: 473–74. <https://doi.org/10.3406/befeo.2003.3621>.
- Pigeaud, Th.G.Th. 1960–63. *Java in the 14th Century: A Study in Cultural History. The Nāgara-Kērtāgama by Rakawi, Prapañca of Majapahit, 1365 A.D.* 5 vols. Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde Translation Series 4. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Prijohoetomo. 1934. *Nawaruci: inleiding, Middel-javaansche prozatekst, vertaling vergeleken met de Bimasoetji in Oud-javaansch metrum*. Groningen: Wolters. <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB05:000034071:pdf>.
- Robson, Stuart. 1995. *Deśawarṇana (Nāgarakṛtāgama)*. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 169. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Sarkar, Himansu Bhusan. 1971–72. *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java (Corpus Inscriptionum Javanicarum), up to 928 A. D.* 2 vols. Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay.
- Schopen, Gregory. 2001. "Dead Monks and Bad Debts: Some Provisions of a Buddhist Monastic Inheritance Law." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 44 (2): 99–148.
- Stein Callenfels, P.V. van. 1924. "Stukken betreffende hebbend op Oud-javaansche opschriften in de Bibliothèque Nationale te Parijs." *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, Bijlage B: 23–27.
- . 1929. "Bijdragen tot de topographie van Java in de Middeleeuwen." In *Feestbundel uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen bij gelegenheid van zijn 150 jarig bestaan, 1778–1928*, 2:370–92. Weltevreden: G. Kolff.
- Stutterheim, W.F. 1925. "Transscriptie van twee jayapattra's." *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, Bijlage D: 57–60.
- Teeuw, A., and S.O. Robson. 1981. *Kuṅjarakarna Dharmakathana: An Old Javanese Poem*. Bibliotheca Indonesica 21. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Titi Surti Nastiti. 2007. *Prasasti Sobhāmṛta*. Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Arkeologi Nasional, Badan Pengembangan Sumberdaya Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, Departemen Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata.

- . 2015. “Miniature Stūpas and a Buddhist Sealing from Candi Gentong, Trowulan, Mojokerto, East Java.” In *Buddhist Dynamics in Premodern and Early Modern Southeast Asia*, edited by D. Christian Lammerts, 120–37. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Wibowo, A.S. 1979. “Prasasti Ālasantan tahun 861 Śaka.” *Majalah Arkeologi (diterbitkan oleh Lembaga Arkeologi FSUI)* 2 (3): 3–51.
- Wisseman Christie, Jan. 2009. “Preliminary Notes on Debt and Credit in Early Island Southeast Asia.” In *Credit and Debt in Indonesia, 860-1930: From Peonage to Pawnshop, from Kongsis to Cooperative*, edited by David Henley and Peter Boomgaard, 41–60. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Zoetmulder, P.J. 1950. *De taal van het Adiparwa: een grammaticale studie van het Oudjavaans*. Reprint 1983. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- . 1982. *Old Javanese-English Dictionary*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- . 2006. *Uttarakāṇḍa: teks Jawa kuna*. Bibliotheca purbajavanica 2. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Universitas Sanata Dharma.
- Zoetmulder, P.J., and I.R. Poedjawijatna. 1992. *Bahasa parwa: tatabahasa Jawa kuna*. 2 vols. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.

