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Arlo Griffiths

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The Terms *kuṭi* and *vihāra* in Old Javanese Epigraphy and the Modes of Buddhist Monasticism in Early Java*

ARLO GRIFFITHS

École française d'Extrême-Orient (Jakarta)
Centre Asie du Sud-Est (Paris)

Abstract: This paper presents the epigraphic evidence relating to the history of Buddhist monasticism in Indonesia, and more particularly on the island of Java. I will discuss the problem of distinguishing Buddhist from non-Buddhist actors and institutions in the epigraphic record, focusing on the terminological distinctions that are relevant in this connection—especially that between *kuṭi* and *vihāra*—both of which are used to designate Buddhist institutions. An attempt will be made to extract from the relevant records what can be known about the patronage and naming patterns for monasteries attested in the epigraphic record, about the socio-economic functioning of these institutions at their time, and the fiscal regimes that were in force. To this end, I will analyze the Sanskrit and Old Javanese technical terminology that is used in relation to monastic institutions and attempt to determine whether any difference can be discerned from the contemporary functioning of establishments pertaining to other religions. Finally, I will discuss why explicit mentions of *bhikṣu*s or the *saṅgha* are so rare, and what this near silence of the sources may mean for the nature of Buddhist monasticism in ancient Java.

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Keywords: foundations and endowments, *sīma*, celibate and non-celibate clerics, Śailendra dynasty, Wanua Tengah III charter, Deśavarṇana.

1. Introduction

Though the history of Buddhism in Indonesia can hardly be said to be an unexplored field, scholarship so far has had a strong tendency to focus on the art historical, doctrinal and political aspects of this history. Socio-economic and legal aspects in general, and more specifically the history of monastic institutions—the role of monasteries and monks—in this part of the Buddhist world have not played a significant role in the relevant scholarly literature. Thus, for instance, the otherwise still useful "brief survey of the present situation in Javano-Balinese buddhological research" offered by Christiaan Hooykaas now fifty years ago does not mention the keywords "monastery" or "monk" even once.[1] In a likewise useful article published a few years earlier, surveying the history of Buddhism in Indonesia, Louis-Charles Damais mentions only that Candi Sari, a monument in Central Java, has been considered a *vihāra* by some archaeologists and that some monuments in Sumatra are called *biyaro* in the local language, the word being derived from the Sanskrit *vihāra*; he mentions quite a few foreign monks who passed through Indonesia on their travels between India and China but says nothing at all about the role that local monks may have played in the history of Buddhism.[2] Even in the much more recent survey article by Andrea Acri, which usefully synthesizes research of the past decades, we find the same approach to the history of Buddhism in this part of Asia through the lens of the international exchange of monks, texts and ideas, with hardly any mention of monasteries.[3] In this contribution, I will review the evidence for the history of *vihāra*s and Buddhist monastic practices in Indonesia, with a focus

[1] C. Hooykaas, *Balinese Bauddha Brahmans* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1973), 8–14.

[2] L.-Ch. Damais, "Le bouddhisme en Indonésie," in *Présence du bouddhisme*, ed. R. de Berval (Saigon: Special number of France-Asie, vol. 16, 1959), 813–824. The article was republished as L.-Ch. Damais, "Le bouddhisme en Indonésie et aux Célèbes," in *Présence du bouddhisme*, ed. R. de Berval (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), 667–687.

[3] A. Acri, "The Place of Nusantara in the Sanskritic Buddhist Cosmopolis." *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia* 6, no. 2 (2018): 139–166.

on epigraphic sources and on the island of Java, though other islands and other source materials will also be referred to.

2. Yijing's *Record* and the Śrīvijaya Epigraphic Corpus

We will begin by reviewing briefly the evidence on Buddhist practices in early Indonesia that is preserved in Yijing's *Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas*.[4] As noted by Damais, it is remarkable that the Chinese monk deemed it relevant to cite Buddhist practices of maritime Southeast Asia, besides those he observed in India, as a model for monks in China, and this fact suggests something of the prestige which this part of the Buddhist world enjoyed in his day.[5] Unfortunately, the testimony of the learned pilgrim on monastic practices in what is today Indonesia is never geographically precise beyond the fact that he sojourned twice (and once for several years) in Śrīvijaya, corresponding to present Palembang in South Sumatra. The extent to which his testimony is also based on observations made in other "islands of the South Seas," and notably on Java, remains unclear. Moreover, Yijing's sojourn on Sumatra took place earlier than the earliest epigraphic materials relevant to the history of Buddhism on Java. In short, his testimony is distant in both in time and in space from the material that will be at the center of this contribution, and Yijing is

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[4] Several other contributions to this volume, most notably the one by Furui (pp. 128–134), may be consulted for other aspects of Yijing's testimony relevant to the history of Buddhist monasticism in South and Southeast Asia. In what follows, I cite the recent translation by Rongxi Li, *Buddhist Monastic Traditions of Southern Asia: A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas, by Śramaṇa Yijing*, Translated from the Chinese (Taishō Volume 54, Number 2125), BDK English Tripiṭaka 93-I (Berkeley, CA: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2000). But I cross-reference also the famous translation by Junjirō Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671–695) by I-Tsing* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896). Based on the arguments put forward by G. Cœdès, "Le royaume de Çrīvijaya," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 18, no. 6 (1918): 23–25, which after more than a century have lost none of their force, though they were ignored by Li, I replace all occurrences of "Śribhoja" in his translation by "Śrīvijaya."

[5] Damais, "Le bouddhisme en Indonésie," 816: "Il est remarquable que Yi-tsing ait jugé utile de décrire la discipline et les cérémonies bouddhiques de l'Indonésie et pas seulement celles de l'Inde, pour les donner en modèle à la Chine. Ce détail prouve le prestige dont jouissait, à cette époque, l'Archipel en matière de religion."

generally interested in details of monastic discipline that are never touched upon in the epigraphic record.

Let me mention here only that he found the Mūlasarvāstivāda *nikāya* to be predominant among his Southeast-Asian brethren and that he defines his usage of the term "South Seas" as referring to ten countries among which Barus (on the Northwest coast of Sumatra), Śrīvijaya, Java and Bali are identifiable with some likelihood.[6] Yijing explicitly mentions a Buddhist master he encountered in Śrīvijaya, whose name is not known in local sources.[7] It is also interesting to read that Yijing met Buddhist nuns in the South Sea countries, as they are never referred to in the epigraphic record.[8]

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[6] Li, *Buddhist Monastic Traditions*, 11–12 (cf. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 10): "In all of the five parts of India, as well as the various islands of the South Seas, people speak of the four nikāyas, but the number of followers of the nikāyas varies at different places. […] In the South Seas there are more than ten countries where only the Mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya is predominant, though one may occasionally find some followers of the Sāṁmitīya-nikāya. Recently a few adherents of the other two nikāyas have also been found here. (Yijing's running note: Counting from the west, there are Po-lu-si Island and then Malayu Island, which is now the country of Śrīvijaya, and also Mo-he-xin Island, He-ling Island, Da-da Island, Pen-pen Island, Po-li Island, Ku-lun Island, Bhojapura Island, A-shan Island, and Mo-jia-man Island. There are also small islands, of which I cannot make a full list.) In all these countries the people follow Buddhism, but mostly of the Hinayana School, except in Malayu where there are a few Mahayana believers." For the certain identification of He-ling as Java, see L.-Ch. Damais, "Études sino-indonésiennes, III: La transcription chinoise 訶陵 Ho-ling comme désignation de Java," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 52 (1964): 105. For the possible identification of Po-lu-si as Barus (and Po-li as Bali), see R. Ptak, "Possible Chinese References to the Barus Area (Tang to Ming)," in *Histoire de Barus, Sumatra*, vol. I, *Le site de Lobu Tua, études et documents*, ed. C. Guillot (Paris: Association Archipel, 1998), 119–147. See also Appendix D in R. E. Jordaan and B. E. Colless, *The Mahārājas of the Isles: The Śailendras and the Problem of Śrīvijaya* (Leiden: Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania, University of Leiden, 2009).

[7] Li, *Buddhist Monastic Traditions*, 154 (cf. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 184): "There are now living in [Central] India the Dharma master Jñānacandra of Tilāḍhaka Monastery; Ratnasiṁha of Nālandā Monastery; Divākaramitra of Eastern India; Tathāgatagarbha in the southern borderland of India; and Śākyakīrti of Śrīvijaya in the South Seas. (Yijing's running note: He is now living in Śrīvijaya. He has traveled extensively in the five parts of India and is well learned.)"

[8] Li, *Buddhist Monastic Traditions*, 76 (cf. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 79): "In the countries of the South Seas, the nuns have a special garment. It is also called *saṁkakṣikā*, though not the same in style as in India. It is two cubits long and two cubits wide. The edges of it are sewn together, leaving about

The only passage in Yijing's *Record* explicitly connected with the "South Seas" that can be brought into direct dialog with Indonesian epigraphic evidence is the one where he discusses designations of clergymen including the terms *ācārya* and *upādhyāya* and relates that

> [i]t is said in the Vinaya that to call one an *upādhyāya* who is not an *upādhyāya*, or to call one an *ācārya* who is not an *ācārya*, or vice versa, defiling the name of *upādhyāya*, incurs the guilt of evil-doing. If a man inquires, "What is the name of your *upādhyāya*?" or "Whose disciple are you?", or when one is obliged to mention the name of one's teacher, one should say, "In the circumstances, I am obliged to tell the name of my *upādhyāya*, whose name is so-and-so." In India and on the islands of the South Seas, it is not haughty to use the word "I." It is also not a rude form of address if one says "you." It is simply meant to distinguish one person from another, without a mind of contempt towards others. This is not like in China, …[9]

It is hard to understand the difference from Chinese practices with those current in Southeast Asia that Yijing perceived with regard to the use of 1st- and 2nd-person pronouns, which we have every reason to believe were considered impolite also in early Indonesia. But what is remarkable is that several of the inscriptions to be reviewed below (§7) reveal that the *vinaya* rule of etiquette in mentioning names of religious preceptors was current also in 10th-century East Java.

There is only one mention of a *vihāra* in a Śrīvijaya inscription proximate to the time when Yijing resided there, but alas it is very fragmentary. It is a stone found at Palembang and it contains the Old Malay words *vihāra ini di vanua ini* meaning "this monastery in this village," the surrounding context being lost.[10] None of the inscriptions of Śrīvijaya ever mention such keywords as *saṅgha* or *bhikṣu* (or any other recognizable term for "monk"). I have discussed in a previous

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one foot not sewn in the center, and the upper corners are cut one inch open. To wear this garment, one holds it up, puts one's head and shoulders through the hole, and then pulls one's right shoulder out of it. It has no waistband; it covers one's sides, breasts, and navel; and it reaches below the knees. If one wishes to wear this garment, it is harmless to do so. It has only two fastenings, and is good enough to conceal shame. If one does not like to wear it, one may wear the *saṁkakṣikā* worn by monks. In the chambers of a nunnery, it is adequate for a nun to wear only a *kuśūlaka* and a *saṁkakṣikā*."

[9] Li, *Buddhist Monastic Traditions*, 100–101 (cf. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 104–105).

[10] The inscription is numbered N. 139 in the *Online Inventory of Ancient Nusantara Epigraphy* (www.idenk.net). At the time of this writing, the coverage of the database has not yet been extended to Java, so N. numbers cannot be cited for any of the inscriptions to be referred to below.

publication some of the evidence for the history of Buddhism, including *vihāra*s, from later Sumatran inscriptions.[11] Though there is some more to say on the subject, I will do so on another occasion and concentrate in the remainder of this contribution on the history of Buddhism on Java and Bali.

3. About epigraphic sources from Java and Bali

The epigraphic corpus of Java comprises inscriptions on stone and on copper plate, the vast majority of the records being composed in Old Javanese, besides some exceptions in Sanskrit and Old Malay. On Bali, besides a small number of early Sanskrit inscriptions, the vernacular Old Balinese language is used in the 9th and 10th centuries but then gets replaced wholesale by Old Javanese for the purpose of epigraphic expression. The vocabulary of the three vernacular languages is very rich in loanwords from Sanskrit, so that many of the terms relevant for the history of Buddhist monasticism are quite recognizable from the Indian point of view, although the spellings may be more or less localized and vernacular synonyms may co-exist with the borrowed Sanskrit terms.[12]

It is important to keep in mind that the legibility of many of the available inscriptions is not only affected by the kind of physical damage to the supports that is common for epigraphic sources throughout South and Southeast Asia, but that the historiographic exploitation of the Javanese and Balinese material is hampered by several further factors, which I will outline briefly. Unless otherwise stated, my remarks pertain specifically to the Javanese material, because I am less familiar with the Balinese sources.

First, the languages in which the inscriptions are cast are relatively understudied, compared to the languages used in some other traditions represented in this volume, so that the meaning of base words is quite often uncertain, while we do not have an exhaustive grammat-

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[11] A. Griffiths, "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*, vol. II: *Societies of Padang Lawas (Mid-Ninth – Thirteenth Century CE)*, ed. D. Perret (Paris: Association Archipel, 2014), 211–253.

[12] The label "vernacular" is used here for these languages only in opposition to Sanskrit. The use of Old Malay on Java and of Old Javanese on Bali, where they were never vernacular languages in the strict sense of the term, obviously complicates the cosmopolitan/vernacular dichotomy.

ical understanding of the system of derivational morphology—that is, we do not always understand the range of meanings that may be implied by the use of certain affixes. Furthermore, even when the basic meaning of words is not problematic, a number of ambiguities are inherent in the languages of Indonesia, e.g., with regard to gender and number.

Second, the provenance of Javanese inscriptions found in the 19th century has generally not been recorded with a satisfactory degree of precision, so that the geographic context and relationship to known archaeological sites can be made use of less often than we might have desired, especially because the epigraphic record is exceedingly rich in toponymic data, to such an extent that toponymic data structure a large part of the equally abundant prosopographic data (individuals often being identified with reference to their places of origin)—both reflecting a social structure that is only rudimentarily understood.[13]

Alas, in the third place, we face a general inability to situate ancient Javanese toponyms on a modern map, the effort to identify toponyms with known locations being only in its infancy, and on the whole more successful for records less far removed in time from the colonial period and the creation of modern maps than most of the material presented in this contribution.[14]

Fourth, copper-plate sets were in Java and Bali not bound together by the kind of massive ring we often see in Indian copper-plate inscriptions and are consequently often incompletely preserved, depriving us of their opening dating formulae, the name of the ruling king, or other parts of their contents.

Fifth, a significant percentage of the Javanese epigraphic record consists in 14th-century reissues of records originally issued centuries

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[13] Some passages in the long inscription presented in Appendix A illustrate the intricate social web, formed by personal names and toponyms, that is woven in such records. See for instance the sections 2r10–14 and 2v1–3. For some first steps towards a social history of early Java, see J. G. de Casparis, "Pour une histoire sociale de l'ancienne Java, principalement au Xème s.," *Archipel* 21 (1981): 125–151.

[14] Kusen, "Identifikasi toponim dalam prasasti Jawa Kuna abad IX–X dari Prambanan dan sekitarnya dengan toponim masa kini," in *Proceedings Analisis Hasil Penelitian Arkeologi, Trowulan, 18–23 Nopember 1991: Analisis Sumber Tertulis Masa Klasik* (Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian Purbakala Jakarta, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1994); Hadi Sidomulyo, "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*, ed. D. Perret (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2018).

earlier, and the degree of fidelity of the reissue to the original needs to be considered on a case-by-case basis.

Sixth, finally, the state of scholarship in the field leaves a lot to be desired, with numerous records still lacking a complete and authoritative edition, and with most of them never having been translated into any modern language. This means that the historian concerned with reliability of data needs to do a considerable amount of epigraphic work before being able to cite inscriptional sources with any confidence as to the accuracy of their reading. Even then, the quantity and nature of the data keep a solid check on what can be understood about many aspects of social and religious life in early Java and Bali.

Regarding the nature of the data, I have to admit that I do not at this stage of my research feel able to make any claims as firm as those which are made in this volume with regard to Burmese inscriptions, but it is almost self-evident that the inscriptions surveyed in the following pages are intimately connected with law. It is also evident that the legal framework to be inferred from the data was common to Buddhist institutions as well as non-Buddhist ones. In other words, as I will show, the legal framework governing patronage of Buddhist institutions on Java was not a specifically Buddhist one. For this reason, and others, the legal aspects of the sources will not systematically be brought into focus, as they require a separate treatment that goes beyond inscriptions relevant to the history of Buddhist *vihāra*s. I should also explain that some of my English terms correspond in the context of translation to specific ones found in the sources (*anugraha* "grant," *praśasti* "charter," and *ājñā* "decree") while I use other terms ("record," and "document") more loosely as synonyms or near-synonyms for "inscription." In the present state of my understanding of the sources, I am insufficiently able to grasp the transactional implications of the inscriptions to attempt any matching of indigenous terms to English legal terminology, and my use of none of these terms should be construed to imply any specific technical senses that they may have in English.

In what follows, inscriptions will be referred to by commonly agreed upon designations, mostly based on text-internal toponyms.[15]

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[15] The convention that I follow is to uniformly apply Indonesian spelling rules to inscription-designations, even when they are based on Sanskrit names (e.g., "Abhayagiriwihara" instead of "Abhayagirivihāra"). In the same way, I Indonesianize the spelling of all names of kings, even if they are Sanskrit (e.g., "Lokapala" and "Panangkaran" instead of "Lokapāla" and "Panaṅkaran"), except in the

A list of the primary sources cited in this contribution, along with the relevant bibliographic data, is furnished at the end of this study. Trying to balance philological transparency and comparability of Javanese with Indian sources in Sanskrit against accessibility of my discussion to a readership unfamiliar with the history of Java and with Old Javanese, I will, with one exception, relegate original-language citations to footnotes. I cite only a few short epigraphic records in integral translation, to give an impression of what Javanese inscriptions are like, but from longer texts I do not have the space to cite more than excerpts, beside the example of a long inscription integrally translated in an appendix.

4. Inscriptions of the Śailendra dynasty

The Buddhist epigraphy of Java commences in the 8th century with inscriptions formulated in Sanskrit and issued by members of the Śailendra dynasty (map). These inscriptions do betray distinctly "local" particularities in the form of Javanese names and vocabulary infiltrating the Sanskrit. But on the whole, they use a vocabulary and furnish the types of information on the history of Buddhism that lends them the impression of easy comparability with Indian Sanskrit inscriptions of the same period, especially those from the Pāla domain, a part of the Buddhist world with which Java obviously maintained close (and much discussed) relations in this period.[16] Thus, these inscriptions identify royal agents as responsible for the foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*) of temples and monastic institutions whose names belong to categories well-known in India (*mandira*, *bhavana*, *vihāra*), dedicated to well-known deities (Jina/Śrīghana, Tārā, Mañjuśrī), for the benefit of the congregation (*saṅgha*) of Buddhist monks (*āryabhikṣu*) whose monastic livelihood is supported by grants of land (*bhūdak–ṣiṇā*). These observations are best illustrated by citing selected stanzas from the best preserved Śailendra-period inscription, namely the Kalasan grant of King Panangkaran (778/9 CE):

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context of direct translation from primary sources, where I favor scholarly transcription.

[16] An important material difference is the fact that Pāla royal charters of the same period were never issued on stone, but always on copper plate. Nevertheless, there are some non-Pāla royal, and some Pāla-period non-royal, stone inscriptions of North India that present striking physical similarities to the rectangular stone slabs favored by the Śailendra dynasty for its royal charters.

II. Āva(r)jya mahārājaṁ (tejaḥpuṇyā)paṇaṁ paṇaṁkaraṇaM |
śailendra-rāja-gurubhis tārā-(bha)vanaṁ hi kāritaṁ śrīmat· ||
III. gurv-ājñayā kr̥tajñais tārā-devī kr̥tāpi tad-bhavanaM |
vinaya-mahāyāna-vidāṁ bhavanaṁ cāpy ārya-bhikṣūṇāM ||
VII. grāmaḥ kālasa-nāmā dattaḥ saṁghāya sākṣiṇaḥ kr̥tvā |
paṅkura-tavāna-tīripa-deśādhyakṣān mahā-puruṣān· ||
VIII. bhū-dakṣiṇeyam atulā dattā saṁghāya rāja-siṁhena |
śailendra-vaṅśa-bhūpair anuparipālyārya-santatyā ||
XII. kariyāna-paṇaṁkaraṇaḥ śrīmān abhiyācate 'tra bhāvi-nr̥pān· |
bhūyo bhūyo vidhivad vihāra-paripālanārtham iti ||

II. For the royal gurus of the Śailendras have had the illustrious Tārā temple built, after they converted the Great King Panaṅkaran, endowed with power and merit.
III. The goddess Tārā was made by the grateful [gurus] at the command of their master, and [they built] not only a temple for her but also an abode for the noble monks learned in the Discipline and the (scriptures of the) Great Vehicle.
VII. The village called Kalasan has been given to the congregation after designating as witnesses the great men who administer the region, namely the Paṅkur, the Tavān and the Tirip.
VIII. This incomparable gift of grant land, made to the congregation by the Lion among Kings, of noble lineage, is to be maintained by the kings of the Śailendra dynasty, …
XII. To this end (*atra*), the illustrious Lord (*kariyān*) Panaṅkaran again and again urges future kings so that the monastery may be properly maintained.

It is important to observe how this record associates the *vihāra* with the categories of *saṅgha* and *bhikṣu*. For the occupation of *vihāra*s by monks, and the existence of a community of monks, tend to become rather poorly visible, or even plainly invisible, in most of the subsequent history of Buddhism on Java—so that I will highlight below the occasional exceptions. But what seems particularly noteworthy here is the association of a *vihāra* with a temple of a named deity, which we encounter again with regard to the Veṇuvana temple (*śrīmad-veṇuvanākhyam … jinamandiram*) whose foundation is recorded in the bilingual Sanskrit and Old Javanese Kayumwungan charter (824 CE). Given the heavily damaged state in which most Śailendra inscriptions have reached us, it is possible that those which do not presently contain the mention of any *vihāra* but do mention the foundation of a temple would actually have contained a reference to a *vihāra* in their original, complete state. This concerns the Sanskrit inscriptions of Plaosan and Kelurak, associated respectively with the major Buddhist temples

nowadays known as Candi Plaosan Lor and Candi Sewu.[17] And by extension, major temple sites which lack an associated foundation inscription (such as Candis Borobudur, Mendut, Sari and Banyunibo) might equally well have been associated with a *vihāra* in the past.

In the case of several of these Buddhist sites, the scholarly literature suggests that an adjoining *vihāra* would formerly have existed, with monk's quarters built in perishable materials.[18] The archaeological evidence tends to be limited, but this has much to do with the fact that excavations in Indonesia from colonial times to the present have almost always been monument-centered, without attempting to recover information about habitat in the area surrounding a monument. With the appropriate archaeological methods, it might still be possible to find traces of occupation by a monastic community at some of these sites.

The only site with a Śailendra inscription mentioning the foundation of a *vihāra* without an associated temple is the Ratu Baka plateau, where the fragments of the foundation inscription of the Abhayagirivihāra, a monastery dedicated to Siṁhala monks, were recovered. Remains of the structure intended in this inscription are still found on the site today.[19]

During this period, the only evidence we have of patronage of Buddhist monasteries involves royal founders. In one case, that of the Kayumwungan charter, a royal lady (Pramodawardhani, daughter of King Samaratungga) is stated to be responsible for the foundation. In all other cases (Kalasan, Kelurak, Plaosan, Abhayagiriwihara), it is the

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[17] About the Kelurak inscription, see A. Griffiths, "The Old Malay Mañjuśrīgṛha Inscription from Candi Sewu (Java, Indonesia)," in *Archaeologies of the Written: Indian, Tibetan, and Buddhist Studies in Honour of Cristina Scherrer-Schaub*, ed. V. Tournier, V. Eltschinger, and M. Sernesi (Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale," 2020), 243; see also M. Long, *Voices from the Mountain: The Śailendra Inscriptions Discovered in Central Java and the Malay Peninsula* (New Delhi / Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 2014), chapters III and VII.

[18] Regarding Candi Borobudur, see I Gusti Ngurah Anom, ed., *The Restoration of Borobudur* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2005), 150; see also Boechari, *Melacak Sejarah Kuno Indonesia Lewat Prasasti / Tracing Ancient Indonesian History through Inscriptions* (Jakarta: KPG; Departemen Arkeologi, FIB, Universitas Indonesia; EFEO, 2012), 570, 575. Regarding Candi Sari, see Damais, "Le bouddhisme en Indonésie," 818. Regarding Candi Kalasan, see R. Soekmono, *The Javanese Candi: Function and Meaning* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 34 (based on the Kalasan inscription); Long, *Voices from the Mountain*, 59.

[19] V. Degroot, "The Archaeological Remains of Ratu Boko: From Sri Lankan Buddhism to Hinduism," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 34, no. 98 (2006).

king himself who acts as founder. The royal foundation charters of this period, predominantly expressed in the Sanskrit language, are engraved in a North Indian Siddhamātṛkā script—the exception again being the Kayumwungan charter, which is engraved in local Kawi script and contains a long Old Javanese business portion, following the eulogy (*praśasti*) in Sanskrit.

Evidence for Panangkaran's royal patronage of the monastery at Kalasan as contained in the inscription quoted above may be complemented by what is no doubt the single most important document on royal patronage of Buddhist monasteries in ancient Java, the Wanua Tengah III charter, issued by King Balitung in 908 CE. This gives an overview of the history of royal patronage of the monastery at or of Pikatan. My translation of this grant is included in Appendix A. While Panangkaran's name as it appears in this record can be matched unproblematically to the name *paṇaṁkaraṇa* in the Kalasan charter as cited above, the Javanese names of Panangkaran's successors as listed in the Wanua Tengah III charter find no evident match among the Sanskrit names mentioned in the other Śailendra inscriptions, and the identifications to be made are a matter of debate to which I will not attempt to make any contribution here.[20]

5. Successors of the Śailendra dynasty in the 9th century

After the period of royal patronage of Buddhist *vihāra*s recorded in foundation charters that emulate Indian models issued by members of the Śailendra dynasty follows a period during which patronage of *vihāra*s seems to become less exclusively the domain of royalty, while local, Javanese, modes of recording grants in favor of *vihāra*s become visible in the historical record. This is also the formative period of epigraphic expression in Old Javanese, when inscriptions in this language are still somewhat rare and patterns of formulation not yet stabilized. These factors make the interpretation of the epigraphic evidence in this period rather more difficult than it becomes in subsequent centuries.

[20] J. Wisseman Christie, "Revisiting Early Mataram," in *Fruits of Inspiration: Studies in Honour of Prof. J. G. de Casparis*, ed. M. J. Klokke and K. R. van Kooij (Groningen: Forsten, 2001); J. Sundberg, "Appendix A—The State of Matarām: A Review of Recent Efforts to Clarify Its History," in *Caṇḍi Mendut: Womb of the Tathāgata*, ed. M. Long (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2009); Boechari, *Melacak Sejarah*, 467–471.

My first example is the short Wayuku inscription, engraved in Old Javanese language and in Kawi script on a stone stela from an unrecorded site in Central Java.

> Hail! Elapsed Śaka year 776, month of Caitra, fourteenth [*tithi*] of the waxing fortnight, Vurukuṅ (of the 6-day cycle), Pahiṅ (of the 5-day cycle), Friday (i.e., on 16 March 854 CE): that was when the Lord/Lady of Sisair (named) *pu* Virājā demarcated the paddy fields at Vayuku to become a *sīma* of his/her *vihāra* at Abhayananda.[21]

Given the ambiguities of the language, it remains uncertain whether the person responsible for the demarcation was a man or a woman. But the spelling of the personal name Virājā with long final vowel gives some reason to suspect it was a woman.[22] This suspicion is reinforced by the existence of another short record with a closely similar text, the Abhayananda inscription, engraved on a stone clearly intended to function as boundary marker found in the Klaten district of the Yogyakarta Special Region:

> Hail! Elapsed Śaka year 748, month of Bhadravāda, eleventh [*tithi*] of the waxing fortnight, Panirvan (of the 6-day cycle), Vagai (of the 5-day cycle), Friday (i.e., on 17 August 826 CE): that was when the wife of the Lord of Bavaṅ (*ra bavaṅ anakvi*)[23] demarcated the *sīma*—4 *tampah* of paddy

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[21] *// svāsti śaka-varṣātīta 776 caitra-māsa tithi caturdaśi śukla-pakṣa vurukuṁ pahiṁ śukravāra tatkāla rakai sisair· pu virājā manusuk· savaḥ I vayuku sīmāni bihāranira I Abhayananda*.

[22] J. G. de Casparis, "Some Aspects of Proper Names in Ancient Java," in *Cultural Contact and Textual Interpretation: Papers from the Fourth European Colloquium on Malay and Indonesian Studies, Held in Leiden in 1983*, ed. C. D. Grijns and S. O. Robson (Leiden: Foris Publications, 1986), 15: "Finally, it may be useful to recall that Old Javanese classifiers are not distinguished as to the sex of the person thus designated. The names themselves sometimes give a clue in that names ending in *-ā* or *-ī* nearly always indicate women, but most names are uncharacteristic of either sex."

[23] On this way of indicating the female protagonist, see the *samgat· Anakbi dyaḥ pəṇḍəl·* figuring in the Hering charter, cited in n. 66 below. See also the *rakryān· hino Anakbi* in Wintang Mas II (1r9) and the brief remark by F. H. van Naerssen, "Twee koperen oorkonden van Balitung in het Koloniaal Instituut te Amsterdam," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 95 (1937): 455–456.

> field—gift of the Lord of Vəka (named) *pu* Manota[24] to become the paddy fields of the Abhayānanda *vihāra*.[25]

The comparison of these two records is complicated philologically by the unavailability of usable reproductions of the latter, forcing me to rely on a published edition. It raises the crucial question of what is implied by the status of *sīma* that is alluded to in both. The term *sīma* is indeed a central element in all land transactions recorded in Javanese epigraphy over several centuries. Because the word *sīmā* designates the monastic boundary in the various Buddhist traditions,[26] it is important to make clear that this is not what the term *sīma* refers to in the Javanese context, where it designates a demarcated zone of productive land that is protected from the claims of tax collectors, resulting in a diversion of tax revenue to a specified beneficiary, commonly a religious institution that may be Buddhist but more often is not.[27]

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[24] This is probably the same person at the Lord of Vka called *pu* Manūt in a charter of 785 Śaka (863 CE) existing in two copies, designated as Wanua Tengah I and II. See L.-Ch. Damais, *Répertoire onomastique de l'épigraphie javanaise (jusqu'à Pu Siṇḍok Śrī Īśānawikrama Dharmmotuṅgadewa): étude d'épigraphie indonésienne* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1970), 862.

[25] *svasti śaka-varṣatita [748 māsa bhadravā]da E[kā]daśa śukla-pakṣa panirvan·vagai śukra tatkăla ra bavaṁ Anakvi manusuka sīma savaḥ tampaḥ 4 pavaiḥ rakai vakka pu manota savahani vihāra Abhayānanda*. Damais, *Répertoire onomastique*, 45, no. 33, indicates the date of 17 Aug., 826 CE, which implies the restitutions of the gaps in the dating portion here represented in […]. The reading *manusuka* requires correction to *manusuk·*.

[26] P. Kieffer-Pülz, *Die Sīmā: Vorschriften zur Regelung der Buddhistischen Gemeindegrenze in älteren Buddhistischen Texten* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1992); Jin-il Chung and P. Kieffer-Pülz, "The *Karmavācanās* for the Determination of *Sīmā* and *Ticīvareṇa Avippavāsa*," in *Dharmadūta: Mélanges offerts au vénérable Thích Huyên-Vi à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire*, ed. Tampalawela Dhammaratana and Bhikkhu Pāsādika (Paris: You-Feng, 1997).

[27] For extensive discussion of the implications of the term *sīma* in the Javanese context, see A. M. Barrett Jones, *Early Tenth Century Java from the Inscriptions: A Study of Economic, Social, and Administrative Conditions in the First Quarter of the Century* (Dordrecht: Foris, 1984), chapter II, which opens with the following basic statement (p. 59): "Most of the Old Javanese inscriptions up to and including those issued during the reign of Siṇḍok are concerned with the establishment of sima. These sima could be either villages or part of a village, generally a sawah or ricefield, and some authority is made the beneficiary of the transaction, usually a temple. […] it seems basically to be an area whose tax status was changed on the authority of a high official (a Rake or Samgat) or of the king. This change of status was surrounded by ceremonial—witnesses were present and their names recorded and gifts presented to them and to officials; the land was marked out with stones to show its status; a ceremony was conducted […] which was

Returning to the two records at hand, we must also ask whether they imply fundamentally similar transactions, despite the inverse description of the events—demarcating paddy fields to become a *sīma* as opposed to demarcating a *sīma* to become paddy fields. The fact that we have these two records, the one engraved 27 years after the other, apparently concerning the same *vihāra* but involving different individuals and in one case mentioning a gift (*pavaiḥ*) besides a demarcation (*manusuk*, from the base *susuk* "to pierce, to demarcate") raises the question as to who originally founded the *vihāra* and what land demarcation means if it does not mean founding a monastery or giving land to one. These texts also bring into relief the pervasive uncertainty in Old Javanese records as to whether names associated with institutions, including *vihāra*s, are intended as names of those institutions or as geographic designations specifying the places where they were situated. In this case, the spelling of the name of the *vihāra* or toponym is Abhayananda in the record of 776 Śaka, while its published reading is Abhayānanda in the record of 748 Śaka, where the apparent absence of the preposition *i* before the name creates the impression that the term is intended as a monastery name in both cases.

Either way, the name is not necessarily Buddhist, and this leads me to the observation that Javanese records tend to contain only limited evidence to help strengthen the assumption that any mention of a *vihāra* implies an institution of Buddhist affiliation. In other words, it is often difficult to exclude the possibility that the term *vihāra* was also used on Java by adepts of other religions, as it was, for instance, by Śaivas in Campā.[28] Since in Indonesia, however, we lack positive evidence that the term was indeed used outside of the Buddhist context, while we have abundant evidence—most of which to be presented below—for its use in explicitly Buddhist contexts,[29] I will assume in

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sometimes followed by feasting and dancing and entertainments, and the whole was recorded on a stone or copperplate inscription which was preserved as proof of the occurrence."

[28] See the chapter on Campā in this volume (pp. 277–278, 291).

[29] Two examples of explicitly Buddhist usage in this period, from which we otherwise do not learn enough to justify their discussion here in greater detail, are the short mantra texts engraved on boundary markers of the type alluded to in A. Griffiths, "Written Traces of the Buddhist Past: *Mantra*s and *Dhāraṇī*s in Indonesian Inscriptions," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 77, no. 1 (2014): 177 n. 127. One of these was read as follows by Titi Surti Nastiti, "*Watu Sīma* in Java: Marker Stones as Boundaries of Privileged Domains," in *Writing for Eternity: A Survey of Epigraphy in Southeast Asia*, ed. D. Perret (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2018), 197–198*: ṭaki haṁ jaya śima*

the remainder of this contribution that the simple mention of the word *vihāra* implies a Buddhist context.

Finally, I wish to draw specific attention to the evidence we have here for a special role of women, in the process of demarcating land belonging to *vihāra*s. Such evidence is rare enough, in the Javanese context, to bear emphasizing. Moreover, these two inscriptions, which ascribe to the individuals involved no specifically royal titles, suggest that the kind of patronage of *vihāra*s implied by "demarcating" and "giving" was in this period not the monopoly of the highest political elite, though the titles used do imply that their bearers enjoyed a relatively high social status. The apparent difference from the Śailendra period may be a mere reflection of the different nature of the epigraphic evidence, but it cannot be excluded that the evidence reflects social change.

Evidence that royal patronage of *vihāra*s continued after the Śailendra dynasty had disappeared from the political scene is contained in the aforementioned Wanua Tengah III charter, which explicitly records that the king referred to only as "Lord of Garuṅ" ascended the throne in January 829 CE and acted almost immediately to restore patronage of the monastery at Pikatan. The charter in question, itself entirely formulated in Old Javanese, goes so far as to incorporate the bilingual Sanskrit-Old Javanese charter (whose original does not survive) issued by the Lord of Garuṅ in November of the same year. I have commented on some of the interlinguistic aspects of this passage elsewhere,[30] and do not unfortunately have the space here to offer much of the additional commentary that would be necessary for a fuller appreciation of the Javanese background of these eleven stanzas than my English translation in Appendix A can offer. Suffice it to say that the Lord of Garuṅ continued the Śailendra tradition of issuing charters in Sanskrit which subsequently seems to have gone out of fashion, and that his grant uses several technical terms with parallelism between its Sanskrit and Old Javanese portions, namely *patati* (called *partati* in

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rakyabaṇuvvaḥ ri ***vihāra*** *// śaka 796 śravaṇa-māsa*. Here, the use of a specifically Buddhist mantra is sufficient to remove any doubt about the Buddhist connection. For contrast, I mention the Rampal inscription which contains the expression *saṅ abihāra* that is apparently unattested elsewhere and might be thought to mean "the *vihāra* owner." But Abihāra seems rather to be proper name here, and not to have any connection with a monastery.

[30] A. Griffiths, "Imagine Laṅkapura at Prambanan," in *From Laṅkā Eastwards: The Rāmāyaṇa in the Literature and Visual Arts of Indonesia*, ed. A. Acri, H. Creese, and A. Griffiths (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2011).

Sanskrit), *vandāmi* (not clearly paraphrased in Sanskrit) and *vihārasvāmi* (*vihārapāla* in Sanskrit).

We will return below (§11) to the *patati* and the *vandāmi*, terms which do not figure in other sources for the 9th century. As for the term *vihārasvāmi*, we learn only that an otherwise unknown person called *saṅ* Ārya (if *saṅ ārya* does not mean an unspecified group of people called "the Āryas") held this role, and the term is glossed by *vihārapāla* in stanza II of the Sanskrit part of the Wanua Tengah III charter. The two terms, *vihārasvāmi* and *vihārapāla*, do not appear to have been synonyms in Indian contexts of usage.[31] On Java, the latter term never occurs elsewhere, while the former is also found in the inscriptions of this period to qualify two individuals who are mentioned as last members of a long list of village dignitaries involved in a process of land donation in a text dating to 880 CE. This inscription exists in four versions (Salimar I, III, IV, V) engraved on boundary-markers that were, presumably, once placed around the land in question, a forest called Salimar adjoining a village called Kaṇḍaṅ, to mark it as a *sīma*. Alas we do not learn more from this text about the social role of the *vihārasvāmi*, but two records from the 10th century (§7) will cast a bit more light on this question.

The king referred to as "Lord of Garuṅ" was succeeded in 847 CE by King Saladu, "Lord of (*rakai*) Pikatan," who was, in turn, succeeded by King Lokapala, "Lord of Kayu Vaṅi," in 855 CE. According to the Wanua Tengah III charter, despite being associated with Pikatan through his apanage title, King Saladu dissolved the freehold status of the Pikatan *vihāra* and King Lokapala did not intervene.[32] We do have evidence of Lokapala having supported another monastery, through an alas very imperfectly preserved inscription, the Kalirungan charter, which is the first physically preserved example of a copper-plate grant in favor of a *vihāra*. Too little of the inscription is preserved for it to be useful to quote it here at length, but we learn from it that the ruling king (whose name is lost) gave an order in 884 CE, when Lokapala was in power, concerning the *vihāra* of Kaliruṅan forbidding access to it by collectors of royal revenue (*maṅilala dravya haji*) and assigning to it the privilege of collecting revenue from a range of taxable inhabitants of the village dependent on it (*sovāranikanaṅ kilalān … umuṅgua ta ri vanuanikanaṅ vihāra i kaliruṅan*).[33] The monastery is moreover

[31] See the contribution by Furui (pp. 133–134).
[32] See Appendix A, 2r1–2.
[33] Kalirungan figures as a toponym in the aforementioned Kayumwungan charter. See Damais, *Répertoire onomastique*, 707.

explicitly said to be the foundation (*dharma*) of the Lord of Haməas, named *pu* Tata. The use of the word *dharma* to describe a meritorious work, tentatively translated here as "foundation," is typical of the Javanese vocabulary of religious patronage.[34] The terms of this transaction, with the king granting special fiscal status to a religious institution founded by a more or less highly ranking dignitary, are typical for what we will encounter in the Javanese epigraphic record from the reign of Balitung onward.

Before we turn to that period, let us take a closer look at an inscription dating from the reign of one of the several kings who reigned ephemerally after Lokapala. The reign of King Bhadra, "Lord of Gurun Vaṅi," begun in the month of Māgha of 808 Śaka (on a date corresponding to 18 January 887 CE) and came to an abrupt end one month later, in Phālguna (13 February). It is interesting to confront these dates recorded in the Wanua Tengah III charter with a text preserved from precisely that short window of time. It is the Munggu Antan inscription engraved on a boundary-marking pillar (fig. 1) found in Magelang district of Central Java:

> Hail! Elapsed Śaka year 808, month of Phālguna, thirteenth [*tithi*] of the waxing fortnight, Vurukuṅ, Kalivuan, Thursday, lunar mansion Puṣyā, conjunction Śobhana (i.e., on 9 February 887 CE). That was when the officiant of Muṅgu and his younger sister the lady of Palutuṅan, the royal consort of the one who is deified at Pastika,[35] demarcated the village of Muṅgu Antan,

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[34] In an important article written in Dutch, J. Ph. Vogel has shown how words with originally abstract meanings like *kīrti* and *dharma* have tended to gain concrete meanings connected with religious patronage, and has compared the latter case with the Buddhist usage of the term *deyadharma*. Usage of the term *dharma* in the meaning "a meritorious gift, a pious work, a charity," though not very common in the Indian context, is not entirely unknown there. See J. Ph. Vogel, "Sanskrit kīrti," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 59 (1906): 344–348; D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1966), 91; P. J. Zoetmulder, *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 368, *dharma* 5 "religious foundation, temple etc."

[35] This figure has been identified as King Lokapala by Wisseman Christie, "Revisiting Early Mataram," 28–29: "To add to these confusions, deceased rulers were not usually referred to by the names that they held while alive. They were normally referred to by their apotheosis names, as ancestor spirits whose ashes were interred at a named holy place or temple. For example, *śrī maharaja rakai* Warak *dyah* Manara, after death, became *śrī mahārāja* whose ashes were interred at Kelasa (*śrī mahārāja sang lumāḥ i kelasa*: see [Appendix A, 1v7–12]). After death, *śrī mahārāja rakai* Kayuwangi *dyah* Lokapāla appears to have become *śrī*

> to become a *sīma* domain (*punpunan*) of the *vihāra* at/of Gusali,[36] the *taḍah haji puṅgul* from the Great King, the Lord of Gurun Vaṅi.
>
> Witnesses thereof: the *patih* of Siṅgaṅ (named) *pu* Maṅhalaṅi; the *patih* of Valahiṅan (named) *pu* Sḍaṅ, [the *patih* of] Luvaṅ (named) *pu* Amvarī, joining *pu* Senā; the *vahuta* of Tumapal (named) *pu* Pibaṅ; the *vinkas juru* (named) *pu* Tirī; the *gusti* of Muṅgu Antan (named) *pu* Kiṇḍoṅ; the *kalaṅ* (named) *pu* Sr̥ṣṭi; the *huler* (named) Ugrā; the *vinkas* (named) *pu* Vepo (and) the *tuha vərəh* (named) *pu* Ugrī.[37]

The meaning of the qualification *taḍah haji puṅgul*, encountered in a handful of other records of this period, is not known precisely, but the literal meanings of the words are "receive," "king" and "broken," and the expression as a whole clearly served to specify some royal role in attribution of the title under which the land was owned.[38] The identity of the two demarcators likewise suggests that we are dealing with a royally sanctioned transaction in favor of an apparently existing *vihāra*. Again, we see that the act constitutive of the foundation of a *sīma* is expressed by a form derived from the base *susuk* (here *sumusuk*, equivalent to *manusuk*) and that a woman plays an important role in the process.

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mahārāja or *dewata* whose ashes were interred at Pastika. The identities of other deceased rulers have been more difficult to work out."

[36] The word *gusali* means "smithy" and is not otherwise attested as a toponym. See Damais, *Répertoire onomastique*, 910.

[37] **(1)** *// svasti śaka-varṣātīta 808 phālguṇa-māsa trayodaśi śukla-pakṣa vurukuṁ kalivuAn·* **(2)** *bṛhaspati-vāra puṣyā-nakṣatra śobhaṇa-yoga tatkāla saṁ pamgat· muṁgu muAṁ Arinira saṁ* **(3)** *hadyan· palutuṅan· bini haji saṁ devata Iṁ pastika, sumusuk· Ikeṁ vanuA Iṁ muṁgu(A)ntan·* **(4)** *śīmā pun·punnananikanaṁ vihāra I gusali taḍaḥ haji puṅgul· saṁkā ri śrī mahārāja rake guru***(5)***n vaṅi tatra śākṣī saṁ patiḥ siṁgaṁ pu maṁhalaṅi patiḥ valahiṅan· pu sḍaṁ, luvaṁ pu Amvarī, ma(ṁ)ḍaṁkpi pu senā* **(6)** *vahuta tumapal· pu pib(?)aṁ vinkas· juru pu tirī, gusti I muṁgu Antan· pu kiṇḍoṁ ⊙ kalaṁ pu śriṣṭi huler·* **(7)** *pu Ugrā vinkas· pu vepo tuha vəR̥ḥ pu Ugrī ||.*

[38] Cf. on this point the occurrence in the Ramwi charter, 1r3–5: *kumonnakan· Ikanaṁ dharmma Iṁ pastika dharmma rakarayān· halu pu catura, panusu(ka)kna lmaḥ Alas dadyakna savaḥ sīmānya, Ikanaṁ lmaḥ I ramvi vatak· halu sinusuk· kvaiḥnya lamvit· 2 parṇnahanya taḍa(ḥ) haji puṅgullanira, pramāṇā sira Iriya manəhər muAṁ dharmmanira i ramvi* "ordering with regard to the *dharma* at Pastika, a *dharma* of the Lord of Halu (named) *pu* Catura, that the wood land be demarcated for [it] to be made into its paddy-field *sīma*. The land at Ramvi, district Halu, was demarcated. Its quantity was 2 *lamvit*. Its status would be his (*pu* Catura's?) *taḍah haji puṅgul*. He would henceforward have authority over it and his *dharma* at Ramvi."

6. The reigns of Balitung and his successors

Shortly before the turn of the 10th century CE, in the year 820 Śaka, King Balitung mounted the throne. The center of political power was still firmly in Central Java, but an important development of this period is an apparent territorial expansion of Central Javanese power into East Java, an area where royal inscriptions now start to become common. Another important change is the relative density of issue of royal charters, with at least 18 charters explicitly issued under his authority during his twelve-year reign (3 of them in East Java), as against less than 10 (and none in East Java) during the reign of his indirect predecessor King Lokapala, himself already a relatively prolific issuer of charters, that apparently lasted about 29 years. A relatively substantial number of the inscriptions (whether royal or non-royal) dating to Balitung's reign are connected with Buddhism, in a variety of ways.[39]

First, there are items from which we do not learn much more than that certain villages were held by certain *vihāra*s as *sīma*, the important but somewhat elusive legal term that we have already encountered above. Thus, the Guntur inscription opens with these words:

> Hail! Elapsed Śaka year 829, month of Śrāvaṇa, twelfth *tithi* of the waxing [fortnight], Mavulu, Pon, Wednesday (i.e., on an uncertain date in 907 CE). That was when the dispute (*guṇa-doṣa*) of *pu* Tabvəl, native of the village of Guntur, domain (*punpunan*) of the *vihāra* at Garuṅ, was adjudicated by the official of Pinapan [named] *pu* Gavul, along with his wife [named] *pu* Gallam of the village of Pulu Vatu.[40]

It must be noted that Garuṅ here does not imply patronage by the aforementioned "Lord of Garuṅ," but is the name designating the area that happened to be his apanage. A strictly analogous clause, with a village Sraṅan said to be a domain (*punpunan*) of a *vihāra* at Pahai, is found in a charter issued by King Balitung's chief minister, the future King

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[39] The number 18 is very conservative: it excludes (1) all 14th-century reissues and doubles/triples of charters preserved in more than a single copy, (2) all 13 records issued by officials during Balitung's reign, and (3) problematic items dated or datable to Balitung's reign without the issuer being clear. If all items that I exclude were counted, the total epigraphic production of this reign would, at the time of this writing, cover 46 items.

[40] *svasti śaka-varṣātīta 829 śravaṇa-māsa, tithi dvādaśi śukla, ma, po, bu, vāra(,) tatkālani pu tabvəl· Anag vanuA Iṁ guntur· punpunaniṁ vihāre garuṁ pinariccheda guṇa-doṣanira de samaggat· pinapan· pu gavul· muAṁ saṁ Anakabvi pu gallam· vanuA I pulu vatu.*

Daksa.[41] And two slightly varying cases are found in inscriptions of the same period, the first in a royal charter of King Balitung which mentions in passing that the village Vraṅ was a *sīma* of a *vihāra* situated "east of the road,"[42] the second in an incompletely preserved charter, certainly dating to the same period, which mentions that a village called Vugu was a *sīma* of a *vihāra* at Vuṅan Ḍaik, district Hino.[43] Alas, none of these toponyms have so far been localized on a modern map. But the way *vihāra*s are mentioned in these contexts to help specify the place of origin of certain individuals is unique for this period in the history of Java, perhaps suggesting that *vihāra*s had a greater social significance in this period than in any other.

Second, we find during the period between Balitung's reign and that of his indirect successor, King Sindok, the first instance of a phenomenon that will become more common in subsequent centuries (see §10), namely the mention of the word *vihāra* in lists of religious institutions.[44]

Third, and most importantly, we have from the reign of Balitung three royal charters in favor of Buddhist monasteries. The most significant of these is Wanua Tengah III (fig. 2), concerning the *vihāra* at Pikatan, which has been the thread that has tied my discussion together so far, and which seems to concern a site in what is today the district

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[41] Palepangan, 1v12: *samgat ḍapunta Udāra Anak vanuA I srāṅan· pumpunanni bihāra Iṁ pahai* "the official (named) *ḍapunta* Udāra, native of the village of Srañan, domain of the monastery at Pahai." Damais, *Répertoire onomastique*, 469, read *sahai*.

[42] Poh, 2v11: *pu vilut· Anak vanuA I vraṁ sĭmaniṁ vihāra vaitanniṁ havān·* "*pu* Vilut, native of the village of Vraṅ, *sīma* of the monastery east of the road." The connection of Vraṅ to a monastery is also implied by a passage in the Wanua Tengah III charter, 2v12–13, mentioning a *ḍaṅ upādhyāya I vraṁ* called Candradeva and a *ḍaṅ ācāryya I vraṁ* called Tatha. See Appendix A.

[43] Wungan Daik, line 5: *saṁ ra vavu pu lutu Anak vanuA I vugu, sīmăniṁ vihāra I vuṅaṇ ḍaik· vatak· hino* "the one of Ra Vavu, (named) pu Lutu, native of the village of Vugu, *sīma* of the monastery at Vuṅan Ḍaik, district of Hino."

[44] Wurudu Kidul, 1v3: *mvaṁ rāmanta I halaran· sapasuk· vanva grāma* ***bihāra*** *kabikuAn* "and the elders of Halaran, and of all of the constituent villages, of the *vihāra*(s) [and] of the *kabikuan*(s)." This inscription concerns, among other places, a locality called Grih and is terminated by the statement that it "was engraved by the master (*ācārya*) of Grih, [whose name mentioned here only] for practical necessity [is] Prāmodyajāta." As we will see below (§7), this choice of words implies that the master of Grih was a Buddhist and hence the *vihāra*(s) in question may have been situated specifically within Grih.

(*kabupaten*) of Temanggung (map).[45] This charter contains the remarkable information that in 904 CE, King Balitung decreed all "sacred monastic foundations" (*saṅ hyaṅ dharmā bihāra*) on Java to become fiscally "independent" (*svatantra*) and cease to be "fined" (*kaḍaṇḍān*).[46]

Besides this, we have two closely parallel sets of copper plates, both incomplete, concerning *vihāra*s at Hujuṅ Galuh (829 Śaka) and at Dalinan (825 Śaka), respectively. While the former has been known for a long time, the latter (fig. 3) is still in part unpublished. The opening paragraphs of the two charters differ from each other only with regard to the dates of issue, the identity of the grantees, and the toponyms concerned by the charters. Since the first of these charters (which I designate as Hujung Galuh) is better preserved for this part of the text, I will quote here only from its version:

> Hail! Elapsed Śaka year 829, month of Vaiśākha, fourth *tithi* of the waning fortnight, Mavulu, Vagai, Monday, lunar mansion Uttarāṣāḍha, conjunction Śukla (i.e., on 4 May 907 CE): that was the time of the grant of the Great King, Lord of Vatu Kura, *dyah* Balituṅ, Śrī Dharmodayamahāśambhu, which descended to the Lord Minister of Hino, *pu* Dakṣottamabāhuvajrapratipakṣakṣaya, ordering the official of Lamva, (called) *pu* Layaṅ, native of the village Patapān, *tutuganniṅ taṇḍa*, to demarcate the village of Saṅsaṅ,

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[45] The charter concerns the *vihāra* at Pikatan's ownership of paddy land said to be situated in Vanua Tṅah, belonging to a district also called Pikatan. The toponym Vanua Tṅah is also found in an earlier charter engraved almost identically on two stone steles that, according to 19th-century reports, originated from a temple called Argapura. The temple is no longer visible today, but seems to have been situated in the present village of Sigedong (Tretep, Temanggung). One would normally expect the toponym Vanua Tṅah to have designated a location near this site. However, the Wanua Tengah III charter was found at considerable distance from it, at Kedunglo (Gandulan, Kaloran, Temangung). And even on today's map, there is a Pikatan at 5 km south-west from Kedunglo (Pikatan, Mudal, Temangung). I thank Véronique Degroot for furnishing the provenance data cited here.

[46] Lines 2r6–7: *Iṁ śaka 826 mārggasīra-māsa tithi dvitīya śukla-pakṣa, vu U so, vāra, Irikān pisor· Ājñanira kumonakan· saṁ hyaṁ dharmmā bihāra I java kabaiḥ svatantrā Umāryya kaḍaṇḍān·*. See Appendix A. We should really like to know more about what is implied by the words *svantantrā Umāryya kaḍaṇḍān·*, but certainty remains elusive. The very literal translation chosen here makes it sound like the foundations in question were otherwise under some standing penalty that had to be paid routinely by virtue of their being monasteries. One might imagine, alternatively, that the intended meaning was closer to "cease to be subject to being fined"—in other words, not just that the monks should not be made to pay fines but that civil jurisdiction was wholly ceded to the internal forum of each monastery as part of their being "independent."

> district of Lamva, [whose] corvée is 2 *kupaṅ*; whose royal tax is 6 *suvarṇa* of gold; [whose] gold for the *vahuta*s is 2 *suvarṇa*; [whose] *avur* is scattered.[47]
>
> The occasion that he was ordered to demarcate the village: there was a *kuṭī* at Hujuṅ Galuh, district of Lamva. It was restored by the official of Lamva. It was embellished by him. It was made into (*jinaryakan*) a *vihāra* by him. That was the occasion that he was given a grant [and] ordered to demarcate the village of Saṅsaṅ to become a *sīma* of the *vihāra* he had established.[48]

What is particularly striking here is the information about *pu* Layaṅ's restoration and embellishment of a *kuṭī*, and the fact that he converted it into a *vihāra*. With reference to the evidence from the Bimalasrama charter discussed below (§9), I am inclined to interpret this as implying an enlargement of scale, from an establishment with a single cell (*kuṭī* or *kuṭi*) to a proper monastery. Whatever the conversion into a *vihāra* really implied, it was the occasion for a grant of land being made by the king to *pu* Layaṅ. Several paragraphs follow concerning the fiscal status of the *sīma*:

> As for its position when it would become a *sīma*: it would be entered neither by the dignitaries Paṅkur, Tavān [and] Tirip, nor by any of the collectors of royal tax. […] The position of its *parmasan* (tax) is to enter into [the resources of] the Deity (i.e., the Buddha) of the *vihāra* at Hujuṅ Galuh. Its (i.e., the village's) future course of action is to allow giving half of the *parmasan* to the group of officers. Likewise, its "vicissitudes of life"—blossom that does not bear fruit, *ḍaṇḍa-kuḍaṇḍa*, *bhaṇḍihala*, etc.—they will enter only into [the resources of] the Lord.[49]

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[47] Lines 1r1–5: *svasti śaka-varṣātīta 829 baiśākha-māsa tithi caturthi kr̥ṣṇa-pakṣa mavulu, vagai soma-vāra⟨,⟩ Uttarāṣādha-nakṣatra, (ś)ukla-(yo)ga tatkāla Anugraha śrī mahārāja rakai vatu kura dyaḥ balitu(ṁ) śrī dharmmodayamahā-sambhu tumurun· I rakryān· mapatiḥ I (h)[i]no pu dakṣottamabāhubajrapratipakṣākṣaya kumon· samgat· lamva pu layaṁ Anak vanuA I patapān· tutugannim taṇḍa su(musu)ka Ikanaṁ vanuA I saṁsaṁ vatak· lamva, gavai ku 2 dravya-hajinya mas· su 6 mas· kavahutān· su 2 (A)vur· hinavu-havu.*

[48] Lines 1r5–7: *samvandhānya kinon· sumusuka Ikanaṁ vanuA vuAra kuṭī I hujuṅ ga(l)uḥ vatak· la(m)va (ya ta) pinuliḥ samgat· lamva pinahayunira jinaryya-kan·nira vihāra ya samvandhānyar· Inanūgrahān· kinon· sumusuka Ikanāṁ vanuA I saṁsaṁ sīmā pun·punnananikanaṁ vihāra gavainira.*

[49] Lines 1r7–12: *kunaṁ parṇnaḥhanyan· sīmā tan· katamāna de saṁ mānak· paṅkur· ta(vā)n· tirip·, (mu)Aṁ soAraniṁ maṅilala drabya haji, kriṁ pa(ḍa)m· pamaṇikan·, maṇiga lva malañjaṁ maṁhuri makalaṅkaṁ tapa haji Air haji tuha gośali tuha dagaṁ tuhān ⟨n⟩amvi t(u)hān· hañjama(n·) Uṇḍahagi manimpiki paṇḍai vṣi, valya(n·) paranakan· vidu maṅiduṁ t(u)ha paḍahi varahan· sambal· sumvul· vatak· I dalam· siṅgaḥ pamr̥ṣi hulun· haji Ityaivamādi tan· tumamā Iri(kanaṁ) vanuA, parṇnaḥni (pa)rmmasanya tumamā I bhaṭāra I vihāra I*

> The king's decree. An order was given regarding the traders present there that their numbers should be limited—gold smiths, iron smiths, copper [smiths], bronze [smiths]: three bellows in the whole *sīma*; […] wagoners: three yokes. Up to those limits they shall not be subjected to *parmasan* (tax). If their wares are borne by shoulder pole, for instance cloth vendors, tinkers, *kacapuri* makers, [vendors of] cotton, […] block salt, sesame oil, sugar—all kinds of wares that are borne by shoulder pole: altogether their load carried by shoulder pole shall be five bundles per tradesman, [and] three tradesmen in the whole freehold. Up to those limits they shall not be subjected [to any impost] by the collectors of royal revenue. If their number is higher than the limit [set] upon them, the excess shall be subjected [to impost] by the collectors of all royal levies.[50]
>
> As for those who paint black, who make *camvriṅ*, who twist ropes (?), who dye, carpenters, turners, *ubar* makers, bird catchers, [bird] snarers, wicker-workers, those who tie *vuṅkuḍu*, shed makers, potters, sugar makers, lime makers, etc.: all of them (i.e., the impost they pay?) will be divided in three. One share will accrue to the Deity (of the monastery), one share will accrue to the collectors of royal revenue, one share will accrue to the custodian of the *sīma*. Thus was the king's decree limiting the traders present there.[51]

Among these clauses, it is especially the last one, which I shall tentatively call the revenue sharing clause, that merits our attention as a statement of the economic basis on which religious foundations were built, at least during a certain period of Javanese history. It is during the reign of King Balitung that this clause first emerges in the epigraphic record, the earliest occurrences being in charters dated to 825

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h(u)juṅ galuḥ deyanya mavaiḥ mannaṅahana Iṁ parmasan·, Iṁ kataṇḍan·, samaṅkana suka-du(ḥ)khanya, ma(ya)ṁ (ta)n· (pa)vuAḥ ḍaṇḍa-ku(ḍa)ṇḍa (bha)ṇḍihālādi tumamā I (bha)ṭāra Ataḥ Ikana.

[50] Lines 1r12–1v4: *Ājñă haji, kinonnakan· I(ka)naṁ masamvyavahā(ra) hana(ṁ) ṅk(ā)na hīṁ-hīṁṅana kvaiḥhanya paṇḍai mas·, paṇḍai v(s)i, (ta)mvaga (ga)ṅ(ś)a, tluṁ Ububan·, Iṁ sasīma, macadar· 4 maṅaraḥ lumpaṁ 3 maṅulaṁ tluṁ tuhān· Iṁ sasīma, kboAnya 20 Iṁ sat(u)hān·, sa(pi) [40 vḍu]s· 80 Aṇḍaḥ vantayan· 1 parahu (A)bhaṭāra 1 mas(u)ṁhara 3 tan· patuṇḍāna, maguluṅan· tlu(ṁ) pasaṁ samaṅkana tan· (k)nā(na) [I pa]rmasan· yāpuAn· (pi)nikul· (da)gaṅanya kady aṅgāniṁ mabasana masayaṁ makacapuri kapas· vuṅkuḍu tā[mbra] gaṅsa {sobuban· I satuhān·,} garam· paḍa¿k?(t)· lṅa gula, saprakāraniṁ duAl· pinikul· kalima bantal· I satuhān· pikul·-pikula nanya, tluṁ tuhān· Iṁ sasīma Ikanaṁ samaṅkana tan· knāna de saṁ maṅilala drabya haji, yāpuAn· lviḥ kvaiḥnya saṁkā Irikānaṁ paṁhīṁ-hīṁ Iriya knāna Ikana sakalviḥnya de saṁ maṅilala sodhāra haji.*

[51] Lines 1v4–7: *kunaṁ Ikanaṁ mañamvul·, mañavriṁ maṅap(u)s·, maṁlākha, Uṇḍahagi(,) mamu(b)u(t)·(,) maṅubar·, manahab· manuk· (ma)misaṇḍuṁ(,) maṅanamm-anam·, mamukat· vuṅkuḍu manarub· maṁdyūn· maṅgula maṁhapū, Ityaivamādi kapuA ya tribhāgān· sadūman· Umarā (I) bhaṭāra sadūman· Umarā I saṁ maṅilala drabya haji sadūman· Umarā I sa(ṁ) makmitan· sīma, maṅkana Ājñă haji paṁhiṁ-(hiṁ) Iri¿h?(k)āṁ ma¿p?(s)amvyavahāra hana ṅkāna.*

Śaka.[52] It is also a recurring element in the epigraphy of the reign of Sindok, after which it reappears only rarely. The important points to note here are (1) that the appearance of the clause is not specific to Buddhist foundations, and (2) that the clause is subject to some variation.[53] Clearly, the conditions under which revenues were reallocated in the case of a *sīma* were not determined by the religious affiliation of the foundation, but by other factors which cannot be explored here any further.[54]

Finally, in a stone inscription from East Java, issued during the reign of Balitung or his direct successor Daksa, there is a brief allusion to a royal *vihāra*, but we learn nothing more about this institution.[55] The *vihāra* of Pikatan whose endowment was renewed by King Balitung and his Chief Minister, the later King Daksa, in the Wanua Tengah III charter was also clearly a royal foundation, although the terminology used there is different, notably involving one of the rare occurrences of the term *puṇya*, meaning "meritorious work," in such contexts in the Buddhist epigraphy of Java.[56]

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[52] The first is the charter of Telang I (issued on 11 January 904 CE), where we read *kapuA ya tribhāgān·, sabhāga Umarā riṁ maṅilala drabya haji, sabhāga Umarā riṁ dharma, sabhāga Umarā riṁ makmitan· dharma(,).* The second is the Dalinan charter (5 march 904), where the clause, heavily affected by corrosion, seems to have been identical to its version found in the Hujung Galuh charter (4 May 907), namely *kapuA ya tribhāgān· sadūman·, Umarā (I) bhaṭāra sadūman· Umarā I saṁ maṅilala drabya haji sadūman· Umarā I sa(ṁ) makmitan· sīma*. Further occurrences during the reign of Balitung are found in the charters of Kaladi (21 June 909) and of Tuwuhada (date lost).

[53] Contrast Tihang (reign of Daksa) *kapuA ya tribhāgān· ruAṁ dūman· Umarā ri saṁ hyaṁ dharmma, sadūman· marā ri saṁ maṅilala drabya haji* (⅔ for the foundation, ⅓ for the tax collectors) with Sugih Manek (same reign) *kapva ya tribhāgān·, sadūmān· Umarā I bhaṭāra, sadūmān· I saṁ makmitan· dharmma, sadūmān· I saṁ maṅilala drabya haji* (⅓ for the Deity, ⅓ for the custodian of the foundation, ⅓ for the tax collectors). Further variations are discussed below, in §7 and §9.

[54] Compare Yijing's account on sharecropping in early Bengal discussed in Furui's contribution to this volume (pp. 130–131).

[55] Piling-Piling stone 2, face A, lines 8–9: *Iṁ vihăra hajī* "in the king's *vihāra*."

[56] 1v11, 1v8 and 2r11 *savaḥ haji lān i vanua tṅaḥ*; 2v17 *savaḥ sīma punya śrī mahārāja muAṁ rakryān· mahāmantr(ī) I bhaṭāra I pikatan·*. The only other occurrence in the material surveyed here is the derived form *pinuṇyakən* in *mpu* Mano's charter, discussed in §8.

7. The reign of Sindok

After King Daksa, the political center of gravity on Java moves east, epigraphic production ceasing completely in central Java after 928 CE. The period of transition is marked by a succession of short reigns, with limited epigraphic evidence for each, little that concerns Buddhism,[57] and none that concerns any *vihāra*. It is then with the ascension of King Sindok, whose first known charter was issued in 920 CE (the last one being dated to 944 CE), that a period begins of intensive patronage of a variety of religious institutions covering a fairly large territory in the Brantas river basin. Buddhist *vihāra*s are among these institutions, and it seems that they were represented particularly in what is today the district of Nganjuk. A special characteristic of the evidence for *vihāra*s in this period is that the keyword *vihāra* appears only in the modified form *vihantan* (or *vihantən*), according to a pattern that foreshadows the polite-register *krama* forms so typical of Modern Javanese.[58]

One relevant instance occurs in the Anjuk Ladang charter (937 CE), engraved on a very large stone stele, found at the temple site Candi Lor in Nganjuk (map). This record has never been fully deciphered and no substantial parts of it have been translated. Although the main purpose of the charter is an endowment in favor of "the Deity of the holy devotional temple within the holy foundation of Śrī Jayāmr̥ta,"[59] which may or may not have been a Buddhist institution but was in any case probably not a monastery, there is an intriguing mention of a *vihantan*, i.e., a *vihāra*, in the final lines of face A:

> Those who took the lead at the demarcation of the *sīma* were *mpu* Mahāguru of the holy royal foundation in favor of the Śaivas at Tajuṅ, *mpu*

[57] The fact that the Lintakan charter of King Tlodhong (919 CE, from Central Java) mentions a "Caitya of the Great King's father at Turu Mangambil" (*caityani yayah śrī mahārāja i turu maṅambil*, 1r4) is among the very rare traces of Buddhism in this period.

[58] For references concerning such *krama*-like formations in Old Javanese, and some examples from epigraphy, see A. Griffiths, "Rediscovering an Old Javanese Inscription: Mpu Mano's Donation in Favor of a Buddhist Dignitary in 888 Śaka," *Archipel* 99 (2020): 124 n. 73.

[59] The phrase I translate here (*bhaṭāra i saṅ hyaṅ prāsāda kabhaktyan i saṅ hyaṅ dharma i śrī jayāmr̥ta*), is found in line 22 on face A. Similar phrases occur several times in the published parts of the charter.

> Bhekṣandha (?) of the holy foundation of Jayāmṛ̥ta, the preceptor (*ḍaṅ upāddhya*)[60] of the *vihantan* of Aṅgəhan[61]

Immediately after the quoted words, the text passes from the front face A to the next face—whether one of the lateral faces or the back face: the order in which the faces are to be read has not yet been determined. The text on the lateral faces has not been published at all, while the first 22 lines of the back have not been published either, and I have not yet had the occasion to study this inscription thoroughly. Under the circumstances, it is impossible to determine the syntax of the clause that mentions the monastery at Aṅgəhan, and so it must alas remain unclear whether the reverend of Jayāmṛ̥ta (whose name is of doubtful reading)[62] was simultaneously "preceptor" (*ḍaṅ upāddhya*) of the Aṅgəhan monastery, or whether this latter office was held by a different person whose name would then be expected to appear on the next face of the inscription.

Another instance is found in the Hering charter that is dated just a few years prior to Anjuk Ladang, namely to 934 CE. This is engraved on another large stela also found in *kabupaten* Nganjuk (fig. 4, map), that has likewise never been fully deciphered. The charter contains a royal grant allowing certain agricultural and residential land (*savah*, *pomahan*), purchased by the protagonist *pu* Daṅhil, to be made into a *sīma* and demarcated by him. Despite several problems of interpretation of the relevant passage, it transpires that the motivation for *pu* Daṅhil's purchase was to make merit by patronage of a *vihāra*, and that he acted together with his wife:

> Now *pu* Daṅhil's compensation (? *pamahəli*) for the *vihantan* to [the one whose name, mentioned here only] out of necessity (*arthahetoḥ*), [is] *saṅ* Praśāntamati was 11 *suvarṇa* in gold; the participation (? *paṅilu*) of the official's wife, *dyah* Pəṇḍəl, was 5 *suvarṇa* in gold. The total of the compensation of *pu* Daṅhil and the official's wife, *dyah* Pəṇḍəl, for the monastery was 16 *suvarṇa* in gold.
>
> Consequently, the official's wife, *dyah* Pəṇḍəl, participated in having the monastery as foundation (*dharma*) shared by her with the official of

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[60] I interpret this string as equivalent to *ḍaṅ upādhyāya*. The same truncation is observed below, in the Hering inscription. On *upādhyāya*s, see §11.

[61] Face A, lines 48–49: *pinakamaṅgalya riṁ kasusukan sīma sira mpu mahāguru I saṁ hyaṁ dharmma haji Iṁ kaśaivān i tajuṁ muAṁ sira mpu bhekṣandha I saṁ hyaṁ dharmmā I jayāmbṛ̥ta, ḍaṅ upāddhya I saṁ hyaṁ vihantan iy aṅgəhan*.

[62] Where Eko Bastiawan reads *bhekṣandha*, Brandes read *gokṣandha*. Either way, the name seems unusual.

Margaṇuṅ *pu* Daṅhil. The two of them gave tokens of the fact that their compensation (*denira huməli*) for the *vihantan* was irrevocable.

- the preceptors (*ḍopādhya*)[63] of Vətəh-vətəh[64] were offered as gift 4 *māṣa* [in gold]. The *vandāmi*[65] (called) *kaki* Jurvan [and] the honorable *akalambi haji* (called) *saṅ* Bayah handed over the gifts to the preceptors of Vətəh-vətəh.
- to the *vadihati* was given as gift 2 *māṣa* [and] 2 *kupaṅ*
- to the *makudur*s (named) *saṅ* Tajaṅ [and] *saṅ* Bvaṅ-bvaṅ was given as gift 2 *māṣa* [and] 2 *kupaṅ*, shared by them
- the *patih nāyaka lampuran* at Margaṇuṅ (called) *saṅ ra* Yasām, called Kayu, [*a few words uninterpretable*] in chief were given as gift 2 *māṣa* [and] 2 *kupaṅ* collectively
- the *vahuta* of Margaṇuṅ, the *nāyaka lampuran*, the *hujuṅ*s called [*two or three words of very doubtful reading*] Pilih Mas in chief, were given as gift 2 *māṣa* [and] 2 *kupaṅ* collectively

Consequently, the monastery called [*a name of about nine akṣaras that so far defies decipherment*] was demarcated, with the *sīma* of the official of Margaṇuṅ *pu* Daṅhil. The purpose of the *sīma* was to become [his] patrimony, to be inherited by [his] children, grandchildren, … .[66]

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[63] I interpret this string as equivalent to *ḍa upāddhya*. The word *ḍa* is a somewhat rare equivalent of the honorific *ḍaṅ*; for other instances of honorific *ḍa* merging in *sandhi* with the following word, see Damais, *Répertoire onomastique*, 965.

[64] The same toponym is found in *Deśavarṇana* 76.4 (see Appendix B). On this passage, Hadi Sidomulyo has observed: "The approximate position of Wĕwĕtih is confirmed by the charter of Hĕring, issued during the reign of Pu Sindok in the 10th century. This stone inscription originates from the district of Warujayeng (Nganjuk), about 40 km southwest of the old Majapahit capital. The contents refer to the establishment of a Buddhist monastery (*wihantan*) by a certain Samgat Marganung, and among the distinguished guests we find a representative of Wtehwteh. This is very probably a reference to the Wĕwĕtih of the *kidung* Wargasari, as well as Prapañca's Wĕti-wĕtih, which is listed as a Buddhist monastery. If so, it shows that Wĕwĕtih, like Lĕmah Tulis, was an ancient and revered establishment." See Hadi Sidomulyo, "Kṛtanagara and the Resurrection of Mpu Bharāda," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 39, no. 113 (2011): 136.

[65] The inscription actually reads *mandami*, but I assume this to be a spelling variant for *vandāmi*. On *vandāmi*s, see §11.

[66] Face A, lines 22–36: *kunaṁ pamahli pu daṅhil· Irikaṅ vihan·tan· I sira Arthahetoḥ saṁ prasănta matiḥ mā su 11 paṅilu samgat· Anakbi dyaḥ pəṇḍəl· mā su 5 piṇḍa pamahli pu daṅhil· mvaṁ sira stri samgat· Anakbi dyah pəṇḍəl· Irikanaṁ vihantan· mā su 16 mat(ə)hə(r) ta samgat· Anakbi dyaḥ pəṇḍəl· milu makadharmma Ika(ṁ) vihantan· kinalihannira, mvaṁ samgat· margaṇuṁ pu daṅhil· maveḥ ta sira kāliḥ cihnāni pagəḥ denira humli Ikaṁ vihantan·⟨,⟩ ḍopāddhya I vtəḥ-vtəḥ InaṁsəAn· pasək· mā 4⟨,⟩ sumrahākan· Ikaṁ pasak· I ḍopāddhya I vtəḥ-vtəḥ mandami kaki jurvan· saṁ hadyan· Akalambi haji saṁ*

As we have seen above, it is difficult to interpret the transaction precisely because we do not know how literally the term "demarcation" is to be taken, and we know even less what the text means when it mentions demarcation of a monastery "with" a *sīma*. The matter is complicated still further, first, by the text using two nouns not found anywhere else in the Old Javanese corpus and unrecorded in the standard dictionary,[67] namely the words *pamahəli* and the *pañilu*, here rendered as "compensation" and "participation" based on the meanings of the base-words from which they are derived,[68] and, second, by the fact that the monastery name that it mentions is undecipherable. It is unclear to me whether the record involves the foundation of a new monastery, or an alteration of the status or land holdings of an existing one, but it is certain that at least one monastery was already established in the area prior to the demarcation alluded to in the record.

The figure of Praśāntamati, mentioned as receiving compensation, was certainly a Buddhist dignitary, as is clear from the fact that his name is prefixed with *arthahetoḥ*. In a previous study, I had collected all passages in Old Javanese sources known at the time which use this term and shown that its usage as a marker of respect is essentially a Buddhist usage.[69] To the evidence assembled in that study, I

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bayaḥ I vadihati vineḥ pasək· mā 2 ku 2 I makudur· saṁ taja(ṁ) saṁ bvaṁ-bvaṁ vineḥ pasak· mā 2 ku 2 kinalihannira patiḥ nāyaka lampuran· I margaṇuṁ saṁ ra yasām· makaṅaran· kayu, marhaṁ – – – – – duṁ(h)u pramukha vi[n]eḥ pasak· mā 2 ka 2 kinabehan·, vahuta I mārgaṇuṁ nāyaka lampuran· sira hujuṁ maṅaran· – – – – – piliḥ⟨⟨ḥ mā⟩⟩mas· pramukha vineḥ pasak· mā 2 ku 2 kinabaiḥhanya, matəhər· tikaṁ vihantan· ma(ṅara)n· – – – – – – – – – sinuśuk· mvaṁ Ika sĭmma samgat· mārgaṇuṁ pu daṅhi[l·], pak(n)anikanaṁ sĭma, putrăṅ[śa] kali[l]irāna deniṅ anak· putu … In my edition of this passage, every en-dash represents an illegible *akṣara*.

[67] Zoetmulder, *Old Javanese-English Dictionary*.

[68] The form *pamahəli* beside *huməli* (also unattested elsewhere but used in this text) from *həli* "replace, change" seems to be derived from a secondary base word *pahəli*. Cf. Zoetmulder, *Old Javanese-English Dictionary*, 1491, on the analogous case of "*pamarakṣa* (from a secondary base-word *parakṣa*?) guard," beside *rumakṣa*. The form *pamarəṅga* "embellishment, enhancement of beauty" beside *ruməṅga* "lovely to behold, beautiful" is also strictly analogous. Cf. in addition *pamaṇḍiri* beside *(u)maṇḍiri* and *pamahuvus* beside *muvus/pinahuvus*. Titi Surti Nastiti also used the word "compensation" to translate another derivation from the same verb in the Sri Manggala or Candi Asu inscriptions dated 796 Śaka / 842 CE (*paṅhəli irikanaṅ ləmah dharmanira*, "compensation for his foundation land"). See Titi Surti Nastiti, "*Watu Sīma* in Java: Marker Stones as Boundaries of Privileged Domains," in *Writing for Eternity: A Survey of Epigraphy in Southeast Asia*, ed. D. Perret (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2018), 196–197.

[69] See Griffiths, "Rediscovering an Old Javanese Inscription," 126–129.

can now add Yijing's account on naming etiquette quoted in §2 and the following excerpt from the Masahar inscription (map) discovered in early 2022:

> The foremost of those demarcating the *sīma* was the preceptor (*upādhyāya*) of Bkal [whose name, mentioned here only] out of necessity (*arthahetoḥ*) is Māravijaya.[70]

Although the foundation in question was not a Buddhist institution, the religious identity of this preceptor is unmistakable from his quintessentially Buddhist name.[71]

Returning to the Hering charter's Praśāntamati, one imagines that he might have been the abbot of a monastery at Vətəh-vətəh, but the text does not say so explicitly, mentioning Praśāntamati only in connection with the *vihantan* and Vətəh-vətəh only in connection with "preceptors." This term translates *ḍopāddhya*, which I assume to be, like *ḍaṅ upāddhya* in Anjuk Ladang, a truncated expression equivalent to the expression *ḍaṅ upādhyāya* used in the Masahar passage just cited as well as in the Wanua Tengah III charter (2v12), in both cases for a priest who was certainly a Buddhist, while the same term is more than once associated with explicitly Buddhist priests in inscriptions from the island of Bali.[72] Another point of agreement between the Hering and Wanua Tengah III charters, also shared with information on Buddhist institutions preserved in inscriptions from Bali, is the use of the term *vandāmi* to designate some kind of priest. The sentence structure of the relevant part of the Hering charter is far from clear, but from my discussion of these terms for Buddhist clergymen below (§11), it follows that the *vandāmi* must have been lower-ranking than the *upādhyāya*.

The third and final record of this period to be discussed here is the Sobhamerta charter which bears a date corresponding to 939 CE. It is a reissue, likely produced in the 14th century, that gives the impression of rather faithfully reproducing an original 10th-century charter, although simple copying errors are evident in some instances and suspected in others, and more extensive errors, or conscious manipulations of the text, may have occurred at the time of reissue. What is

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[70] Back, lines 14–15: *pinakamaṅgalyaniṁ manusuk· śīma ḍaṅ upāddhyāya I bkal· Arthahetoḥ māravijaya*.

[71] We learn from the Warunggahan charter cited below, in n. 78, that another Javanese Buddhist dignitary of another century bore the same name.

[72] See R. Goris, *Inscripties voor Anak Wungçu* (Bandung: Masa Baru, 1954), vol. II, 330. See below (§10–12) for more on the institutional history of Buddhism on Bali.

clear, is that the charter records a royal grant confirming ownership of certain lands serving as paddy fields (*savah*), orchards (*kubvan*) and residential areas (*pomahan*), that had been purchased by a protagonist who was himself a Buddhist dignitary, namely "the reverend of Nairañjana, whose name, mentioned only out of necessity (*arthahetoḥ*), is the reverend Bodhibala."[73] The text itself formulates the reason why the transaction took place as follows:

> [His Majesty ordered] that he (i.e., Bodhibala) alone would have authority over the land for paddy fields, orchards [and] residential areas at Śobhāmṛta, so that it be inherited by all his descendants [down to] the future's future, in order for worship to be carried out and for the benefit of the world to be effected, all the more so of His Majesty the Great King. Such was the intention of the reverend of Nairañjana, [whose name, mentioned only] out of necessity (*arthahetoḥ*), [is] the reverend Bodhibala with regard to the land for paddy fields, orchards [and] residential areas at Śobhāmṛta, (namely) that he obtain *panamān paṅləpasan buddhiṣnāna* and [that] the patrimony of the family line of the reverend would not be subservient [to anyone else]; [that] its status would be private property (*podgalika*).[74]

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[73] The expression used with a surprising insistence in the original is *mpuṅku i nairañjana, arthahetoḥ mpuṅku boddhivala*, found with some variants no less than seven times (1r4–5, 1r6, 1v2, 1v6, 2r2, 2v3 and 3v2). The toponym Nairañjana is listed among *kabajradharan*s in *Deśavarṇana* 77.2. See §10, §12 and Appendix B.

[74] The words of the text, on lines 1r6 through 1v4, are: *An· sira juga bāsa-pramāṇa Irikanaṁ lmaḥ savaḥ kubvan·, pomahan· Iṁ sobhāmṛta, katmu savka-vetnira dlāhaniṁ dlāha, An· gavayakna kapŭjān· kahayvaknaniṁ rāt·, ṅuniveḥ păduka śrī mahārāja, maṅkana Iṣṭaprayojana mpuṅku I nerāñjanā, Arthahetoḥ boddhivala, An pā(ṁ)hanākna panamān· paṁḶpasan· buddhiṣnāna, Irikanaṁ lmaḥ savaḥ kubvān·, pomahan· Iṁ sobhāmṛta, muAṁ tan· paṁjurva kalilirani ku-lasəntāna mpuṅku tka riṁ dlāhaniṁ dlā(ha), parṇnahānya podgālika*.

The sentence construction around the *iṣṭaprayojana* ("intention") is somewhat troubling, such that I have considered whether an extensive emendation of the text is necessary, making the *iṣṭaprayojana* belong to the king rather than to the purchaser. Indeed, in most epigraphic occurrences of the word *iṣṭaprayojana*, it expresses the intention of the king. But an exception is found in the Kanuruhan charter (also of the reign of Sindok), where an *iṣṭaprayojana* of the beneficiary of a grant is expressed. See also the passage quoted from the Bimalasrama charter below, mentioning the beneficiary's *iṣṭasādya*, a synonym of *iṣṭaprayojana.*

The meaning of the words *panamān· paṁḶpasan· buddhiṣnāna*, which seem to denote spiritual obtainments, is particularly obscure and some degree of textual corruption is suspected. For instance, the word spelt *panamān* could plausibly be derived from a wide range of base words (*nama*, *nāma*, *tamā*, *śama*, *sāma*, and probably others). The word *paṅləpasan*, if it is not affected by any copying error, must mean "place for releasing" or "the whole of releasing." Finally, *bud-*

Further on, we learn that Śobhāmṛta is in fact the name of a *vihāra*:[75]

> Thus was the substance of the grant of His Majesty the Great King to the reverend of Nairañjana, [whose name, mentioned only] out of necessity (*arthahetoḥ*), [is] the reverend Bodhibala, to be inherited by all his descendants [down to] the future's future, so that they not be disturbed within the *vihantən* called Śobhāmṛta, as its status shall be independent (*svatantra*).[76]

Besides the use of the terms which have a strong Buddhist resonance in the Javanese context, as in the case of *arthahetoḥ*, or even an exclusively Buddhist one (*podgalika*),[77] we may note the fact that the protagonist is not designated by any monastic term while he is quite explicitly said to be acting in the interest of his offspring, implying that he was not living a life of celibacy.[78] We will return to this issue of

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dhiṣnāna, which appears on the face of it to mean "intelligence bath," could imaginably be an error for *buddhasnāna*, *adhiṣṭhāna*, *buddhijñāna* or *bodhijñāna*. The latter seems the most likely hypothesis to me, as the *akṣaras jñā* and *ṣnā* are similar in shape. The word *bodhijñāna* occurs, among other works, in the Buddhist court poem *Kuñjarakarṇadharmakathana* 1.1d ***bodhijñāna*** *śarottamāṅhilaṅakən ripu makaphala dharmaśūnyatā* "Enlightenment is his supreme arrow that annihilates the enemy, with as its reward the state of complete liberation."

[75] It is tempting to identify the toponym Śobhāmṛta that lends this charter its name with the Śobha that figures as a *kaboddhāṅśan* in *Deśavarṇana* 78.3. See Appendix B.

[76] Lines 2v2–2v4: *maṅkana rasānugraha pāduka śrī mahārāja I mpuṅku i nerāñjanā, Arthahetoḥ boddhivala, katmva deni savka-vetnira dlāhaniṁ dlāha, tan kolah-ulaha rikaṁ vihantən·, maṅaran· riṁ sobhāmṛta, An svatantrā gatinya*.

[77] On *arthahetoḥ*, see above; on *podgalika*, see Griffiths, "Rediscovering an Old Javanese Inscription," 124–126.

[78] Although this text could, if one insisted, be imagined to intend "offspring" in the sense of a monastic lineage, the fact that Buddhist dignitaries were not necessarily bound to celibacy becomes undeniable in the Warunggahan charter, a recently discovered inscription of the 14th century that refers back to 13th-century events. Here we read, in lines 5r5–5v6: *ya ta nimitta pāduka mpuṅku śrī buddhaketu An· vava humatur i bhaṭāra śrī kṛtanagara, Iniriṁ deni* ***strĭnira*** *makanāma śrī viśuddhijñānī mvaṁ vkanira, ḍaṅ ācāryya mĕravijaya, ḍaṅ ācāryya candranātha, rakryan· taṅhi, ḍaṅ āc{y}āryya jineśvara, mvaṁ sama sānak· riṁ varuṅgahan samudāya, maṁhyaṁ ri valuyanikaṁ sīma riṁ varuṅgahan·, gatinirān pinakarovaṁ de bhaṭāra śrī kṛtanagara maṅalocitta kabhūmirakṣakān·, muvaḥ sira pinakarovaṁ de bhaṭāra śrī kṛtanagarāṅabhyăsāṅa(r)ccane bhaṭāra śrī vairocana, makadon· jagaddhita, makādīṁ svarggāpavargga, nimittanyān i(na)nugrahakn ikaṁ sīma riṁ varuṅgahan· de bhaṭāra śrī kṛtanagara* "That was the reason why his highness the reverend Śrī Buddhaketu brought a petition to the late Śrī Kṛtanagara, being accompanied by **his wife** called Śrī Viśuddhijñānī and their children, the master Māravijaya, the master Candranātha, the Lord Taṅhi, the master Jineśvara and all their relatives in Varuṅgahan together, requesting the restitution of the *sīma* at Varuṅgahan. His conduct when

celibacy below. In this charter, we observe for the first time the expression of a motivation in terms of combined public and private interest for the foundation of the Buddhist establishment in question.[79]

Having reviewed these three inscriptions from Sindok's reign, characterized by their usage of the word *vihantan* (or *vihantən*) as equivalent for *vihāra*, it is particularly interesting to note that all three of them contain a version of the revenue sharing clause, which indeed becomes rather common in the epigraphy of this period, after which it falls out of usage (though we will encounter one more instance in §9):

Anjuk Ladang

> All of the royal revenue on them would be divided in three. One share would accrue to the Deity of the Holy Devotional Temple of the Holy Foundation at Añjuk Laḍaṅ, *tutuganiṅ taṇḍa*, at Śrī Jayāmṛta. One share would accrue to the domain's reverends (*punta jātaka*) entrusted with the *sīma*. One share would accrue to the collectors of *miśra* royal revenues at that time.[80]

Hering

> All of the royal revenue on them would be divided in three. One share would accrue to the official of Margaṇuṅ (named) *pu* Daṅhil. One share would accrue to the reverends (*punta*) entrusted with the *sīma*. One share would accrue to the collectors of *miśra* royal revenues.[81]

Sobhamerta

> All their belongings in excess of that, the royal revenue on them was divided in two. One share would accrue to the collectors, one share would accrue to the reverend Bodhibala.[82]

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he was the companion of the late Śrī Kṛtanagara to ponder the world's safe keeping, and when he was the companion of the late Śrī Kṛtanagara to practice the worship of the deity Śrī Vairocana, was aimed at the welfare of the world, to begin with heaven and release. It was the reason why he was granted the *sīma* at Varuṅgahan by the late Śrī Kṛtanagara."

[79] This feature is also prominent in the Kancana and Bimalasrama charters. See below, §8 and §9.

[80] Face A, lines 27–28: *kapuA ya tribhăgān drabya-hajinya, sadūman Umarā I bhaṭāra I saṁ hyaṁ prāsāda kabhaktyan i saṁ hyaṁ dharmma Iy añjuk laḍaṁ tutuganiṁ taṇḍa I śrī jayāmṛta sadūman umarā Irikanaṁ punta jātaka makmit sīma I śrī jayāmṛta, sadūman maparaha rikanaṁ maṅilala dṛvya haji miśra Irikaṁ kāla*.

[81] Face B, lines 31–34: *ka[pva] ya tri(bhă)gā(n·) dṛbya-hajinya, saduman· mare samgat· marga[ṇuṁ] pu daṅhil·, saduman· mara Irikaṁ punta makmitan· sĭma sadu[man· ma]raha I saṁ maṅilala dṛbya haji, miśra*.

[82] Lines 4r4–5: …, *sapaniskaranya kabeḥ, Ḷviḥ saṅkerikā, pinaliḥ dṛvya-ha/ji\nya, sadumān mamaro maṅilāla, saduman· mapārṇna I mpuṅku* …

Compared with the Anjuk Ladang case that does not concern a *vihāra* but where the Deity, i.e., the temple itself, receives a share (exactly as in the Hujung Galuh and Dalinan charters referred to above), or with the Anjatan charter that we will see below, where the resident community of monks receives a share, it is remarkable that no part of the revenue is allocated in the Hering and Sobhamerta charters to the *vihāra*s in question. The Sobhamerta charter is unique in that the revenue sharing clause involves twofold division; this exception may reflect the fact that the beneficiary of the royal grant is here himself at once founder and inhabitant of the monastery.

I tentatively assign to the reign of Sindok, or to the period between his reign and the ascension of Airlangga, around 1019 CE, two further epigraphic occurrences of the term *vihārasvāmi* (already encountered above, in §5), both in the context of complex—and largely untranslatable—lists of people involved in collection and payment of tax:

Watu Kura I, 3r3–3v3:[83]

> ya tika tan katamana de saṁ maṅilala dṛvya haji, mīśra paramīśra, vulu-vulu prakāra, kriṁ, paḍəm apuy·, kula pamgət·, vadihati, makudur·, tavan·, kula paṅkur·, pagaran·, kavur hyaṁ, taji, tapa haji, Air haji, malandaṁ, lca, lablab·, manimpiki, tuhālup·, tuha dagaṁ, maṁguñjai, maṁrumbai, vatu tajəm·, salvit·, pakalaṅkaṁ, guñjan·, tuṇḍan·, salaran·, piniṅlai, kataṅgaran·, pamṛṣi, hulun haji, paranakan·, **rāma jātaka, vihărasvămi**, parmmasan·, pamasaṁ, Avuran·, Urutan·, ḍampulan·, sikpan·, puluṁ paḍi, mapaḍahi, valyan·, vidu maṅiduṁ,

Kalimusan, r1–r4:[84]

> muAṁ saṁ maṅilala dṛvya haji, saprakāraniṁ kilalān· Iṁ kataṇḍan·, Iṁ kasi(ṁ)gahən·, vatək· I dalam· kabaiḥ tan tumamā(,) muAṁ kri(ṁ), paḍəm apuy·, kula paṅkur·, kula pamgat·, vadihati makudur·, tavan·, tirip·, pa-

[83] This is a 14th-century reissue, antedated to the reign of Balitung in the early 10th century (824 Śaka). See F. H. van Naerssen, "Old Javanese Charters Re-Edited and Translated," in *Catalogue of Indonesian Manuscripts: Old Javanese Charters, Javanese, Malay and Lampung Manuscripts, Mads Lange's Balinese Letters, and Official Letters in Indonesian Languages*, by Frits Herman van Naerssen, Theodoor Pigeaud, and Petrus Voorhoeve (Copenhagen: Royal Library, 1977), 58–61: "Some anachronisms found in the text show beyond doubt that the copyist of the Çaka year 1270 did not have the original charter of the Çaka year 824 at his disposal, but had to copy a document made at the time of King Wawa or King Sindok (about the middle of the tenth century)."

[84] In a previous study, I have suggested that this inscription may be a reissue of a grant originally issued in the 11th century, but the close match of this passage with the Watu Kura I charter has since made me inclined to date it rather to the 10th. See Griffiths, "Rediscovering an Old Javanese Inscription," 112–113 n. 40.

> garan·, kavuṁ hyaṁ, taji, tapa haji, malandaṁ, qəlləb-əlləb· manimpiki, tuha lup·, tuha dagaṁ, maṁrumbai, vatu tajam·, salvit·, makalakaṁ, guñjan·, salaran·, pinilai, kataṁgaran·, mamṛsi, hulun· (ha)ji, paranakan·, **rāma jātaka, vihārasvāmi**, parmmasan·, pamasaṁ, Avuran·, Urutan·, dampulan·, sikəpan·, vulupadhi, valyan·, vidu maṅiduṁ

Both of these passages occur in incompletely preserved sets of reissued charters—a situation which unfortunately makes it difficult to determine whether the *vihārasvāmi* figures here in the capacity of a collector or a contributor of revenue. It is important to note that *vihārasvāmi* is never found in the numerous other instances of such lists and that in both of its occurrences it figures in a fixed sequence of terms, preceded by *rāma jātaka* and followed by *parmasan*. Some parallels for the term *rāma jātaka* seem to impose caution with regard to the initial impression created by the above passages that the term *rāma jātaka*, and by association *vihārasvāmi*, are among the *maṅilala dravya haji*, or "collectors of royal revenue," insofar as they clearly present the *rāma jātaka* as a category distinct from the *maṅilala dravya haji*.[85] We alas lack any direct evidence of this kind for the fiscal status of the *vihārasvāmi*.

8. The period between Sindok's and Airlangga's reign

Only little epigraphic evidence is preserved from the period between the reigns of Sindok and Airlangga, that is for the three quarters of a century between ca. 944 and 1019 CE. Moreover, what evidence there is concerning Buddhism in this period exclusively comes from reissued inscriptions, three in total. I have discussed the three records in question in a previous article where I have analyzed in detail a record of the pious foundation (*puṇya*) of a *kuṭi* to a Buddhist dignitary named *mpu* Buddhivāla, who was "the reverend of Susuk Pagər and the reverend of Nairañjanā," made by a certain *mpu* Mano in 966 CE, as "a tax-exempt foundation (*dharma ləpas*) that is to be individual property (*kapodgalikan*) of the lineage of the reverend of Nairañjanā."[86] As we have seen in some previously cited inscriptions, the Buddhist digni-

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[85] E.g., Muncang, face A, lines 28–29: *kapuA ya tribhāgān· drabya-hajinya, sadūman· Umarā Iṁ bhaṭāra I saṁ hyaṁ prāsāda kabhaktyan· Iṁ siddhayoga,* ***sadūman· Umarā rikanaṁ rāma jātaka makmitan· sīma I muñcaṁ****, sadūman maparaha I saṁ maṅilala drabya haji miśra*. The clause is almost identical to the one from Anjuk Ladang cited above, except that the name of the temple site is different and that *rāma jātaka* is used instead of *punta jātaka*.

[86] Griffiths, "Rediscovering an Old Javanese Inscription."

tary's name is said to be mentioned "only out of necessity" (*artha-hetoḥ*). There are several striking similarities here with the *mpu* Bodhibala found in the Sobhamerta charter of 939 CE discussed above, who is said to be the reverend of Nairañjana, such that it seems likely that we are dealing with the same historical figure. In the present context, it is interesting to note that the record describes, in terms that partly still defy persuasive interpretation, a transaction concerning paddy fields that are pawned (*saṇḍa*) and redeemed (*təbus*) "to serve for being used as resource (*bhuktyan*)" by the *kuṭi*. It does not emerge from this charter what difference of meaning, if any, is intended by the use of the term *kuṭi* instead of *vihāra*.

In the aforementioned study, I have also discussed the problematic dating of two other charters, Kancana and Kuti, both bearing dates in the Śaka 700s that are incompatible with their contents and seem to reflect a desire at the time of reissue to situate the events recorded in them farther back in time than the dates that would have been marked on the original issues. The former appears otherwise to be a relatively faithful reissue and I assign it with some confidence to the reign of a King Lokapala (different from the King Lokapala mentioned in §5 and §6), about whom not much more is known than that he lived after King Sindok and three generations before Airlangga. The text of the Kuti charter, by contrast, has evidently been tampered with on a massive scale at the time of reissue, so that it is hard to determine how much, if anything, has been retained from an original grant and when that grant would have been issued. But some of its textual contents, too, may be assigned to the reign of Lokapala. It is only on the grounds that the foundation is called *kuṭi*, that I assume this charter to be a grant in favor of a Buddhist establishment, although the rest of the inscription is silent as to its religious affiliation.[87]

The Buddhist context of the Kancana charter, on the other hand, is unmistakable. The protagonist, the reverend of Bodhimimba (*mpuṅku iṅ boddhimimba*) is characterized as having the characteristics of a Buddhist or of a Buddha (*boddhalakṣaṇa*, perhaps to be understood as *buddhalakṣaṇa*), as embodying the Tantric deity Vairocana (*vairocanātmaka*), and as the master for scriptural study (*guru paṅajyan*) of King Lokapala (2v3–5).[88] The grant is said to be made for this dignitary to demarcate (*susuk*) a tax-exempt *sīma* foundation (*dharma sīma ləpas*) at Buṅur Lor and Asana in order to erect a temple

[87] See Griffiths, "Rediscovering an Old Javanese Inscription," 137 n. 109.

[88] See §11 on the presumed equivalence of this function with that of the *ācārya paṅajyan* mentioned in the Wanua Tengah III charter.

(*prāsāda*), where his Buddha image would be placed (*sthānanira saṅ hyaṅ arccha boddhaprativimbanira*), to be worshiped every month of Kārttika, to further the king's victory in battle, the stability of his rule and the length of his life. Bodhimimba's two children, a man named *dyah* Imbaṅi and a woman named *dyah* Anārgha, to whom authority over the foundation was entrusted, would reside there (3r1–v6). This last passage suggests that the founder was either not a monk at all, or not a celibate monk.[89] The foundation, named Kāñcana, is said to first require the reverend of Bodhimimba's purchase of land from local residents (2r2–5). Its chief priest is explicitly said to be a *sogata*, i.e., a Buddhist.[90] Nevertheless, there is nothing in this charter that explicitly designates this foundation as a monastic institution.

Too little (only the first plate) is preserved of *mpu* Mano's record to do more than observe the striking similarity between the designation of the beneficiary and the way the protagonist is identified in the Sobhamerta charter, discussed above. Meanwhile, a number of other similarities can be observed between the latter and the Kancana charter, and then between all these charters and another 14th-century reissue, the Bimalasrama charter, to which I will turn below. Taking these five records together, one notices the very insistent designation of Buddhist dignitaries with the honorific *mpu* or *mpuṅku*, literally meaning "(my) master," here translated as "the reverend," which is only very rarely encountered in the original issues of the Sindok and Airlangga period but had clearly become the norm in the Majapahit period.[91] More importantly, one notices the importance of financial transactions (pawn, purchase) of land to be offered in endowment to Buddhist institutions or to be used as plots for building them, and the fact that more often than not it is a prominent dignitary himself who is beneficiary of a royal charter allowing him to make the foundation.

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[89] Admittedly it is possible to imagine that they were children from prior to their father's ordination. But since the sources reviewed here never speak of ordination, I am rather inclined to favor scenarios whereby ordination had no importance, or less importance than in other Buddhist contexts discussed in this volume.

[90] Kancana 3v6–4r1: *pasāṁjñān saṅ hyaṅ dharmasīma riṁ kăñcana, sogata saṅ asthāpakā i saṅ hyaṅ dharma*.

[91] The only cases known to me are the passage from the Muncang charter quoted above (§7), mentioning priests called *mpu* Mahāguru and *mpu* Bhekṣandha, and the Anjatan charter to which I turn below (*mpuṅku i* Tinakər). It is noteworthy that several of the reissues for inscriptions of Sindok's and Airlangga's reigns introduce *mpu* where original inscriptions use *pu*. In the Warunggahan charter, an original issue of the Majapahit period, the beneficiary is called *mpuṅku* Śrī Buddhaketu.

Finally, one starts to find formulated in these records the explicit motivation for such foundations in terms of family patrimony, the presence of explicitly named children, implying a non-celibate lifestyle even for those who are explicitly mentioned in the context of *vihāra*s. Since all of the evidence for this period is from reissued inscriptions, there is a risk that some of the information is anachronistic, actually being imposed on earlier records at the time of reissue.

9. Two charters from the period of Airlangga's reign in East Java

The reign of Airlangga is the last period for which we have substantial epigraphic evidence of royal patronage of Buddhist monasteries. The evidence comes from two incompletely preserved inscriptions, both missing their dating portions, that have not been connected in previous scholarship with the period of Airlangga's reign. I will present my arguments in favor of their dating to Airlangga's reign in a future publication dedicated specifically to these two charters, which are, respectively, the Anjatan charter (two original plates of what was once a larger set) and the Bimalasrama charter, which has come down to the modern period only in the form of an (incompletely preserved) 14th-century reissue discovered and copied in the 19th century (some plates having been lost after the copies were made and hence accessible only in the latter). Since I have already alluded to it at the end of the previous paragraph, let me start by quoting the fascinating section with which the preserved part of the Bimalasrama charter starts, *in medias res*:[92]

> … called Pamuntaran,[93] including its 2 paddy fields at Vaṅmyah [measuring] 3 *jāṅ*; the *tālap* up to the forest; the dikes up to the sea; and their estate called Pamuntaran, [all] land of the village community of Sikuñit—that is what was bought by the reverend (*mpuṅku*) Muntun at Mākālar from the elders of Sikuñit, including all its constituent villages, with the aim for it to be the place of a/the *gandhakoṭivihāra*, a place for the deity Triple Jewel's image to be established (*kapratiṣṭhāna bhaṭāra ratnatrayaprativimba*). The

[92] The text is preserved here only in the more careless of the two 19th-century eye-copies, and requires many emendations, presupposed in my translation. Although the emendations are evident in several cases, textual problems have not yet found a convincing solution in some others, and hence my translation as a whole still has a tentative character. The underlying text edition will be published in my forthcoming study.

[93] This toponym is listed among *kaboddhāṅśan* in *Deśavarṇana* 78.3. See Appendix B.

> status of the *kuṭi* would be as place of the mendicants (*viku*) who are steadfast in all teachings of their *guru*s, truthful and faithful toward the Lord, constant in their practice of the teaching (*śāsana*) of the Holy Tathāgata, performing recitation and study, intonation, worship (*pūjā*) etc., without being overtaken by lust. All of them would be urged (?) to restore (?) the greatness of the reverend Muntun's work[94] on behalf of His Majesty the Great King.
>
> His intention in building the *gandhakoṭi* was that it should never be lost, until the future's future, as though it were a daily recitation of mantras and hymns for the Lords All Tathāgatas that would bring about the welfare of the world and the stability of the Great King's universal rule (*kacakravartin*). Such was the desire of the reverend Muntun when he went before His Majesty the Great King.
>
> Out of the great virtuousness of the Great King in always looking after the constant well-being of the world, and all the more so that the Holy Sarvadharma be made perfect—that was why the request of the reverend Muntun was granted by His Majesty the Great King. [And] that was the reason why he began to build the *gandhakoṭi* called Bimalāśrama, as though it were the reverend Muntun's homage with mantras, a gift of (*parṇaḥ* ?) incense, lamps, aromatic powders and unhusked grains as offerings to Lady Prajñāpāramitā, and for [his] children's patrimony to be built, for half of the *panikəlan susur* to be obtained as inheritance by the offspring of the reverend Muntun, now and hereafter up to the future's future. The right to make use of (*bhoktupramāṇa*) and full control over (*vaśavaśitva*) the land had been bought by the reverend Muntun.

We see here several of the same features that I have already highlighted for the two previous periods, notably the purchase of land with a view to its use for building a Buddhist establishment, with a motivation both in terms of public and of private interest. But what is especially noteworthy is the wealth of recognizably Buddhist deities that are mentioned, among which the Tantric deity Sarvatathāgata, and the unusual abundance of Sanskrit terms, namely *gandhakoṭi*, *kuṭi*, and *vihāra*, that are used in describing the foundation, which is named Vimalāśrama or Bimalāśrama.[95] From the toponyms it contains, it is

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[94] The meaning of the phrase *sama təkyənya Umapurā gəːṁni paṅăram(bha) mpuṅku muntun·* is hard to grasp.

[95] Since the known names of *vihāra*s are always Sanskrit expressions, there is no question that this must have been the intended form of the name. However, all of the occurrences of the name in this charter have been misspelled in its reissue. I have found the following two spellings: *dhimaṇāśrama* (in 2.9, 9r5, 11r6, 12r5, 12v7) and *dhimalāśrama* (11r7, 11v3). The predominance of the former explains why the charter is sometimes designated as Dhimanasrama in the scholarly literature, even though this spelling makes no sense in Sanskrit, any more than the latter spelling does. Those familiar with the script will understand how easily an

clear that the foundation lay near the coast in what is today *kabupaten* Sidoarjo.

The word *gandhakoṭi* can safely be assumed to be an equivalent of *gandhakuṭi*.[96] The term is attested only in two other Javanese inscriptions, neither of them casting any light on the place such "Perfume Chambers"[97] may have had in Javanese monasteries.[98] So the relative wealth of information in this passage of the Bimalasrama charter is welcome. When the text says that Muntun purchased land with the aim for it to be the place of a or the *gandhakoṭivihāra*, this could conceivably mean a *gandhakuṭi* and a *vihāra*, or even a *vihāra* called Gandhakoṭi, but the most plausible meaning seems to be a *vihāra* with a *gandhakuṭi*. And when, further on, we read just *gandhakoṭi*, I suggest that this be understood as shorthand for *gandhakoṭivihāra*. From the statement of the charter itself, it seems quite clear that the *gandhakuṭi* in this monastery designated a special cell for the monastery's Buddha image.[99]

Meanwhile, the term *kuṭi* is explicitly linked with the aim to furnish quarters to the residents of the *vihāra*, so this may be a rare Javanese case of the word meaning "cell" (or "cells"). The residents them-

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original spelling *vimalāśrama* or *bimalāśrama* could have been misrepresented by any scribe who did not know the meaning of the name.

[96] The vowels *u* and *o* fluctuate quite freely in the 14th-century reissues of earlier inscriptions. We have seen above the cases of names Buddhibala/Bodhibala and of an erroneous spelling *buddhiṣnāna* possibly for *bodhijñāna*.

[97] Gregory Schopen, "The Fragrance of the Buddha, the Scent of Monuments, and the Odor of Images in Early India," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 101 (2015).

[98] In the Sarangan charter of the time of King Sindok (929 CE), we read in line 20 of the front face the words *[sa]mananā I saṁ hyaṁ gandhakoti* "everything that is dilapidated in the holy Gandhakoṭi," but the context is damaged, so we do not learn more. On the word *samanā* "everything that is dilapidated," see my discussion of the Anjatan charter below. The remaining occurrences of the term occur in the Gandhakuti inscription, a reissue of a charter originally issued in 1042 CE, concerning a *dharmma gandhakuṭi Iṁ kambaṁ śrī*, words that seem to mean "Gandhakuṭi foundation at Kambaṅ Śrī." Besides this word, there is little else that seems Buddhist about the inscription (although the closing invocation *oṁ nāmo buddhāya, nama śivăya, manamarṣāya, namo brahmāṇaya* does notably give pride of place to the Buddha), and we do not learn much specific about the functioning of this institution that seems relevant to the discussion. I have the impression that the Gandhakuti charter was heavily manipulated at the time of reissue.

[99] See also 9r5–6 *sampun apagəḥ panusuk· mpuṅku muntan·, gandhakoṭi I dhimaṇādramavihārakrama*. It seems that the last word may have been intended as *vimalāśramavihārāśrama*. See again 11v3 *saṁ hyaṁ kuṭi Iṁ dhimalāśrama*.

selves here make one of their exceedingly rare post-8th-century appearances, being called *viku*, a Javanese word ultimately derived from *bhikṣu* through a Middle Indo-Aryan intermediary, that I tentatively translate as "mendicant."[100] We do not learn whether the founder, the reverend Muntun, was himself a Buddhist dignitary, but it seems likely that he was and if so, he is another instance of a non-celibate Buddhist.

The final inscription to be discussed is the Anjatan charter, which, like Bimalasrama, I deem to have been issued in the period when Airlangga reigned in East Java. But the original geographic context of this charter is unclear, and there is a possibility that the *śrī mahārāja* mentioned in this charter was not Airlangga but some contemporary ruler of another part of Java. However that may be, this charter is again comparatively rich in data relevant for this study. It concerns a village called Anjatan that was entirely at the disposal (*sa-bhuktyan*) of a monastic institution called the Amṛtamaṅgala, consistently designated in this record as a *kuṭi*.[101] As in other records, we find mention of resident traders, whose numbers are restricted by royal order.[102] The revenue sharing clause, of which this charter furnishes the last instance, here involves two beneficiaries never included in other instances of the clause:

> As the venerable congregation (*ḍaṅ saṅgha*) of Amṛtamaṅgala has exclusive authority over all their royal revenues. The arrangement shall be [that] they are to be divided in three: one share for the benefit of the Deity; one share for the venerable congregation, in order to restore (*pahayu-a*) everything that is dilapidated (*sa-mananā*) [and to furnish] all requisites (*sa-pariṣkāra*) for the beauty (or: restoration, *kapahayvan*)[103] of the holy *kuṭi* of Amṛtamaṅgala; one share for the benefit of its personnel (*saṅ karma*). That was

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[100] See A. Griffiths, "The Sanskrit Inscription of Śaṅkara and Its Interpretation in the National History of Indonesia," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 177, no. 1 (2021): 14–16. While the word *viku* is mostly associated with Śaiva contexts, this may simply reflect the predominance of Śaivism in ancient Java. In general, the word seems to cover a range of religious professionals under vows (*vratī*), but not necessarily or even typically celibate; they are often described as being married. The word is used in several explicitly Buddhist contexts in the *Deśavarṇana* (17.8, 36.2, 53.5, 64.3), in some of which it may mean "monk," although it has been translated as "priest" by S. O. Robson, *Deśawarṇana (Nāgarakṛtāgama) by Mpu Prapañca* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995).

[101] Lines 3r3–4: *An tan· tamā ta ya Irikeṁ vanva riṅ añjatān· sabhuktyan· saṁ hyaṁ kuṭi riṅ amṛtamaṅgala*.

[102] Lines 3r6–7: *samaṁkana Ikanaṁ masambyavahāra satamolaḥ I saṁ hyaṁ kuṭi riṅ amṛtamaṅgala, An kapva ya hīnīṅan· de śrī mahārāja*.

[103] Neither *kapahayvan* nor the form *pahayu* that it implies are recorded in Zoetmulder's *Old Javanese-English Dictionary*.

> the way all royal levies were read out (*kapāṭha*) in the holy royal charter, the confirmatory document regarding the demarcation of the holy *kuṭi* of Amr̥tamaṅgala.[104]

Besides the fact that this is the only instance of the revenue sharing clause where the *saṅgha* itself is allocated a part of the revenue, and the only instance where Buddhist monastery personnel (*saṅ karma*) play any epigraphic role at all, it is interesting to read the extensive explanation on the way the *saṅgha* was to make use of the reallocated revenue for the maintenance of the buildings. This is reminiscent of such clauses commonly found in Indian *vihāra*-related inscriptions, but the extent to which we may read this as reflecting cosmopolitan Buddhist practices is uncertain.[105] For similar passages are found in several other contemporary inscriptions, none of them concerned with a Buddhist institution. Nevertheless, the expression *pahavya samananā* "for restoring everything that is dilapidated" would seem to allude to the Sanskrit term *jīrṇoddhāra*, typically used in Buddhist contexts for the dilapidation of monasteries.[106] It is tempting to speculate that the use of the term *sa-pariṣkāra*, which is not found in any of the parallel passages, is due to the specific Buddhist connotation of this term.[107] But the Buddhist sense of "a monk's personal utensils" is hard to fit into the sentence, while the terms *pariṣkāra* and its equivalent *paniṣkāra* are not limited to Buddhist contexts in Old Javanese. Nevertheless, it is hard to disregard the collocation of funding for repairs (*jīrṇoddhāra* or *khaṇḍasphuṭitasaṁskāra*) and for the supply of requi-

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[104] See 3r12–4r3: *aṇ ḍaṁ saṅgha Iṅ amr̥tamaṅgalātaḥ pramāṇa I sadr̥bya-hajinya kabaiḥ, kramānya, tribhāgān·, sadūmān· mapaknā I bhaṭāra, sadūmān· ma(pa)knā I (ḍa)ṁ saṅgha, pahayva samananāni sapariskārani kapahayvan· saṁ hyaṁ k(u)ṭi riṅ amr̥tamaṅga(la, sa)dūmān· maparṇnaha I saṁ (k)armma(nya), maṁkana tiṅkaḥ so(dhā)ra ha(j)i huvus kapāṭa ri saṁ hyaṁ rājapraśāsti, pagəpageḥ I kasusukan· saṁ hyaṁ kuṭi riṅ amr̥tamaṅgala*.

[105] See O. von Hinüber, "Behind the Scenes: The Struggle of Political Groups for Influence as Reflected in Inscriptions," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 56, no. 3–4 (2013): 365–379.

[106] See Zoetmulder, *Old Javanese-English Dictionary*, 1172, *nanā* I, citing *Sārasamuccaya* (388.3) *jīrṇānanā sahananya*. All occurrences of *jīrṇoddhāra* in Javanese sources appear in a Buddhist context. See Wurare (stanza XI *jīrṇoddhārakriyodyukto*), Sukhamerta (lines 10r5–6 *denira mahāphalaniṁ jī⟨r⟩no⟨⟨r⟩⟩-ddhāra ri saṁ hyaṁ dharmma*), Warunggahan (lines 8r3–4 *sarvvadharmma-jirṇṇodara*), Gajah Mada (lines 11–12 *samaṅkana tvək· rakryan mapatiḥ jīrṇodhăra*).

[107] F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 331; Furui in this volume (pp. 108–109).

sites (*pariṣkāra*) found in Buddhist grants from India.[108] Perhaps the word's presence here in the record was indeed due to the inheritance of fixed Buddhist expressions, while the word's meaning was reinterpreted in the Javanese context.

Another passage that might contain a Buddhist technical term is the following:

> Now as for the course of action to be taken by the village of Añjatan, including the *kalpi*s who take refuge (there), is that all of them, without exception, should keep in mind all previous arrangements, should carry out royal corvée every day on what is dilapidated of the beauty of the holy *kuṭi* of Amṛtamaṅgala, every Manis day.[109]

The word *kalpi* is not known in any other Old Javanese source. I speculate that it is intended here as an equivalent of the specifically Buddhist term which is *kalpikāra* in Sanskrit, or *kappiyakāra* in Pali, meaning "middleman" in the sense of "an individual who acts as a middleman by accepting things that monks cannot (e.g., money) and converting them into things that they can," that occurs but rarely in epigraphy, the only occurrence so far identified in scholarship being in an inscription from western India of 605 CE, that has been discussed in detail in Schmiedchen's contribution to this volume.[110]

The last preserved part of the inscription then turns to reveal the individual who seems to have been the principal beneficiary of the charter:

> Provided that (*pva*) the reverend (*mpuṅku*) of Tinakər remain aware of the exceptional advancement (*kavaṅunan*) by the Great King of the holy Buddha's teachings (*saṅ hyaṅ buddhaśāśana*), after the holy *kuṭi* of Amṛtamaṅgala had been founded by the Great King on behalf of the reverend of Tinakər, so that it would be a firm base for the reverend of Tinakər's worship of a Buddha image (*buddha-prativimba-namaskāra*)—[on that condition]

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[108] Several relevant passages are cited in Schmiedchen's (p. 77) and Furui's (pp. 104, 108–109, 122) chapters in this volume.

[109] Lines 4r4–5: *kunaṁ pva kadeyaknanikaṁ vanva riṅ añjatan· tka riṁ kalpi (sa)ma marāśraya, An kapvātaḥ kumatuturaknaṁ sapūrbva-sthiti, pratidina mabuñcaṁ-hajya riṁ samananāni (kapa)hayvan· saṁ hyaṁ kuṭi Iṅ amṛtamaṅgala Aṅkən· manis·*. The indications *pratidina* "every day" and *aṅkən manis* "every Manis (of the 5-day week)" seem contradictory, but presumably one is to read them together to get the meaning "every Manis day."

[110] The definition is the one offered by G. Schopen, "The Monastic Ownership of Servants or Slaves: Local and Legal Factors in the Redactional History of Two *Vinaya*s," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 17, no. 2 (1994): 164. For further references to the relevant secondary literature and Sanskrit dictionaries, see Schmiedchen in this volume, pp. 81–82.

> he has disposal of the village of Añjatan along with the paddy fields which are land of the Aṅin-aṅin group. Therefore the reverend of Tinakər offers 5 *suvarṇa* and […] *māṣa* of gold …[111]

On the whole, it is striking how much more this inscription, as well as the Bimalasrama charter discussed above, make use of recognizably Buddhist Sanskrit terminology in describing the two foundations, than what we have seen during earlier periods. We do not, alas, learn anything that would help us understand what difference from the word *vihāra* is implied, if any, by the use of the term *kuṭi*. Nor do we get any explicit statement as to the beneficiary's monastic status, but it seems reasonable to assume that he not only practiced worship in the *kuṭi*, but also resided there as a member of the *saṅgha*.

10. Lists of types of religious establishments

Besides in the contexts of inscriptions mentioning foundations of the type surveyed in §3 through §9, or in the context of specifying the identity of certain individuals that I have identified as a special feature of the early-10th-century inscriptions (§6), the terms *kuṭi* and *vihāra* that have occupied us so far occur also in other contexts, namely in the rather numerous lists (alluded to already in §6 above) of categories of religious foundations that we encounter both in epigraphic context and in other sources. Without aiming for exhaustivity, the following overview captures the most extensive examples of such lists found in the epigraphic records of Java and Bali:[112]

Bali, Petung charter (917 CE),[113] 1v5:

> *bukit hyaṅ* ***vihara*** *śīma, śāla, siluṅluṅ, kakluṅan, paṅulumbigyan,*

Java, Kamalagyan charter (1037 CE), A8–9 and A18–19:

> *mvaṁ punarjīvani bhuktyan* ***saṁ hyaṁ sarvvadharmma,*** *sīma para-sīma, kalaṁ kalagyan· thāni jumput·,* ***vihāra****, śāla, kamŭlān·, parhyaṅan·, para-*

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[111] Lines 4r11–2: *meṅət pva mpuṁku I tinakər· ryy ātiśayani kavaṅunan· saṁ hyaṁ buddhaśāśana de śrī mahārāja, ri huvus· mpuṁku I tinakər· pinadamlakan· śrī mahārāja kuṭi riṅ am(ṛ)tamaṅgala, Andəlanani buddha-prativimba-namaskāra mpu(ṁ)ku I tinakər·, makabhuktyan· Ikanaṁ vanva riṅ añjatan·, lāvan ikanaṁ savaḥ lmaḥ kāṅin-aṅinan· mataṁnyan· paṁhaturakən· mpuṁku I tinakər· mā su 5 mā.*

[112] Since I am focusing here on these passages as consisting of or containing lists of terms, I refrain from adding translations.

[113] Goris, *Inscripties voor Anak Wungçu*, vol. I, no. 102 (Babahan I).

patapān· kabeḥ, makatəvəka paṁḍiri śrī mahārāja makaḍatvan· I kahuripan·, An sira sākṣāt· sumiram ikīṁ rāt· kabeḥ riṅ anurāgāmṛta

Bali, Banyu Rara I charter (1072 CE),[114] 2v2–3:
lmahniṅ almah lmah iṅ śīma, śāla, hyaṅ, ***vihāra****, patapān, siluṅluṅ, kakluṅan, kamūlan paṅulumbigyan, padmak, sāmbasāmbaran lmah padmak salvīrani makalmah ya,*

Java, Mula-Malurung charter (1255 CE), 5v3–5:
rumākṣaṁ ***sarvvadharmma****, mūnarjīvakən sahananiṁ dharmma parikṣīṇa, tan paveḥ ryy abhicarukaniṁ lmaḥ bala, lāvan sahananiṁ sīma para-sīma, kalaṁ, kalagyan·, kamūlan·, kakurugan·,* ***kuṭi vihāra****, śāla, parhyaṅan·, karṣyan·, Umaluyakən· pūrvvasthitinya juga sira.*

Java, Warunggahan charter (1305 CE), 6r4–6 and 8r3–5:
munarjjīva⟨(,)⟩knaṁ dharmma jīrṇṇa, mvaṁ vṛddhyaniṁ yaśa pagəhan i jagaddhita, mvaṁ ri sthirāni sīma grāma kalaṁ kalāgyan kamŭlan kaputrāṅśan, makādi dharmma ***kūṭi vihāra*** *śāla p⟨(r)⟩arhyaṅan* ***sarvvadharmma****-jīrṇṇodăra bhuvana-kalaṅka-nāśana-mahākāraṇa-sthăpita, Inahākən de bhaṭāra paramakāraṇa sumapvana kalikalaṅkāniṁ bhuvana, munarjjīvaknaṁ* ***sarvvadharmma****, rumakṣa ri saṁ sādhujana, magəhaknaṁ jagaddhita, maṅkanā pva gati śrī mahārāja,*

It is noteworthy that that we do not have a single such list in the records of Balitung and Sindok; that two of the three earliest such lists occur in inscriptions from Bali,[115] whereas we do not have a single foundation inscription for a *vihāra* from Bali; that the items from Java are all found in inscriptions which praise the king as protecting "all foundations" (*sarvadharma*); that such lists always mix Sanskrit with Old Javanese terms, without ever including the Sanskrit terms *āśrama* "hermitage" and *maṭha* "cloister" that might be expected in such a context; that the Old Javanese term *kabikvan/kavikvan* "monastery (lit. mendicants' place)"—common in the 9th and 10th centuries (inscriptions of the reigns of Lokapala, Balitung, Daksa and Sindok)—never figures in such epigraphic lists (unless we count the phrase cited in n. 44) and never appears epigraphically at all after the 10th century; and that the combination *kuṭi vihāra* only starts to appear in the 13th century.[116]

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[114] P. V. van Stein Callenfels, *Epigraphica Balica I* (Batavia: Kolff & Co., 1926), 60–62.

[115] In the glossary to his work on Balinese inscriptions, R. Goris indicates that the term *vihāra* frequently occurs in such lists and cites a total of five examples. See Goris, *Inscripties voor Anak Wungçu*, vol. II, 334–335.

[116] Beyond the strictly epigraphic domain, I am aware of what seems to be a comparable list in some unpublished Balinese *śāsana* manuscripts, where the terms *āśrama* and *kavikvan* do occur. A *saṁ hyaṁ maṇḍala kabhikṣon*, clearly of Śaiva affiliation, figures in the 12th-c. Kertajaya inscription, line 5.

As said, comparable lists also appear outside of the epigraphic context. Examples include both Buddhist and non-Buddhist texts in Old Javanese transmitted on Bali and Java. Among the first, there is the opening passage of the *Advayasādhana*, which is remarkable in our context also for the reason that it is among the very few Javano-Balinese sources that mention monks' paraphernalia.[117] The textual transmission of this passage is alas confusing, and the relevant scholarship has barely begun to resolve the numerous problems. Under the circumstances, I can do no better than to cite an amalgam of the two witnesses that have been transcribed for this passage by Kats, with some minor emendations in order to obtain a text that can be translated:

> *nihan saṅ hyaṅ kamahāyānikan ya varahakənamami ri kitaṅ tathāgatakula jinaputra, ādikarmika saṅ hyaṅ mahāyāna, ya ta varahakənamami ri kita. tamolah ta kitāmaṅun patapan iṅ vukir, gihā, sāgaratīra, sīma uṅgvan,* ***kuṭi, vihāra****, dharma, alas salviranya, pahayu ta saṅ hyaṅ pahoman, uṅgvan iṅ asamādhi, pasajyan, paṅarcanan, gṛhaśūnya ta ya paṅabhyāsananta ri saṅ hyaṅ samaya, paṅhanakən kambe, pataraṇa, surāga, asiṅ amaṅinakana riṅ manahta.* […]
>
> *saṅkṣepanya: pahayu ta juga śarīranta, āpan hayuni śarīra nimittaniṅ katəmvaniṅ sukha, sukha nimittani katəmvaniṅ manah apagəh, manah apagəh nimittani dadini samādhi, samādhi nimittaniṅ katəmvaniṅ kamokṣan. mahayu pva śarīranta, maparagya kita nivāsana, makaṭivandha, macīvara sopacāra, anaṇḍaṅa valuh, arəgəpa kekari. yan buddharṣi kita, madaluvaṅa, masampəta, mabhasmacandana, mavīja sopacāra. upāsaka kunaṅ kita, …*[118]

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[117] The 1910 publication by J. Kats assembled under the title *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* two texts edited on the basis of three manuscripts. The first of these texts, which is built up of Sanskrit stanzas known from early Indian scriptures of the *Yogatantra* class, with Old Javanese paraphrase, has drawn far more scholarly attention than the second, whose Sanskrit stanzas are not known from Indian sources. Lokesh Chandra has shown that the title *Advayasādhana*, which the second work bears in one of the manuscripts, is probably original. The recent publication by Hudaya Kandahjaya mentions Lokesh Chandra's work only in passing, but otherwise seems to ignore it. See J. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: Oud-Javaansche tekst met inleiding, vertaling en aanteekeningen* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1910); Lokesh Chandra, "Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan," in *Cultural Horizons of India*, Vol. 4 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1995); Hudaya Kandahjaya, "A Preliminary Study and Provisional Translation of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*," *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies* Third Series 20 (2018).

[118] The first paragraph follows Kats' C, I skip the second paragraph, while the third follows A. Emendations: *ādikarmika* for Kats *adhikarmika* (as proposed by

> As follows is the holy Kamahāyānikan. It will be taught by us to you, O son of the Jina of the Tathāgata family. What pertains to the prime rites (*ādikarmika*) of the holy Mahāyāna, it will be taught by us to you. You should constantly build hermitages on mountains, in caves, on the seashore, in *sīma*s that harbor a *kuṭi*, a *vihāra*, a foundation, [or] in any kind of forest. You must respect the holy places for *homa* (offerings), that harbor people in state of absorptions; places for *saji* (offering); places for (image) worship. Empty dwellings shall be the places for you to practice the holy pledge. Make sure you have a bed, a mat, a rug, anything that will set your mind at ease. […]
>
> In short, do respect your body. For the well-being of the body gives cause to the obtainment of bliss. Bliss gives cause to the obtainment of a steady mind. A steady mind gives cause to the success of absorption. Absorption gives cause to the obtainment of release. If you respect your body, you will be equipped with a garment, wear a girdle, wear a robe as per regulation, carry a gourd, hold a staff (*kekari*) in hand. If you are a Buddha-Ṛṣi, you will ware bark cloth, will wear a sash, will wear (marks of) ash and sandal (paste), will use *bīja*s as per regulation. But if you are a lay follower, …

Beyond the small corpus of Buddhist texts transmitted in Old Javanese, we find further lists in texts like the *Agastyaparva* and the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu*.

Agastyaparva 355.25–26

> *vineh matəmahan kuśala,* ***vihāra****, paryaṅan, patani, pancuran, talāga, ityevamādi, ya tika kīrti ṅaranya*.
>
> The fact that pious foundations (*kuśala*), monasteries, sanctuaries, pavilions, fountains, pools, etc. are ordered to come into existence: those are what are called meritorious works.

Agastyaparva 397.14–15

> *vənaṅāgave* ***vihāra****, śālā, paryaṅan,* ***kuṭi****, patapan, ityevamādi*.
>
> Shall be entitled to found a monastery, a hospice, a sanctuary, a *kuṭi*, a hermitage, etc.

Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu 60.4[119]

> *apa ta katuduhaniṅ gavay saṅ manon ri sakala, ri sədaṅnyan rakut ikiṅ bhuvana śārīra samaṅke, nyaṅ aji kāvya sāṅkhya prakaraṇa kalpa purāṇa nyāya viniścaya chanda gaṇita, ṅuniveh tāṅgəlar pūja dhyāna samādhi,*

Lokesh Candra, "Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan," 344 n. 2); *sīma uṅgvan* for *oma uṅgvan*; *amaṅinakana* for *amaṅkenakana*.

[119] Cf. Undang Ahmad Darsa, "Sang Hyang Hayu: Kajian filologi naskah bahasa Jawa Kuno di Sunda pada abad XVI" (Magister thesis, Bandung, Universitas Padjadjaran, 1998), 240.

> *mvaṅ paṭṭa liṅga liṅgir pratimā bimba,* ***vihāra*** *śāla kamūlān, parhyaṅan, cetya caṇḍi prasāda stūpa, nahan sakvehniṅ gavay saṅ manon ri sakala kabeh.*
>
> What are the visible aspects of the activities of the Spectator in the manifest, while he is involved in the physical world like this? Here: treatises on poetry, Sāṅkhya, grammar, ritual, mythology, logic, epistemology, meter, mathematics; moreover, he performs worship, meditation, absorption. And [he produces] drawings, *liṅga*s, carvings (*liṅgir* = *liṅir*), statues, images, *vihāra*s, hospices, *kamūlān*s, sanctuaries, *caitya*s, *caṇḍi*s, towers, *stūpa*s. Such are all the works of the Spectator in the manifest.

Most of the observations made above with regard to the epigraphic lists apply also here, the absence of the term *kavikvan* again being particularly striking, and the juxtaposition *kuṭi vihāra* figuring only once, in a text that cannot be dated with any precision.

From the combined epigraphic and non-epigraphic evidence, we gather that both *kuṭi* and *vihāra* were among the most typical examples of religious establishments in the Javanese and Balinese landscapes, and that authors had a certain proclivity for mentioning them in immediate juxtaposition, although *vihāra* was clearly the more common of the two. The terms *kuṭi* and *vihāra* represent Buddhism in such lists, while other Buddhist establishments such as *caitya*s and *stūpa*s figure only rarely in any context, both in inscriptions and in the literary corpus. In his article published in 1937, F. H. van Naerssen was the first scholar to analyze how pairs of terms found in Old Javanese sources map onto various religious identities.[120] He noted the tripartite classification that is made in a stanza from the 14th-century chronicle called *Deśavarṇana* (75.2, see Appendix B). And he found this confirmed in two stanzas from the court poem *Arjunavijaya*, also composed in the 14th-century, which clearly uses the term *viku* as applicable to men of diverse religious persuasions:

> Still, I do not wish that this be the only goal you set yourself: do not only build new temple-complexes (*dharma*), but maintain existing ones as well; make every effort to ensure that the common people do not intrude, so that the mendicants (*viku*) may prosper [without hindrance]. In the areas set aside for the Buddhists, it is the Buddhists who should be given [Buddhist] temple-complexes (*dharma*), cloister-halls (*kuṭi-kuṭi ləpas*) and *kaṣadpadan* (?);
> In the areas set aside for the Śaivas, it is Śaivas who should be given alms (*tasyan*) and allocated possession of excellent *kalagyan*; in the areas set aside for the Ṛṣis, it is anchorites who should be given that which is worthy for the hermitages, for it is indeed forbidden for you to make a mistake in

[120] Van Naerssen, "Twee koperen oorkonden," 452–455.

> this respect; even if you are powerful, be careful Your Majesty, for if you do, you will surely fall into distress.[121]

Comparing the classification presented in these relatively late literary sources with a variety of inscriptions from the 10th and the 11th centuries, Van Naerssen was able to confirm even for that period that the three main religious affiliations acknowledged in early Javanese sources, namely that of the Buddhists, that of the Śaivas and that of a less well-known ascetic group called Ṛṣis, can be mapped as follows onto some of the terms that we have encountered in the lists above:

Buddhists	*kuṭi*	*vihāra*
Śaivas	*parhyaṅan*	*kalagyan*
Ṛṣis	*āśrama*	*patapan*

This mapping represented an important step that has still not been significantly surpassed in the scholarship on the history of religion in early Java. But it leaves many questions unanswered, for instance about how these six terms relate to other terms commonly figuring in lists; about the structure of such lists and why certain terms, like *āśrama*, are absent from them while they do occur in other contexts. Especially relevant in our context is the unanswered question as to the differences, if any, between the respective terms, notably between *kuṭi* and *vihāra*.

Although the mentioned *Deśavarṇana* does not help to solve this problem, it does add important information concerning their classification, while listing all *kuṭi*s and *vihāra*s of Java and Bali, namely that some were bound by *vinaya* rules (*kavinayan*) while others were Tantric (*kabajradharan*), implying that their residents were not bound by such rules. And it adds a third category, called *kaboddhāṅśan*, whose significance remains obscure. It is particularly fascinating that some of the toponyms that we have encountered in the epigraphic sources are among the Buddhist establishments listed by the *Deśavarṇana* under

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[121] *Arjunavijaya* 30.1–2: *nda hayva juga maṅkaneki kaharəpkv iri kita pinakeṣṭiniṅ hati: ndatan panuka dharma kevala, tikaṅ huvus iki pahajəṅ nareśvara; kitāmriha ri denya tan kaparahe para, taləra subhuktya saṅ viku. kabauddhan ika bauddha saṅ suṅana dharma kuṭi-kuṭi ləpas kaṣadpadan,* /1/ *kaśaivan ika śaiva saṅ suṅana tasyan aṅalapa kalagyan uttama, kaṛṣyan ika valkalīka sira saṅ suṅana saphala riṅ vanāśrama, apan hila-hileki rakva, yadiyan salaha para təkap nareśvara; pitovi daṭəṅeṅ mahābala, taha prabhu, niyata təkeṅ upadrava* /2/. The translation is that by Supomo Suryohudoyo, with adaptations (notably for *viku*, which he translated as "priests," and *tasyan*, which he left untranslated). See the list of transmitted sources.

these headings. I refer to Appendix B for extensive citation of the relevant stanzas.

11. Monks, priests and the *saṅgha*

In the sources surveyed, we have found only few instances of the use of the terms *bhikṣu* or *viku*, duly emphasized on the rare occasions that they did occur. The material has been less meager with regard to other labels for roles occupied by Buddhist dignitaries in relation to monastic institutions. The richest source, in this regard, is the Wanua Tengah III charter, which identifies the following roles: *upādhyāya*, *ācārya* (and *ācārya paṅajyan*), *pañcavāraka*, *patati* and *vandāmi*. Each of these terms turns out to be revealing in some way of the local or translocal history of Buddhism.

The term *upādhyāya* is sometimes used in Old Javanese sources to designate "teachers" regardless of the religious context, but its epigraphical usage is limited to Buddhist preceptors. Besides in Wanua Tengah III, we have seen the term used in the Masahar, Anjuk Ladang and Hering charters, in most cases in direct connection with a monastery. It also occurs in a number of inscriptions of Bali, always in a Buddhist context.[122]

While the term *ācārya* is of general usage in Old Javanese sources, and applied indiscriminately to both Buddhist and Śaiva masters, it is part of the ecclesiastic terminology of Buddhism that was inherited on Java from India. The term *ācārya paṅajyan*, which I have translated as "master for scriptural study," occurs only in the Wanua Tengah III charter, though the expression *guru paṅajyan*, found in the Kancana charter (see n. 88), is probably synonymous. This role may be identifiable with that of the *pāṭhācārya* known in some Indian sources.[123]

The term *pañcavāra* occurs only in the Tengah III charter (1v11–12), in Old Javanese context, the corresponding Sanskrit term being *pañcavāraka* in stanza II, with a *-ka* suffix used *metri causa*. The term never occurs elsewhere in Old Javanese sources. Although the exact same term *pañcavāra* does occur in South Indian inscriptions in Tamil, it is without any connection to Buddhism there and the term does not

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[122] See J. A. Silk, *Managing Monks: Administrators and Administrative Roles in Indian Buddhist Monasticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 65–68 (glossing "preceptor"); Goris, *Inscripties voor Anak Wungçu*, vol. II, 330.

[123] See Silk, *Managing Monks*, 65–68 (glossing *ācārya* as "sponsoring instructor" and *pāṭhācārya* as "reading teacher").

in Tamil designate any person.[124] For this reason, it seems more plausible to connect the Old Javanese use of *pañcavāra* to some of the numerous terms ending in *-vārika* figuring in Indian Buddhist sources.[125] In this connection, it may also be relevant that *pañcavāra* is otherwise attested on Java as term for a 5-day cycle that is used in Javanese dates to interlock with 6-day and 7-day cycles (*ṣaḍvāra*, *saptavāra*) and form a larger cycle of 210 days, as illustrated in some examples above. In this usage, *vāra* clearly means "day," and so I am tempted to understand the Javanese term *pañcavāra*, when designating a clergyman, as short for *pañcavāra-vārika*, which would make it analogous to terms such as *māsa-vārika*, *pakṣa-varika*, *daśāha-vārika* and especially *pañcāha-vārika* discussed by Silk, who imagines the individuals thus designated as charged with "temporary assignments."[126]

The word *partati* is used in stanza II of the Wanua Tengah III charter as a pseudo-Sanskrit equivalent of the Old Javanese expression *patati vandāmi* that we encounter in 1v11. The word *patati* itself is not found elsewhere in any Javanese source, except in the closing section of the same charter, where we see several individuals holding the function *patati* appear among the clergymen present at the foundation ritual for the *sīma* of the *vihāra* at Pikatan (2v12–15). From the sequence in which these individuals are listed, and from the decreasing value of the gifts allotted to them, we can infer that the *patati* must have been subordinate to the more recognizable functions called *upādhyāya* and *ācārya*. Since there is no plausible derivation in terms of Javanese morphology that I can see, I presume that *patati* is a localized spelling of the Sanskrit verb form *paṭhati* meaning "he studies." By contrast with *patati*, the word *vandāmi*, transparently a borrowing from the Sanskrit verb form meaning "I venerate," is found in a few other inscriptions, both from Java and from Bali, and generally in a context that is clearly Buddhist. Both *patati* and *vandāmi* function as nouns in

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[124] See K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, "A Note on the Panchavara Committee," *Epigraphia Indica* 23, no. 4 (1935–1936): 22–28; Y. Subbarayalu, *South India under the Cholas* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012), ch. 5 "Interpreting Inscriptional Terminology," 64–65.

[125] See Silk, *Managing Monks*, 101–125 (using "manager" as a general gloss for *vārika*).

[126] See Silk, *Managing Monks*, 117–118. Whereas Silk was noncommittal on their derivational background, O. von Hinüber has shown that the *vārika* terms originate as derivatives from in compounds ending in *vāra* and expressing durations of time. See O. von Hinüber, "Buddhistische Mönche als Verwalter ihrer Klöster: Die Entstehung des Begriffs „vārika" in der Tradition der Theravādins," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 162 (2012): 373–389.

Old Javanese, and thus seem to belong to the same type of loanword as *affidavit* and *deficit* in English (nouns originating in conjugated forms of the Latin verbs *affidare* and *deficere*).

I have cited above the passage from the Hering charter which mentions a *mandami* in connection with a group of clergymen called *ḍopāddhya* (truncated for *ḍaṅ upādhyāya*) and suggested that this is a variant spelling of *vandāmi*. Among several occurrences in the Buddhist epigraphy of Bali, let me cite a text dated to 915 Śaka (993 CE), formulated in Old Balinese, which contains this passage:

> *makādi mpuṅku sogata māheśvara […] mpuṅku di kasogatan ida di caṅgini ḍaṅ upādhyayā sudhar, mpuṅku di bajraśikra(ra) ḍaṅ upādhyaya muni, mpuṅku di nalənda ḍaṅ upādhyāya dhanavan, samgat maṅire-ṅiren vandami śrenika*
>
> to begin with the venerable Buddhist and Śaivas […] the venerables at the Buddhist establishments, his honor at Caṅgiṇi, the preceptor Sudhar; the venerable Bajraśikhara, the preceptor Muni; the venerable at Nalanda, the preceptor Dhanavan; the official who gives counsel, the *vandāmi* Śrenika.[127]

Comparable passages, using the same technical terms, abounding in names that have a strong Buddhist connotation, and implying that the *vandāmi* held a lower rank than the *upādhyāya*, are not rare in the epigraphy of this island, irrespective of whether the linguistic context is Old Balinese or Old Javanese.[128] The only other source using the term *vandāmi* is a charter from Central Java, dating to around 919 CE, where a Buddhist connection is not transparent but may, in the light of the evidence presented so far, presumably be inferred.[129] Goris already explained the word with reference to the Sanskrit verb form *vandāmi*, suggesting that the function designated by it was that of a spokesperson in court and comparing it to the much more common Old Javanese term *parujar* ("spokesperson," from *ujar*, "to speak").[130] But the fact that the Wanua Tengah III uses both terms with a clear difference of distribution (*parujar* never being used for clergymen) reduces the force of this comparison. The fact that the Sanskrit word *vandāmi* was

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[127] Goris, *Inscripties voor Anak Wungçu*, vol. I, no. 302, 4v5 and 5r4–5.

[128] *Ibid*., no. 209 (5v2–3), 303 (4r11–5r1 and 5r5–6), 355 (2r5–10), 356 (lines 4–7).

[129] Wintang Mas II (1r6) *vandāmi valeṁ vineḥ vḍihan· hlai 1* "The *vandāmi* of Valeṅ was given 1 sheet of cloth."

[130] Goris, *Inscripties voor Anak Wungçu*, vol. II, 332. By contrast, Damais, *Répertoire onomastique*, 573, suggested about this word that it could be analyzed in terms of Javanese morphology as *wa-nda-āmi*, but he has not explained what the resulting meaning would be. This hypothesis frankly seems farfetched.

borrowed into local languages and used in specifically Buddhist contexts on Java and Bali may, I imagine, be related to the rather common designation of individuals with other forms derived from the verb *vand* in the Indian Buddhist context.[131]

Compared to the terms reviewed so far, the vocabulary items that we are most eagerly looking for, namely *bhikṣu* and *saṅgha*, are remarkable for their rarity in the Indonesian sources relevant to Buddhism. We have encountered Buddhist mendicants called *bhikṣu* only in the Kalasan inscription. Indeed, in Indonesian epigraphy the term *bhikṣu* seems to be more commonly used to designate Śaiva mendicants than Buddhist ones.[132] Beyond the epigraphic context, the word *bhikṣu* figures in Old Javanese works quite commonly to designate Śaiva mendicants, while its application to their Buddhist peers is limited to a massive literary work of explicitly Buddhist inspiration, the *Sutasoma*, and to the aforementioned chronicle written by a Buddhist author, the *Deśavarṇana*. On the other hand, we have seen above at least two cases (the Bimalasrama charter and the *kakavin Arjunavijaya*) where the Javanese term *viku*, normally applicable to Śaivas, is used to designate Buddhists. Analogously, the term *saṅgha*, quite commonly used in Old Javanese in its generic senses ("collection, heap, mass, quantity, multitude, host"), occurs much more rarely in its specifically Buddhist sense.[133] Although it seems possible that it does, it is unclear whether the derived form *kasāṅghikan* in *Deśavarṇana* 78.6 (see Appendix B) applies to Buddhist establishments. But when the word *saṅgha* occurs in inscriptions, it is only in the Buddhist context. I have pointed out epigraphic occurrences in the Kalasan, Wanua Tengah III and Anjatan charters from Java, to which I am not able to add

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[131] On the use of the term *caityavandaka* as "the designation of a specific category of itinerant monk" in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *vinaya*, see G. Schopen, "The Lay Ownership of Monasteries and the Role of the Monk in Mūlasarvāstivādin Monasticism," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 19, no. 1 (1996): 93 n. 31.

[132] Besides the Śaiva *bhikṣusaṅgha* in an 8th/9th-c. Sanskrit inscription from Java, discussed in A. Griffiths, "The Sanskrit inscription of Śaṅkara," esp. 14–16, early inscriptions from the island of Bali likewise use *bhikṣu* without any detectable connection to Buddhism. Whenever the religious affiliation of an individual designated as *bhikṣu* is transparent from his Sanskrit name in the Balinese epigraphic record, the affiliation is Śaiva rather than Buddhist. See Goris, *Inscripties voor Anak Wungçu*, vol. II, 225.

[133] Thus, for instance, in the *Advayasādhana*: *sira ta katiga bhaṭāra ratnatraya ṅaranira, sira sinaṅguh buddha, dharma, saṅgha* "These three are called *bhaṭāra* Ratnatraya. They are Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha." See Lokesh Chandra, "Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan," 411–412.

any examples from Bali. The absence of the term *saṅgha* in Balinese inscriptions may be connected with the fact that the Balinese corpus is generally uninformative about *vihāra*s, beyond the occurrence of the term in lists of the type presented in §10 and exceedingly rare occurrences in other contexts.[134]

12. Conclusions

The history of Buddhist monasticism in Indonesia, and particularly on the island of Java, covers a period of several centuries, for which there is generally only limited source material, although there are some relative peaks of information in the 8th, 10th, 11th and 14th centuries. While the epigraphic evidence mainly concerns the 8th–11th-century period, evidence from literary works casts light on the latter-day history of Buddhist monastic establishments on Java and Bali.

By contrast with some other parts of Buddhist Asia represented in this volume, we have not seen any evidence for the existence of establishments called *mahāvihāra* in Indonesian sources, no mention of monastic lineages (*nikāya*), no evidence for the existences of nuns (*bhikṣuṇī*) and their convents.[135] By contrast with Java, we have found much less epigraphic evidence for *vihāra*s on Bali, although there is reason to believe that Buddhist monasteries were established also on that island. This evidence comes from the *Deśavarṇana* (80.1, see Appendix B), a chronicle composed in the *kakavin* form in the 14th century, which makes a distinction between *vinaya*-bound establishments

[134] In the glossary to his work on Balinese inscriptions, R. Goris indicates that the "*vihāra* of *Bahuṅ*" known from *Deśavarṇana* 80.1 (see Appendix B) also occurs in the inscription numbered 552 in his system (which was unpublished at the time), while the inscription numbered 1003 (likewise unpublished at the time) mentions a *vihāra* of Bukkhul. The PhD dissertation by I Gde Semadi Astra contains transcriptions but no translations of both inscriptions, the second here being numbered 560. It seems that we do not learn more than that there was a *vihāra* in a place called Bahuṅ (no. 552, 10r1), another one in a place called Bukkhul (no. 560 = 1003, 4r5) and that the latter was endowed with a dry rice field (*parlak*). See Goris, *Inscripties voor Anak Wungçu*, vol. II, 335; I Gde Semadi Astra, "Birokrasi pemerintahan Bali kuno abad XII-XIII: Sebuah kajian epigrafis" (PhD diss., Yogyakarta, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1997), 410, 431.

[135] Despite the existence of the term *kili* "female wiku, nun, anchoress," that is of rather common occurrence in Old Javanese literary sources, implying that women mendicants were not rare in early Java. See H. Creese, *Women of the Kakawin World: Marriage and Sexuality in the Indic Courts of Java and Bali* (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2004; reprint Routlegde 2015). Despite extensive discussion of female renunciants, this work does not mention a single Buddhist nun.

(*kavinayan*) and Tantric ones (*kabajradharan*), the latter implying occupants not bound by rules of celibacy.[136] It is tempting to read this distinction also into the epigraphic evidence from earlier periods, certain *vihāra*s obviously being associated with married clergymen figuring in inscriptions which also make mention of the worship of Tantric deities. If we ask whether the distinction between *kuṭi* and *vihāra* might be interpreted in the same light, the answer must be negative. In the present state of our knowledge, it does not seem possible to say more than that the term *kuṭi* could mean "cell," that a *kuṭi* could be converted into a *vihāra*, suggesting that the *kuṭi* could be a simpler or less formalized configuration than a *vihāra*, but that *kuṭi* also seems to be used as synonym for *vihāra*. The 11th-century Anjatan charter, one of the rare sources which mentions a *saṅgha*, free of any indicators of Tantric Buddhism, concerns an institution called Amṛtamaṅgala that is repeatedly said to be a *kuṭi* and not a *vihāra*. This text is also one of the last pieces of epigraphic evidence for royal patronage of Buddhist monasticism. It is unclear whether absence of epigraphic evidence for royal patronage of such institutions after the reign of Airlangga in East Java in the second half of the 11th century indicates a real change in patronage patterns, because the *Deśavarṇana* suggests that such institutions still, or once again, enjoyed royal patronage. In this regard, we have noticed that *kuṭi*s and *vihāra*s figure in the list of religious establishments that are a special feature for the epigraphy of the 11th–14th-century period and mirror the appearance of similar lists in roughly the same period in the epigraphy of Campā.[137]

On Java, it was obviously common for monasteries to be identified not by their name but by the name of the place where they were located. Nevertheless, some proper monastery names are preserved in the epigraphic record; all are Sanskrit names, and one notes among them a predilection for names with Amṛta (Amṛtamaṅgala, Śobhā-

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[136] H. Kern, the first translator of the *Deśavarṇana* and pioneer in the study of Indian Buddhism, already interpreted the term *kabajradharan* with reference to monastic practices among the Newars of Nepal. See H. Kern and N. J. Krom, *Het oud-javaansche lofdicht Nāgarakṛtāgama van Prapañca (1365 A.D.)* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1919), 175 (my translation from the Dutch): "*kabajradharan* indicates adepts of the Tantric Varjayāna, usually called *vajrācārya* in Nepal and Tibet. These are married, and therefore not monks, and form the class of worldly priests." For more on celibate vs. non-celibate monks in Newar Buddhism, see D. N. Gellner, *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest: Newar Buddhism and Its Hierarchy of Ritual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 22.

[137] See the contribution by Griffiths, Pichon, and Southworth in this volume (pp. 303–304).

mr̥ta), apparently confirmed by the Amr̥tasabhā in *Deśavarṇana* 77.1, which is reminiscent of the Jayāmr̥ta of the Anjuk Ladang charter, although that institution was not a monastery.

In terms of the economic resources allowing Buddhist monasteries to function in early Java, the inscriptions use the same terminology and thus imply the same fiscal regime as in charters issued to support institutions of other religious affiliation. In this respect, the situation of Buddhist monasticism as only one among several traditions in a diverse religious and institutional landscape makes Java and Bali comparable to the scenarios described in this volume for Gujarat, Bengal, Cambodia and Campā, while the socio-economic and legal contexts were quite different in Burma.

Appendix A. The Wanua Tengah III charter in translation

This appendix is intended to support the numerous references to this charter in the body of the article and to furnish an example of an extensive Javanese charter. It is also intended to illustrate the challenges of exploiting such documents for historical research. One of the challenges is the great number of terms whose meanings are not well understood or not understood at all, and the plethora of proper names and toponyms that any longer text contains. I have kept lexical analysis to a minimum and generally refrained from commenting on the words left untranslated. These are all technical terms, in most cases of frequent occurrence in the Old Javanese epigraphic corpus, and their meanings are all poorly understood, or not understood at all. The numerous precise Śaka dates contained in this charter have all been converted to their CE equivalents in an article by Trigangga and checked here with the *HIC* software.[138]

(1v1) There once was the one called the deified ancestor at Hāra, younger brother of the deified ancestor at Mḍaṅ. He founded the monastery (*vihāra*) at Pikatan *tutuganniṅ taṇḍa*.[139]

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[138] Trigangga, "Analisis pertanggalan Prasasti Wanua Tengah III," *Berkala Arkeologi (Yogyakarta)* 14 (1994): 22–26; Lars Gislén and J. C. Eade, *HIC*, version 2.0, 2007, http://home.thep.lu.se/~larsg/Site/download.html.

[139] The meaning of the expression *tutuganniṅ taṇḍa*, appearing at least six times in Old Javanese epigraphy, has not been adequately discussed in scholarship so far. It literally seems to mean something like "the engraving of the sign" or "up to the limit of the sign." The fact that this expression generally follows a toponym suggests that it qualifies that toponymic reference somehow. An intuitive interpretation is that the word *taṇḍa* refers to the boundaries (or boundary markers) of

(1v2–4) In Śaka 668, month Aśuji, fifteenth, waxing, Paniruan, Pahiṅ, Tuesday (i.e., on 4 October 746 CE), did the Lord of Panaṅkaran ascend the throne. He endowed the royal paddy field that was *lān*[140] in Vanua Tṅah, district of Pikatan, to the monastery at Pikatan. The extent of the paddy field from east to west on the north side (*lambyan*) is 182 *sihvā* fathoms; from east to west on the south side it is 162 *sihvā* fathoms; from north to south on the east side it is 160 *sihvā* fathoms; from south to north on the west side it is 162 *sihvā* fathoms. Its seed is 3 *tū*.[141]

(1v4) In Śaka 706, month of Caitra, tenth, waxing, Paniruan, Kalivuan, Saturday (i.e., on 6 March 784 CE), did the Lord of Panaraban ascend the throne. The (status of the) *lān* paddy field in Vanua Tṅah was not disturbed insofar as it was included in [the endowment of] the monastery at Pikatan.

(1v4–5) In Śaka 725, month of Caitra, sixth, waxing, Paniruan, Umanis, Friday (i.e., on 3 March 803 CE), did the Lord of Varak, *dyah* Manara, ascend the throne. He withdrew the *sīma* (stones and/or status). The Lord of Varak, he who rests at Kailāsa, died.

(**1v5–6)** In Śaka 749, month of Śravaṇa, fourteenth, waning, Vas, Pahiṅ, Friday (i.e., on 26 July 827 CE), did *dyah* Gula ascend the throne. The (status of the) *sīma* under the monastery at Pikatan did not change further.

(**1v6–7)** In Śaka 750, month of Māgha, second, waxing, Paniruan (correct: Vās), Umanis, Sunday (i.e., on 10 January 829 CE), did the Lord of Garuṅ, child of him who rests at Tūk, ascend the throne. He restored the paddy field as a *sīma* under the monastery at Pikatan.

(**1v7–12)** Hail! Elapsed Śaka year 751, month of Mārgaśira, fourteenth (correct: fourth) *tithi* of the waxing fortnight, Vurukuṅ, Vagai,

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the village territory. A similar connection between the concept of boundary and mark is found in the Old English word *mearc*, whence the words "mark" and "march."

[140] The meaning of this term is unknown. If it may be connected with Modern Javanese *laha* and *lahan* "empty, fruitless, useless," then the meaning might be "fallow," but this will leave open the question what the word would mean in Anjuk Ladang (A12) *magavai mā 4 madṛvya haji lān mās su 12 i satahun-satahun*.

[141] On the rare terms *ḍpa sihvā* and *tū*, see J. Wisseman Christie, "Weights and Measures in Early Javanese States," in *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1996: Proceedings of the 6th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Leiden, 2–6 September 1996*, ed. M. J. Klokke and T. de Bruijn (Hull: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, 1998), 150.

Thursday (i.e., on 4 November 829 CE). That was when the Great King, Lord of Garuṅ, restored the royal paddy field that was *lān* in Vanua Tṅah as a *sīma* of the monastery at Pikatan, which had been withdrawn by the Great King who rests at Kailāsa.

The counselors (*patih*) [present] at that time: [the one of] Vka was *pu* Taṅgal; [the one of] Sirikan was *pu* Sūrya; [the one of] Pikatan was *pu* Pañculiṅ. The one of Vatu Humalaṅ was in charge of the monastery. The master (*ḍaṅ ācārya*) Devendra had knowledge (of the matter). Those who also received the order from the Great King to restore the paddy field to the monastery at Pikatan were the *vahuta*s [and] the *makudur*s at Vka, at Sirikan, at Palar Hyaṅ, at Halaran, at Vlahan, at Jalinan,[142] at Paṅkur, at Tavān, at Tirip, at Lampi, at Vatu Humalaṅ, at Pikatan, at Mamrati, at Tilimpik, at Tiruan, at Maṅhuri. The counselors at Pikatan were: the one of Vanua Tṅah (named) *pu* Culiṅ; the one of Tuṅgal Aṅin (named) *pu* Ra Mvat; the one of Lekan (named) *pu* Glam; the one of Ra Gunuṅ (named) *pu* Intap; the one of Samalagi (named) *pu* Talisū; the master for scriptural study (*ḍaṅ ācārya paṅajyan*) at Pikatan (named) Bhadracandra; the *patati vandāmi* (named) Bhadrasūrya; the *vihārasvāmi* (named) *saṅ* Ārya; the *pañcavāra* (named) *punta* Mandana.

I. In the year [denoted by] the (1) moon, the (5) senses and the (7) teachers (i.e., in Śaka 751), in the month of Mārga(śira), and on the fourth in the waxing fortnight, on Vurukuṅ (of the 6-day week), Mitra (= Vagai, a day of the 5-day week), Thursday (*jīvaka*);

II. with the one named Candrabhadra as master (*ācārya*),[143] with Bhadrasūrya as *partati* (?), with Ārya as *vihārapāla* and with Mandana as *pañcavāra*;

III. but with Devendra, praised by the praiseworthy, perfect in virtues such as meditation, blessed, honored by the king, as headmaster;

IV. the one called Culiṅ in Center Town (= Vanua Tṅah); and Ra Mvat from Tuṅgal Aṅin; the one called Glam [from] Lekan; and Intap from Ra Gunuṅ;

V. and Talisū [from] Samalagi—these five (being) the principal towns, which are all under injunction not to be given (?) —; with these as participants:

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[142] This toponym more commonly figures as Dalinan, as it does in stanza VIII below. But further occurrences of the spelling Jalinan appear in 2r12–13.

[143] The same person was called Bhadracandra in the preceding prose portion.

VI. the minister of Vka was Taṅgal and the [minister of] Sirikan was called Sūrya; and the cuirass-bearer, the sword (bearer?) is called Kudur;

VII. the one of Pikatan is called Pañculiṅ; the monastery manager was a hero of Humalaṅ Stone, known by the name of Gnaṅ;

VIII. and the ones at Palar Hyaṅ, Halaran, Vlahan, Dalinan, Paṅkur, Tavān, Tirip, Tilimpik, Lampi, Mamrati,

IX. Tiruan, and Maṅhuri were the *vahuta*s and the *makudur*s. They were all assigned the task of protecting the rice-field by a decree of Bhānubhadra.

X. For the rice-field that is at Center Town, under the monastery whose name is that of a bird, was previously donated, with proper ado, by King Panaṅkaran.

XI. It was taken back by the passionate King Varak called Manāra. Its monastery-governors (*vihāra-nāyaka*) were appointed [again] by a decree of Garuṅ.

(1v17–2r1) Such was the charter (*praśasti*) of the Lord of Garuṅ when he altered [the status of] that *sīma* paddy field under the monastery at Pikatan. The Lord of Garuṅ died.

(2r1) In Śaka 768, month of Phālguṇa, first, waning, Paniruan, Kalivuan, Sunday (i.e., on 6 March 847 CE), did the Lord of Pikatan, *dyah* Salaḍū, ascend the throne. He was the second one who dissolved that *sīma*. The Lord of Pikatan died.

(**2r1–2)** In Śaka 777, month of Jyeṣṭha, fifth, waning, Haryaṅ, Vagai (correct: Umanis), Saturday (i.e., on 8 June 855 CE), did the Lord of Kayu Vaṅi, *dyah* Lokapāla, ascend the throne. Thereupon the status of that *sīma* did not change. The Lord of Kayu Vaṅi died.

(2r2–3) In Śaka 806, month of Māgha, fourteenth, waning, Tuṅlai, Pon, Wednesday (i.e., on 17 February 885 CE), did *dyah* Tagvas ascend the throne. Still the status of that *sīma* under the monastery of Pikatan did not change. *Dyah* Tagvas was ousted from the palace.

(**2r3)** In Śaka 807, month of Aśuji, fifth, waning fortnight, Paniruan, Pahiṅ, Wednesday (i.e., on an uncertain date in 885 CE),[144] did

[144] There is a disagreement here between the Indic *pañcāṅga* elements, which point to 2 October 885 (Mavulu, Kalivuan, Saturday) and the stated weekdays. Trigangga ("Analisis pertanggalan," 24) assumes that all three weekdays Paniruan, Pahiṅ, Wednesday are in error and that one is to read Tuṅlai, Umanis, Sunday, or 3 October 885. But this seems arbitrary. In fact, we cannot determine which parameters are in error.

the Lord of Panumbaṅan, *dyah* Devendra, ascend the throne. Still the status of that *sīma* did not change. The Lord of Panumbaṅan was ousted from the palace.

(2r3–4) In Śaka 808, month of Māgha, fifth, waning, Vas, Pon, Wednesday (i.e., on 18 January 887 CE), did the Lord of Gurun Vaṅi, *dyah* Bhadra, ascend the throne. The Lord of Gurun Vaṅi fled that very same [year], month Phālguṇa, second, waning fortnight. The people were leaderless at the time.

(2r4–5) In Śaka 816, month of Mārgaśira, fifth, waning, Tuṅlai, Pahiṅ, Thursday (i.e., on 21 November 894 CE), did the Lord of Vuṅkal Humalaṅ, *dyah* Jbaṅ, ascend the throne. Still that paddy field in Vanua Tṅah remained under the Great King. It was kept in custody by him to its (full) extent, no more under the monastery at Pikatan. The Lord of Vuṅkal Humalaṅ died.

(2r5–6) In Śaka 820, month of Jyeṣṭha, first *tithi*, waning, Tuṅlai, Pon, Wednesday (i.e., on 10 May 898 CE): then did the Great King, Lord of Vatu Kura, *dyah* Balituṅ, Śrī Īśvarakeśavotsavatuṅga, like unto Rudra, ascend the throne. His chief minister was the Lord of Hino, Śrī Dakṣottama-bāhuvajra-pratipakṣakṣaya, like unto Viṣṇu.

(2r6–7) In Śaka 826, month of Mārgaśira, second *tithi* of the waxing fortnight, Vurukuṅ, Umanis, Monday (i.e., on 12 November 904 CE): then did his decree come down, ordering with regard to all the holy monastic foundations (*dharma abihāra*) on Java, that they be independent and cease to be fined.[145]

(2r7–8) In Śaka 827, month of Kārtika, fourteenth *tithi* of the waxing fortnight, Paniruan, Pon, Tuesday (i.e., on 15 October 905 CE), did the Great King ascend to the palace, coming from Nyū Gaḍiṅ ("Ivory Coconut"). It was during the night that he *mamatipī* the presiding deity (*bhaṭāra svāmi mahulun*) at Lekan to the Chief Minister, the Lord of Hino, Śrī Dakṣottama-bāhuvajra-pratipakṣakṣaya,[146] ordering with regard to the *sīma* paddy field

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[145] I am translating the words *Umāryya kaḍaṇḍān·* quite literally as "cease to be fined." See n. 46.

[146] The preceding clause is very problematic, because it contains the word *mamatipī*, for which no persuasive analysis can be offered (is it derived from the base *atap/atip*? is it connected with Malay *titip*?), apparently as a predicate taking two objects. The direct object is the *bhaṭāra svāmi mahulun i lekan*, which I tentatively render as "the presiding deity at Lekan"—a deity reappearing at the end of the text (2v17). The expression *bhaṭāra svāmi mahulun* is not found in any other source known to me.

of the holy monastery at Pikatan that it be restored, so that the Great King's position in the palace would be secure.

(2r8–9) In Śaka 830, month of Aśuji, deity Padmanābha, tenth *tithi* of the waxing fortnight, Tuṅlai, Pahiṅ, Thursday, god Karmeśa, *karaṇa* Vālava, lunar mansion Uttarāṣāḍha, god Viśva, conjunction Śukla, Sagittarius in the ascendant, the region being South (*yama-deśa*) (i.e., on 8 September 908 CE): that was when the *sīma* paddy field at Pikatan was restored to the holy monastery at Pikatan.

(2r9–10) Those who were ordered by the Great King and the Lord Chief Minister to restore that paddy field to the monastery at Pikatan were the Lord of Limvayan, (named) *dyah* Guṇam, and the master at Tūk (named) Dhaneśvara. [They were ordered] to take care of the planting of the (boundary) stones.

(2r10) The venerable (monastic) community (*saṅgha*) at Pikatan offered to the Great King confirmatory gifts (*pagəh-pagəh*) [consisting in] 1 *yugala* of very choice *vəḍihan* cloth, 1 *yugala* of *jaro* [cloth], 8 *dhāraṇa* of silver.[147]

(2r10–14) An order was given for all the Lords (*rakryān*) to be informed that the status of the king's *lān* paddy field at Vanua Tṅah would be thus: the Lord of Halu (named) *pu* Vīravikrama; the Lords of Sirikan (named) *pu* Variga [and] Samaravikrānta;[148] the [Lords of] Vka (named) *pu* Kutak [and] *pu* Bhāsvara; of Tiruan (named) *saṅ* Śivāstra; of Halaran (named) *pu* Kivi; of Palar Hyaṅ, *pu* Puñjaṅ; of Jalinan, *pu* Maṅusir; of Maṅhuri, *pu* Cakra; of Paṅkur, *pu* Rañjaṅ; of Tavān, *pu* Pañjaluan; of Tirip, *pu* Viṣṇu; the military spokesman at Hino,

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[147] On the types of textiles mentioned in Old Javanese epigraphy, see J. Wisseman Christie, "Texts and Textiles in 'Medieval' Java," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 80 (1993).

[148] Here we find the sequence *sirikan pu variga samaravikrānta*, which is also found in two other records (Samalagi 1v8–9, Mantyasih I 1r11). But elsewhere (Rukam 1v6, Kubu-kubu 5v1, Panggumulan A 1v8, Poh 1v8, Taji 1r9, Hujung Galuh 1v9), we find several variations (*sirikan pu variga*, *sirikan pu samaravikrānta*, *sirikan pu variga saṁ samaravikrānta*, *sirikan pu variga pu samaravikrānta*). One interpretation of the data is that only one individual held the position of Sirikan during Balitung's reign, and that *samaravikrānta* functioned as an epithet ("courageous in war") designating the incumbent besides or instead of his proper name Variga. But it seems undeniable that some offices were held by more than one person simultaneously (see just below, "the [Lords of] Vka (named) *pu* Kutak [and] *pu* Bhāsvara" and, a bit further down, "the spokesmen at Halu (named) *pu* Visaga [and] *pu* Dāmodara"). Hence, I adopt the same interpretation for the office of Sirikan.

the Kaṇḍamuhi (named) *pu* Tuṅgaṅ; the calligrapher, the Vuṅkal Varaṇi, *pu* Manəsər; the spokesmen at Halu (named) *pu* Visaga [and] *pu* Dāmodara; of Sirikan, the Hujuṅ Galuh (named) *pu* Ayuddhā; the calligrapher, the Dharmasinta;[149] [the spokesman] at Vka Viridih (named) *pu* Ḍaṇu; the calligrapher, the Halaṅ Manuk (named) *ḍa punta* Vuru Tuk; [the spokesman] at Tiruan, the Sumuḍan, *ḍa punta* Bhāsura; the spokesman at Halaran, the Savi Manuk (named) *pu* Dharma; [the spokesman] at Palar Hyaṅ, the Rumakat (named) *pu* Baka; [the spokesman] at Jalinan, the Ra Varyaṅ (named) *saṅ* Mudgalyāna; [the spokesman] at Maṅhuri, the Ra Rui; [the spokesman] at Paṅkur, the Dədəlan; [the spokesman] at Tavān, the Ra Aluk; [the spokesman] at Tirip, the Paḍaṅ—all of them agreed for those gifts to be considered as credited to them.

(**2r14–15)** As for the official of Mamrati (named) *pu* Uttara [and] the official of Tilimpik (named) *pu* Sudar, they were offered confirmatory gifts (*pagəh-pagəh*): 1 *yugala* of *vəḍihan kalyāga* cloth; 4 *dhāraṇa* of silver each.

(**2r15–16)** The spokesman (*saṅ mamuat ujar*)[150] at the *kasiṅgahan*;[151] the Turuhan (named) *saṅ* Panagar; the calligrapher, the Krəp (named) *pu* Jayamatih; at Tilimpik, the descendants (*vka-vka*) of *pu* Babru [and?] the calligrapher, the Patiləman—they were given confirmatory gifts (*pagəh-pagəh*): 1 *yugala* of *vəḍihan* cloth; 1 *dhāraṇa* of silver each.

(**2r16**) The spokesman of the dignitaries at the *kasiṅgahan*: at Paṅkur, the Piṅkaṅan; at Tavān, the Likuan; at Tirip, the Air Bavu—they

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[149] Compared to parallel passages in other records of this period, it is unusual that the name of this *citralekha dharmasinta* is not specified. Cf. for instance Poh (1v15–16) *parujarr i sirikan· saṁ hujuṁ galuḥ pu Ayuddha Anak vanuA I truvanban· vatak· tiru rāṇu,* ***citralekhā saṁ dharmmasinta pu samudra*** *Anak vanuA I pās· tamvir·, parujarr i vka saṁ viridiḥ pu ḍaṇu Anak vanuA I skar ttān· vatak· layu vataṁ, citralekhā saṁ halaṁ manuk pu govinda* or Kubu-kubu (5v4–6r1) *I sirikan·, hujuṁ galuḥ, pu Āyudha,* ***citralekha dharmmasinta, pu viṣṇu****, I vka viridiḥ ḍanu, citralekha halaṁ manuk·, pu govinda*.

[150] My impression is that this expression is synonymous with the more commonly occurring term *parujar*.

[151] The meaning of the terms *kasiṅgahan* (here and in 2r16, 2r17) and *kapartayān* (2r18) is unclear, except for the fact that the respective base words *siṅgah* and *partaya* (= *pratyaya*) designate social categories. So, the meaning could be "the place of …" or "the collective of … ." It is unclear whether a similar explanation is conceivable for the *kamaṇikan* in line 2r19.

were given confirmatory gifts (*pagəh-pagəh*): 1 *yugala* of *vəḍihan ragi* cloth; 8 *māṣa* of silver each.

(**2r16–17)** The assistants (*pihujuṅ*) of the spokesmen of the dignitaries: at Paṅkur, the Lua; at Tavān, the Sukun; at Tirip, the Panavuṅan—they were given confirmatory gifts (*pagəh-pagəh*): 1 *yugala* of *vəḍihan* cloth; 6 *māṣa* of silver each.

(**2r17)** The royal *vahuta*s at the *kasiṅgahan*: at Mamrati, the Prih (named) *pu* Godhara; at Tilimpik, the Jukut Er (named) *pu* Jaṅga—they were given confirmatory gifts (*pagəh-pagəh*): 1 *yugala* of *vəḍihan* cloth; 1 *dhāraṇa* of silver each.

(**2r17–18)** The Ra Lua (named) *pu* Salaru was given confirmatory gifts (*pagəh-pagəh*): 1 *yugala* of *vəḍihan* cloth; 2 *dhāraṇa* of silver.

(**2r18)** The community of traders at Lua had 3 *dhāraṇa* of silver collectively. The *kabayan*s at Mamrāti had 3 *dhāraṇa* of silver collectively.

(**2r18–19)** The *paṅuraṅ*s at the *kapartayān*: the Lord of Vakah (named) *pu* Khaṭvāṅga; the Turuhan (named) Panagar; the Kasugihan (named) *pu* Prājña; the Prasan (named) *saṅ* Śikhā; the Malañjaṅ (named) *saṅ* Aghora; the Roṅguy (named) *pu* Kutur; the [two] Lvas at the *kamaṇikan* (named) Nīla and Drampuas; *ḍa punta* Garalek; *ḍa punta* Anidhana – they had 5 *dhāraṇa* of silver collectively.

(**2r19–20)** Those at Ayam Təas departing to demarcate (the land) were given 3 *dhāraṇa* of silver; additionally *vəḍihan* cloth; additionally supplies. Those at Makudur departing to demarcate (the land) were given 3 *dhāraṇa* of silver; additionally *vəḍihan* cloth; additionally supplies.

(**2r20–21)** The 2 *kabayan*s at Ayam TəAs, viz. the Mirah-mirah (named) *pu* Rayuṅ [and] the Halaran (named) *pu* Dhanada were given confirmatory gifts: 1 *dhāraṇa* [and] 8 *māṣa* of silver each. The 2 *kabayan*s at Makudur, viz. the Pataləsan (named) *pu* Vīrya [and] the Vavahan (named) *pu* Danta were given confirmatory gifts: 1 *dhāraṇa* [and] 8 *māṣa* of silver each.

(**2r21–23)** The counselor (*piṅhai*) at Pagar Vsi (named) *si* Maṅaruh, father of Sadhaṇa; the counselor at Pikatan, the Asam Pañjaṅ (named) *si* Śyāmā, father of Bikrāmī; furthermore, the counselor at Pikatan, the Viji Aṅin (named) *si* Kusuma, father of Lābha; furthermore the counselor at Pikatan, the Gunuṅ (named) *si* Mrih, father of Astiti; furthermore, the counselor at Pikatan, the Asam Pañjaṅ (named) *si* Balava; furthermore the counselor at Pikatan, the Lekan (named) *si* Jalū, father of Ka…; further the

counselor at Tira Siṅgaṅ (named) *si* Rasuk; and Dhavala, father of Kesara—all of them were given 1 *yugala* of colored *vəḍihan* cloth, 1 *māṣa* of gold per person.

(2r23–24) The 3 [counselors at] Vanua Tṅah: *si* Maṅhuri, father of Kanaka; *si* Ananta, father of Kaṇṭara; and *si* Liṅga, father of …; the …*raṅ*, the Ra Lampi (named) *si* Balu, father of Ləbā—all of them were given 1 *yugala* of colored *vəḍihan* cloth, 1 *māṣa* of gold per person.

(**2r24–25)** The *vahuta* at Pagar Vsi, (named) *si* Kaṇḍara, father of Prasena; the *vahuta* at Pikatan, the Kupaṅ (named) *si* Tovoh, father of Arā; the *vahuta* of Tira [Siṅgaṅ] …, father of Asih—all of them were given 1 *yugala* of colored *vəḍihan* cloth, 1 *māṣa* of gold per person.

(**2r25–2v1)** Their assistant (*piluṅgah*), *si* Mandyās, father of Veda, was given 1 *māṣa* of gold. Furthermore, the counselors at Pikatan who were *lampuran*, (named) *si* Gāyatrī and *si* Vanua, the child *lampuran*—all of them were given 2 *kupaṅ* of gold per person.

(**2v1–3)** The incumbent (*māgman*) headmen of Vanua Tṅah: 2 *gusti*s, (namely) *si* Sodai, father of Basu and *si* Kusalā, father of Ratha; 2 *vinkas*es, (namely) *si* Vaṅun, father of Sarini and *si* Ḍakat, father of Laṅghana; 2 *kalima*s, (namely) *si* Govana, father of Ujjhā and *si* Biṣātha, father of Bailā; 2 overseers of water (*huler*), (namely) *si* Kalula, father of Prayanta and Candra, father of Gḍā; 2 spokesmen, (namely) *si* Kətoh, father of Muditā and *si* Pundut, father of Laṇḍuṅ—all of them were given 1 *yugala* of colored *vəḍihan* cloth, 1 *māṣa* of gold per person.

(**2v3)** The [2] overseers of dwellings (*hulu kuvu*), (namely) *si* Tañjuṅan, father of Bacuṅ and (the one named) *si* Lucchira were given 2 *kupaṅ* of gold per person.

(**2v3–5)** The retired (*maratā*) headmen [who served as] *kabayan*: *si* Haḍa, father of Bhara and Gəlar, father of Səkar; *si* Vuliran, father of Rathi; *si* Aṅgira, father of Viśuddhi; *si* Ləvih, father of Karəṅəan; *si* Julay, father of Śabda; *si* Yukti, father of Bhoga; *si* Vaduā, father of Sukhamī; *si* Goḍog, father of Śuddhī; *si* Mahi, father of Mahendrī; *si* Varəg, father of Paṇḍaṅ; *si* Tuli, father of Basī – all of them were given 1 *māṣa* of gold per person.

(**2v5)** The neighboring headmen at Vijy Aṅin, (namely) *si* Risi, father of Basu [and] *si* Piṅul, father of Buntar—they were given 1 *māṣa* of gold each.

(2v5–6) The *gusti* at Tira [and] at Tumapal (named) *si* Bharaṇa, father of Kiṭak, [and] the *kalima* (named) *si* Caṇṭuṅ, father of Carā—they were given 2 *māṣa* of gold each.

(2v6) The 2 overseers of laborers (*tuha vərəh*), (namely) *si* Kaṭal, father of Gaṇḍal and *si* Bloṇḍo, father of Budanta—they were given 1 *māṣa* of gold each.

(2v6–7) The *gusti* at Kuluva (named) *si* Aṅsə; the *vinkas* (named) *si* Gr̥hīta; the *vinkas* at Panuṅgalan (named) *si* Sojara; the *kalima* (named) *si* Mara, father of Atis—all of them were given 1 *yugala* of colored *vəḍihan* cloth each.

(2v7) The *vinkas* at Layaṅ Anak (named) *si* Bhāskara, father of Devī, was given 1 *māṣa* of gold.

(2v7–8) The *kalima* at Hulu Vanua (named) *si* Ruaṅ Galuh, father of Vaṅi; the *vinkas* (named) *si* Vujil—they were both given 1 *yugala* of colored *vəḍihan* cloth per person.

(2v8) The retired headman (named) *si* Kalula, father of Yukti, was given 1 *māṣa* of gold.

(2v8–9) Those who cooked (*maṅlivat*) were the headmen at Samalagi, estate of the Deity at Pikatan: the *vinkas* (named) *si* Kali, father of Nita; the *kalima* (named) *si* Paṅalaman; the *gusti* (named) *si* Kaca, father of Radhinī; the *marhyaṅ* (named) *si* Sukha (or Sula), father of Basi; the spokesperson (named) *si* Sutə, father of Vidyā; the *variga* (named) *si* Vaṅun—were given 1 *māṣa* of gold collectively.

(2v9–10) Those who supplied water (*mavay*) at that time: *si* Hriṅ, father of Cakra; the overseer of uncooked rice (*hulu vras*), *si* Ama, father of Cele, native(s) of Lua at Kabikuan—they were given 1 *yugala* of colored *vəḍihan* cloth (and) 1 *māṣa* of gold [each].

(2v10) [The one who] played the *rəgaṅ* at that time: *si* Keśava, father of Agam, native of Titih, district of Pikatan, was given 1 sheet of colored *vəḍihan* cloth [and] 2 *kupaṅ* of gold.

(2v10) [The one who] played *brəkuk*: *si* Gḍil, father of Mundil, native of Varuk, was given 2 *kupaṅ* of gold.

(2v11) [The one who] performed puppetry (*avayaṅ*) at that time: *si* Kliṅ, father of Sḍaṅ, native of Vanua Tṅah, was given 1 sheet of *vəḍihan* cloth [and] 2 *kupaṅ* of gold.

(2v11–12) [The one who] performed masked theater (*tapuk*): *si* Rasuk, native of Hinor, was given 2 *kupaṅ* of gold; also 2 *tapuk* players were given 1 *māṣa* of gold to share. Their 6 players (*tarimba*) were given 1 *kupaṅ* per person.

(2v12) The 2 who caused [the deity] to enter into the stone(s): the preceptor (*upādhyāya*) at Vraṅ (named) Candradeva and the master (*ācārya*) of scriptural study at Sukun (named) Sudanta—they were all given 6 *māṣa* of silver per person.

(2v12–13) The 2 who recited the *śānti*: the master at Kavuṅ Manek (named) Sudanta and the master at Tiḍa Luaṅ (named) Bhadrasena; the 2 who performed offering (*bantan*): the master at Vraṅ, (namely) the master Tatha, and the master at Air Hijo East (named) Padmasena—they were all given 6 *māṣa* of silver per person.

(2v13–15) The master for scriptural study at Pikatan (named) Paṇḍara was given 8 *māṣa* of silver. The master at Air Hijo West (named) Sudanta was given 6 *māṣa* of silver. The *patati* at Pikatan (named) *ḍa punta* Devendra; the *patati* at Air Hijo East (named) Dhanendra; the *patati* at Air Hijo West (named) *ḍa punta* Samāhita; the *patati* at Guluṅ (named) *ḍa punta* Akṣa – they were all given 2 *māṣa* of silver per person.

(2v15–17) [The one of] Ayam Təas joining the demarcation of the *sīma* (named) *si* Bilāsa, father of Tatha, native of Paṅsur, district of Ayam Təas, was given 1 *yugala* of colored *vəḍihan* cloth [and] 6 *māṣa* of gold. The *makudur* who did the invocation (named) Dayanna, native of Kahaṅatan, district of Hamməas, was given 1 *yugala* of colored *vəḍihan* cloth [and] 2 *māṣa* of gold. The *makudur* who did not do the invocation (named) Jaṅgi, father of Vulakan, native of Vaduṅ Poh, district of Paṅkur Poh, was given 1 *yugala* of colored *vəḍihan* cloth [and] 1 *māṣa* of gold.

(2v17) If there is anyone who disturbs the *sīma* paddy field, which is the meritorious work (*puṇya*) of the Great King with the Lord Chief Minister for the Deity of Pikatan, the presiding Deity at Lekan, he will run into disaster; he will himself be ruined; his residence, his children and descendants will be destroyed; he will meet with misery; at the break of dawn he will die fully conscious; soon he will experience the [consequences of the] five cardinal sins.

Appendix B. The *kuṭi*s and *vihāra*s of Java and Bali in the *Deśavarṇana*

The translations are those of Robson,[152] with minor adaptations reflecting the differences between the edition he used and the re-edited readings of the stanzas, based on the sources stated below. I draw specific attention here to my new interpretation of 80.1 in the light of an epigraphic occurrence of the *vihāra* of Bahuṅ discussed in n. 134.

75.2 *len taṅ dharma ləpas paḍekana rinakṣādəgnya de śrī narendra,*
śaivādhyakṣa sirā vineh vruha rumakṣā parhyaṅan mvaṅ kalagyan,
boddhādhyakṣa sireki rakṣaka ri sakvehniṅ kuṭi mvaṅ vihāra,
mantrī her haji taṅ kaṛṣyan inivānyān rakṣake saṅ tapasvi.

As for the free foundations on the other hand, the King safeguards their status: The Śaiva superintendent is entrusted with the care of the sanctuaries (*parhyaṅan*) and the *kalagyan*s, the Buddhist superintendent is the guardian of all the monasteries (*vihāra*) and cloisters (*kuṭi*). And the Mantri Her Haji cares for the communities of Ṛṣis, being the protector of the ascetics.

76.3 *lvirniṅ dharma kasogatan kavinayan ləpas i vipularāma len kuṭi haji,*
mvaṅ yānatraya rājadhānya kuvu nātha surayaśa jarak laguṇḍi vaḍari,
veve mvaṅ pacəkan pasarvan i ləmah surat i pamaṇikan sraṅan paṅikətan,
paṅhapvan damalaṅ təpas jitavanāśrama jənar i samudravela pamuluṅ.

The Buddhist sanctuaries established as free monasteries (*dharma kasogatan kavinayan ləpas*) are Vipularāma and Kuṭi Haji, as well as Yānatraya, Rājadhānya, Kuvu Nātha, Surayaśa, Jarak, Laguṇḍi, Vaḍari, Veve and Pacəkan, Pasarvan, Ləmah Surat, Pamaṇikan, Sraṅan, Paṅikətan, Paṅhapvan, Damalaṅ, Təpas, Jitavanāśrama, Jənar, Samudravela and Pamuluṅ,

76.4 *baryaṅṅ amṛtavardhanī vəti-vətih kavinayan i patəmvan iṅ kanuruhan,*
vəṅtal vəṅkər i hantən iṅ bañu jikən bata-bata pagagan sibok paduruṅan,
mvaṅ piṇḍātuha len təlaṅ surabha mukhyanika ri sukhalīla tapva pamənəh,
tan varṇan tikanaṅ maṅanvaya ri pogara ri kulur i taṅkil ādinika sāk.

Baryaṅ, Amṛtavardhanī, Vəti-vətih, Kavinayan, Patəmvan and Kanuruhan, Vəṅtal, Vəṅkər, Hantən, Bañu Jikən, Bata-bata, Pagagan,

[152] See the list of Transmitted texts, under *Deśavarṇana*.

Sibok, Paduruṅan, as well as Piṇḍātuha, Təlaṅ and Surabha are the main ones, Sukhalīla is an addition. We need not mention those associated with them – Pogara, Kulur and Taṅkil are the main ones out of the many.

77.1 *nāhan muvah kasugatan kabajradharan akrameka vuvusən,*
īśānabajra ri nadī tada mvaṅ i mukuh ri sambaṅ i tajuṅ,
lāvan taṅ amṛtasabhā ri baṅbaṅ iri bodhimūla vaharu,
tampak ḍurī paruha taṇḍare kumudaratna nandinagara.

As follows again let the Buddhist Bajradhara establishments (*kabajradharan*) be mentioned in order: Īśānabajra, Nadī, Tada and Mukuh, Sambaṅ and Tajuṅ, as well as Amṛtasabhā, Baṅ-Baṅ, Bodhimūla, Vaharu, Tampak, Ḍurī, Paruha, Taṇḍara, Kumudaratna and Nandinagara,

77.2 *len taṅ vuṅañjaya palaṇḍitaṅkil asah iṅ samīcy apitahən,*
nairañjane vijayavaktra māgənəṅ i poyahan bala masin,
ri krat ləmah tulis i ratnapaṅkaja panumbaṅan kahuripan,
mvaṅ ketakī talaga jambale juṅul i viṣṇuvāla paməvəh.

And Vuṅañjaya, Palaṇḍit, Taṅkil, Asah, Samīcī, Apitahen, Nairañjana, Vijayavaktra, Māgənəṅ, Poyahan, Bala Masin, Kərat, Ləmah Tulis, Ratnapaṅkaja, Panumbaṅan, Kahuripan, as well as Ketakī, Talaga Jambala, Juṅul and Viṣṇuvāla as addition.

77.3 *len teṅ buḍur virun i vuṅkulur mvaṅ i manaṅguṅ ī vatu kura,*
bajrāsana mvaṅ i pajambayan ri samalantən iṅ simapura,
tambak laleyan i pilaṅgu poh aji ri vaṅkalimvaṅ i bəru,
ləmbah dalīnan i paṅadvan ādinika riṅ pacarcan apagəh.

And Buḍur, Virun, and Vuṅkulur as well as Manaṅguṅ, Vatu Kura, Bajrāsana, Pajampayan, Samalantən and Simapura, Tambak Laleyan, Pilaṅgu, Poh Aji, Vaṅkali and Bəru, Lembah, Dalinan and Paṅadvan – the first on the fixed list.

78.3 *vañjaṅ bajrapure vanora makəduk hantən guhā mvaṅ jiva,*
jumput śobha pamuntaran baru kaboddhāṅśan prakāśottama,
kājar dāna hañar turas jalagirī cəṇṭiṅ vəkas vaṇḍira,
vaṇḍāyan gatavaṅ kulampayan i tālādinya karṣyaṅkuran.

Vañjaṅ, Bajrapura, Vanora, Makəduk, Hantən, Guhā and Jiva, Jumput, Śobha, Pamuntaran and Baru pertain to the Boddhāṅśa and have an excellent name. Kājar, Dāna, Hañar, Turas, Jalagiri, Cəṇṭiṅ, Vəkas,

Vaṇḍira, Vaṇḍāyan, Gatavaṅ, Kulampayan and Tāla are the foremost of the ones belonging to the Ṛṣyāṅkura.

78.6 *tan varṇan tikanaṅ kalagyan anəlat riṅ sarvadeśeṅ java,*
lāvan taṅ kuṭi sapratiṣṭha milu taṅ tan papratiṣṭhāpagəh,
ndan bhedanya kasaṅghikān sthiti kabhuktyanyān sake nāgara,
mvaṅ kasthāpakan uṅgvaniṅ lumagi-lagy amrih kriyā mvaṅ brata.

We need not describe the Kalagyans scattered over all the districts of Java, or the Kuṭis with a *pratiṣṭha*, followed by the ones without a fixed *pratiṣṭha*. But the difference is that the income of Kasaṅghikans is steady, being from the capital. And Kasthāpakans are a place for training and for applying oneself to ceremonies and vows.

80.1 *lvirnikanaṅ kasogatan i bāli kādhikaraṇan muvah kuṭi hañar,*
lāvan i pūrvanāgara muvah vihāra bahuṅ ādirajya kuturan,
nəm tikanaṅ kabajradharan uttama ṅhiṅ i vihāra taṅ kavinayan,
kīrṇa makādiṅ ārya dadi rājasanmata kuṭinya tan vicaritan.

The Buddhist establishments in Bali are Kādhikaraṇan, Kuṭi, Hañar, Pūrvanāgara, the *vihāra* of Bahuṅ, Ādirājya and Kuturan. Six of these are leading Bajradhara establishments, only the *vihāra* is under disciplinary rules (*kavinayan*). And the Kuṭis, Ārya Dadi and Rājasanmata being the foremost, are so numerous that they need not be described.

References

All primary source citations follow the transliteration scheme proposed in Balogh and Griffiths 2020, loose transliteration being applied to cite transmitted text and strict transliteration for inscriptions. Full bibliographic detail for secondary literature cited by name and year will be given in the Bibliography.

Transmitted texts

Agastyaparva — An Old Javanese prose text. Gonda 1933.

Advayasādhana — Sanskrit stanzas with Old Javanese paraphrase. Kats 1910, Lokesh Chandra 1995.

Arjunavijaya — An Old Javanese court poem (*kakavin*). Supomo Suryohudoyo 1977.

Deśavarṇana — An Old Javanese chronicle in *kakavin* form. I cite from a draft critical edition being prepared by myself in collaboration with Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan and Marine Schoettel, collating readings from Pigeaud 1960–1963 (vol. I), from I Gusti Ngurah Rai Mirsha *et al*. 1992 and from a Balinese-script copy onto paper from a *lontar* made by Ida I Dewa Gde Catra in 1984, and kindly shared with me by this Balinese scholar.

Kuñjarakarṇadharmakathana — An Old Javanese court poem (*kakavin*). Teeuw and Robson 1981.

Sārasamuccaya — An anthology of Sanskrit stanzas from the *Mahābhārata* with Old Javanese paraphrase. Raghu Vira 1962.

Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu — A major work of Śaiva doctrine in prose, of which only individual manuscripts have been published in diplomatic edition. I use Undang Ahmad Darsa 1998 for reference while quoting from a draft critical edition by Aditia Gunawan who makes use of witnesses kept in the Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia and the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Inscriptions of Java

Whenever possible, I cite Javanese epigraphic evidence from new editions, some made in collaboration with other members of the DHARMA project, which are to be published on the project's online database that is presently under construction. Inscriptions of other islands are cited with source reference in the body of the article.

Abhayagiriwihara — Stone slab, Central Java, Sanskrit, 714 Śaka = 792/3 CE. Long 2014, chapter IV.

Abhayananda — Stone boundary marker, Central Java, Old Javanese, 748 Śaka = 826 CE. Sukarto K. Atmodjo 1969 (with plate on p. 15), Titi Surti Nastiti 2018 (with fig. 2). The photographs published by Sukarto and Titi Surti Nastiti allow checking only small parts of the published readings.

Anjatan — Two plates of a larger set of copper plates, original geographic context uncertain, Old Javanese, 11th c. CE. Rita Margaretha Setianingsih 1996. I have re-edited the text on the basis of photographs.

Anjuk Ladang — Stone stele, East Java, Old Javanese, 859 Śaka = 937 CE. Brandes 1913, no. XLVI. The only published reading of this inscription contains several lacunae. All readings quoted here

were established by my collaborator Eko Bastiawan based on direct inspection of the stone in January 2022.

Bimalasrama — Seven copper plates (of a set consisting originally of more than twelve plates) found in the early 19th century. Only two of the plates found then are still preserved, most of the remainder can be read on eye-copies made soon after their discovery. 14th-c. reissue of an Old Javanese charter originally issued in the 11th c. in East Java. Brandes 1913, no. CXII (plates 8, 9 and 11), van Stein Callenfels 1924 (plates 3 or 4, 7 and 10), van Naerssen 1938 (plates 10 and 12). I have re-edited the text on the basis of photos of the two plates preserved in Leiden (Museum Volkenkunde 1403-3338 and 1403-3339) and eye-copies preserved in Jakarta (Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, ms. Jawa no. 42) and Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Mal.-Pol. 205 and 225).

Dalinan — Plates 1–2 and probably plate 4 of a multi-plate set of copper plates, presumably from Central Java, Old Javanese, 825 Śaka = 904 CE. Plates 1–2 unpublished, preserved in Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam. The other plate preserved in Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, and edited by Van Naerssen (1937). Despite the difference of dimensions between the pair of plates in Rotterdam, on the one hand, and the Amsterdam plate, on the other, considerations of contents make it highly likely that the plates either belong together to a single original set, or to two separate copies of a single charter. The Amsterdam plate is commonly referred to by the designation Wukajana, but the charter concerns the foundation of a monastery at Dalinan, which is the basis of the designation I prefer. I have edited (or re-edited) the text on the basis of photographs.

Gajah Mada — Stone stele, East Java, Old Javanese, 1273 Śaka = 1351 CE. Hasan Djafar 2016: 44–46. I have re-edited the text on the basis of photographs.

Gandhakuti — Set of 4 copper plates, East Java, Old Javanese, reissued in the 14th century CE from an original dated 964 Śaka = 1042 CE. Boechari 1985–1986: 72–75. I have re-edited the text from rubbings.

Hering — Stone stele, East Java, Old Javanese, 856 Śaka = 934 CE. Brandes 1913, no. XLVII, Hasan Djafar, and Trigangga 2019: 95–101. I have re-edited the text in collaboration with Eko Bastiawan by direct inspection of the stone.

Hujung Galuh — Plate 1 of a larger set of copper plates, presumably from Central Java, Old Javanese, 829 Śaka = 907 CE. Van Naerssen (1937). Commonly referred to by the designation Sangsang charter, but the charter concerns the foundation of a monastery at Hujung Galuh, and I rename the plate thus by analogy with the designation adopted for the Dalinan plates. Re-edited on the basis of photographs.

Kaladi — 7 out of a set of 10 copper plates, East Java, Old Javanese, reissued in the 14th century from an original dated 831 Śaka = 909 CE. Barrett Jones 1984: 178–194, appendix 4. I have re-edited the text in collaboration with Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan on the basis of photographs.

Kalasan — Stone slab, Central Java, Sanskrit, 700 Śaka = 778/9 CE. Long 2014, chapter II. I have re-edited the text on the basis of photographs.

Kalimusan — A single plate from a multiplate set, East Java, Old Javanese, 10th or 11th c. CE. Machi Suhadi, and Richadiana Kartakusuma 1996: 7. I have re-edited the text on the basis of photographs.

Kalirungan — Copper plate, Central Java, Old Javanese, 805 Śaka = 884 CE. Boechari 2012, chapter 32, no. III.

Kamalagyan — Stone stele, East Java, Old Javanese, 959 Śaka = 1037 CE. Brandes 1913, no. LXI. I have re-edited the whole inscription in collaboration with Eko Bastiawan based on direct inspection of the stone.

Kancana — 12 out of a set of 14 copper plates, East Java, Old Javanese, reissued in the 14th century CE from an original ostensibly dated 782 Śaka but more likely belonging to the Śaka 870s, i.e., to the second half of the 10th c. CE. Sarkar 1971–1972, vol. I, no. 22. I have re-edited the text on the basis of photographs.

Kanuruhan — Back slab of a Gaṇeśa sculpture, East Java, Old Javanese, 856 Śaka = 935 CE. Machi Suhadi, and Richadiana Kartakusuma 1996: 19–20, 55. I have re-edited the text in collaboration with Eko Bastiawan on the basis of an estampage and direct inspection of the stone.

Kelurak — Stone slab, Central Java, Sanskrit, 704 Śaka = 782 CE. Long 2014, chapter III.

Kayumwungan — Stone stela, Central Java, Sanskrit and Old Javanese, 746 Śaka = 824 CE. Long 2014.

Kertajaya — Stone stele, East Java, Old Javanese, 1138 Śaka = 1217 CE. Hasan Djafar, and Trigangga 2019: 145–147.

Kuti — Set of 11 copper plates, East Java, Old Javanese, reissued in the 14th century CE from an original ostensibly dated 762 Śaka but the reissuer has manifestly tampered massively with the original, and certain elements of the contents cannot date before the late 10th c. CE. Sarkar 1971–1972, vol. I, no. 12. I have re-edited the text from rubbings.

Lintakan — Set of 3 copper plates, Central Java, Old Javanese, 841 Śaka = 919 CE. Sarkar 1971–1972, no. 86. I have re-edited the text in collaboration with Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan and Tyassanti Kusumo Dewanti from rubbings and photographs.

Masahar — Stone stele, East Java, Old Javanese, 852 Śaka = 930 CE. Unpublished. Provisional reading by Eko Bastiawan and Arlo Griffiths based on photographs.

Mpu Mano — The first plate of a multiplate set, East Java, Old Javanese, reissued in the 14th century from an original dated 888 Śaka = 966 CE. Griffiths 2020.

Mula-Malurung — Incomplete set of 12 copper plates, East Java, Old Javanese, 1177 Śaka = 1255 CE. Boechari 1985–1986: 184–191. I have re-edited the text from photographs.

Muncang — Stone stele, East Java, Old Javanese, 866 Śaka = 944 CE. Brandes 1913, no. LI. The only published reading of this inscription covers less than half of the text. I have edited the whole inscription in collaboration with Eko Bastiawan based on direct inspection of the stone.

Munggu Antan — Stone boundary marker, Central Java, Old Javanese, 808 Śaka = 887 CE. Titi Surti Nastiti 2018: 203–204, fig. 23. I have re-edited the text from photographs.

Palepangan — Single copper plate, Central Java, Old Javanese, 828 Śaka = 906 CE. Sarkar 1971–1972, no. 68. I have re-edited the text from a photograph.

Piling-piling — Two stone steles, East Java, Old Javanese, perhaps datable to the Śaka 840s. Brandes 1913, nos. LIII and LIV. I have re-edited the text in collaboration with Tyassanti Kusumo Dewanti by direct inspection of the stones.

Plaosan — Stone stele, Central Java, Sanskrit, date lost (early 9th c. CE?). Long 2014, chapter VII.

Poh — Set of 2 copper plates, Central Java, Old Javanese, 827 Śaka = 905 CE. Sarkar 1971–1972, no. 66. I have re-edited the text from photographs.

Rampal — Stone boundary marker, East Java, Old Javanese, possibly 794 Śaka = 872 CE. Machi Suhadi, and Richadiana Kartakusuma

1996: 25–26, 56. I have re-edited the text in collaboration with Eko Bastiawan from estampages and direct inspection of the stone.

Ramwi — Single copper plate, Central Java, Old Javanese, 804 Śaka = 882 CE. Sarkar 1971–1972, no. 52. I have re-edited the text from rubbings.

Salimar I, III, IV, V — A group of 4 stone boundary markers each engraved with a copy of the same text, Central Java, Old Javanese, 802 Śaka = 880 CE. Titi Surti Nastiti 2018: 198–201, 207–208 (items 13, 15, 16, 17), 209–211, 217 (fig. 16).

Sarangan — Stone stele, East Java, Old Javanese, 851 Śaka = 929 CE. Brandes 1913, no. XXXVII; Hasan Djafar, and Trigangga 2019: 216–224.

Sobhamerta — Set of 7 copper plates, East Java, Old Javanese, reissued in the 14th century CE from an original dated 861 Śaka = 939 CE. Titi Surti Nastiti 2007. I have re-edited the text from photographs.

Sugih Manek — Stone stele, East Java, Old Javanese, 837 Śaka = 915 CE. Sarkar 1971–1972, no. 84. I have re-edited the text in collaboration with Tyassanti Kusumo Dewanti from rubbings and by direct inspection of the stone.

Sukhamerta — Incomplete set of 11 copper plates, East Java, Old Javanese, 1218 Śaka = 1296 CE. Poerbatjaraka 1940. I have re-edited the text on the basis of photographs.

Telang I — Set of 2 copper plates, Central Java, Old Javanese, 825 Śaka = 904 CE. Titi Surti Nastiti 2015. I have re-edited the text in collaboration with Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan on the basis of photographs.

Tihang — Single plate of a larger set, Central Java, Old Javanese, 836 Śaka = 914 CE. Boechari 2012, chapter 32, no. VII. I have re-edited the text on the basis of photographs.

Tuwuhada — Fragment of a single plate, presumably from Central Java, Old Javanese, datable to the reign of Balitung, i.e., to the first decade of the 10th c. CE. Unpublished.

Wanua Tengah I and II — Two stone steles bearing copies of the same text, Central Java, Old Javanese, 785 Śaka = 863 CE. Damais 1955: 27–28.

Wanua Tengah III — Set of 2 copper plates, Central Java, Old Javanese, 830 Śaka = 908 CE. Boechari 2012, chapter 32, no. VI. I have re-edited the text on the basis of photographs.

Warunggahan — 12 out of a set of more than 14 copper plates, East Java, Old Javanese, 1227 Śaka = 1305 CE. Goenawan Sambodo 2018. I have re-edited the text on the basis of photographs.

Watu Kura I — 5 out of a set of 7 copper plates, East Java, Old Javanese, reissued in the 14th century CE from an original ostensibly dated 824 Śaka, though certainly elements of the contents suggest that the reissue may have been antedated by a few decades. Van Naerssen 1977: 58–61. I have re-edited the text from photographs.

Wayuku — Stone stele, Central Java, Old Javanese, 776 Śaka = 854 CE. Sarkar 1971–1972, no. 18. Sarkar's indication "Vayuku (Dieng)" suggests that the stele, preserved in the National Museum at Jakarta under number D. 10, was found on the Dieng plateau, but this seems to be an error going back to Damais (1952: 30). 19th-century publications do not indicate any precise provenance for this stele. The mistake may have come about because Damais (or someone he was drawing on) confused D. 10 with D. 11. I have re-edited the text from photographs.

Wintang Mas II — Single copper plate, Central Java, Old Javanese, 841 Śaka = 919 CE. Sarkar 1971–1972, no. 88. I have re-edited the text in collaboration with Tyassanti Kusumo Dewanti from photographs.

Wungan Daik — Single copper plate from a multiplate set. Text incomplete and lacking date, but datable on paleographic and prosopographic grounds to the reign of Balitung. Unpublished. A reading and photographs were kindly shared with me by Titi Surti Nastiti.

Wurare — Cushion of a stone Akṣobhya statue, East Java, Sanskrit, 1211 Śaka = 1289 CE. Poerbatjaraka 1922. I have re-edited the text from estampages and direct inspection of the stone.

Wurudu Kidul — Single copper plate, Central Java, Old Javanese, 844 Śaka = 922 CE. Sarkar 1971–1972, no. 90. I have re-edited the text from photographs.

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Figures and Map

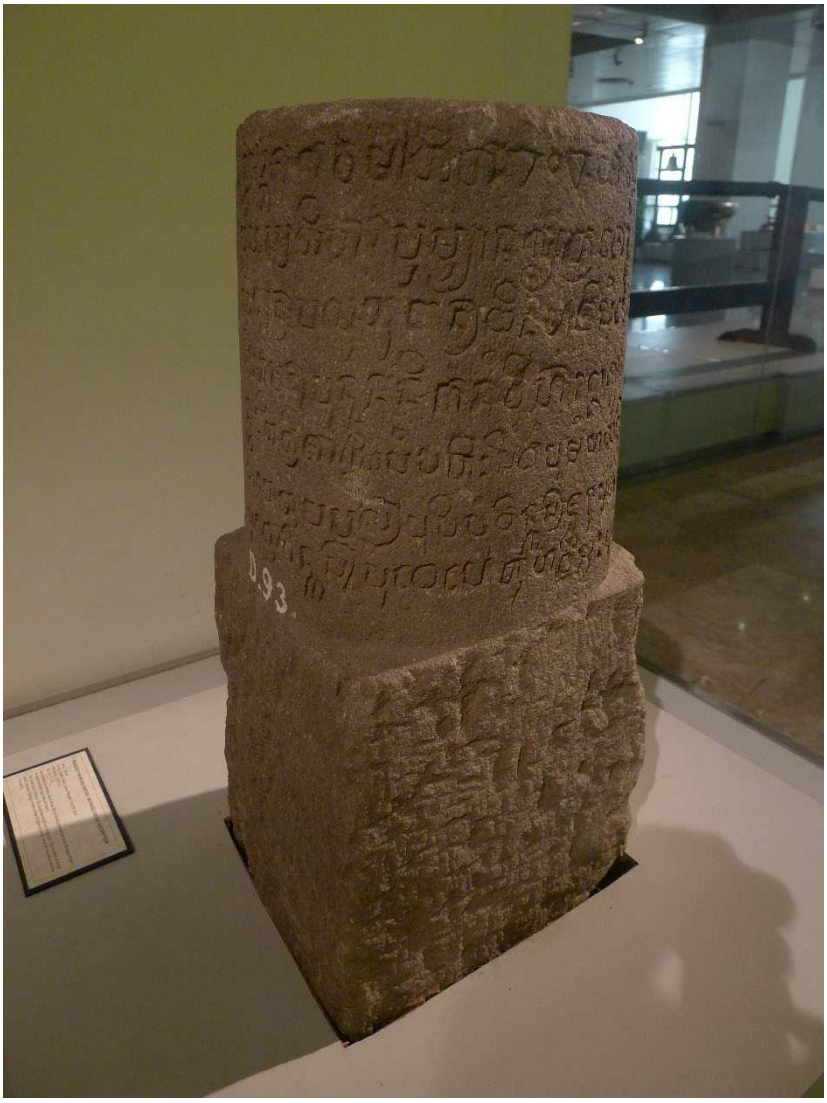


Fig. 1. Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta, inv. no. D93. The sīma boundary marker bearing the Munggu Antan inscription. Photo Titi Surti Nastiti.

Fig. 2. Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya, Prambanan, Jawa Tengah, inv. no. 1118. The first plate of the Wanua Tengah III charter. Photo Arlo Griffiths.

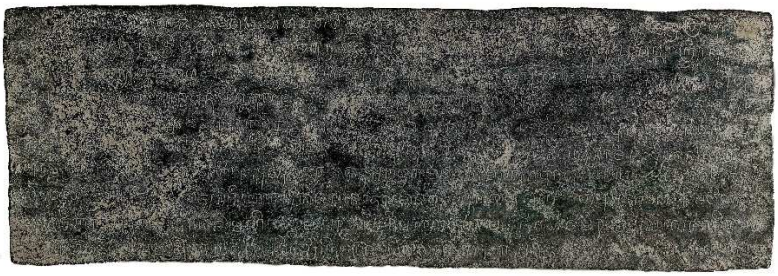
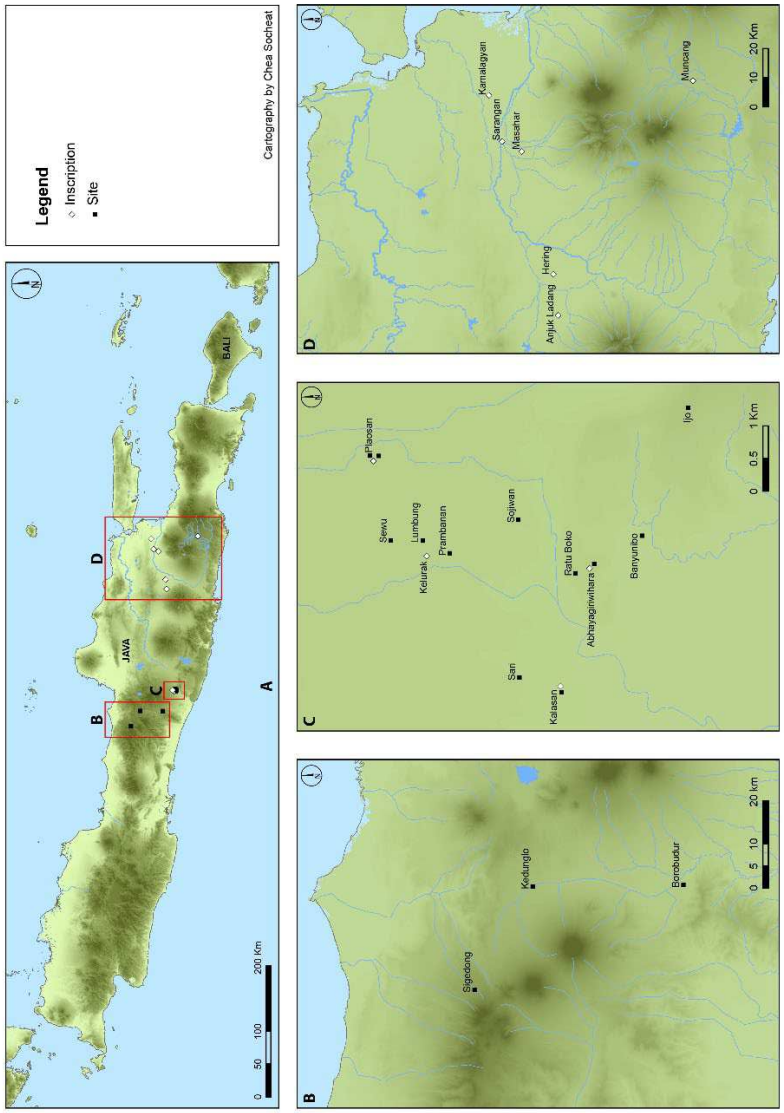


Fig. 3. Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam, inv. no. 49508. The first plate of the Dalinan charter. Photo furnished by the Museum, reproduced with permission.

Fig. 4. Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta, inv. no. D67. The stele bearing the Hering charter. Photo Eko Bastiawan.



Map. A — Java and Bali with frames for the following three zones.
B — The Kedu plain, the findspot of the Wanua Tengah III charter (Kedunglo) and the likely location of ancient Vanua Tṅah (Sigedong).
C — The area of concentration of Śailendra inscriptions south of Mount Merapi and the surrounding monumental landscape.
D — The Brantas river valley and the inscriptions of the reigns of Sindok and Airlangga cited in this article.