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# The Corpus of Inscriptions in the Old Malay Language

Arlo Griffiths

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**Writing for Eternity**  
*A Survey of Epigraphy in Southeast Asia*



ÉTUDES THÉMATIQUES

30

**Writing for Eternity**  
*A Survey of Epigraphy in Southeast Asia*

Edited by:  
Daniel Perret



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2018

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Assemblage des feuilles de l'estampage de la stèle digraphique K. 95 du Phnom Preah Bat, par Khom Sreymom (à gauche) et Ham Seihasarann (à droite), Musée national du Cambodge, 2009. Photo Bertrand Porte (EFEO/MNC).

Assembling the leaves of an estampage of the digraphic stela K. 95 of Phnom Preah Bat, by Khom Sreymom (left) and Ham Seihasarann (right), National Museum of Cambodia, 2009. Photograph by Bertrand Porte (EFEO/MNC).

*Coordination éditoriale : Emmanuel SIRON*

*Création du modèle de couverture de la collection : DUCTUS / Philippe CAMUS*

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## Preface

The idea of this book originated from a workshop held at Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia, in November 2011. Entitled “Epigraphy of Southeast Asia”, this workshop was organised by the *École française d’Extrême-Orient* in Kuala Lumpur and the *Ikatan Ahli Arkeologi Malaysia* (Malaysian Archaeologists Association). The meeting gathered sixteen participants from France, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, the Philippines, and Malaysia. I take the opportunity of this preface to reiterate my gratitude to the *Ikatan Ahli Arkeologi Malaysia* as co-organiser of the event, as well as to the direction of the *École française d’Extrême-Orient* and the Embassy of France in Malaysia whose financial support made the workshop possible. In fact it was the first meeting of its kind in Southeast Asia in terms of the variety of the papers presented. Ten participants to this 2011 workshop have contributed to this volume. Eight other colleagues have agreed to enrich it with their expertise, allowing for the presentation of a more comprehensive survey. My heartfelt thanks to them for their contribution.

My warmest thanks go to the *École française d’Extrême-Orient* in Paris, especially the director, Yves Goudineau, and Charlotte Schmid, director of publications, who agreed to the publication of this collective volume in the series “*Études thématiques*”. Many thanks also to Emmanuel Siron, the editorial manager at the *École française d’Extrême-Orient*, for his patience, advice and unwavering support during the editing and layout phases, and to Diah Novitasari at the *École française d’Extrême-Orient* in Jakarta for her dedication in accomplishing the layout of this book. My deepest appreciation also goes to the two anonymous referees who have taken the time to read the manuscript and to provide very useful comments for its improvement.

As its title indicates, this book is intended to provide an overview of epigraphy in Southeast Asia. It is impossible to give an accurate figure regarding the volume of inscriptional material available in this region and this is all the more the case if no time limit is fixed as modern inscriptions enrich the field every day. However, on the basis of current knowledge, and if inscriptions dating after the nineteenth century are excluded, the body of material comprises tens of thousands of documents extending over a chronological range probably exceeding two millennia. The range of inscriptions is also broad in terms of mediums, languages, scripts, and contents.

Epigraphy is a complex field and it is impossible to cover all the aspects of epigraphic research for such an area as wide as Southeast Asia in one volume. The two main aims of this book are, first to present the current situation of the discipline, notably through a “corpus” perspective, and secondly to look at the history of the discipline which is just 200 years old in Southeast Asia. Several volumes would be needed to deal with technical issues and other aspects of interest more to specialists.

The hope is that this choice will contribute to drawing the attention of non-specialists, especially students, to this publication, and perhaps to generating vocations.

Daniel PERRET

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## Abbreviations

<i>AA</i>	<i>Artibus Asiae</i>
<i>ARASI</i>	<i>Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India</i>
<i>ASB</i>	Archaeological Survey of Burma
<i>ASI</i>	Archaeological Survey of India
<i>BBHC</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission</i>
<i>BCAI</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine</i>
<i>BCE</i>	Before Common Era
<i>BE</i>	Buddhist Era
<i>BEFEO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
<i>BHC</i>	Burma Historical Commission
<i>BKI</i>	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van de Koninklijk Instituut</i>
<i>BMJ</i>	<i>Brunei Museum Journal</i>
<i>BPA</i>	<i>Berita Penelitian Arkeologi</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>CE</i>	Common Era
<i>CMI</i>	<i>Corpus of Mon Inscriptions</i> (Chit Thein 1965)
<i>CS</i>	Culasakkaraj
<i>DMI</i>	<i>Dictionary of the Mon inscriptions</i> (Shorto 1971)
<i>EB</i>	<i>Epigraphia Birmanica</i> (Taw Sein Ko & Duroiselle 1919–1936)
<i>EFEO</i>	École française d'Extrême-Orient
<i>EI</i>	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
<i>ENI</i>	<i>Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië</i>
<i>EPHE</i>	École Pratique des Hautes Études
<i>FAD</i>	Fine Arts Department, Ministry of Culture, Bangkok
<i>FMJ</i>	<i>Federation Museums Journal</i>
<i>IB</i>	<i>Inscriptions of Burma</i> (Luce & Pe Maung Tin 1933–1956)
<i>IC</i>	<i>Inscriptions du Cambodge</i> (Cœdès 1937–1966)
<i>INALCO</i>	Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales
<i>ISC</i>	<i>Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge</i> (Barth 1885)
<i>ISEAS</i>	The Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
<i>IT</i>	Inscriptions from Thailand (FAD)
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JASB</i>	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
<i>JBGKW</i>	<i>Jaarboek van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</i>
<i>JBRS</i>	<i>Journal of the Burma Research Society</i>
<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of Burma Studies</i>
<i>JFMSM</i>	<i>Journal of Federated Malay States Museums</i>
<i>JIAEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia</i>
<i>JMBRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society</i>

<i>JPTS</i>	<i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JRASGBI</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
<i>JSBRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JSEAS</i>	<i>Journal of South-East Asian Studies</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of the Siam Society</i>
<i>KITLV</i>	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
<i>List</i>	<i>A list of inscriptions found in Burma</i> (Charles Duroiselle 1921)
<i>ME</i>	Myanmar Era
<i>MEP</i>	Missions Étrangères de Paris
<i>MHRJ</i>	<i>Myanmar Historical Research Journal</i>
<i>MM</i>	Middle Mon
<i>NBG</i>	<i>Notulen van de Algemeene en Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</i>
<i>NYXB</i>	<i>Nanyang xuebao</i> 南洋學報
<i>OBEP</i>	<i>Old Burma – Early Pagán</i> (Luce 1969–1970, 1974)
<i>OBI</i>	Old Myanmar Inscriptions (Department of Archaeology)
<i>OD</i>	Oudheidkundige Dienst
<i>OM</i>	Old Mon
<i>OV</i>	<i>Oudheidkundig Verslag uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</i>
<i>PEFEO</i>	Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Inscriptions of Burma</i> (Luce & Pe Maung Tin 1933–1956)
<i>REO</i>	<i>Revue de l'Extrême-Orient</i>
<i>RSASB</i>	<i>Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of Burma</i>
<i>SOAS</i>	School of Oriental and African Studies
<i>TBG</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>
<i>TNI</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië</i>
<i>TNAG</i>	<i>Tijdschrift van de Nederlandsch Aardrijkundig Genootschap</i>
<i>TP</i>	<i>T'oung Pao</i> 通報
<i>VBG</i>	<i>Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap der Kunsten en Wetenschappen</i>
<i>VKI</i>	Verhandelingen van de Koninklijk Instituut
<i>VG</i>	<i>Verspreide Geschriften</i>



# The Corpus of Inscriptions in the Old Malay Language

Arlo GRIFFITHS

*École française d'Extrême-Orient*

Old Malay can be defined as the variant of the Malay language found in documents written in an Indic (i.e., Brāhmī-derived) system of writing. This is a positive way of formulating what is in fact a negative definition, aiming to capture the state(s) of the Malay language before it had undergone any influence from Arabic and Persian, i.e., the forms of Malay seen in manuscripts or in inscriptions written in Jawi script, or modern forms of (spoken or written) Malay, all of which are marked by a significant percentage of Arabic loan vocabulary. We see the unarabised language Old Malay almost exclusively in inscriptions, engraved on stone or metal artefacts from what is now Indonesia, dating from the seventh to the fifteenth century, after which the writing of Malay in Indic script seems to have died out. To my knowledge, just one document from this period falling under the adopted definition has been found within the boundaries of what is now Malaysia, but it is a borderline case. One important Old Malay inscription has been found in the Philippines; a very fragmentary inscription from Singapore also seems to be in Old Malay. It has recently been demonstrated that a manuscript from Kerinci in Sumatra is likely to date to the fourteenth century, and both its language and its script agrees with what we see in inscriptions of this period. So there is every reason to class the language of this manuscript as Old Malay too, and to believe there was once a broad tradition of manuscripts written in this language, among which at least this one has been preserved into the present.<sup>1</sup>

The first systematic philological studies of Old Malay documents, i.e., almost exclusively inscriptions, were undertaken by G. Cœdès (1930) and J.G. de Casparis (1950, 1956). They subjoined word-lists to their editions of a number of Old Malay inscriptions. The Indonesian scholar Boechari (1966, 1979, 1986—all three articles republished in Boechari 2012) edited several further Old Malay inscriptions, but did not pursue the lexicographical effort of his predecessors. Since then, quite a few others papers have been published on Old Malay inscriptions, but most of them have failed to throw significant new light on the subject, and do not live up to the standards set by Cœdès, De Casparis and Boechari.

The attraction of these documents lies in the fact that they take us quite far back to the historical origins of the Malay language, and the people who spoke, wrote and read it. Systematic and comprehensive study of these documents might be expected to be a well-established field in a nation such as Malaysia, where Malay identity is a key socio-political factor, or in a nation

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1. See Kozok 2006, and my review of this book in *BKI* 166 [1], 2010: 133–138. Since the drafting of the present article in 2011, an important new publication on the same manuscript has been published: Kozok *et al.* 2015. It was alas impossible for me to take this work into account in finalising this article for publication.

such as Indonesia, where Malay is admittedly not the basis of national identity, but still the matrix of the national language. Such is, however, not at all the case.

None of the more recent studies treats Old Malay both systematically and comprehensively. There are three articles (in chronological order by Machi Suhadi 1983, Sukarto Atmodjo 1985 and Richadiana Kartakusuma 1999) focusing only on the Old Malay inscriptions found on Java. All these articles are inspired by the authors' surprise that Malay inscriptions were produced in Java. They do not treat these documents against the background of Old Malay inscriptions trans-regionally, and are based on certain presuppositions about the relationship between Malay and Javanese as foreign vs. local languages in Java, that in my view ought to be posed as questions rather than assumed to hold true. By far the most systematic and most informative publication of recent years is the grammatical study by Waruno Mahdi (2005). But this study too limits its discussion to only a group of Old Malay inscriptions, namely those produced in seventh-century Śrīvijaya, and this "for the sake of dialectal uniformity".

One might debate the desirability of prioritising dialectal uniformity in the description of a language with a very small corpus, rather than coverage of as wide a range of grammatical phenomena as possible. What is clear is that Waruno Mahdi's choice has led to certain facts that are of primary importance for the history of the Old Malay language being left unmentioned, for no other reason than their occurring in inscriptions falling out of the chosen dialectological purview. A case in point is the ca. ninth-century inscription (figs. 1–3) from the Dieng Plateau in Central Java that presents an inventory of a Śiva temple, and has not received the attention that it deserves among scholars of Malay.

## Text<sup>2</sup>

### Face A

- (1) || namaś śivāya | devadra-
- (2) vya hulun· ḍu°apuluḥ
- (3) karvo sapuluḥ °a(las)·
- (4) (ka)cañan· ḍu°a, padyusan·
- (5) ḍu[°a,] (gaṃ)gun·, karaha pad (va-)
- (6) tu, (tatas)· lnam, caranti li-
- (7) ma, vūm (pad va)tu, parsarinasi-
- (8) yan· (ta)mvaga, sapuluḥ va-
- (9) tu, māś· ḍu tahl·, jami-
- (10) niga pad vatu, caturangam

### Face B

- (1) , kai(m)l laki, sajugala ||
- (2) lum̄sir ṣavatu || vi(tādi)
- (3) ḍu°a vatu, taṇḍa taṇḍa
- (4) ḍu°alapan·, suruy· ga-
- (5) ḍiñ·, carmin· | batu cərmi-
- (6) n·, vum̄vum̄ vala, karantiga ḍu-
- (7) °a, ṣaṇḍuk· ḍu°a || guci
- (8) pat vatu, vatu kākkyañ·
- (9) ḍu°a, (ḍā)m̄ | °eka teja ḍam̄ hyam̄

2. Given the uncertain meaning of much of the text, many word divisions and readings are uncertain. Not without a degree of arbitrariness, some particularly uncertain *akṣaras* are enclosed in (...), while lost ones are restored between [...]. The text was first established on the basis of Brandes' reading (1913, no. XCVI), controlled by using the photo OD 3519 (fig. 1) and inspecting the stone at the National Museum at Jakarta (inv. no. D. 11) on 11/10/2011. The result was then checked against Stutterheim's revised reading (1938a), and finally against the photos reproduced here as figs. 2 and 3. Stutterheim rightly remarks that the use of punctuation seems unsystematic. While I do not list all variants between published readings and my own, I may point out that it was Schoterman (1981: 432) who proposed the correction of the reading *kail laki*, unanimously favoured by his predecessors, into *kaiml laki*. He noted that the *anusvāra* (*m̄*) is "clearly visible in the incisions of the inscription" and believed that this spelling is "the result of a very rigorous application of the Skt rules of *sandhi*, the 'basic' form being *kain laki*". Although I do not find the *anusvāra* clear, I provisionally retain Schoterman's reading.

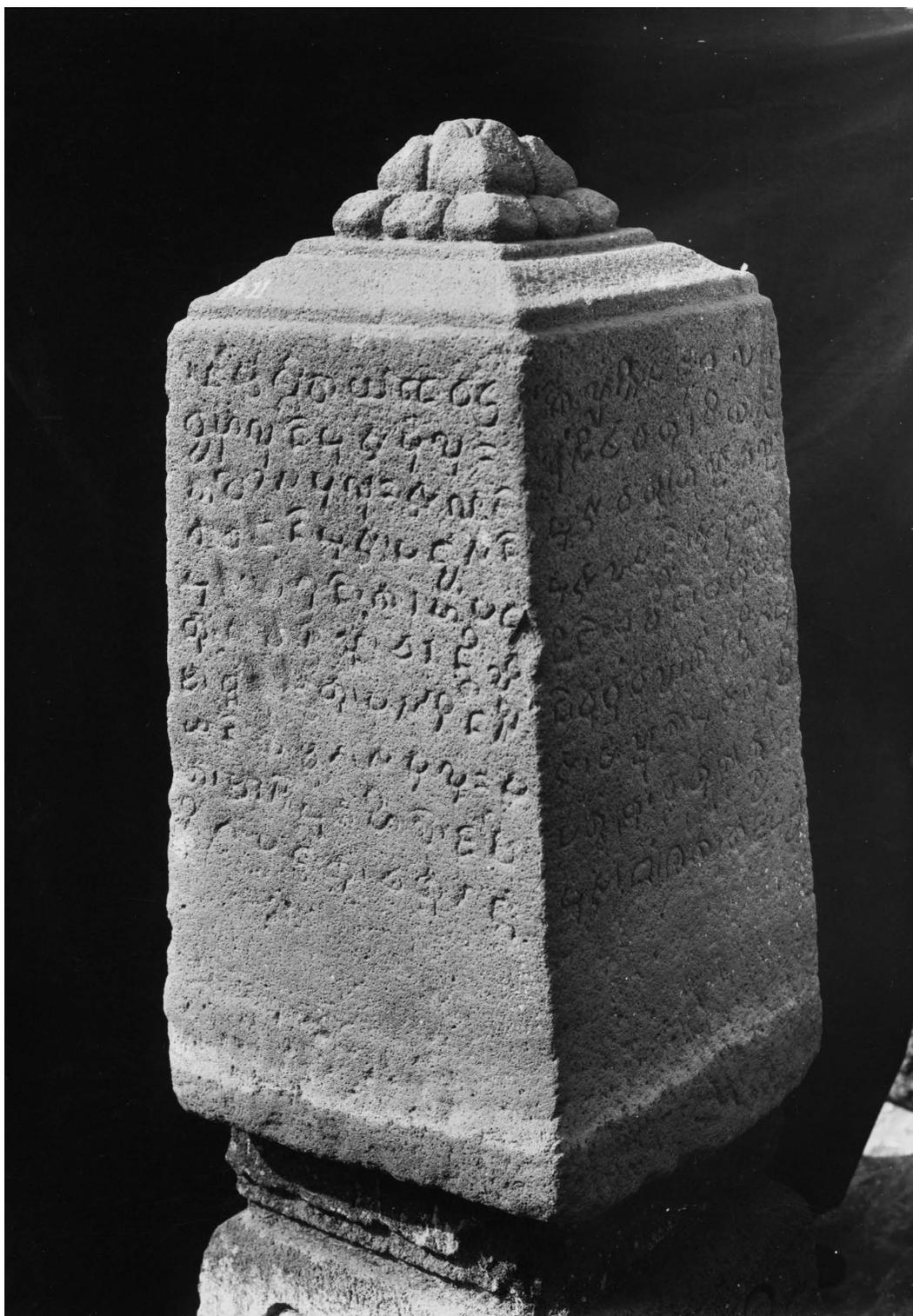


Figure 1. — Stone from the Dieng plateau inscribed on two faces. National Museum, Jakarta, inv. no. D.11.  
Photo OD 3519, courtesy of Leiden University Library, special collections.



**Figure 2.** — Photo taken by Emmanuel Francis in 2010 of the same stone as shown in fig. 1, face A.



**Figure 3.** — Photo taken by Emmanuel Francis in 2010 of the same stone as shown in fig. 1, face B.

### **Translation**

Homage to Śiva! Property of the god: twenty slaves; ten buffaloes; two platters for beans (? , *alas kacañan*); two wash-basins; four items (*batu*) of *gaṅgun karaha*, *tatas lnañ*; five *carantis*; four items of *vūñ*; ten items of *parsarinasayan* of copper; two tael of gold; four items of *jaminiga*, neatly arranged (? , *caturangāñ*); cloth for a male, one pair; one item of *luñsir*-cloth; two items of *vitādi*; eight banners; a comb of ivory; a mirror; mica (or: a mirror of mica); *buñbuñ vala*; two candles; two spoons; four items of jars; two *kakyañ* stones; kettle, one; fire for the venerable one.<sup>3</sup>

3. In the context of a brief overview of the epigraphic record of the Dieng plateau, F.H. van Naerssen (1976: 300) summarises the inscription as follows: “Another inscription, undated and not even mentioning a donor, is an inventory of the “properties of the God” (*dewadrawya*): twenty slaves, ten buffaloes, two beanfields, two bathing places, gold, mirrors, ivory combs, and so forth. The inscription ends with the word “Ika teja ḍanghyyang [*sic*]”,

We see in this inscription, besides several lexical items that are unique or very rare and whose meaning I will not try to elucidate here, a grammatical phenomenon that is of great importance for the history of Malay language, namely the use of *vatu* = *batu* as numeral classifier—a syntactic particularity to which Stutterheim (1938a) already drew attention.

Also on the lexical level, the Old Malay corpus offers interesting data that one will miss as long as one looks only at the inscriptions of seventh-century Śrīvijaya. In a previous article, I myself mistakenly claimed that the Musi-river inscription that I published contained the “first Old Malay attestation of *vapa* /*bapa*/ ‘father’” (Griffiths 2011: 154, n. 25). I realised only later that this word is attested also in the older Sojomerto inscription, in a slightly different spelling. In lines 8–10 of that inscription, we read:

santanū namāṇḍa bāpaṇḍa bhadravati namaṇḍa °ayaṇḍa  
 ‘his father is called Santanū, his mother is called Bhadravati’

But there are many other aspects that make it worthwhile studying the Old Malay documents, beyond the history of Malay grammar and lexicon.

A comprehensive approach to Old Malay as a coherent corpus of texts would reveal the existence and persistence of certain expressions over centuries, indicating that Old Malay enjoyed the status of a—to some extent—standardised language. A case in point is the expression *sana tatkāla* ‘at that time’, used at the transition from dating formula to the principal part of an inscription, with variants such as *inan tatkāla* and *tatkala itu* (inscriptions Talang Tuwo, Laguna Copper-Plate, Tandihat I, Padang Roco, Si Topayan II).

A commonality of religious culture between eighth-century Java and contemporary Sumatra is clear from a comparison of the Mañjuśrīgṛha and Talang Tuwo inscriptions, both of which comprise *prañidhānas* ‘Bodhisattva vows’ and hence seem to belong to a cluster of contemporary *prañidhāna* inscriptions in Sanskrit found in the Buddhist heartland.<sup>4</sup> The Mañjuśrīgṛha inscription, which dates to 793 CE and is composed in verse form, moreover requires pushing back the beginnings of Malay literature several centuries further than was recently admitted by W. van der Molen in his article on the Minye Tujuh inscription of 1380 CE.<sup>5</sup>

In recent years, the discovery of substantial numbers of inscribed tin foils from the Batang Hari River at Muara Jambi, and reportedly now also from the Musi at Palembang, has revealed an almost entirely new genre of inscribed materials that are part of the Old Malay corpus: these were magical spells, and the foils on which they were engraved were folded up to be used as amulets. Anticipating a more comprehensive study, I include here only one specimen (fig. 4). This small foil (2.5 × 5.1 cm), probably datable in the 1200–1500 range, bears the following text:

---

which can be translated in all probability as “This is the wealth [literally, “glory”] of the deified ancestors.” The summary partly reflects interpretations relying on Javanese rather than Malay lexicon, and for the final passage relies on a comment by Stutterheim. As far as I know, there is no reason to believe *teja* could mean ‘wealth’, while in Old Javanese *dañ hyañ* normally designates priests (see Zoetmulder 1950: 13–14) and it most probably means the same in Old Malay; moreover, the *akṣaras* read as °*ika* by Brandes and Stutterheim quite clearly must be °*eka*. That said, the alternative interpretation I propose here is also problematic.

4. See Tournier 2014. See also Griffiths 2014a: 147–148.

5. Van der Molen (2007: 357): “What amazes me as an outsider to the field of Malay literature is the ease with which such an important text as the Minye Tujuh inscription has been discarded. After all, we are talking about the very beginnings of Malay literature.”



Figure 4. — Tin foil recovered from the Batang Hari River at Muara Jambi.  
Courtesy of the Yayasan Padmasana, Jambi.

- (1) //<sup>6</sup> ya<sup>7</sup> sir(i)ḥ siriḥ pajiniḥ sila  
 (2) rtas· barkayin· pati tanan di-  
 (3) ri maka gantas· tanam ma-  
 (4) ri jañan digantas· tanan di-  
 (5) ri maka gantas· si galagaḥ si bu-  
 (6) rkat· si k(u)du si nirmula mu(ji) mu  
 (7) sāha ? di ? ca rakṣa rakṣa ||

‘Betel, betel ... please sever gently, wearing *pati* cloth, plant yourself, then pluck, plant yourself, don’t be plucked, plant yourself, then pluck the sugarcane grass, the sugar-palm, the bud, the rootless ... Protect, protect!’

I assume that *tanam diri* (2×) is a Sanskrit spelling equivalent to *tanam diri*, and that *tanammari* is a failed attempt to spell the latter. We find two semantically related verb forms (*rtas* = modern Malay *ratas*; *gantas* = *gantas*), and a multitude of plant names that can be identified for instance in Wilkinson’s dictionary (1959):

- *siriḥ*: the common word for betel, symbolising a fulfilled promise (betrothal, marriage);
- *galagaḥ* is *gāḷaga*, *gāḷagaḥ*, “Wild sugarcane grass, *Saccharum spontaneum*; proverbial for promise without performance”;
- *burkat* is *barkat*, which besides its usual meaning “blessing” (an Arabic loanword) is reported “also as a name for the sugar-palm”;
- *kudu* is reported to denote a specific herb, but can also mean ‘bud’.

The untranslated words in the spell are obscure and await elucidation.

6. The shape of the opening punctuation sign // (which would be called *adæg-adæg* in Javanese) is seen on Sumatra also in one of the Sorik Merapi inscriptions (Griffiths 2014: fig. 15b).

7. *ya*: the presence of *i*- and *u*-vocalisation above and beneath what looks like a *ya* is presumably meant to cancel this *akṣara*. Such a cancellation strategy is well known from Javanese manuscripts (Acri 2011: 87).

In conclusion, what is needed now is a corpus approach to Old Malay, which requires as first step that we establish which documents belong to the corpus, i.e., which documents satisfy the definition proposed above. The main contribution offered here is an expanded, though still provisional, inventory of Old Malay inscriptions. My inventory, building on the one published by Waruno Mahdi (2005: 185) and retaining its system of indication of dialectally diagnostic prefixes, is shown in the table below. The inscriptions have been arranged by provenance (and chronologically within the groups ‘Java’ and ‘Bangka and Sumatra’) rather than alphabetically. I have economised on the references, and added a substantial number of items not figuring in Waruno Mahdi’s list.

There are several other items that could arguably be added here: very short inscriptions of as little as one word, not showing any explicit Old Malay morphology, such as the *kisut* brick from Bumi Ayu (Griffiths 2011: 157) and the inscribed lion sculptures from Padang Lawas (Griffiths 2014: 231–233), but since the corpus of Old Malay inscriptions is linguistically defined, I leave out such items whose linguistic position is not explicitly Malay. Finally, I am at this stage still unable to include the amulet-inscriptions, mentioned above, because I have not yet advanced sufficiently in studying the material that has been brought to my attention since 2014.

Provisional Inventory of Old Malay Inscriptions					
Mahdi 2005	Inscription Name	Date (CE)	Diagnostic Prefixes	Provenance	Principal References
<b>Java</b>					
√	Sojomerto	7th c.	—	Central Java	Boechari (1966)
√	Manjuśrīgrha	793	<i>mar-</i>	Central Java	Boechari (1991–1992); Griffiths (forthc.)
√	Bukateja	ca. 800	—	Central Java	De Casparis (1956: 207–211); Damais (1968a: 439); Griffiths 2013
√	Dieng / Temple inventory	9th c.	—	Central Java	Stutterheim (1938a)
√	Dang Puhawang Gelis (Gandasuli I)	827	—	Central Java	Damais (1955: 133–136)
√	Sang Hyang Wintang (Gandasuli II)	832	<i>di-</i> , <i>var-/mar-</i>	Central Java	De Casparis (1950: 50–73)
√	Bogor (Rakryan Juru Pangambat)	932	<i>bar-/mar-</i>	West Java	Bosch (1941)
<b>Sumatra and Bangka</b>					
√	Sabokingking A (Telaga Batu) Naga stone	680–700	<i>ni-</i> , <i>mar-</i>	Palembang	De Casparis (1956: 15–47)
√	Sabokingking B (similar to Kedukan Bukit)	ca. 680	—	Palembang	De Casparis (1956: 11–15)
√	Kedukan Bukit	683	<i>mar-</i>	Palembang	Boechari (1986)

Mahdi 2005	Inscription Name	Date (CE)	Diagnostic Prefixes	Provenance	Principal References
√	Talang Tuwo	684	<i>ni-</i> , <i>mar</i>	Palembang	Cœdès (1930: 38–44)
√	Kota Kapur	686	<i>ni-</i> , <i>mar-</i>	Bangka	Cœdès (1930: 46–50)
—	Kambang Purun	7th c.	<i>ni-</i> <i>mar-</i>	Palembang	Griffiths (2011: 146–148)
√	Karang Brahi (similar to Kota Kapur)	7th c.	<i>ni-</i> , <i>mar-</i>	Jambi	Cœdès (1930: 45); Boechari (1979)
√	Palas Pasemah (similar to Kota Kapur)	7th c.	<i>ni-</i>	Lampung	Boechari (1979)
—	Boom Baru (similar to Kota Kapur)	7th c.	<i>ni-</i>	Palembang	Griffiths (2011: 148–151)
—	Bungkuk (similar to Kota Kapur)	7th c.	<i>ni-</i> , <i>mar-</i>	Lampung	Boechari (1986)
—	Musi river	10th c.	—	Palembang	Griffiths (2011: 151–156)
√	Hujung Langit (Bawang)	997	—	Lampung	Damais (1962)
—	Gunung Tua	1039	<i>bar-</i>	Padang Lawas	Griffiths (2014, §1.1.2)
—	Papai	11th c.	—	Padang Lawas	Griffiths (2014, §1.1.1)
—	Rokan (Porlak Dolok)	12th c.	—	Padang Lawas	Griffiths (2014, §1.1.3)
—	Tandihat I (Si Joreng Belangah)	1179	—	Padang Lawas	Griffiths (2014, §1.1.4)
—	Padang Roco	1286	<i>di-</i>	Dharmasraya	Krom (1917)
—	Bukit Gombak I	1356	<i>di-</i> , <i>bar-</i>	Tanah Datar	Krom (1912)
—	Minye Tujuh	1380	—	Aceh	Van der Molen (2007)
—	Gudam II	14th c.	<i>bar-</i>	Tanah Datar	De Casparis (1989)
—	Lubuk Layang	14th c.	—	Pasaman	Griffiths ms.-2
—	Si Topayan I	15th c.	<i>ba-</i>	Padang Lawas	Griffiths (2014, §1.1.5)
—	Si Topayan II	15th c.	<i>ba-</i>	Padang Lawas	Griffiths (2014, §1.1.6)
√	Ulu Belu	15th c.	—	Lampung	Damais (1962a)
—	Dadak	15th c.	<i>bar-</i>	Lampung	Hasan Djafar n.d.
<b>Borneo</b>					
—	Sambas silver foil	8th or 9th c.	—	West Kalimantan	Griffiths (2014a, §1)
<b>Luzon</b>					
√	Laguna copper plate	900	<i>di-</i> , <i>bar-</i>	Laguna	Postma (1992)

<b>Mahdi 2005</b>	<b>Inscription Name</b>	<b>Date (CE)</b>	<b>Diagnostic Prefixes</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>Principal References</b>
<b>Singapore</b>					
—	Singapore stone	10th c.	—	Singapore	De Casparis (1975: 45)
<b>Peninsular Malaysia</b>					
—	Ahmat Majanu's Tombstone	1467/8	<i>bar-</i>	Pangkalan Kempas	De Casparis (1980)

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