Towards a Corpus of Inscriptions Issued during Airlangga's Reign in Eastern Java: A Provisional Inventory and Four New Inscriptions

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Abstract

Observing a bewildering mix of fact and fiction in the historiographic reception of King Airlangga (Eastern Java, c. 1019–1052 CE), while abundant primary source material — in the form of inscriptions — remains poorly explored, the authors attempt in this contribution to lay the foundations for future scholarly research on the history of Airlangga's reign. To this end, they first present an inventory including not only inscriptions that can be positively identified as issued by Airlangga, based on their contents, but also those that can be assigned to his reign with some plausibility on the basis of other arguments. The authors then proceed to illustrate, through a handful of shorter case studies, the challenges in determining whether given inscriptions belong to this corpus, fragmented as it is in several ways. Next they turn to the full edition and translation of four inscriptions that have so far not or hardly been taking account in the historiography of 11th-century Java. The study is enriched with an overview of the new data for Old Javanese lexicography contained in the inscriptions here published. And it is concluded with a discussion both of the historical implications of the new source material and of the perspectives for further developing the new approach that is here brought to bear.

Keywords: epigraphy; history; territory; Lamongan; Old Javanese lexicon.

Résumé

Constatant un déroutant mélange de faits et de fiction dans la réception historiographique du roi Airlangga (Java oriental, vers 1019-1052 de notre ère) alors qu'il existe d'abondantes sources primaires sous forme d'inscriptions qui demeurent inexplorées, les auteurs tentent dans cette contribution de jeter les bases nécessaires pour de futures recherches sur le règne d'Airlangga. Pour ce faire, ils dressent d'abord un inventaire des inscriptions identifiées avec certitude grâce à leur contenu comme ayant été émises par Airlangga en personne, mais aussi de celles probablement assignables à son règne sur la base d'autres arguments. Quelques études de cas illustrent les difficultés que l'on rencontre pour savoir si des inscriptions données appartiennent ou non à ce corpus, fragmenté à plusieurs égards. Ensuite, les auteurs proposent une édition complète et une traduction intégrale de quatre

inscriptions qui, jusqu'ici, n'ont été que peu ou pas prises en compte dans l'historiographie de l'île de Java au XI^e siècle. L'étude s'accompagne d'un aperçu des nouvelles données lexicographiques du vieux javanais issues des inscriptions publiées ici. Elle se clôt sur une discussion soulignant les implications historiques des sources présentement éditées et les perspectives de poursuite de l'approche novatrice développée dans ces pages.

Mots-clés : épigraphie ; histoire ; territoire ; Lamongan ; lexique vieux javanais.

Abstrak

Mencermati adanya percampuran antara fakta dan fiksi yang membingungkan dalam memahami historiografi Raja Airlangga (Jawa Timur, c. 1019–1052 M), sedangkan sumber primer berupa prasasti berlimpah namun tetap tidak tereksplorasi dengan baik, maka melalui makalah ini penulis bermaksud berkontribusi meletakkan dasar penelitian ilmiah di masa mendatang tentang sejarah pemerintahan Airlangga. Dalam kajian ini pertama-tama disusun inventarisasi prasasti, baik yang sudah pasti dikeluarkan oleh Airlangga secara pribadi, maupun yang kemungkinan berasal dari pemerintahan Airlangga berdasarkan alasan yang kurang lebih berbobot. Kemudian, dalam beberapa studi kasus pendek, penulis menggambarkan tantangan dalam memutuskan apakah prasasti tertentu termasuk korpus prasasti Airlangga atau bukan, yang dilakukan dengan berbagai cara. Selanjutnya disampaikan edisi lengkap beserta terjemahannya dari empat prasasti yang sejauh ini belum atau hampir tidak diperhitungkan dalam historiografi Jawa abad ke-11. Makalah ini kemudian menjabarkan ikhtisar data leksikografi Jawa Kuno baru yang terdapat pada prasasti-prasasti yang diterbitkan di sini. Penulis akhirnya menyoroti baik implikasi historis dari sumber-sumber baru maupun perspektif untuk pengembangan lebih lanjut dari pendekatan yang diterapkan dalam makalah ini.

Kata kunci: epigrafi; sejarah; wilayah; Lamongan; leksikon Jawa Kuno.

Towards a Corpus of Inscriptions Issued during Airlangga's Reign in Eastern Java

A Provisional Inventory and Four New Inscriptions

Titi Surti Nastiti, Eko Bastiawan & Arlo Griffiths*

1. Airlangga in fact and fiction

The story of how King Airlangga, who ruled in East Java for about three decades in the 11th century, engaged a Buddhist holy man, called Mpu Bharāḍa, to effect a ritual division of his realm is briefly related by Mpu Prapañca in cantos 68 and 69 of his famous chronicle, the *Deśavarṇana* (formerly referred to as the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*), a work finished in 1365 CE. The single manuscript (from the Puri Cakranagara in Lombok) that was available for philological study of the chronicle during the formative years of the historiography of Java has a gap in the first stanza of canto 68. With the discovery of new manuscripts in the 1970s, to which Stuart Robson had indirect access when preparing his translation published in 1995, it has become possible to restore and translate the complete form of stanza 68.1 as follows:

> *nāhan tattvanikaṅ kamal vidita deniṅ sampradāya sthiti,*
> *ṅūnī śāka yugādrinanda paṅadəg śrī jaṅgaleṅ jīvana,*
> *mvaṅ śrī pañjalunātha riṅ daha təvəkniṅ yāvabhūmy āpaliḥ,*
> *śrī airlaṅga sirāṅdani ry asihirān pānak ri saṅ rva prabhu*.[1]
>
> 'And so this is the tale of the tamarind-tree, known through a reliable tradition: Formerly, in Śāka 'ages-mountains-Nanda' (974, i.e. in 1052 CE), the reign of the ruler of Jaṅgala in Jīvana and the ruler of Pañjalu in Daha, was the time when the land of Java was divided into two – King Airlaṅga brought it about out of love as he had the two kings as children.'[2]

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1. Reading cited from a draft new edition of the text by Arlo Griffiths & Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan. On the discovery of new manuscripts at Amlapura and Sidemen, see Hinzler & Schoterman 1979. None of those manuscripts have ever been made generally available. But a copy of the Amlapura manuscript was made on paper by Dewa Gede Catra in 1984. It is on this copy that our reading essentially relies, as line 2 is omitted in the Cakranagara and Sidemen manuscripts. Hinzler & Schoterman 1979: 483 cite the reading *ṅūni śāka yugādrinandana ṅadəg śrī jaṅgaleṅ jīvana*, which is unmetrical (*ṅūni*) and yields no sense (*-nandana ṅadəg*). Robson 1995: 134 gives the reading *maṅadəg* for *paṅadəg*.

2. Our translation is slightly adapted from Robson's, in which the phrases "King Jaṅgala" and "King Pañjalu" can give the wrong impression that these were personal names. The text says that

As shown by Hadi Sidomulyo in his seminal article (2011), the memory of this momentous event in the 11th century came to have extraordinary political importance in the 13th and 14th centuries. Indeed the event is known mainly from sources postdating it by several centuries.

For the chronology of events earlier in Airlangga's reign, the Pucangan charter issued by Airlangga in 963 is crucial, as it relates aspects of his biography both in the Sanskrit eulogy engraved on one face and in the Old Javanese charter engraved on the other to record the foundation of a monastery on the mountain called Pūgavat (Sanskrit) or Pucaṅan (Old Javanese), identifiable as the Mt Pucangan in *kabupaten* (hereinafter *kab.*) Jombang, where the stela must have been discovered in the early 19th century (Stutterheim 1937: 409–410; Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2011: 96; Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2012: 136). This inscription, published early in the 20th century by H. Kern and J. L. A. Brandes, still awaits a new critical edition and reevaluation in the light of the present state of scholarship.[3] But one of the facts that emerges from it quite clearly is that Airlangga claimed descent from a Javanese princess and a Balinese prince.[4]

It is probably this connection with Bali that explains the extraordinary importance attached to Airlangga in the Balinese tradition, notably in the various tellings of the story of Calon Arang.[5] This recounts a time when Airlangga's kingdom was afflicted by a plague caused magically by a widow from Girah who felt offended because no one proposed to her daughter. Thanks to Mpu Bharāḍa's trickery, the plague was brought to an end. Then Airlangga sent the holy man to Bali to ask for the kingdom of Bali on behalf of his second son. In the absence of a ruling king, the request was made to Mpu Bharāḍa's elder brother, the great sage called Mpu Kuturan, residing in a hermitage on Bali. But he did not consent. As an alternative, it is then decided to divide the kingdom between Airlangga's two sons, and the rest of the story recounts how Mpu Bharāḍa assisted Airlangga in effecting the division and bringing peace between the two territories.

Besides his legendary status in such literary works transmitted on Bali that postdate his reign by several centuries, there is also a classic *kakavin*, the *Arjunavivāha*, that was composed under his patronage.[6] And then there

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Jīvana and Daha were the names of the palaces (*kraton*s) located within the kingdoms called Jaṅgala and Pañjalu, respectively. In the *Deśavarṇana* context, the equivalence Jīvana = Kahuripan can be confirmed by comparing 1.4b and 2.2d. The distinction between 'palace' (*nagara*) and 'land' (*bhūmi*) is clearly reflected in the wording of Kertanagara's Mula-Malurung charter (1177 Śaka), which differentiates *nagara daha* from *bhūmi kaḍiri* (7r4).

3. This is now in preparation. See Dezső & Griffiths, forthcoming.

4. The genealogy is recounted in Sanskrit, in stanzas V through XV. The charter uses a few synonyms for Airlangga's name, such as Nīralaṅga and Jalalaṅga. On the name Airlangga, see Stutterheim 1929 and Poerbatjaraka 1930.

5. The oldest manuscript containing a telling of the Calon Arang story is a prose version. It is the *lontar* kept at the University Library in Leiden with shelfmarks Or. 5387/5279, copied in 1462 Śaka (1546 CE). See Suastika 1997.

6. See Robson (2008: 1–3) and Berg (1938). See now also Klokke 2022.

are some archaeological remains, such as sculptures[7] or temples,[8] that have been connected with Airlangga over a century of scholarship, though rarely with a high degree of plausibility.

Compared with the bewildering mix of fact and fiction not only in the traditional reception of King Airlangga on Java and Bali, as reflected in the *Deśavarṇana*, the story of Calon Arang and other retrospective sources we need not detail here, but also in modern scholarship based on such sources, the historian finds in the inscriptions issued by the sovereign during his lifetime a much richer and in many respects more reliable set of source material. The king's intensive patronage of various communities or institutional agents in the socio-religious landscape of his realm is attested by the survival of at least 19 inscriptions, written on either stone or copper plate, known with certainty to have been issued by him. There are futhermore three incompletely preserved copper-plate inscriptions not mentioning his name that may also be confidently ascribed to the period of Airlangga's reign,[9] plus another 24 stone inscriptions, which are often extremely worn, sometimes to the point of preserving no legible text at all — some of which still have the potential to be proven to have been issued by Airlangga or during his reign. Many of these inscriptions are no longer in their original place of discovery but have been transferred to museums in Indonesia and abroad. A small number have been disseminated to private collections. We furnish below (pp. 79–82) two tables listing all the relevant inscriptions.

Although relatively more attention has been given to the reign of Airlangga and its epigraphic corpus than to other periods of Javanese history,[10] a number of unpublished inscriptions remain, and these were the initial motivation for visiting *kab.* Jombang in the course of the field trip led by Titi Surti Nastiti in

7. See for instance the speculative dating to Airlangga's reign of the unique *sapta-ṛṣi* sculpture from Emboh in the article dedicated to it by Bosch (1961). A much-discussed relief sculpture on a stone formerly serving as waterspout at Belahan has also been connected with Airlangga by some scholars: Stutterheim, for instance, attempted to interpret the sculpture as a pictorial chronogram which he thought represented the words *candra ṛṣi rāhu* for the value 995 or 1049 CE, and interpreted this as Airlangga's year of decease (1935: 198); his interpretation was recently defended — unconvincingly, in our opinion — by Jordaan (2007). See also the discussion by Lunsingh Scheurleer (2009) of a sculpture of Garuḍa carrying Viṣṇu, which has been widely associated with the figure of Airlangga.

8. The association of Airlangga with the monuments of Jolotundo and Belahan on Mt Penanggungan can be traced back to the speculations of G. P. Rouffaer early in the last century. This association has been effectively debunked by Th. A. Resink (1967, 1968) but persists in popular imagination. A more promising connection is that with the Patakan temple site (*desa* Pataan, *kecamatan* Sambeng, *kabupaten* Lamongan). After excavating here in 2020, a team of archaeologists concluded that it can be associated with a religious structure from the period of Airlangga in the 11th century (Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya Provinsi Jawa Timur 2020: 30). Two ascertained Airlangga inscriptions (Pamwatan and Bularut) and three other inscriptions (Sumbersari I, Sumbersari II, and Nogojatisari) putatively issued by Airlangga have been found in the same *kecamatan*. The Patakan inscription is of uncertain provenance, but concerns a *sīma* at Patakan, and is very likely to have been found near the archaeological site in question. The Pasar Legi inscription, situated in *kecamatan* Ngimbang at merely 7 km distance from the temple, also mentions the same *sīma*. See n. 34, §5.5 and §8 below.

9. See §5.2 and §5.4 below, on the Anjatan, Bimalasrama and Balambangan charters.

10. E.g., de Casparis (1958), Ninie Susanti (2003, 2010), Jordaan (2006, 2007). Note that Ninie Susanti submitted her PhD thesis under the name Ninny Susanti Tejowasono, but to avoid needless complication we have decided to refer to her work consistently under her commonly known name Ninie Susanti.

2012, during which estampages were made of inscriptions in various regencies, including Jombang where we documented the Munggut and Kusambyan inscriptions that will play an important role in this article.[11] Since then, provisional studies of the Munggut, Kusambyan and Sima Anglayang inscriptions by Titi Surti Nastiti have shown the great amount of new data that are preserved in unpublished inscriptions, and inspired Eko Bastiawan to undertake a preliminary survey of the inscriptions that are *in situ* or preserved at museums in Indonesia, while he and Arlo Griffiths have been collaborating on an inventory and integral edition of the corpus of Airlangga inscriptions. The three of us had occasion to carry out joint fieldwork and acquire important new visual documentation in Lamongan and neighboring regencies in November 2022.[12]

This article aims to make public the results of our work so far, laying the foundations for future scholarly research on this period of Javanese history. We present our inventory in provisional and somewhat simplified form, including both inscriptions that can be positively identified as issued by Airlangga, based on their contents, and those that can be assigned to his reign with some plausibility on the basis of other arguments. We will then present arguments for why we assign to Airlangga some items that have not been connected with his reign before. The core of this study is made up of editions of three new inscriptions integrally translated into English, plus a fragmentary fourth one edited without accompanying translation. We subjoin extensive notes on the lexicographic data contained in the new inscriptions. In conclusion, we reflect on the historical implications of these sources and on perspectives for work that must be accomplished before a complete corpus of the inscriptions of Airlangga can be published.

2. Findspots and places of current preservation

The only copper-plate inscriptions that can be assigned with certainty to Airlangga's reign are all reissues (*tinulad*) made in the Majapahit period, and no precise find spots have been recorded for any of them.[13] There is one incompletely preserved set that is an original issue (non-*tinulad*), whose issuer was probably Airlangga or else a contemporary *śrī mahārāja* who controlled a different part of Java — this is the Anjatan charter, preserved at what was until recently called Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya DIY, and has now become part of Balai Pelestarian Kebudayaan (hereinafter BPK), Wilayah X, whose findspot (in *kab.* Gunung Kidul of DIY) is known with precision, but does not necessarily lie anywhere close to the places with which the grant is concerned.

11. Titi Surti Nastiti was herself engaged around that time in a multi-year archaeological survey of *kab.* Jombang (see the reports Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2012 and Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2013). Subsequently, she led a similar survey in Lamongan (see Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2014 and Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2015).

12. The collaborative survey was carried out by a team of scholars from BRIN and EFEO and covered the *kabupaten*s of Sidoarjo, Lamongan, Tuban, Jombang, and Mojokerto. See the very recent publication of our report on this survey (Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023).

13. On reissued charters in Old Javanese epigraphy, see the remarks scattered throughout Griffiths 2020, and the conclusions formulated in that article on p. 136.

By far the majority of the *in situ* stone inscriptions known or supposed to have been issued under Airlangga are located in *kab.* Lamongan. Most of these stones, while still forming one whole, have been made from a type of limestone that is highly sensitive to corrosion and are extremely weather-beaten on their surface. The stone inscriptions of Banaran, Brumbun, Kalen, Mendogo, Nogojatisari, Pucakwangi, Pule, Purwokerto, Sumber Sari (I and II), Wide, and Wotan have little or no remaining text while our fieldwork has revealed that the stone of Pasar Legi (whose date has been read as 965 Śaka) is still partially decipherable, as are those of Drujugurit, Lemahbang, Sambangan I and Sendang Gede (also referred to as Ngimbang).

Further *in situ* inscriptions are found in *kabupaten*s Jombang and Sidoarjo. The inscription of Munggut (944 Śaka), in Jombang, is well preserved so that most *akṣara*s engraved on its surface are still legible. By contrast, the inscription of Kusambyan, certainly issued by Airlangga although the king's name is not preserved, stands *in situ* not far away from Munggut, unprotected and broken into pieces.

Situated among local residents' houses, the inscription of Kamalagyan (959 Śaka) in Sidoarjo is an unusual case. Engraved text is detectable only on one of the stela's faces, which must have been its front face, as this is where the text begins. The earliest publication by Brandes only mentions that the stela is engraved on one face (1913: 134–136) but Ninie Susanti argued that this stela was once engraved on all its four faces (2003: 418–419, 2010: 36). Having examined the surface of the stela carefully, we are unable to confirm Ninie Susanti's proposal. No traces of text can be observed on any of the other faces, so that the text may have been completed in the lowest, highly damaged lines of the front face, or else never have been engraved to completion.

The National Museum of Indonesia (MNI) in Jakarta houses several stone and copper-plate inscriptions of Airlangga. The inscriptions of Cane (943 Śaka), Baru (952 Śaka) and Patakan (date lost) entered the collection of the former *Bataviaasch Genootschap* relatively early in the 19th century, without their findspots in what was then *residentie* Soerabaja ever having been recorded with any precision, although all can be traced back to sites in *kab.* Lamongan. These stelae, as well as the so far entirely unstudied inscription of Bularut (964 Śaka), that entered the collection only in 1938, also from a site in Lamongan, are displayed in the archaeological collections gallery located right after the entrance to the museum. The museum moreover holds most of the copper-plate inscriptions, all reissues made in the 14th century (or perhaps in the 13th and 14th centuries), that preserve charters originally issued by Airlangga, namely Adulengen (945 Śaka), Terep (954 Śaka),[14] Gandhakuti (964 Śaka), and one plate of the Sima Anglayang

14. The charter of Terep comprises two distinct sets of plates, both incomplete, but partly overlapping. Both are preserved at Museum National under inv. no. E.79. Despite having essentially the same dimensions, namely 6 cm in height and 27.2–27.3 cm in width (Boechari 1985–1986: 160, 162; Ninie Susanti 2003: 394, 400 recorded a difference of only a millimeter for the width), the type of script engraved on the plates numbered 1 (E.79 a), 2 (E.79 e) and 3 (E.79 f) is different from that seen on the plates numbered 2 (E.79 b), 7 (E.79 c), and 8 (E.79 d).

charter (968 Śaka or later). We will present below our reasons for referring to the Adulengen charter (E.22) by that name, and not by the name Kakurugan. We will also explain why we consider that E.22 can be connected with a single plate preserved in Leiden, and that E.91 belongs to a larger set of plates that form part of the Sima Anglayang charter. The connection of the plate at Leiden and of the plate E.91 at Jakarta to Airlangga had not been recognized in previous scholarship.

Most of the stone inscriptions known or suspected to have been issued by Airlangga kept in the Unit Pengelolaan Informasi Majapahit (hereinafter UPIM) at Trowulan, Mojokerto, are fragmentary. Although the parts that are accessible show substantial legible text segments, the inscriptions of Pandaan (964 Śaka) and Silet (9?0 Śaka), which were discovered in *kab.* Mojokerto, are broken into pieces.[15] Airlangga's charter of Turun Hyang (948 or 958 Śaka), also from *kab.* Mojokerto, is in slightly better condition, as an attempt has been undertaken to reassemble all of its fragments.[16] Additionally, two big fragments of the Wilang-wilang inscription (945 or 955 Śaka?),[17] which originates from

15. It is only very recently, during our survey in November 2022, that the Silet inscription could be identified. Ninie Susanti (2003: 373–374 no. 6) and her student Bintang Megakusuma in his undergraduate thesis (2013), failing to detect any *sīma* name, referred to this inscription with the unusual designation Garudamukha, with reference to the emblem engraved on the top of the front face. Both of them assigned to the charter the date 945 Śaka. The same stone then also appeared in the museum's catalog under the name Garudamukha (Andi Muhammad Said *et al*. 2018: 11, no. 8). Reading on site, we were able to find on the main accessible face, the back of the stela, parts of the lines deciphered by Damais (1955: 233–234), as the text is engraved going around the stela line by line. In the parts we read, the toponym Silet figures more than once. We thus conclude that the stone in question is none other than the Silet inscription intended by Damais, so that there is no reason to use the name Garudamukha any longer. Damais dated the inscription to 940 Śaka, while noting that the cyclical dating elements are lost so that it is essentially his reading of the year on which his dating relies (1955: 233–234). If the reading 940 could be confirmed, the inscription of Silet would be Airlangga's earliest known inscription and contradict the Pucangan charter, whose stanza XV suggests that Airlangga became king in the month of Māgha of the year 941. However, Damais ignored the occurrence in this charter of *rakryān* Kanuruhan *mpu* Dharmamūrti Narottama among the highest state dignitaries, whereas this figure elsewhere appears first in the Baru charter (952 Śaka) and his position in the opening formula was occupied by *rakryān* Padaṅ *pu* Dvija in charters of 943 and 944 Śaka already known to Damais. We thus see that there are major external and internal objections to dating the Silet charter to the year 940. The date is engraved on the presently inaccessible front face. Using photos included in Bintang Megakusuma's undergraduate thesis, which he kindly shared with us, we provisionally conclude that the inscription was issued in 9?0 Śaka meaning that the second digit is illegible, the intended year likely being 960 or 970.

16. This very long inscription has not yet been fully published. It starts in the usual way with a grant (A) issued by Airlangga in 948 or 958 Śaka (Boechari 1968: 2 / 2012: 136–137), after which follows an additional grant (B) issued by Airlangga's direct or indirect successor, King Garasakan, apparently in [96]6 or [97]6 Śaka, only the 6 for the units being preserved. When he first discussed Turun Hyang B, Boechari proposed to reconstruct the date as 966 (1968: 2, 5 / 2012: 138, 143). He later revised his proposal to 976 after the discovery of new manuscripts of the *Deśavarṇana* in Bali (1990: 128, 134 / 2012: 440–441, 446). According to Boechari (1968: 13 n. 8 / 2012: 138 n. 8), the whole Turun Hyang charter was written during the time of Garasakan, meaning that he "had an existing edict of Airlangga copied on this stone and added his own to it".

17. On Wilang-wilang as the name of the *sīma*, see Krom 1931: 263. For the inscription, Krom gives the year 1033 CE, i.e. 955 Śaka, but we are unable to read the date on any of the images available to us. Meanwhile, we note that Krom assigns the year 1032 CE, i.e. 954 Śaka, to the Munggut inscription in the very same sentence, whereas we know that the latter actually dates to 944. For this reason, we suspect the Wilang-wilang charter may actually date to 945.

Katemas in *kab*. Jombang, are badly weathered.[18] Another inscription, which bears inv. no. MT 1436/BTA/-/-/PIM and has been mistakenly identified as Silet (Andi Muhammad Said *et al.* 2018: 164, no. 153), still needs to be deciphered but from the shape of the stela and from the lettering we deem it likely to have been issued by Airlangga. Nothing is known about its provenance and the name of the *sīma* with which it deals. UPIM furthermore holds a small fragment with inv. no. MT 16/BTA/ONB/24, showing a figure engraved on one side that resembles an emblem. The figure looks like a winged animal with at least two legs and is not identifiable as the *garuḍamukha* emblem observed in some inscriptions issued by Airlangga. Nevertheless, the inscription, of which remainders of five lines of text are found on the reverse, has been associated with Airlangga (Andi Muhammad Said *et al.* 2018: 166, no. 155), a hypothesis that we are at this stage unable to confirm or reject. Among the Museum's inscriptions that are relevant here, the only stone of which the support is still one whole is the one bearing inv. no. MT 100/BTA/ONB/24/PIM, another item whose provenance is entirely unknown. The text is badly weathered and only a few words can be recognized. Nevertheless, the paleographical aspects of the inscription and the shape of the stela suggest that this inscription too is from the time of Airlangga.[19] Finally, Ninie Susanti mentions that UPIM has two big baskets full of small fragments of stone inscriptions suspected to date from the reign of Airlangga (2003: 500–501, 2010: 31).[20]

Another museum holding epigraphic material issued by Airlangga is Museum Mpu Tantular in Sidoarjo. Fragments of a stone inscription originating from Lamongan were transferred to the *laboratorium* of IKIP Surabaya (where they were observed by Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma in 1996) before being transferred to Museum Mpu Tantular (where we have observed them in 2011 and during our latest visit to Museum Mpu Tantular in November 2022). The reading of the text preserved on these fragments leaves no doubt about their association with the Airlangga corpus.[21] The museum also houses fragments apparently belonging to a different stela potentially dating from the time of Airlangga. The provenance of these fragments is unclear but they might originate from *desa* Lasem, *kecamatan* (hereinafter *kec.*) Sedayu, *kab.* Gresik (*Tempo* magazine, 5th of July 1980: 39), although further investigation is needed to confirm this possibility.

18. These two fragments formerly lay in the yard of Bapak Masrur in *desa* Katemas, *kec.* Kudu, *kab.* Jombang before they were transferred to UPIM in 2003.

19. For more extensive discussion of the mentioned items kept at the PIM Museum, see Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.5.

20. We have not yet managed to confirm the presence of these specific loose fragments. It is imaginable that they are fragments from Pandaan, Silet, Turun Hyang, Wilang-wilang, and the anonymous stela with inv. no. MT 1436/BTA/-/-/PIM. But we tentatively propose that Ninie Susanti had in mind the fragments of the Garung inscription mentioned by Boechari (1990: 133–134 / 2012: 445–446) as having been sent in part to this museum and in part to IKIP Surabaya. See no. 19 in table 1.

21. Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma (1996: 50–51) mentioned three fragments. During our survey, we discovered that the two text segments which they labeled as the first and the third fragment are in fact found on two faces of a single fragment, and were able to complete the reading of all the text preserved on it. However, we were unable to locate the second fragment observed by Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma in the 1990s.

Museum Kambang Putih in Tuban possesses a stone inscription which is also believed to have been issued by Airlangga (Ninie Susanti 2003: 499–500, no. 33, 2010: 27–28). It is unclear when this stone, that originates from *desa* Gesikan, *kec.* Grabakan, *kab.* Tuban, was transferred to the museum, where as recently as 2019 it stood unprotected in the courtyard, though during our survey in November 2022 we found the stela displayed in the gallery of the museum. The stone is worn, only faint traces of *akṣara*s being left. The association of this inscription with Airlangga remains a matter of speculation. Finally, Museum Ranggawarsita in Semarang, Central Java, also holds a stone inscription that has been ascribed to the reign of Airlangga. The stela originates from *desa* Gajihan, *kec.* Gunungwungkal, *kab.* Pati. Little text still remains to be observed as the surface of the stone is badly weathered. However, when he inspected the stone himself in 1975, Boechari was able to identify some surviving *akṣara*s on which basis he argued that the inscription was issued during the reign of Airlangga (Teguh Asmar *et al.* 1975: 69, see also Wisseman 1977: 14).

Outside of Indonesia, several museums and institutions conserve further inscriptions of Airlangga. The inscription of Pucangan, also known as the Calcutta stone (963 Śaka), has been kept at the Indian Museum in Calcutta, now spelled Kolkata, for nearly two centuries. Two Majapahit-period plates of the Bimalasrama charter, a *tinulad* which we will argue is connected to Airlangga, are preserved in Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden (MVL), one plate that seems to be a 19th-century remake is kept in the National Library in Paris, while 19th-century facsimiles of authentic plates, now lost, of this same charter are preserved in Leiden University Library (UBL), and the National Libraries in Paris and Jakarta. As mentioned above, MVL also holds a plate that, as we will argue below, is the missing plate completing the set of five plates of the Adulengen charter kept in Jakarta. Lastly, four plates of the Sima Anglayang charter were circulated on the international antiques market in the 1990s, and are thus known to be outside of Indonesia, although their whereabouts now are unknown. Except the one plate mentioned above, E.91 at the National Museum in Jakarta, three other plates forming part of this set have been observed in Indonesia over the past century, and may be hoped still to be in Indonesian hands.[22]

3. Epigraphic and historiographic studies

Many of the previously mentioned inscriptions have been recorded and studied for more than a century by scholars of Javanese epigraphy. After the pre-scholarly decipherment of the Pucangan charter by Nata Kusuma, *panembahan* of Sumenep two centuries ago, whose work was published by Crawfurd (1816), it is in Cohen Stuart's *Kawi Oorkonden* (1875) and Brandes' *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden* (1913), that we find the first scholarly readings of several of Airlangga's inscriptions, most of which have never been critically re-edited or translated into English. Damais (1955) studied the dating

22. See below, §6.4, on the Sima Anglayang charter and its checkered history.

elements of all inscriptions known to him. De Casparis, in an inaugural lecture as *Guru Besar dalam mata pelajaran Sejarah Indonesia Lama dan Bahasa Sanskerta pada Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru Universitas Airlangga di Malang*, pronounced on 26th of April 1958, presented a summary of Airlangga's biography. Around the same time, Indonesian scholars started to participate in studying the relevant epigraphic material and its historical implications. We may refer in particular to the work of Poerbatjaraka (1941), Boechari (1962, 1968, 1985–1986, 1990), and the synthesis of scholarship up to the early 1980s that was included in vol. II of *SNI* (ed. 1990: 174–175, 185, 259, 261–264, *edisi pemutakhiran* 2008: 202, 211, 281–285).

In the course of the last decades, significant contributions have been made by Jan Wisseman Christie, who has first presented to the public the charter of Sima Anglayang in an article (1998a) which includes extensive extracts in translation. The actual text of the four plates first analyzed by Wisseman Christie, numbering 4, 13, 14, and 16, was eventually published by Titi Surti Nastiti in the appendix of her book on the role of women in ancient Java (2016a). The fragmentary stone of Kusambyan also caught the attention of Titi Surti Nastiti, whose 2013 article provides a provisional reading and Indonesian translation of the inscription.

A comprehensive study of the corpus of Airlangga inscriptions had in the meantime been carried out by Ninie Susanti for her PhD dissertation, defended in 2003 at Universitas Indonesia, entitled *Airlangga: Raja Pembaharu di Jawa pada Abad ke-11 Masehi*. Her work is useful in that she has listed a large number of Airlangga inscriptions (or inscriptions suspected to have been issued by Airlangga). However, she was not able to identify as belonging to her corpus some significant inscriptions, such as the Bularut and Sima Anglayang charters, which we present below, and made only few original contributions to the decipherment of the inscriptions which she did include. Notably, she was unable to provide readings of some inscriptions which are in fact still decipherable such as the Munggut and Kusambyan inscriptions, to which we also turn below, and the Pamwatan inscription which was, during the years she was preparing her dissertation, still accessible *in situ*.[23] Subsequently, the same author published her PhD research as a book, with changes in the spelling of her name and in the title — Ninie Susanti, *Airlangga: Biografi Raja Pembaharu Jawa Abad XI* (2010). But the extensive appendix giving readings (and sometimes translations) of previously published inscriptions was not included in the publication.

Finally, individual inscriptions of Airlangga have also become the object of study for several students of Universitas Indonesia. Among their undergraduate theses that have come to our attention, we may cite *Prasasti Baru tahun 925 S/1030 M: Sebuah kajian ulang* (Ade Latifa Soetrisno 1988), *Prasasti Munggut 944 Śaka/1022 Masehi: Sebuah kajian awal* (Bayu Aryanto 2003), *Prasasti Kusambyan* (Widi Widayanto 2004), *Prasasti*

23. The Pamwatan stela was looted in 2003 (Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2014: 15; Titi Surti Nastiti 2016b: 179). See also §8.

Turunhyang B 966 S (Rega Tri Juanda 2009), *Prasasti Pandān 964 Śaka: Rekonstruksi bentuk dan isi* (Clara Agustin 2010), *Prasasti "Garudamukha" 945 Śaka* (Bintang Megakusuma 2013) and *Prasasti Paṇḍān 964 Śaka: Tinjauan isi* (Yoga Agastya 2015). However, such *skripsi*s are not freely available to anyone without affiliation to Universitas Indonesia, and they generally reveal that the students who wrote them were insufficiently prepared for the task of studying this kind of epigraphic material. Nevertheless, on two or three occasions, we have benefited from the photographic documentation or provisional readings contained in them.

4. Provisional inventory

4.1. Naming the inscriptions

In his 1952 publication entitled "Études d'épigraphie indonésienne, III: Liste des principales inscriptions datées de l'Indonésie", Louis-Charles Damais gave an overview of colonial-period practices in naming inscriptions, which were essentially provenance-based, and proposed a new system that favored text-internal designations. See Damais 1952: 7–9 (§18–25) and particularly §23 on the criteria used in Damais' system for determining how to name an inscription, the basic method being to use the ancient name of the *sīma* with which the inscription is concerned. In Damais' system, whenever multiple toponyms occur in the text, it is the first toponym to appear, or at least the first legible toponym, that is used. When no toponym is found, a personal name is selected to designate the inscription. In general, we have no objection to this naming system. However, we do seem to observe that Damais was not always consistent in applying the system according to his own criteria, as we will see in the case of the charter he named "Kakurugan" that we propose to rename Adulengen (§5.1). We also differ from Damais in that we shall use the standardized Indonesian spelling (EYD)[24] for any designations based on text-internal toponyms, meaning that we avoid the use of any diacritics in this context. For stone inscriptions that have not been deciphered, or have been deciphered without yielding any suitable name, we maintain the traditional naming system generally based on village or hamlet of provenance, that was also used by Ninie Susanti in her work (2003, 2010). During our recent survey, we were able to read enough of some inscriptions to identify the names of the *sīma*s with which they are concerned, enabling us to propose new designations (Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §3.1) that will be indicated in parentheses in table 2.

4.2. Selecting the inscriptions

Since, as stated above, many inscriptions have come down to us in incomplete state, it often happens that the date and/or the name of the issuing king is no longer preserved. In deciding whether a given inscription is to

24. See https://ejaan.kemdikbud.go.id/eyd/.

be included in our inventory of inscriptions issued by Airlangga, or during his reign, uncertainty therefore remains inherent in a number of cases, to such a degree that we consider several inscriptions listed by Ninie Susanti (2003, 2010) only as candidates at this stage. This holds as well for those wholly or partly readable items that we have added based on our fieldwork, while in three cases we have decided to exclude items tentatively ascribed to Airlangga by other scholars, namely the Horren, Gondang (or Sugio) and Kedung Wangi (or Lawan) inscriptions.[25] The more of the following criteria are satisfied by a given inscription, the greater the likelihood that it will be included in our inventory:

A. Criteria of contents

1. It preserves a portion that states explicitly that the edict was issued by Airlangga.
2. It preserves a date falling within the range 941 through 974 Śaka.
3. It preserves the name Airlangga, but in a different context or in a damaged context from which his role as issuing king cannot be inferred.
4. It mentions names from Airlangga's entourage or the name of one of his *kraton*s, as known from positively identified Airlangga inscriptions.
5. It contains expressions/words that are otherwise attested only in positively identified Airlangga inscriptions.
6. It contains expressions/words that are otherwise attested mainly in positively identified Airlangga inscriptions, plus in inscriptions of the Sindok/Kediri periods.

B. Criteria of physical appearance

7. The palaeographic aspects of legible portions that are preserved agrees with the lettering found in positively identified Airlangga inscriptions.
8. The shape and/or measurements agree with those of positively identified Airlangga inscriptions.
9. The stone type agrees with the stone types of positively identified Airlangga inscriptions.

25. The fact that Ninie Susanti (2010: 176), following *SNI edisi pemutakhiran* 2008 (jld. II, 388), suggests that the original of the Horren inscription, to which we have access only through a Majapahit-period reissue (of which only plate 2 is preserved), might date to the reign of Airlangga goes back to *SNI* ed. 1990 (jld. II, 364), that is, to a period before the discovery of the Garaman inscription. We follow Boechari 1990: 137 (= 2012: 448–449) in ascribing this charter to the period after Airlangga's reign and therefore exclude it from our inventory. Concerning the Kedung Wangi stone, of which only a few lines (and no date) have ever been read (Brandes 1913: 217, OJO CXIII), Boechari argues that the *pāduka mpuṅku* mentioned in the text is the posthumous name of Airlangga (1968: 3, 13–14 n. 10 / 2012: 138–139 n. 10). Perhaps on this basis, the stone in question was included among the inscriptions putatively issued by Airlangga from the region of Lamongan by Ninie Susanti (2003: 490–491, no. 27). We do not contest that this designation may have been used to designate Airlangga posthumously, but if it does, then one requires further arguments to justify including any inscription containing the term among inscriptions issued by Airlangga and not among inscriptions of his direct or indirect successors. For our part, we believe that the Kedung Wangi stone must belong to the Majapahit period, as we have discussed in our recent report (Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.8 no. 4). As for the stone of Gondang (Sugio), by utilizing the Leiden estampage K35, we have managed to decipher the date of the inscription, namely 1285 Śaka (Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.9), which means it falls outside of the Airlangga corpus.

C. Criterion of provenance

10. The stone was found or is still *in situ* in proximity to positively identified Airlangga inscriptions.

We consider the following inscriptions to be authentic Airlangga issues, based on him being explicitly mentioned as their issuing king: the stone inscriptions of Baru, Bularut, Cane, Kamalagyan, Munggut, Pamwatan, Pandaan, Pasar Legi, Pucangan, Silet, Turun Hyang, Wilang-wilang, as well as the reissued copper-plate charters of Adulengen, Terep (I and II), and Sima Anglayang. The case of the reissued copper-plate charter Gandhakuti is exceptional, because the name Airlangga does not figure here, although the date (Śaka 964) falls within Airlangga's reign and most scholars have been willing to accept one or the other *ad hoc* argument allowing to identify the issuer called *haji pāduka mpuṅku* with Airlangga. We are open to the possibility that the grant was originally issued by a high-status figure other than the king. The fact that we are dealing with a text manifestly manipulated at the time of reissue makes it difficult to distinguish authentic 11th-century elements from elements dating to the time of reissue and hence to evaluate the identity of the *haji pāduka mpuṅku*.[26] Although the name of Airlangga is not found as such due to the damaged state of the stela in the case of Kusambyan or due to the weather-beaten condition of the surface in that of Patakan, and is also lost in the fragments that we assume to belong to an inscription from Garung in Lamongan some of which kept at UPIM and some others at Museum Mpu Tantular (no. 19 in the table),[27] on the grounds of other criteria of contents we still consider it certain that these are inscriptions issued by Airlangga. The incomplete preservation of a set of plates may likewise prevent us from identifying the name of the issuing king. This is the case regarding the Anjatan and Bimalasrama charters, which we consider strong candidates for inclusion in the inventory, as we will explain below (§5.2).

Despite the fact that the name Airlangga is not observed, the characteristics of the *akṣara*s and what we have so far been able to read of the contents of several heavily worn stone inscriptions that we list as candidates, namely Drujugurit, Lemahbang, Sambangan I and Sendang Gede, show similarity to the stone inscriptions known with certainty to have been issued by him. Although in each instance only a few lines of text are legible, the lettering

26. Since it seems likely that Airlangga's posthumous name was Bhaṭāra Guru, as we will discuss in our forthcoming article on the Talan charter of King Jayabhaya, it really seems rather questionable to us whether *haji pāduka mpuṅku* was ever used to refer to Airlangga posthumously.

27. See n. 20 above. About this inscription, see Boechari (1990: 133–134 / 2012: 445–446): "There is a village called Garung at the subdistrict of Sambeng, regency of Lamongan, to the north of the town of Mojokerto. At this village was found a stone inscription issued by Dharmawangsa Airlangga, but smashed to pieces. Most of the pieces were collected by workers who were building a school at the site and they were mortared in the wall. Only a few parts were rescued by the head of the Branch Office of the Directorate of Protection and Preservation of Historical and Archaeological Remains in East Java and are now kept at the Museum in Trowulan. Some other pieces found later on are now kept at the Teacher's Training Institute at Surabaya […]." We assume the Mpu Tantular fragments to be the latter group. See our explanation in Titi Surti Nastiti 2023, §2.6 no. 5.

observed on the stones of Pucakwangi, Purwokerto, and Sedah (Pule) also seems similar to the *akṣara*s of authenticated Airlangga inscriptions. In several of the remaining items listed in table 2, the only fact that potentially links them to Airlangga is their provenance from sites in *kab.* Lamongan and *kab.* Tuban.

In general, Airlangga's stone inscriptions are not heavily ornamented. Some of them have double lotus cushions on the base which are commonly found in East Javanese stone inscriptions. However, one significant feature is observed on the inscriptions of Baru and Silet, viz. the depiction of the *garuḍamukha* emblem that is repeatedly mentioned in Airlangga's charters, engraved inside an ornamented roundel, on the top part of their front face.[28] The fragment which bears no. 43 in the second table below also shows what seems to be a fragment of an emblem, but one that cannot be identified as the *garuḍamukha*.[29] Finally, the inscription of Pamwatan displays an exceptional feature, namely the presence of a line in 'quadrate' script, carved in relief at its top, reading *dahaṇa* (see Titi Surti Nastiti 2016b: 179).

Although they were produced during Airlangga's reign in East Java, we exclude from our inventory the Sang Hyang Tapak inscription (952 Śaka), discovered at a site in West Java, whose issuer Jayabhūpati claimed kingship over Sunda (*prahajyan suṇḍa*)[30] and a miniature rice granary (*lumbung padi*) from Ponorogo bearing the date of 953 Śaka, because it is not a royal inscription and its provenance is too far removed from Airlangga's center of government.[31]

4.3. Mapping the inscriptions

While findspots were generally not recorded in the 19th century with any greater precision that "from Soerabaja", which means from what was then *residentie* Soerabaja, their original geographic context can sometimes be inferred by matching internal toponyms to toponyms that still exist today or can be found on 19th-century maps. In the case of stone inscriptions, this inferred original geographic setting may be assumed to have been the same as the 19th-century findspot. Changes in toponyms on the ground, which have accelerated during the 20th and early 21st century, stand in the way of matching some text-internal toponyms to contemporary ones, but use of colonial-period maps, that often show toponyms no longer visible on present-day maps, can be very useful to establish such matches. We have made use of the following map that has been digitized and put in the public domain:

28. On the *garuḍamukha* emblem, see Vernika Hapri Witasari's MA thesis (2011: 51–58, 75–79).

29. See the photo published in Andi Muhammad Said *et al.* 2018: 166, no. 155, reproduced in Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.5 no. 14.

30. For editions of the inscription, see Pleyte 1916 and Hasan Djafar *et al.* 2016: 99–104.

31. See Knebel 1905–1906: 77, and photo OD 13503 (http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:4822).

Topographische kaart der residentie Soerabaja: opgenomen ingevolge Gouvernements Besluit van den 6den Juli 1866 no. 8 in de jaren 1871-1878 / in steendruk gebracht op de schaal van 1:100.000 aan de Topographische Inrichting te 's-Gravenhage - 1907 - VU University Amsterdam Library, Netherlands - CC0.
<https://www.europeana.eu/en/item/9200246/BibliographicResource_3000051352048>
<https://vu.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/krt/id/4154/>

Our map (fig. 1) shows the known findspots of the inscriptions listed in our tables. We gratefully acknowledge the guidance in these matters that we have received from Hadi Sidomulyo, and thank Chea Socheat for making the map based on our instructions.

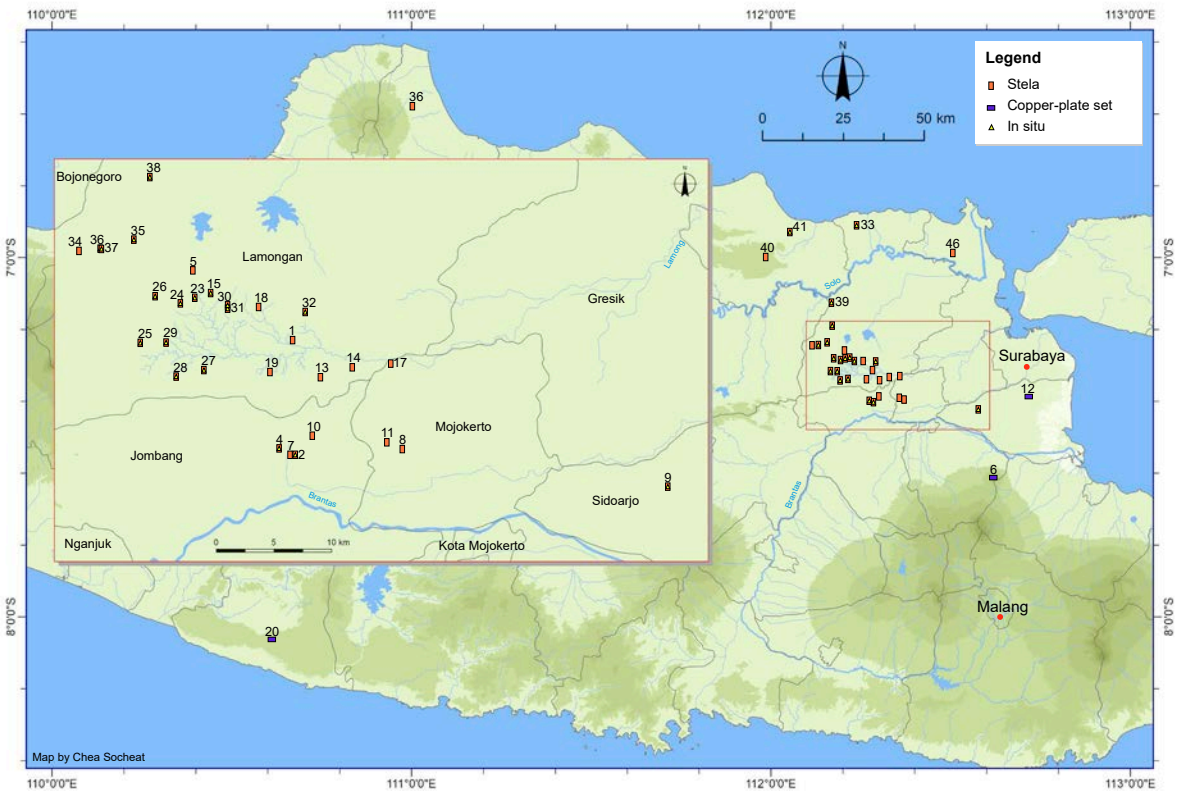

Fig. 1 — The geographic distribution of the inscriptions certainly or putatively issued by Airlangga. The numbers correspond to those in tables 1 and 2.

Table 1 — Inscriptions authenticated as having been issued by Airlangga or during his reign

No	Designation	Śaka Date	Issued by	Object type	Dimensions of support (cm)	Find Spot	Preserved at	See
1	Cane	943	Airlangga	stela	H:145 W: 85 D: 47	former *residentie* Soerabaja[32]	MNI D.25	Brandes 1913, no. LVIII
2	Munggut	944	Airlangga	stela	H: 145 W: 96 D: 27	Jombang, Kudu, Katemas, Sumber Gurit	*in situ*	below, §6.1
3	Adulengen	945	Airlangga	plates	E.22 a, b H: 8.1 W: 31.6 D: 0.2 MVL 1403-2433 H: 7.2 W: 30.5 D: 0.3 E.22 c, d, e H: 7.8 W: 32.0 D: 0.2	former *residentie* Soerabaja	MNI E.22 MVL 1403-2433	below, §5.1
4	Kusambyan	945	almost certainly Airlangga	stela (broken)	H: 47 W: 63 D: 16	Jombang, Kudu, Katemas, Grogol	*in situ*	below, §6.2
5	Baru	952	Airlangga	stela	H: 175 W: 91 D: 43	former *residentie* Soerabaja[33]	MNI D.16	Brandes 1913, no. LX
6	Terep I and II	954	Airlangga	plates	E.79 I H: 6 W: 27.2 E.79 II H: 6 W: 27.2	Mount Penanggungan	MNI E.79 I-II	Boechari 1985–1986
7	Wilang-wilang	945? 955?	Airlangga	stela (broken)	H: 93 W: 69 D: 23	Jombang, Kudu, Katemas, Katemas	UPIM cat. no. MM – inv. no. MT 106a/BTA/JMB/24/PIM (base); 196b/BTA/JMB/24/PIM (body)	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.5, no. 10
8	Turun Hyang	948? 958?	Airlangga	stela (broken)	H: 200 W: 96 D: 43	Mojokerto, Kemlagi, Mojowono, Truneng	UPIM cat. no. MM. 169, 170 inv. no. MT 345, 151/BTA, 1444/BTA/MJK/-/PIM	above §2 and Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.5, no. 9

32. Hadi Sidomulyo suggests that ancient Cane is possibly identifiable with the village of Cani-Blandong, found at the top of *Blad* 3 of the *Topographische kaart der residentie Soerabaja* (directly south of Sambeng). The place is equivalent to present-day *dusun* Cani, *desa* Candisari, *kec.* Sambeng, *kab.* Lamongan. This is the point for Cane that we show on our map.

33. Hadi Sidomulyo suggests that ancient Baru is possibly identifiable with the village of Baru to the north of Ngimbang, on *Blad* 1 of the *Topographische kaart der residentie Soerabaja*. On later maps it appears alongside the settlement of Girik, which has now replaced it entirely, so the present equivalent is *dusun* Girik, *desa* Girik, *kec.* Ngimbang. This is the point for Baru that we show on our map. There is also a village named Barurejo in the district of Sambeng, but this seems less likely to be the findspot. On the *Topographische kaart der residentie Soerabaja* it appears as Kedungwaru.

No	Designation	Śaka Date	Issued by	Object type	Dimensions of support (cm)	Find Spot	Preserved at	See
9	Kamalagyan	959	Airlangga	stela	H: 212 W: 105 D: 28	Sidoarjo, Krian, Tropodo, Klagen	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.4
10	Pucangan	963	Airlangga	stela	H: 179 W: 97 D: 24	Jombang, Ngusikan, Cupak, Gunung Pucangan	Indian Museum, Kolkata	Kern 1917, Brandes 1913, no. LXII
11	Pandaan	964	Airlangga	stela (broken)	H: 171 W: 94 D: 41	Mojokerto, Kemlagi, Pandankrajan	UPIM cat. no. MM 563 inv. no. MT 1459/BTA/MJK/-/PIM	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.5, no. 6
12	Gandhakuti	964	Aji Paduka Mpungku	plates	E.23 a,b H: 7.5 W: 34 E.23 c H: 8.5 W: 34 E.23 d H: 9.5 W: 34	Sidoarjo, Jenggolo, Keboan Pasar	MNI E.23	Boechari 1985–1986
13	Pamwatan	964	Airlangga	stela	H: 92 W: 88	Lamongan, Sambeng, Pamotan	lost	above, §3 and below, §8
14	Bularut	964	Airlangga	stela (broken)	H: 165 W: 92 D: 28	Lamongan, Sambeng, Selorejo	MNI D.170	below, §6.3
15	Pasar Legi	965	Airlangga	stela	H: 140 W: 75 D: 36	Lamongan, Ngimbang, Sedangrejo, Blawi/Bujel	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.7, no. 8
16	Sima Anglayang	968	Airlangga	plates	H: 10 W: 44 D: 0.1	unknown	plate 5: Mr. Jati Kusumo, Malang / plate 17: MNI E.91 / other plates unknown	below, §6.4
17	Silet	9?0	Airlangga	stela (broken)	Small fragment H: 84 W: 89 D: 61 Large fragment H: 181 W: 100 D: 43	Mojokerto, Dawarblando, Simongagrok	UPIM cat. no. MM – inv. no. MT 155b/BTA/-/-/PIM (pedestal) 082, 155/BTA, 203/BTA, 151a/BTA/-/-/PIM (body)	above, §2 and Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.5, no. 8
18	Patakan	–	–	stela	H: 104 W: 90 D: 26	former *residentie* Soerabaja[34]	MNI D.22	Brandes 1913, no. LIX
19	Fragments of stone inscription at Museum Mpu Tantular and UPIM	–	–	stela (fragments)	Fragment 1 H: 14 W: 9,5 D: 15 Fragment 2 –	Lamongan, Sambeng, Garung	Museum Mpu Tantular and UPIM	above, §2 and Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.6, no. 5

34. Hadi Sidomulyo suggests that ancient Patakan is identifiable with present *desa* Pataan, *kec.* Sambeng, *kab.* Lamongan. The village appears as Patakan on *Blad* 1 of the *Topographische kaart der residentie Soerabaja*, not far northwest of Sambeng. This is the point for Patakan that we show on our map.

Table 2 — Inscriptions putatively issued by Airlangga or during his reign

No	Designation	Śaka Date	Issued by	Object type	Dimensions of support (cm)	Find Spot	Preserved at	See
20	Anjatan	–	–	2 plates	H: 18 W: 48 D: 0.2	DIY, Gunung Kidul, Tanjungsari, Hargosari, Mojosari, Bukit Cabe	BPK Wilayah X BG 1503 & 1504	below, §5.2
21	Balambangan	–	–	plate	H: 12 W: 36	Lamongan (?)	lost	below, §5.3
22	Bimalasrama	–	–	plates, eye-copies on paper	plate 10 H:12.3 W:32.4 plate 12 (fragment) H:12.5 W:19.7 D: 0.1	former *residentie* Soerabaja	MVL 1403-3338 & 1403-3339, Bibl. nationale Paris Mal.-Pol. 205 & 225	below, §5.2
23	Sendang Gede / Ngimbang (Demakan)	–	–	stela	H: 105 W: 101 D: 20	Lamongan, Ngimbang, Ngimbang, Ngimbang	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.7, no. 1
24	Drujugurit	–	–	stela	H: 172 W: 120 D: 41	Lamongan, Ngimbang, Drujugurit, Gurit	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.7, no. 7
25	Lemahbang (Lemah Irah)	–	–	stela	H: 106 W: 72 D: 21	Lamongan, Ngimbang, Ngasem Lemah Bang, Lemah Bang	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.7, no. 4
26	Wotan	–	–	stela	H: 113 W: 74 D: 25	Lamongan, Ngimbang, Slahar Wotan, Wotan	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.7, no. 6
27	Brumbun	–	–	stela	H: 153 W: 91 D: 23	Lamongan, Ngimbang, Lamongrejo, Brumbun	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.7, no. 2
28	Mendogo	–	–	stela	H: 56 W: 78 D: 19	Lamongan, Ngimbang, Mendogo, Teguwan	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.7, no. 3
29	Purwokerto	–	–	stela (broken)	H: 145 W: 77 D: 23	Lamongan, Ngimbang, Purwokerto, Purwokerto	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.7, no. 5
30	Sumber Sari I	–	–	stela	H:120 W: 76 D: 30	Lamongan, Sambeng, Sumber Sari, Sumberejo	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.8, no. 2
31	Sumber Sari II	–	–	stela	H: 57 W: 80 D: 25	Lamongan, Sambeng, Sumber Sari, Sumberejo	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.8, no. 3
32	Nogojatisari	–	–	stela	H: 160 W: 60 D: 20	Lamongan, Sambeng, Nogojatisari, Nogo	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.8, no. 1

No	Designation	Śaka Date	Issued by	Object type	Dimensions of support (cm)	Find Spot	Preserved at	See
33	Wide	–	–	stela (broken)	Lower fragment H: 79 W: 105 D: 19 Top fragment H: 50 W: 109 D: 18	Lamongan, Brondong, Sendangharjo, Wide	market hall at Wide	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.4, no. 1
34	Kedunglereb	–	–	stela	unknown	Lamongan, Modo, Kedunglerep, Terban	lost	below, §5.4
35	Pule	–	–	stela	H: 155 W: 73 D: 27	Lamongan, Modo, Pule, Sedah	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.6, no. 3
36	Sambangan I (Pasambangan)	–	–	stela	H: 150, W: 75–82 D: 32	Lamongan, Modo, Sambangrejo, Sambangan	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.6, no. 1
37	Sambangan II	–	–	stela	H: 59 W: 68 D: 13	Lamongan, Modo, Sambangrejo, Sambangan	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.6, no. 2
38	Kalen	–	–	stela	H: 107 W: 61–71 D: 19	Lamongan, Kedungpring, Kalen, Gilang	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.3, no. 1
39	Pucakwangi	–	–	stela (fragment)	H: 71 W: 53–58 D: 15–16	Lamongan, Babat, Pucakwangi	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.1.2, no. 1
40	Stone inscription in Museum Tuban	–	–	stela	H: 105 W: 70 D: 15	Tuban, Grabakan, Gesikan	Museum Kambang Putih, Tuban	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.2.3, no. 1
41	Banaran	–	–	stela	H: 158 W: 84–103 D: 19–23	Tuban, Semanding, Prunggahan Wetan, Banaran	*in situ*	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.2.2, no. 1
42	Gajihan	–	–	stela	H: 180 W: 81–92 D: 25	Jawa Tengah, Pati, Gunungwungkal, Gajihan	Museum Ranggawarsita, Semarang 04.0545	above, §2
43	Fragment of stone inscription at UPIM	–	–	stela (?) (fragment)	H: 28 W: 31 D: 10	–	UPIM cat. no. MM – inv. no. MT 16/BTA/ONB/24	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.5, no. 14
44	Stone inscription at UPIM	–	–	stela (broken)	H: 110 W: 68 D: 38	–	UPIM cat. no. MM – inv. no. MT 1436/BTA/-/-/PIM	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.5, no. 12
45	Stone inscription at UPIM	–	–	stela	H: 175 W: 112 D: 29	–	UPIM cat. no. MM – inv. no. MT 100/BTA/ONB/24/PIM	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.5. no. 11
46	Fragments of stone inscription at Museum Mpu Tantular	–	–	stela (fragments)	H: 11–38 W: 9–32 D: 4–11	Gresik, Sedayu, Lasem (?)	Museum Mpu Tantular	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023, §2.6, no. 6

5. Inventory Case Studies

5.1. Adulengen

This is the inscription for which Damais (1952, 1955) chose the designation Kakurugan, based on a word contained in the text.[35] We do not understand Damais' choice of designation, because *kakurugan* is certainly not the first toponym in the text, nor is it the most significant or distinctive internal toponym, if it is a toponym at all.[36] Rather, in our opinion, it is the toponym Adulengen, which repeatedly figures as the residence of the beneficiaries of this grant, which ought to be used to designate it.

Five plates of the text were first published, in two parts, numbered V and III, by A. B. Cohen Stuart in his *Kawi Oorkonden* (1875), where we read in the introduction (p. IX):

> V shows, on two plates (31½ × 8 cm), the first three sides (pages, if one likes) of a charter dated Śaka 945 (A. D. 1023), which must have occupied six plates in its entirety, that is, if we correctly suppose that the three plates, which ended up separately in the lithography under no III (32 × 7.7 cm), and should have been called 4, 5 and 6, according to the original numbers, instead of 1, 2 and 3, contain the end of the same piece, of which only pl. 3 would then be missing. In size and shape, number of lines, subject matter, etc., the two parts V and III fit together quite well, although the plates of V are a little shorter and wider. Despite considerable similarity, the script also shows an unmistakable difference. For example, note the *k* and *t*, which in III show a kind of tail or appendage from behind, which is missing in V. To this must be added the completely different position of the marginal figures […] as well as the circumstance, which would otherwise in itself be of little significance in this case, that the two pieces had been separated for at least some time. V was already in the possession of the [Batavian] Society when, in 1863, I first examined the inscriptions; of III, on the other hand, there was only the cast in iron provided by J. HAGEMAN JCz. (in 1855? see *TBG* IV, 207), while the original was still in the possession of Mr. J. S. VAN COEVORDEN, from whom it could finally be acquired in 1870, at the same time as VI — in exchange for a gold strike of the Society's honorary medal (*NBG* VIII, 92, 12/20 70, VIII). It seems likely, however, that also the first had reached the Society via the same channel. At least I find mention already in *NBG* I, 28 (20/9 62, IX) of "five copper plates bearing Kawi inscriptions", along with some other antiquities — some of which are expressly said to have been "found in the ruins of Majapahit" — acquired for the Museum from the same against some duplicates; and I suppose that by that this refers to the two plates of V and the three of VIII.

35. The designations Kakurgan and Kakurungan given by Boechari (1985–1986: 67), and the designation Kakuruṅan given by Nakada (1982, part I, no. 155) are obviously unintentional errors. Ninie Susanti (2003: 357–368, 368–373) used the designation proposed by Damais.

36. See *OJED*, s.v. *kurug*, where the subentry for the derived form *kukurugan* is an error for *kakurugan*. The meaning indicated for this form is 'dwelling place (or position?) of an *akurug*', i.e. a priest wearing a piece of clothing covering the upper part of the body, called *kurug* or *kalambi*. The implication is that *kakurugan* in this case probably denotes a particular kind of religious community, rather than a toponym.

The text of the five plates that form Cohen Stuart's III and V were re-edited by Boechari and Ninie Susanti. Cohen Stuart's work also contained, as no. XXI, the edition of the text on a single plate that was at his time already kept in Leiden. Although it bears plate number 3, Cohen Stuart does not seem to have entertained the possibility that it constitutes the 'missing' third plate of the Adulengen set. This is precisely the hypothesis that we propose here for this plate, which has never been restudied after Cohen Stuart. If this hypothesis is admitted, we obtain what is, beside the Gandhakuti charter (4 plates), the only completely preserved reissue of an Airlangga inscription, the other *tinulad* sets (Sima Anglayang and Terep, as well as the 'candidates' Anjatan, Bimalasrama and Balambangan), being incomplete.

As reported by Cohen Stuart, the five plates that he consulted at Batavia had come into the Batavian Society's possession at two different points of time, one before 1862 and the other in 1870, and both times a certain J. S. van Coevorden was the source of the acquisition. This gentleman, as we learn from Netscher 1855, was at that time secretary of the *residentie* Soerabaja.[37] Subsequently, the five plates kept in Batavia were classified under inventory number E.22. The single plate in Leiden, on the other hand, was donated to the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden in 1864 by A. W. Kinder de Camerecq, a former *Resident* of Bagelen, who had also held a brief posting in Surabaya.[38] The plate was subsequently transferred to the Ethnographic Museum in 1903 and inventoried there under number 1403-2433.[39] What is nowadays inventory number E.22 at the National Museum in Jakarta consists of plates 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 of a set; the single plate still kept in Leiden is a plate 3. We see that the respective plate numbers are compatible with the hypothesis that the Leiden plate belongs with the Jakarta plates. Similarly compatible with this hypothesis is the fact that all six plates show 5 lines on every fully engraved face. Meanwhile, the respective dates of entry into public collections, combined with known facts about the biographies of the two donors, make it possible to imagine a scenario whereby the complete set of six plates was discovered at some point during the 1850s or early 1860s somewhere in what was then the *residentie* Soerabaja, and that plate 3, acquired by Kinder de Camerecq, got separated from the other five which were acquired by van Coevorden.

Now, as Cohen Stuart noted, even the set of 5 plates recognized by him to belong together is not internally coherent in all respects. The plates

37. He is also twice briefly mentioned in Groot 2009, on pp. 437 and 485. On J. S. van Coevorden's career as servant of the Netherlands Indies government, we have consulted the official pedigree registers (*ambtelijke stamboekinschrijvingen*) kept at the Dutch National Archives, archiefnr. 2.10.01, inv. nr. 3096, fol. 225 en 226 (https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.10.01/invnr/3096). Here we learn that van Coevorden held various functions in Soerabaja between 1851 and 1859.

38. See Groot 2009: 478. On A. W. Kinder de Camarecq's career in the Netherlands Indies government, see Dutch National Archives, archiefnr. 2.10.01, inv. nr. 3095, fol. 420 (https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.10.01/invnr/3095). Here we learn that Kinder de Camarecq was temporarily posted in Soerabaja between February and May 1860 to assist the *Resident* who was unhealthy, though this seems to have been his only posting in Soerabaja.

39. Leemans 1885: 102 (no. M 537); Juynboll 1909: 230.

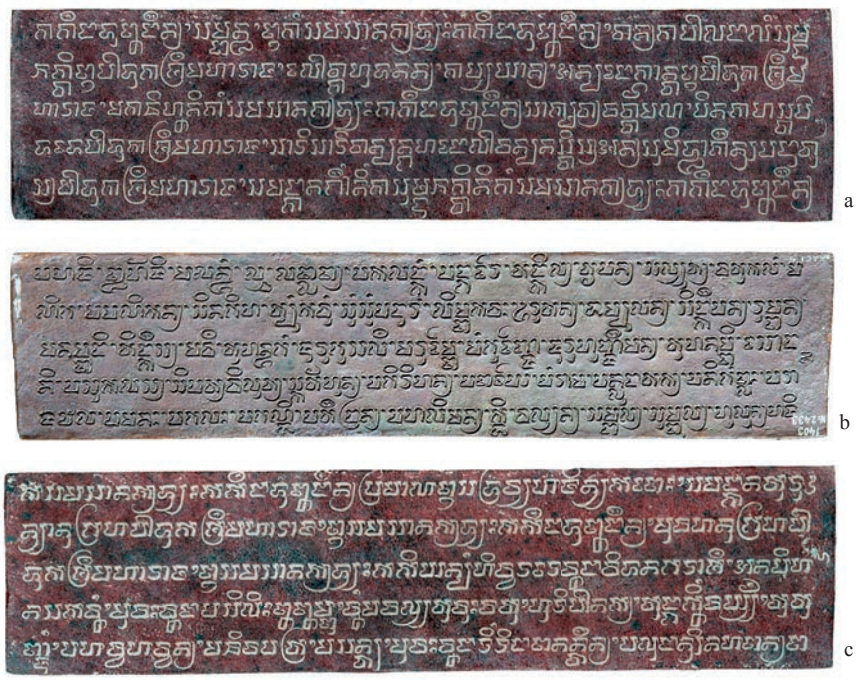

Fig. 2 — Adulengen, (a) plate 2r, (b) plate 3v, (c) plate 4v. Photos (a) and (c) show rubbings of the plates kept at UBL; photo (b) shows the plate preserved in Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden.

numbered 1 and 2 (Cohen Stuart 1875, no. V) are slightly different in size from plates numbered 4, 5 and 6 (no. III), and the two subsets are clearly different from each other in writing style and in the orientation of the plate numbers in the right margin. See fig. 2. Yet plates 1–2 clearly belong together, as do plates 4–5–6, and all five clearly belong together as well, as consistency in the choice of words around the toponym Adulengen reveals. It is imaginable that more than one artisan was involved in making a single set of plates at the time of reissue; but perhaps it is more likely, as hinted at by Cohen Stuart in the passage quoted above, that two parallel sets of plates were made at the time of reissue, or that the original charter was reissued at two different points of time, but in any case by two different artisans, while the set acquired by van Coevorden (National Museum E.22) somehow contained a mix of two distinct reissues of the charter. Now the insertion of the Leiden plate with inv. no. 1403-2433 into the mix is less evident, for several reasons, and may require imagining an even more complicated scenario.

Let us consider all facts one by one, and start with **plate dimensions**. The following table shows that while plates 1–2 differ from 4–5–6 no more than 3 mm in height and 4 in width and the two subsets are identical in depth, plate number 3 is more substantially different from the two other subsets in all three dimensions. It also shows that plate 3, despite being shorter in width, has a higher average count of ***akṣara*s per line** than we find on 1–2 and 4–5–6.

subset	museum inv. numbers	marginal numbers	height (cm)	width (cm)	depth (cm)	*akṣara*s per line (average)
A	MNI E.22 a and b	(1 unnumbered) 2	8.1	31.6	0.2	35
B	MVL 1403-2433	3	7.2	30.5	0.3	37
C	MNI E.22 c, d and e	4, 5, 6	7.8	32.0	0.2	35

Regarding **script styles**, we see that the hand or palaeographic type in subset A is very similar to that observed in several other Majapahit-period reissues (e.g. Waharu III, Cunggrang). In plate 3, or subset B, a subtle but consistent palaeographic difference is observed from the hand that engraved subset A, namely in the upper right angles of the *akṣara*s *ka* and *ta*, which are plain right angles in subset A while they show a slight nick and bear a *kuncir* in subset B. Nevertheless, the hand of subset B is globally quite similar to the one used in subset A. The two subsets also group together on another physical aspect, namely **placement of plate numbers**. While plate 1, as per convention, is engraved only on the verso face and does not show any plate number,[40] and plate 6, only partly engraved on the verso, does not bear any either, all intervening plates of the charter show a plate number in the right margin of the verso. On plates 2 and 3 (of subsets A and B), it is found at the height of the interval between lines 3 and 4 and aligned with the lines of text. On plates 4 and 5 (of subset C), by contrast, the plate number is found at the height of the interval between lines 2 and 3 and is rotated 90° counterclockwise vis-à-vis the lines of text. This difference with the group formed by subsets A and B is reinforced by the fact that subset C is clearly distinct in script style from A as well as B. The hand that starts on plate 4 is reminiscent of the hand(s) observed in several of the copper-plate inscriptions of the Singasari period (e.g. Mula-Malurung, Rameswarapura).

Meanwhile, a **spelling feature** that is possibly significant is that the *akṣara*s *ḍ* and *dh* are consistently distinguished in all three subsets.[41] As previously mentioned, all plates show the same **number of lines per face**, namely 5, except for plate 6 verso which has only two lines.

Having reviewed all these physical criteria, we have found a number of small differences between the three subsets, sets A and B grouping with each other on some aspects, sets A and C on some others, and no particular aspect establishing any specific connection between B and C.

Let us now turn to the most important criterion for evaluating our hypothesis, i.e. whether a compelling **coherence of textual content** can be established and specifically whether the text on plate 3 can be inserted seamlessly between plates 2 and 4. Here, too, the result is not exactly as clear-cut as we might have liked.

40. On the conventions, shared by the premodern Javanese and Balinese traditions of producing palm-leaf manuscripts and copper-plate charters, for folio numbering, and the conventions of leaving the first leaf/plate unnumbered and its outer face empty, see Brandes 1900 and Acri 2017: 43 n. 2.

41. The shapes of *ḍ* and *dh* in plates subset A are similar to the shapes in subset B, while the shape of *ḍ* in subset C is different from that in the other two subsets.

With plate 1, engraved only on one face largely occupied by the dating formula, plate 3 is the only one of the putative set not to contain any instance of the toponym Adulengen. Moreover, it is largely occupied by long and rather stereotypical lists that offer little prospect for establishing textual coherence with the other plates in any other way than by showing that the text on plate 3 continues where 2 leaves off, while the text on plate 4 continues where that on 3 leaves off. Let us now review what we observe on the textual transitions between plates 2, 3 and 4.

At the end of 2 we read *muvaḥ turunyānugraha pāduka śrī mahārāja, I sama sānak· dyaḥ kakīṅ aduḷṅən·, ri hananiṁ Asambyāvahara, ṅuniveḥ Ikaṁ carik· huma salviranya*, with a punctuation sign at the end. At the beginning of 3 we read a punctuation sign followed by *tan pagavayakna puriḥ, mvaṁ vistăra, kevala sapūrvva-sthitinya sakapaṅgih riṁ muhun· malama juga pagəhaknanya lāvan tan· pintana saprakāra, makādiṁ taḍah i hyaṁ, Atəhər· svatantra parṇnaḥnya, tan· katamana deniṁ … .* Although we find no precise match for such a sequence, the occurrence in a single context of an expression meaning 'descent of the Great King's grant' with the words *purih* and *pūrvvasthiti* would find a parallel in three globally comparable passages, two of which from inscriptions we assign to the reign of Sindok, and one from an inscription certainly issued during the reign of Airlangga.[42]

At the end of 3 verso we read *kḍi, valyan·, sambal·, sumbul·,* ***hulun· haji*** while the first word on 4 recto are ***siṅgaḥ, pabṛṣi****, vidu maṅiduṁ*. Similar expressions are also observed in several inscriptions, but one notices that the Airlangga inscriptions which contain them tend to insert the word *jəṅgi* between *hulun haji* and the rest.[43] By contrast, we notice that the word *jəṅgi* is systematically absent from the analogous passages in the inscriptions of the reign of Airlangga's indirect predecessor Sindok.[44] This "Sindok" template of the expression is also observed in the Barsahan inscription, whose chronological position is unclear but which may have been issued

42. 1° Waharu III (Sindok), 3r2–3v3 *kāraṇani* ***varasanmata pāduka śrī mahārāja, tumurun*** *tan pahambal·, Aṅanugrahani I dyaḥ jṅok· … tan kaparabyapāra, kunaṁ tiṅkaḥniṁ savaḥ kataṇḍan· I vaharu cā 3 jə:ṁ 36 ki 1 kapramāṇa deniṁ nāyakanya,* ***tan· kapuriḥ-purihana, tan pagavayakna visthāra, kevala sakatmu riṁ pūrvvasthiti juga pagəhaknanya***. 2° Wurandungan (Sindok), 2v–3r: ***umiṅsor pvaṅ anugraha śrī mahārāja*** *tinon paṅhyaṅ vatək kanuruhan piṅhai kagotran kasvaban kavaligəran an paśaiva amūjā I bhaṭāra kapratyakṣa pramāṇa i sadṛvya-hajinya mvaṅ sasukhaduḥkha kabeḥ kapaṅgiḥ riṅ atītaprabhu maṅkana sarasani sinəmbahakən piṅhai vahuta nāyaka pratyaya ṅuniveḥ sakveḥniṅ maṅilala dṛvya haji miśra vulu-vulu paravulu ityevamādi tiṅkaḥnya paṅuraṅ kriṅ paḍəm manimpiki her aji* ***salvirniṅ vyāpāra*** *tkeṅ paranakan limus kaḥyaṅan kanuruhan* ***kumatguhakən sapūrvvasthitinya*** *riṅ puhun malama tan kavnaṅa purihən*. 3° Sima Anglayang (Airlangga), 4v1: see below.

43. See e.g. Cane (Cd8–9) *hulun· haji, jəṅgi, siṅgaḥ, pamṛsi, pavuluṁ-vuluṁ vatək i jro Ityevamādi*; Baru (Cefd6) *kḍi, valyan·, sambal·, sumbul·, hulun· haji jəṅgi siṅgaḥ, mabṛṣi*. See also the parallel passage in Munggut (2.12–13), edited below. By contrast, the word *jəṅgi* is absent in Gandhakuti (3r4) *hulun haji, tapa haji, sambal·, sumbul·, kaḶṁḶṅan· siṅgaḥ pabṛsi*. It is also absent in Sima Anglayang (17v4–5), edited below.

44. See e.g. Turyan (A14) *sambal· sumbul· hulun haji pamṛsi*; Jeru-jeru (A11–12) *kḍi, valyan vidu maṅiduṁ sambal sumbul·, hulun haji, pamṛṣi*; Hering (C19–20) *kḍi, valyan·, vidu·, maṅiduṁ, sambāl·, sumbul·, hulun haji, siṅgaḥ, pabṛsi*; Anjuk Ladang (A21) *vidu maṅiduṁ, sambal·, sumbul·, hulun haji, pamṛṣi*.

during the reign of Sindok or during that of Airlangga.[45] By contrast, in the inscriptions of the post-Airlangga period, it is the "Airlangga" template that is continued.[46]

We conclude that the textual coherence between plates 2–3 and 3–4 does not substantially contradict our hypothesis, and that the minor disturbance posed by the repetition of punctuation from 2 to 3 may be explained as a slight mismatch between the different reissues that subsets A and B represent. The absence of the short word *jəṅgi* expected at the transition from 3 to 4 may either be due to the "Sindok" template being used here, or to another slight mismatch of textual positioning between subsets: it may have stood at the end of the lost plate 3 of subset C.

5.2. Anjatan and Bimalasrama

We group together these inscriptions as they will be discussed together in greater detail in a forthcoming article by Griffiths.[47] To begin with the Anjatan charter, it consists of two plates that must have been contiguous in the original set, but include neither the beginning nor the end of the text. Two previous editions are known to us, the first by Rita Margaretha Setianingsih (1996) and the second in the volume entitled *Pusaka Aksara Yogyakarta*, which was first published in 2007 and then republished in 2015.[48] In the latter publication, it is probably again Rita Margaretha Setianingsih who is responsible for the epigraphical work, although there are considerable differences of reading between the two publications. In both, the inscription is designated as Nganjatan, based on a different analysis of the recurrent sequence *riṅañjatan* than the one adopted by us. The plates measure 18 × 48 × 0.2 cm and are preserved at BPK, Wilayah X, with inv. nos. BG 1503 and BG 1504. Rita Margaretha Setianingsih observes pertinently (1996: 45–46) that the findspot, a cave in the dry hilly area called Pegunungan Sewu of *kab.* Gunung Kidul, is incompatible with the text's repeated mention of wet rice fields (*savah*). She draws the plausible conclusion that the plates, being movable artefacts, have been found at some distance from the original geographic setting of the charter, and suggests that its original setting was in East Java.

The first plate of the original set, where the dating formula and the full title of the 'Great King' (*śrī mahārāja*) would have been mentioned, has not been recovered. This means that we depend for dating the charter on a combination of palaeographic and textual analysis. This combination

45. Recto, line 6: *sambal·, sumbul·, hulun haji·, siṅgaḥ, pabṛsi*.

46. Garaman (3v1) *kḍi, valyan·, hulun haji, jəṅgi, siṅgiḥ, pamṛṣi*; Hantang (Cd22) *sambal·, sumbul·, hulun haji, jəṅgi, siṅgaḥ, mabṛṣi*; Panumbangan (Cd7) *kḍi, valyan·, sambal·, sumbul·, hulun haji, pavuluṁ-vuluṁ, vidu maṅiduṁ, jəṅgi, siṅgaḥ, pamṛpi*; Talan (Ab24–25) *hulun haji, valyan· sambal·, sumbul·, pavuluṁ-vuluṁ, vidu maṅiduṁ, Ariṅgit·, Abañol·, siṅgaḥ, pabṛsi*.

47. Extensive extracts have been cited with translation and commentary (from the perspective of the history of Buddhism) in Griffiths 2021–2022: 180–186.

48. The Anjatan inscription figured in the first edition (Herni Pramastuti *et al.* 2007) on pages 97–108 and on the same pages in the second (Herni Pramastuti *et al.* 2015).

supports the conclusion that the inscription was issued during or around the time of Airlangga. Palaeographically, the inscription agrees in almost all details with the description of the script used in the Airlangga corpus, as illustrated by the Pucangan charter, that was formulated by de Casparis (1975: 39–40). The palaeographic impression that the charter could have been issued during Airlangga's reign, and possibly by Airlangga himself, is firmed up by a significant proportion of words, expressions and entire phrases that occur elsewhere only in inscriptions issued by Airlangga, or started to occur before Airlangga's reign but are still most often attested in the Airlangga corpus. We present here only a selection from the full overview of evidence for appurtenance to the Airlangga corpus that will be presented in Griffiths (forthcoming):

- *karəṅrəṅan* (3r1) — This term seems only to be found in two charters issued by Airlangga, Baru (Abe23) and Gandhakuti (3r4). A similar expression, *karərəṅan*, is observed in some charters of the Kediri period, including Geneng I (1050 Śaka, Ab18), Hantang (1057 Śaka, Cd16) and Talan (1058 Śaka, Ab21).
- *kadeyakna* (4r4, 4r6) — This form occurs in the Baru (Cef3), Kusambyan (B37) and Sima Anglayang charters (8r2), all issued by Airlangga, and then in at least two inscriptions of the Kediri period.
- *maṅkana tiṅkah* (4r2) — this collocation occurs in the Airlangga charters Adulengen (6r4), Gandhakuti (2v1), Turun Hyang (Ab18) and Sima Anglayang (4r2), but never seems to occur epigraphically in any other period.
- *saṅ anāgata vineh* (4r7) — This expression occurs only in the Cane (Cd24), Munggut (3.36) and Kusambyan charters (c40), all issued by Airlangga.
- *kbo prāṇa 40 kbovanya, yan sapi prāṇa 40 sapyanya, yan· paṅulaṁ celeṁ 50 celaiṅanya, yan· vḍus· prāṇa 40 vḍusanya, Itik· savantayan·* (3r9–10) — Versions of this formula with words like *sapiyanya*, *vḍusanya*, *aṇḍahanya* seem never to occur before Airlangga's Turun Hyang charter (Ab31–32), in the Bimalasrama charter (8r2–3) that putatively belongs to the same reign — and then in the much later Warunggahan charter (1227 Śaka, 12r3–4).
- *sama təkyənāta sira* ***Umimbuha*** (4r7) — Similar phrases with *təkyən* or *təkyəna* (see s.v. *təku* in §7) occur in the charters of Baru (Cefd6–8) *An· kapvāta* ***sira sama təkyəna*** *tan· baryya-baryya śila Irikaṁ thāni riṁ baru* and of Kusambyan (B30) *An· kapvāta sira sama təkyəna, tan deyən· baryya-baryya śīla molah-ulaḥ* and (B36) *sama (ta)kyanira milu* ***Umimbuḥ*** *sapaṅāpura śrī mahārāja*. Both are authenticated Airlangga issues. In the putative Airlangga charter Bimalasrama (1.10–2.2) we read *sama təkyənya Umapurāgə:ṁni paṅăram(bha) mpuṅku muntun· I pāduka śrĭ mahārājā prayojananiran padaməl· gandhakoṭi*. The latter also contains (in 4.5) the only other epigraphic occurrence of the word *umimbuh*; in other periods, we find only other derived forms from *imbuh*. The only occurrence of a *təkyən* sentence elsewhere than in authenticated or putative Airlangga issues is in the

undated Barsahan charter (1r13) ***sama təkyən āta sira*** *magəhakna Anugraha śrī mahārāja*.[49]

The Anjatan charter may well be an issue of Airlangga himself, although we prefer to remain prudent and to leave open the possibility that this charter was issued by a contemporary of Airlangga who controlled some territory to the south and/or west of Airlangga's realm. Either way, if this dating hypothesis is admitted, we obtain what is the only original set — though incompletely preserved — of an inscription issued on copper plate during this period, the other preserved sets all being *tinulad*.

The last two points in the list above involve correspondences of Anjatan with the Bimalasrama charter, to which we now turn. The inscription has come down to us in an incomplete state, through a particularly complicated line of transmission. Although, as argued by Griffiths (forthcoming), the inscription was originally issued under king Airlangga or one of his immediate predecessors, in the decades around the year 940 Śaka, whatever has been transmitted to the modern period is thanks to a reissue of the charter made during the Majapahit period. That reissue extended over twelve copper plates, at least seven of which had survived into the 19th century, when they became known to Dutch antiquarians and their Javanese informants, and when several plates were copied onto paper. Of the actual plates engraved in the 14th century, only two now remain (nos. 10 and 12, edited by van Naerssen 1938). One plate (no. 8) which was deciphered but not copied onto paper in the 19th century has since gone missing, so it can be read only in Brandes' decipherment (Brandes 1913: 244–245, no. CXII). The remaining plates exist in 19th-century copies made by two different hands, on which basis they have been edited respectively by van Stein Callenfels (1924, plate nos. 3/4 and 7) and Brandes (1913, no. CXII, plates 9 and 11). Text-internal evidence indicates a plausible dating either during Airlangga's reign, or shortly before it. Again, we cite here only a selection of the evidence that will be more exhaustively presented elsewhere:

- the charter figures the *rakryān paḍāṅ* called *pu* Dvija (3.6), who is found elsewhere only in Cane (Ab5), Munggut (1.5) and Kusambyan (A4)
- the charter figures the word *panataran* (1.2), unattested in *OJED*, but found in Munggut (3.34), Kusambyan (c37) and Sima Anglayang (17r1) — see also §7
- the charter lists Sanskrit terms for elements of *pūjā*, *dūpadīpagandhākṣata* (3.1), in a way never encountered in OJ inscriptions except in Munggut (2.3) and Kusambyan (A28)

49. It is noteworthy that we have found several correspondences with the Barsahan charter, of which alas no more than the final plate is preserved, and which is thus of unknown date and moreover of unknown provenance. We have only fairly mediocre black & white photographs by B. Ph. Groslier at our disposal to read this charter (https://collection.efeo.fr/ws/web/app/collection/record/265714 and /record/265731), but they seem to show a more square and less angular script than expected for an Airlangga inscription.

- the corruptly transmitted phrase (2.1–4) *prayojananiran padaməl· gandhakoṭi tan· luptā tka riṁ dlahani dlahā kaharan· mantrastavasvadhyă(ya)nira ri bhaṭāra sarbatathāgata prattidina maṅdadyakna jagaddhitā mvaṁ pagəhani tacakravarttan· śrī mahārāja* finds a close parallel in Pucangan B.31–32 *mataṅ yar siddhākən· pratijñānira, madaməl· yaśa patapān iṁ pucaṅan· Inusa[n·-U]san· raghu, yāṅkən· mantras(t)avanamaskāra śrī mahārāja ri bhaṭāra sāri-sāri*. The Bimalasrama reading *tacakravarttan·* is obviously a copying mistake for *kacakravarttin*, a term never encountered in epigraphy except in Airlangga's Kamalagyan and Turun Hyang charters.

The monastery whose foundation is at stake in this charter was situated in Pamuntaran, a toponym also associated with a Buddhist establishment in the *Deśavarṇana* (78.3). The name of the monastery was obviously intended to be *bimalāśrama*, and the designation we use reflects this, although resemblance of the *akṣara*s involved has led to it being almost consistently misspelled *dhimaṇāśrama* in the extant copies (including the 14th-century plates). For this reason, the inscription is occasionally referred to as Dhimanasrama in the scholarly literature.[50] But Griffiths (2014: 216 n. 16) has already observed that it is impossible to accept "that the name of the monastery in question was Dhimaṇāśrama, for this is not a Sanskrit word and the name of the *vihāra* was evidently Sanskrit."

5.3. Balambangan

The Balambangan charter was published by Poerbatjaraka (1936: 388–390). Having studied this copper plate (a single, non-initial and non-final plate of a larger set) on the basis of a rubbing which he had obtained from the *Assistent-Resident* of Lamongan, he argued two points. First, that the charter was issued during the Majapahit period as evidenced by the script used, and more specifically during the reign of King Jayanagara. Second, that the toponym Balambangan as the name of the village benefiting from the *sīma* grant in this charter is associated with the Blambangan Kingdom, present-day Banyuwangi, a region which he believed to be the theater of Nambi's rebellion against King Jayanagara.[51]

Poerbatjaraka's interpretation seems to have been premature, among other reasons because the accounts of this event relate it to Lamajang (modern Lumajang) and do not mention any name corresponding to Balambangan, while the toponym in this inscription is just the name of the *sīma* which benefits from this charter and may as easily be connected with the name of the region where the plate was apparently found, namely

50. See e.g. van Naerssen 1938: 504 and Wisseman Christie 1998a: 372–373.

51. This event is recorded in both the *Deśavarṇana* (48.2) and the *Pararaton* (ed. Brandes 1920: 25–26). Referring to Zoetmulder's summary of the *Sorāndaka* (1974: 421–423), an 18th-century Balinese poem that most likely draws on *Pararaton*-era (i.e. 15th/16th-century) sources, Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan informs us that the rebellion is also treated in depth in this text.

Lamongan.[52] Indeed, Poerbatjaraka's hypothesis loses all its force if, as we argue, we are dealing with another Majapahit-period *tinulad* of an Airlangga charter. The agreements with the formulaics and terminology typical for the Airlangga corpus are too conspicuous to be ignored:

- In r1, the words *tumaṅgalakəna* (corr. *tu**mu**ṅgalakəna*) *tambaṅniṁ pṛthivī* are reminiscent of a phrase found in Baru (Abe6, *Atəhər· tumuṅgalakna Ikanaṁ pṛthivīmaṇḍala*), while no such phrase is found in any inscription of any other reign, as far as we know.
- The term *giṇa-kāya* in r3 is observed in two Airlangga inscriptions, namely Kusambyan (A32) and Cane (Ab26), and never in inscriptions of any other reign — cf. the entry in §7.
- The name *hyaṅ ivak* in r6 is only found elsewhere in the Kusambyan inscription (A25, A27, A29, B20).
- The expression *padvā-mās* in v6 is also found in Kusambyan (B14) and some other inscriptions issued from the reign of Airlangga to the Kediri period, namely Garaman (3r7), Talan (3r7) and Kemulan (Cd6).
- The toponym Er Thani figuring in r4 occurs in the spelling Air Thani in Baru (Ab17 and 18), besides in the Garaman charter which dates just a few years after the end of Airlangga's reign (1v5, 2v3, 2v5, 2v7).

5.4. Kedunglereb

This stone inscription has never been deciphered and had not been assigned to Airlangga in previous scholarship. We propose it as a candidate, having seen the lettering on one of its estampages kept under number K34 in the Kern Institute collection, at Leiden University Library (fig. 3), and taking into account its provenance. It was once found at *dusun* Terban, in *desa* Kedunglereb (presently spelt Kedunglerep) and *kec.* Modo, *kab.* Lamongan, but has reportedly been lost.[53]

5.5. Pasar Legi

The inscription of Pasar Legi was first mentioned by Verbeek who briefly lists an inscribed stone dated 965 Śaka under the district of Mantup, *afdeeling* of Lamongan. He reports that the inscription, an estampage of which had been available in the Batavia museum since 1888, appeared to be a reissue (1891: 221, no. 433). Subsequently, Knebel reported that in the woods of the *desa* Pasar Legi in the *distrikt* of Mantup there is an inscribed stone which he described as standing under a roof, unevenly cut, mossy, weathered, its characters illegible (*ROC* 1907: 269–270). Additionally, Krom listed the estampages of the stela of Pasar Legi which were kept at the Archaeological

52. The unpublished Sanga charter, an incompletely preserved set issued during the Singasari period of which Arlo Griffiths is preparing a publication, mentions the toponym in the spelling *lāmoṅan·* (2v5).

53. The Kedunglereb stone was lost or submerged in the river (Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma 1996: 43, 63).

Fig. 3 — Kedunglereb stela, face A, estampage kept at UBL, no. K34.

Office with the inventory number 508 (*ROC* 1911: 55). In the same year, he published a list of dated inscriptions of Java where he recorded that the inscription of Pasar Legi was issued in 965 Śaka (1911: 249). A few years later, in the archaeological inventory published under the responsibility of Bosch, the inscription of Pasar Legi is mentioned briefly as dated 965 Śaka (*ROD* 1915: 249, no. 1824). Subsequently, Krom briefly touches upon the inscription of Pasar Legi when discussing the end of Airlangga's reign (1931: 271).

In the inventory of the dated inscriptions in Java published by Nakada (1982: 108–109), the inscription of Pasar Legi is listed in part I under the inventory number 162. Boechari was the first Indonesian scholar to study this inscription. Although the results of his study have never been published, we learn from a footnote (Boechari 1968: 17 n. 22 / 2012: 147 n. 22) that the inscription mentions the name of Śrī Saṅgrāmavijayadharmaprasādottuṅgadevī who holds the position as the *rakryān mahāmantri i hino*. He notes a unique feature of this inscription, namely that it has to be read from the bottom upwards. Further, comparing the inscription of Pasar Legi to other Airlangga stone inscriptions, he found that the script is smaller, more cursive, and less carefully engraved. He concluded that the inscription of Pasar Legi is probably a reissue, in line with what had been proposed already by Verbeek.

The inscription of Pasar Legi also figured in *SNI* vol. II (1990: 262–263). This work provides us with two additional pieces of information.[54] First, the content of the inscription concerns a grant of land in the village Pāṭakan.[55] Second, although it could not be fully deciphered, the *sambandha* portion was found to contain the words … *tan i yāvadvīpa, tka ri svaputra* …. The inscription of Pasar Legi was lastly discussed by Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma in their survey report (1996: 42, 44, 58). However, they did not use the designation Pasar Legi. Instead, the inscription was listed under the name of Sendang Rejo as the authors found the stone to be located in *desa* Sendangrejo, *kec.* Ngimbang, *kab.* Lamongan. Their report notes the measurements of the stone as 140 cm in height, 75 in width, and 36 in depth. It also records the number of lines which are found on its four faces, viz. front face: 22 lines, back face: completely worn-out, left side: 14 lines, right side: 14 lines. Furthermore, it states that the inscription is important with regard to the end of Airlangga's reign and the division of his kingdom because it is dated 965 Śaka and "mengandung data dua nama penting yaitu Airlangga dan puteri mahkotanya yaitu *i hino* Sri Sanggramawijaya". In her PhD dissertation, Ninie Susanti (2003: 476–477, no. 18, 2010: 30) reports that the inscription of Pasar Legi has been lost. Her observation is based on a report (unavailable to us) entitled *Daftar Prasasti di Kabupaten Lamongan* produced by the Kantor Kebudayaan Kabupaten Lamongan in 1984. On the other hand, she does list a stone inscription under the name of Titing which was found *in situ* in *dusun* Titing, *desa* Sendangrejo, *kec.* Ngimbang,

54. It is most likely that the information provided in this publication was derived from the unpublished work of Boechari.

55. Since Pātakan is a frequently occurring toponym in the corpus, the spelling with *ṭ* is surprising. Maybe it was a mere typing error.

kab. Lamongan (2003: 493–494, no. 29). No inscription of Titing has ever figured in any other scholarly publications, the only source which mentions this inscription being the same report in 1984 from Kantor Kebudayaan Kabupaten Lamongan. She notes that the stela measures 140 cm in height, 75 in width, and 36 in depth, and also details the number of lines on each face — west side: 25 lines, east side: completely worn-out, north side: 14 lines, south side: 14 lines. Finally, she observes that the *akṣara*s are similar to those of inscriptions issued under Airlangga, that the stone is dated to 965 Śaka, and that it "menyebut nama Airlangga *i hino sri sangramawijaya*".[56]

During our field survey carried out in November 2022, we found that the name Titing is no longer used. According to current administrative divisions, the stone in question is apparently found between *dusun* Blawi and *dusun* Bujel, though the signboard at the site mentions only Blawi as *dusun*. Observing the description given by Ninie Susanti for the inscription of Titing, it is evident that the inscription found in Blawi/Bujel nowadays is the same as the inscription called Pasar Legi in earlier sources. The provenance, details of measurement, number of lines on each surface, as well as parts of content are similar to those reported by previous scholars. Furthermore, the Leiden estampage K31, labeled Pasar Legi, shows particular features of the stone (e.g., a horizontal band carved in low relief towards the bottom) that are also visible in our photos of the Blawi/Bujel inscription. Since the inscription of Titing is the same as the inscription of Pasar Legi, we reserve only one entry for it in our inventory, thus "losing" one of the inscriptions listed by Ninie Susanti in her dissertation.

Although of course we must await the day that someone will try to decipher what remains legible of this inscription, perhaps making use of the estampage, made a century ago, that is kept at Leiden, as well as photogrammetry made during our recent survey, we conclude our present discussion by remarking that we have some doubt about the compatibility of the engraved date, that has been read as 965 Śaka, with the presence of the name of Śrī Saṅgrāmavijayadharmaprasādottuṅgadevī as *mahāmantrī i hino*, read by Boechari, because from 963 Śaka onwards (in the Pucangan inscription), we see that Śrī Samaravijaya Dhāmasuparṇavāhana Təguh Uttuṅgadeva serves as *mahāmantrī i hino*. This is confirmed by the Pandaan, Pamwatan and Sima Anglayang inscriptions. In other words, there is reason to suspect an error of reading for the date and/or the name on the part of modern scholars, or else a manipulation of the text at the time of reissue, if indeed this inscription turns out to have been engraved at a date significantly posterior to its internal date of 965 Śaka.[57]

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56. The words that we quote suggest the author wished to record the same information as that published by Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma.

57. Boechari (1990: 140 / 2012: 442 n. 11) reported, "In a personal letter to the present author, the late L.-Ch. Damais has written that the date cannot be restituted into Christian calendar. It reads: (A.22) ||0|| *swasti śakātīta 962. poṣya māsa. tithi trayodaśi śuklapa*(21)*kṣa. tu. u. rā. wāra. -- la. . .*". Using the photogrammetry, we are inclined to agree with Boechari's reading of the date as 965 and with the other dating parameters indicated by Damais. However, neither with the reading 965 nor with 962 can we find a match with the other dating parameters.

6. Four New Inscriptions

In editing the new inscriptions, we follow the transliteration system proposed by Balogh & Griffiths (2020) and use the following editorial signs:

(xyz)	reading of text is unclear
[xyz]	elements lost due to damage to support
⟨xyz⟩	text omitted by scribe
⟨⟨xyz⟩⟩	superfluous text written by scribe, to be ignored by reader
/xyz\	text inserted below the line
{xyz}	gap in text for reason of illegibility or loss
_	space left open for whatever reason (defect of the support, interfering descender from previous line)
///	the rest of the line to left or right is lost
:	*tarung* or disambiguation of unusually formed *akṣara*

In our translations, the asterisk mark * indicates that there is an entry for the given term in §7 (where entries are arranged under the respective base words).

6.1. Munggut

6.1.1. Introduction

6.1.1.1. Location and physical description

The inscription of Munggut is engraved on a large stela found *in situ* in front of what is today Bapak Martono's house at *dusun* Sumbergurit, *desa* Katemas, *kec.* Kudu, *kab.* Jombang, East Java. The coordinates of the location are 07°24'12" S and 112°17'18" E. The name of the *sīma* Munggut, with which this charter is concerned, survives to this day as the name of a *dusun* in *desa* Cupak, 4 km north of Sumbergurit. The stela, protected by a small *pendopo*, is relatively well preserved with text clearly visible on its four faces. Its base takes the form of a lotus. Its measurements are H. 145, W. 96, D. 27 cm. See fig. 4.

6.1.1.2. Previous research

The inscription first figures in the scholarly literature in 1887, as part of a brief report by Brandes on the receipt at the *Bataviaasch Genootschap* of "a box with very good estampages" of four inscriptions from the *afdeeling* Jombang, sent by Mr. H. E. Steinmetz, who was *Assistent-Resident* of Jombang at the time (*NBG* 25, 1887: 128). Brandes identified the issuing king as Airlangga and read the date as 955 Śaka.[58] The stela then figures under no. 448 in Verbeek's inventory of Javanese antiquities (1891: 9, 227), where the stone is said to be kept at Jombang in the yard of the *Assistent-Resident*. By the time the stela next figures in the scholarly literature, in the report on antiquities in Jombang by Knebel published in 1909 (*ROC* 1907:

58. "2. Beschreven steen van *Soember Goerit*. Steen met voetstuk en tap. Praçāsti van Koning Airlanggha van Çaka 955."

Fig. 4 — Munggut, sideways view. Photograph Hedwi Prihatmoko.

126–128), the stone had been moved back to its original location at the request of the village population.[59] We learn several interesting facts from Knebel's report about the role this stela played in local social/religious life more than a century ago.[60]

The inscription was included in Krom's list of dated inscriptions (1911: 249), while the information that had been published until then was summarized in the new inventory of antiquities edited under responsibility of Bosch (*ROD* 1915: 232–233, no. 1773 and 235, no. 1781). At that time, Brandes' reading 955 of the date and identification of Airlangga as the issuing king were still the only known facts about the contents of the inscription. The availability of estampages at the Archaeological Office had been recorded in *ROC* 1911: 55 (nos. 23–25),[61] and two decades later the inscription had evidently been read, because Krom was able to write that it concerns the foundation of a *sīma* for the *karāman* of Munggut and contains special regulations for smiths, etc. (1931: 263, 267). The seminal publications of Damais (1952: 64–65 no. A.136, 1955: 64) comprised a decipherment of the first six lines of the text with the dating formula where Damais read 944 instead of 955, on which basis he was able to convert the date to 3 March 1022 CE. Nevertheless, although the inscription had kept figuring now and then in the scholarly literature,[62] the text was still for the largest part unpublished five decades later, when Boechari wrote (1990: 140 n. 13):

> Many of Airlaṅga's inscriptions remain unpublished, but most of them are very weatherbeaten and only readable fragmentarily. There are however, some stone inscriptions which can be read easily, but still remain unpublished, like the inscription of Muṅgut dated 944 Śaka.[63]

It is therefore surprising that even subsequent publications dealing directly with the inscription have not led to a complete published decipherment of the text. In their report on epigraphic research in East Java, Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma (1996: 45, 59, 68) discuss the inscription but do not offer any new information, and although they quote "Sebagian tulisan Jawa Kuno yang dapat dibaca", the six lines of text that they quote

59. It is implied by the report that several artefacts, including this inscription, had been moved by Steinmetz to his official quarters in Jombang. It is stated explicitly (p. 126) that the local population agitated for their return to various locations after Steinmetz's departure. The discussions in Batavia, mentioned in *NBG* 47, 1909: 175, 179, about the possibility of acquiring stones from the quarters of the *Assistent-Resident* at Jombang seems to reveal that Knebel's report had not yet circulated by that time.

60. Knebel reports that he found the stone in the yard of Pak Saminten, under two Kambojatrees; that it was entirely smeared with *boreh* and surrounded by a wall of *kali*-stones, measuring 4 meters square; that offerings were made here at every mishap occurring in the village, while yearly offerings were made of *slametan tumpeng*, flowers and incense; and, finally, that this stela too was asked to be returned to the village as protection against the diseases that had struck after its transfer to Jombang.

61. These should today be preserved at the R.P. Soejono Science and Technology Campus of BRIN. It is unknown to us whether these are the same as the aforementioned "very good" estampages recorded in *NBG* 25, 1877.

62. Nurhadi Magetsari *et al.* 1979: 168; Nakada 1982: 106–107, part I, no. 154.

63. We cite Boechari's word as smoothened in the re-edition of his article (Boechari 2012: 449–450 n. 13).

are little more than a repetition of those already published by Damais in 1955. Their words can moreover be misconstrued to mean that the rest of the front face is illegible, while their statement that "Tulisan di sisi belakang lebih aus sehingga dalam waktu singkat belum dapat dibaca" is also liable to create the impression that the inscription is in bad condition. Of course, the limitations of time inherent in an epigraphic field survey may explain that these authors could not contribute anything new, but it is difficult to understand why even Ninie Susanti, whose PhD dissertation was entirely dedicated to the inscriptions of Airlangga, and who had occasion to visit the stela *in situ*, does not contain any additional word of deciphered text (2003: 354–357, no. 3). The same author's 2010 book, based on her dissertation, does not include the appendix with the inscriptions.[64] It is only in a report on survey work undertaken by one of us in Jombang that a provisional edition and translation into Indonesian were finally presented, but this report has remained unpublished.[65]

The edition of the Munggut inscription that is offered here was established on the basis of the estampages n. 2206–2211 held in the EFEO collection in Paris, that were made during our joint fieldwork in 2012.[66] It was then revised through repeated direct inspection of the stone, and finalized using the photogrammetry made during our November 2022 survey.

6.1.1.3. Description of text layout

The dating formula, which normally stands at the beginning of an Old Javanese inscription, stands in the third physical line of what has to be the front face. On this anomaly, Damais has observed that "The text begins with two lines that we have not transcribed and that are in Sanskrit verses" (1955:

64. We find here only the following indications of the contents of the inscription (pp. 34, 50, 52, 222, 233, 237): the inscription, which opens with two lines of praise in Sanskrit, concerns the establishment of Munggut village as a *sīma*, but the part that contains the reasons for granting *sīma* status has not yet been read in its entirety. What is known is that the relevant passage mentions an elder named Gamala and states that the grant was to be inherited by his descendants until the end of time, one of them being called Snakśa. The inscription also mentions that the capital of the kingdom is in Wwatan Mas. Although previous scholarship had suggested that lists of *taṇḍa rakryān riṅ pakira-kiran* are an innovation of the Kediri period, this inscription already contains such a list and the same group of officials is known in Bali since the reign of Dharmodayana (898–1001) who was Airlangga's father. It is one among several that describe Airlangga as a conquering king who granted *sīma* rights to the persons who had provided assistance during his military campaigns, and also one among several that were found on the banks of the Brantas river. Ninie Susanti relies for several observations concerning the Munggut charter on a *skripsi* written at Universitas Indonesia by Bayu Aryanto (2003). This *skripsi* also contains the first complete decipherment and translation of the text that we are aware of. Although UI restricts access for outsiders to its library of digital *skripsi*s, we have managed to obtain a copy, but we have not consulted this work in detail because we believe it is unfair to treat such work of students on par with publications of mature scholars.

65. See Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2013, §3.1.1.

66. During this field trip, the estampages were made by Khom Sreymom and Ham Seihasarann, estampage specialists from the National Museum of Cambodia, whom we had invited to help us obtain inked estampages of several inscriptions in East Java. We have not had the chance to consult the other estampages of whose existence we are aware, viz. the set kept in the Kern Institute collections at the University Library in Leiden (no. K21), and the aforementioned estampages from the collection of the former *Oudheidkundige Dienst*, that should today be preserved at the R.P. Soejono Science and Technology Campus of BRIN.

64 n. 2). We, however, are unable to recognize any Sanskrit here, and there is not sufficient space for even a single Sanskrit stanza. The distribution of the text over the physical support is more complex than Damais imagined it. The fact that the estampages for the lateral faces (which actually comprise two planes) make invisible the three-dimensional complexity of the support adds to the difficulty of the task, but since we were able to make repeated visits to the stela *in situ*, we were able to compensate for this disadvantage of depending on estampages. Nevertheless, due to loss of text in some of the upper parts of the stela, we are unable to reconstruct the entire intrinsic structure of the text.

What is sure is that the original inscription was meant to begin on what is now the third physical line of the front face, which we number 1 in section 1 of our edition. It seems that the two lines above this are a secondary addition to the main text. In fact the names we tentatively read Jujul and Sulur in the second physical line (numbered 5.2 in our edition) reoccur further down on the same face, in physical lines 18–19 (numbered 1.16–1.17 in our edition), as does the word *kabayan*. We do not precisely understand how or where these additional lines are to be inserted, but we guess that the addition was made in the year 977 (Śaka) that is engraved here, and that it says something about the persons Jujul and Sulur.

The last physical line of the front face (section 6 in our edition) starts in the middle of the line. Nothing that can be read of this line connects to *tina-* at the end of the preceding physical line (1.21), after which we expect the syllables *ṇḍa garuḍamukha*. We therefore presume that this last physical line is another addition made when the rest of the face had been filled. On the estampage for the adjoining lateral face, most of the top is damaged, but the very top line is relatively better preserved than the following ones, and seems to be separated from them by a gap. Although we cannot read any *akṣara* on this line with certainty, we feel certain that this line does not contain the expected syllables *ṇḍa garuḍamukha* either, nor do we find these syllables engraved anywhere else on this face. Rather, we find the expected syllables in the third physical line of the back face (2.1), and so we presume that the first two physical lines on this face are also part of a secondary addition or in any case not to be read before the third physical line on this face. After the last line of the back face (2.22), the text continues on the thirteenth physical line of the support's proper right face (3.1), and after the last line on this face (3.36) we can plausibly reconstruct that the text continues on the eighth physical line of the opposite face (4.1), despite damage to that part of the text. After the last line of the proper left face (4.32), where the text has reached the imprecatory passage normally standing towards the end of an inscription, we proceed to the two top physical lines of the back face for the next part of the imprecation (5.1–2). The imprecation then seems to continue in the upper part of the proper right face where, after several illegible lines, we find further elements of the imprecation (6.5–7), but still do not find the end of the text which we surmise must have been located in the almost entirely illegible section 7, on the upper part of the opposite face. We suspect that the additional lines at the top (8) and bottom (9) of

the front face are of the nature of secondary additions, made after the initial engraving of the complete text.

Having thus shown that each face consists of at least two parts, and that the physically higher parts are to be read after the physically lower ones — a pattern also observed on some of the well preserved stela-inscriptions issued by Airlangga[67] — we can now summarize how the physical lines correspond to the intrinsic divisions of the text on each face, to facilitate comparison of our edition with the estampages and the orthophotos used here to illustrate our edition.

Front (estampages n. 2206 and 2207, fig. 5): 24 lines
Addition at top: 2
Main part: 21
Addition at bottom: 1
Back (estampages n. 2209 and 2210, fig. 6): 24 lines
Additional lines at top: 2
Main part: 22
Proper right (estampage n. 2211, fig. 7): 43 lines, of which 13 facing up, 30 facing sideways
Upper part: 7
Main part (starting after 7 lines on the upward-facing plane): 36
Proper left (estampage n. 2208, fig. 8): 44 lines, of which 13 facing up, 31 facing sideways
Upper part: 13
Main part (starting at the angle between upward- and sideways-facing planes): 31

The boundaries between the various parts of the text are entirely invisible on the stone as they are on the respective estampages and have been determined with reference to the intrinsic structure of the inscribed text. The parts need to be read in the following order:

1. Front main part
2. Back main part
3. Right main part
4. Left main part
5. Back addition at top
6. Right upper part
7. Left upper part
8. Front addition at top
9. Front addition at bottom

The edition below will be presented in these same 9 parts, using the line numbering internal to each one.

67. See notably the Cane and Baru stelae, although the order in which the respective parts are to be read is different in these two cases. See Ninie Susanti 2010: 36 for a brief and not fully reliable discussion of the "cara baca prasasti" for the five stone inscriptions of Airlangga that she was able to study through autopsy.

6.1.2. Text

1. Front main part (fig. 5)

(1) // 0 // svasti śaka-vārṣătīta 944 cetrā-māsa tithi caturdaśī kṛ̥(ṣ)ṇa-
(2)pakṣa, vu, pa, Aṁ, vāra, balamuki, kṛ̥tikā⟨⟨raṇa⟩⟩-nakṣatra,[68] dahana-devatā, Āyu[ṣ]m[ān·]-
(3)yoga, vanija-kāraṇa, Irikā divāsany ājñā śrī mahārāja rake halu, śrī loke(ś)va[ra]
(4) dharmmavaṅśa Airlaṅgănantavikramottuṅgadeva, tinaḍah rakryān· mahāmantrī hino śrī saṁgrā-
(5)mavijayaprasādottuṅgadevī, Umiṅsor· I rakryān· paḍaṁ pu dvija, kumonakən ikanaṁ[69] karāmā-
(6)n· Iṁ muṅgut· sapasuk thāni[70] kabaḥ[71] tka ri babadnya, maṅaran·[72] Aṇḍu(k)·, bara, marma, cucya, (g)eḍoḥ,
(7) bə(c)əm·, bajəm·, buṅaḥ, dītən·, bijo, kuniṁ, kəmboṁ, kilano,[73] gajusa, tiṅgal·(,) gantar·, li-
(8)ṇḍuṁ, Ṛ̥mban·, tuñjuṁ, {5 *akṣ*. ille.}do, marum·, beca, vecuṁ, kuruk· lca, bəntəL̥, Ṛ̥ntap· ba-
(9)hum(a)n·,[74] robhana, (Ibuni ran·, ma)ṅaran· ḍə(r)ən·, gosəṁ, plī, kleṁ, bavvat·, godhanā, (ṅ)itam·, ba-
(10)sakaṁ, garuṁ, Aṣṭamī, Adinəm·, śoḍagañciṁ, bamī, Aṣṭi, paraḥ, śrīnam·, Iṅgut·, vatəhər·, ḍintə(n·)
(11) jenī, gr̥_ha, (dhā)ryya, kesar·, nadī, Untal·, (b)ənər·, Uṅabakaḍut·, (lu)tilaya, sabh(ā)mogha, gə-
(12)ḍe, bayog·, (ḍaL̥)man·,[75] maraṇa, daḍatañjamī,[76] surat·, pagəḥ, śrīmato, Iyo, tuvuḥ,
(13) kuniṁ, niki, gokəm·, mūlū, sabotī, boḍatəm·, pənəd·, kejī, kedranī, patyən·, bhuvana-

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68. *kṛ̥tikā⟨⟨raṇa⟩⟩-nakṣatra* ◇ on the eccentric form of the *nakṣatra* name engraved here, Damais wrote: "We will study elsewhere the aberrant forms of certain calendrical elements in Airlangga's charters and comparable to the *kṛtikāraṇanakṣatra* of this inscription" (1955: 64 n. 3). As far as we are aware, Damais was never able to publish his observations on these aberrant elements. If we are not mistaken, the discussion in Eade & Gislén 2000: 71–72, which we find difficult to understand, touches upon the fact that the inscription seems to indicate Kṛttikā as *nakṣatra*, whereas the real *nakṣatra* was Revatī; we do not know whether this was the aberration that Damais had in mind, or whether he was rather alluding to the aberrant form of the name itself, which seem to be a contamination before *nakṣatra* of *kṛt(t)ikā* with *karaṇa*/*kāraṇa* (on the interchangeability of the spelling, see Damais 1955: 64 n. 4).

69. *kumonakən ikanaṁ* ◇ *kumonakən nikanaṁ* Damais.

70. Damais' reading breaks off at this point.

71. *kabaḥ* ◇ corr. *kabeḥ*, as in 1.19.

72. *tka ri babadnya, maṅaran·* ◇ Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma's reading (reproduced by Ninie Susanti) for these words is *tka ni papadya maṅaran*, and it breaks off after them. The expression *tka ri badbadnya* occurs several times in the Cane inscription (Ab6, 24, 25; Cd9, 11, 22).

73. *kilano* ◇ the apparent *anusvāra* on *akṣara la* seems to be due to an irregularity in the stone, so we ignore it.

74. *bahum(a)n·* ◇ we initially interpreted the crescent-shaped mark above the *ma* as an *ulu*, until we realized that all *ulu*s in this inscription are of circular form. We therefore propose to consider it as the beginning of a *virāma* sign that the scribe did not continue once he realized he had started engraving the *virāma* one *akṣara* too early. It seems that the *ma* in *(aL̥)man·* in line 12 may show the same phenomenon.

75. *(ḍaL̥)man·* ◇ see our note on *bahum(a)n·* in lines 8–9.

76. *daḍatañjamī* ◇ perhaps one must read *ḍetañjamī*?

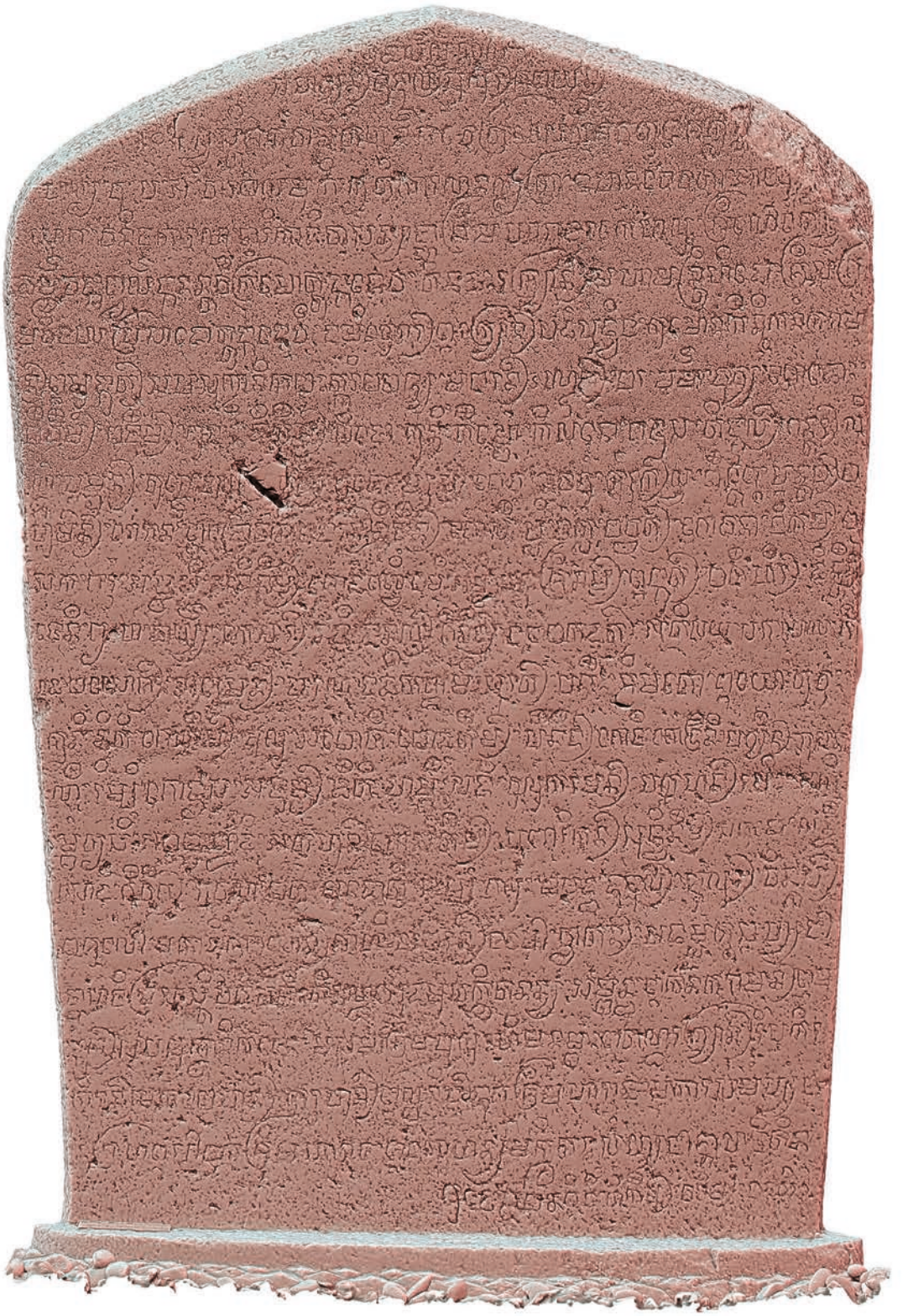

Fig. 5 — Munggut, front face. Orthophoto from a photogrammetric model by Adeline Levivier.

(14)ṇī, rimpiṁ, godr̥sa, Ajum·, dhəti(,) hambəṁ, sadī, vulu karaman·, patṅahan· rapiḥ, Akə-
(15)mbaṁ tr̥piṁ, Abūbū(ḥ Au)ḍi, Atahun·, gorsatəm·, pañarikan· sudvinəm·(,) saṁkuba, landə-
(16)so(ḍ)i, gəvəg·, bhuvaṇa, bata, madoti, (A)mpaṁ, galuḥ, baṣūddha, jujul·, sulu(r)·, vinkas·
(17) bagnalo, makādi kabayān· kāliḥ maṅaran· japo, vvātan·, madamlakna saṁ hyaṅ ā-
(18)jñā haji prasāsti pa(gə)-pagəḥ[77] tinaṇḍa garuḍamukha kmitananya, sambandha, Ikanaṁ karāman· I mu-
(19)ṅgut· sapasuk thāni kabeḥ, masamāgrī mapuluṁ rahi manambaḥ I taṇḍa rakryān· ri pakira-
(20)kirăn· makabehan·, karuhun· I lbū ri pāduka śrī mahārāja makārasa maṁhyaṅā-
(21)nugraha I pāduka śrī mahārāja, I knohanya makmitana saṁ hyaṅ ājñā haji tina-

2. Back main part (fig. 6)

(1)(ṇḍa ga)[ruḍam]u(kha, ma)karasa, An· su(m)īma thāninya I muṅgut·, kumabhaktyan(i-)
(2)ra buyut· s(ū)kṣma (An)iddhākna drabya haji paṅaṣṭaṅgī mā 5 Aṅkən· katiga māsa,[78] meriṅa sarvvavīja lima
(3) sukat· riṁ savulu, kaharan· puṣpapañcopacāra, tīla-tela,[79] dhŭpa, dīpa, gandha, mvaṁ nivedyādi prakāra, pū-
(4)jāknanyăṁkən· katiga māsa, mvaṁ tan·tunya I saprakārani⟨ṁ maṅilala⟩ drabya hajī vulu-vulu[80] magəṁ maḍmit· kabeḥ, paṅkur·, tavan·
(5) tirip· ṅuniveḥ sakveḥ saṁ maṅilala vulu-vulu riṁ daṅū,[81] makădiṁ miśra, paramiśra, paṅuraṁ kriṁ, paḍəm· manimpiki pa-
(6)ranakan·, limus· galuḥ maṁriñca, maṁhuri, paraṁ, suṅka, dhūra, sukun·, sinagiha, kyab·, liṅgaṁ, sr̥kan·, halu vara-
(7)k·, rakadut·, ramanaṅ s(va)ra gəṇḍiṁ,[82] piniṁlai, kataṅgaran·, tapa haji, Air haji, malandaṁ, lca, lablab·, pakalaṅkaṁ, kutak·
(8) taṅkil·, tr̥pan·, salyut·, vatu valaṁ, pamanikan·, maniga, sikpan·, rumban·, tirvan·, vilaṁ thāni, viji kavaḥ, tiṅkə-

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77. *pa(gə)-pagəḥ* ◇ for similar phrases, see Kusambyan A37–38 and Sima Anglayang 13v3.

78. *(An)iddhākna drabya haji paṅaṣṭaṅgī mā 5 Aṅkən· katiga māsa* ◇ cf. Turun Hyang A17 *kramanya maniddhākna drabya haji paṅaṣṭaṅgi mās ⟨s⟩u 2 mijil aṅkən asujimāsa*.

79. *tīla-tela* ◇ understand *tila-taila*.

80. *saprakārani⟨ṁ maṅilala⟩ drabya hajī vulu-vulu* ◇ the need to supply at least the article *ṁ* (if not *kanaṁ*) plus *maṅilala* is shown by many parallel passages. (See the next footnote for some examples.) The specific word we assume here, with *saprakāraniṁ maṅilala*, is not found elsewhere in the Airlangga corpus (where the normal expression is *saprakāra saṁ maṅilala*), but we encounter it in several inscriptions of the reigns of Balitung and Sindok.

81. *saṁ maṅilala vulu-vulu ri daṅū* ◇ we expect here *saṁ maṅilala* ***drabya haji*** *vulu-vulu ri daṅū*. Cf. Sima Anglayang 14r4–5 *saṁ maṅilala drabya haji vulu-vulu* and 16v6–7 *samaṅilala dr̥vya haji vulu-vulu magə:ṁ maḍm⟨i⟩t·* as well as Padlegan I (1038 Śaka) *saṅ maṅilala dravya haji vulu-vulu riṅ daṅū agə:ṅ aḍmit*. But in the present context, the words *drabya haji* were perhaps felt still to be in force from the previous line.

82. *ramanaṅ s(va)ra gəṇḍiṁ* ◇ the reading is rather uncertain, all the more so as the words *svara gəṇḍiṁ* are not found in any of the numerous other instances of this kind of list known to us.

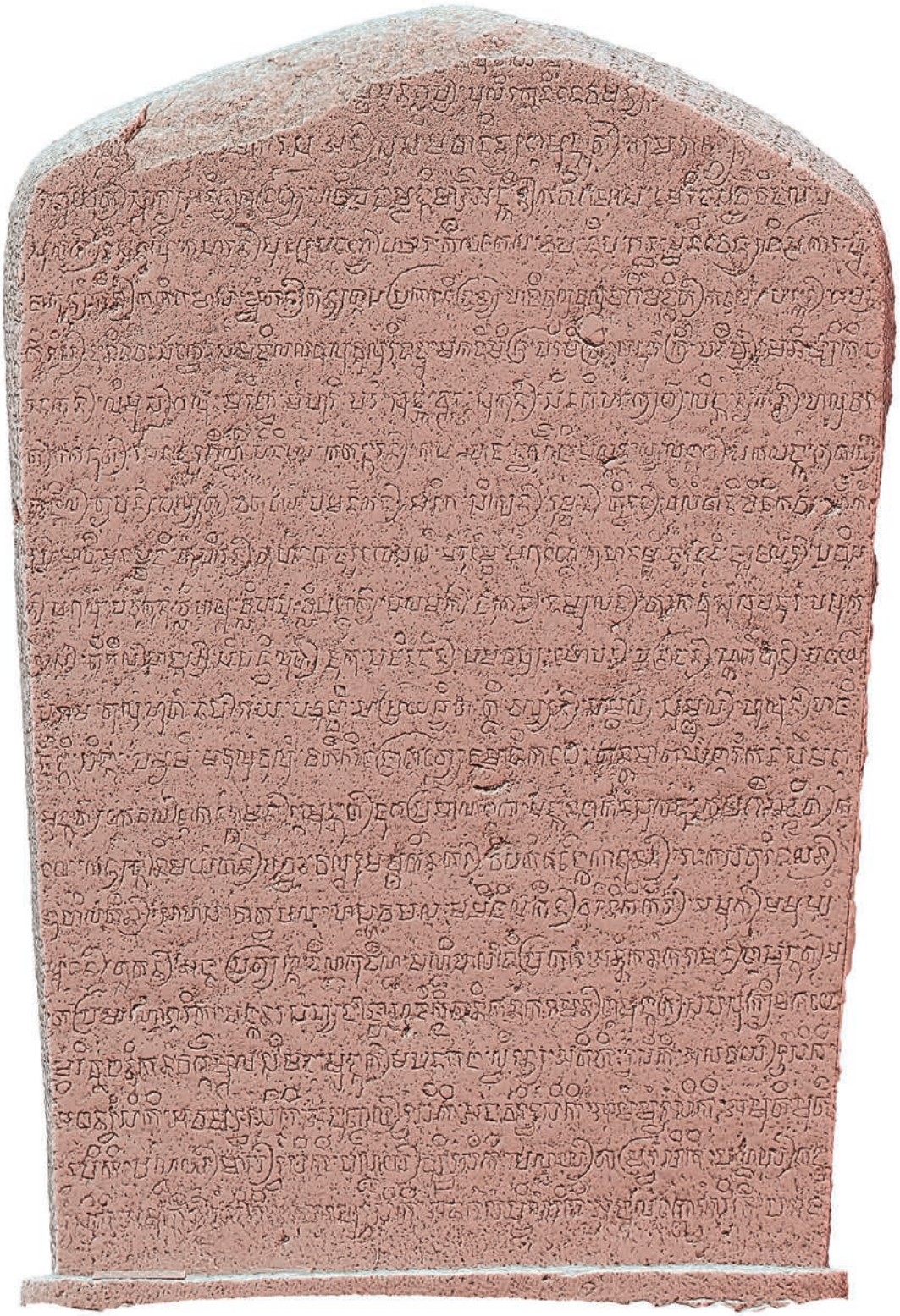

Fig. 6 — Munggut, back face. Orthophoto from a photogrammetric model by Adeline Levivier.

(9)s·, māvī, manambaṅi, taṁhiran·, tuha dagaṁ, juru gosalī, maṁrumbai, maṁguñjai, tuhanambi,[83] juru juḍi, juru jalir·, pabisa-
(10)r·, paguluṁ, pavuṁkunuṁ, vli hapū, vli harR̥ṁ, vli pañjut·, palamak·, Urutan·, dampulan·, tpuṁ kavuṁ, suṁsuṁ paṅuraṁ, pasuk a-
(11)las·, tikəl· haṅgas·, sipad vilut· jukuṁ,[84] paṅin-aṅin·, pamavasya, hopan·, panrāṅan·, skār tahun·, paba(yai)[85]
(12) paṁ(rā)ma, tuluṁ hutaṁ, pobhaya, pacumbi, paprăyaścita, kḍi, valyan·, sambal·, sumbul·, hulun· haji,
(13) jəṅgi, siṅgaḥ, pamṛṣi, mavuluṁ-vuluṁ, vatək i jro Ityevamādi kabeḥ, tan tamā ta ya Irikanaṁ sīma I
(14) muṅgut· kevalā Ikanaṁ /ka\rāmān· I muṅgut· juga pramāṇa I⟨ri⟩kā, maṅkana Ikanaṁ sukhaduḥkha magə:ṁ maḍmit· ka-
(15)beḥ, kady aṅgāniṁ mayaṁ tan· pavvaḥ, valū rumambat iṁ natar·, vipati⟨,⟩ vaṅke kabunan·, rāḥ kasavur iṁ dalan·,
(16) duhilatən·, sāhasa, vākcapala, hastacapala, mamijilakən· vuriniṁ kikir·, mamuk· mamumpaṁ
(17) lūdan·, tūtan·, Aṅśa, pratyaṅśa, ḍəṇḍa kuḍəṇḍa, maṇḍihalādi prakāra, Ann ikanaṁ karāman· I muṅgut· A-
(18)ta pramāṇā Irikā, maṅkana ra⟨sa⟩ (s)aṁ hyaṅ ājñā haji kmitanikanaṁ karāman· I muṅgut·, sapasuk· ṣīma kabeḥ
(19) mvaṁ ri vnaṅanikanaṁ vargga mūla sīma I muṅgut· mapadagaṅa, lvīranya, Atitiḥ rvaṁ siki, Alavay· rvaṁ siki,
(20) (A)ba⟨sa⟩na rvaṁ siki, Acămara rvaṁ siki, Aṅuñjal· rvaṁ siki, Aṅavari rvaṁ siki, Amaṁmaṁ rvaṁ siki, A(muti-muti)[86]
(21) rvaṁ siki, paṇḍay· mās· rvaṁ siki, paṇḍay· vsi rvaṁ siki, paṇḍay· tāmra rvaṁ siki, paṇḍay· kaṅśa
(22) rvaṁ siki, Amutər· rvaṁ siki, (Apa)rahu rvaṁ siki, Adagaṁ sapi rvaṁ siki, Aṅulaṁ kbo rvaṁ siki, pa(ram·)-

3. Right main part (fig. 7)

(1)ma(s)an· rvaṁ siki, mabakulan· rvaṁ
(2) siki, (ma)səpahan· rvaṁ siki, ma-
(3)hī(ṣṭhva)n·[87] rvaṁ siki, samaṅkana I(ka-)
(4)naṁ karma dagaṁ salviranikanaṁ (na-)

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83. *tuhanambi* ◇ understand *tuhān nambi*. Cf. Kusambyan B11.

84. *jukuṁ* ◇ although this word is more often spelled with a nasal on the first syllable (e.g. Kusambyan B13 and Anjatan 3r1 *juṁkuṁ*, Pandaan C11 *juṁkuṁ*), there is also a fair number of occurrences without that nasal (e.g. Baru Abe24) so we do not supply a *cecak*.

85. *paba(yai)* ◇ the use of this term with *skar tahun* and *paṅrāma* around it is quite typical of the inscriptions known or suspected to belong to the Airlangga period. It is *pabaye* in Cane and Turun Hyang, *pabayai* in Adulengen, Barsahan and Anjatan in the same contexts.

86. *A(muti-muti)* ◇ various alternative readings are imaginable, depending on whether the word ended at the end of line 2.20, or whether anything was engraved before *rvaṁ* at the beginning of line 21, and on how the horizontal stroke above the penultimate *akṣara*s of line 2.20 is explained. Neither the reading tentatively adopted here, nor any of the alternatives we have considered (*Amutər-mutəra*, *Amuti-mutiḥ*, *Amutirmutəḥ*), yield a word that is expected in this context.

87. *mahī(ṣṭhva)n·* ◇ the reading *ṣṭhva* is purely diagnostic, for we see an *akṣara* with two *pasangan*s below it, but do not recognize which word is intended here so we offer merely what seems to be a possible reading of the problematic ligature.

a

b

Fig. 7 — Munggut, lateral face right, (a) upper part, (b) lower part. Orthophoto from a photogrammetric model by Adeline Levivier.

(5){1 *akṣ*. ille.}ṁ (bha)ṇḍa pamvatanya,[88] tamola-
(6)h ata(ḥ paña)sthāna[89] Irikanaṁ sī-
(7)ma I muṅgut· (A)nn ikanaṁ[90] varga mūla
(8) sīma I muṅgut· Ata(ḥ v)āsa-pra-
(9)māṇa manahi(la)na ya drabya haji
(10) tuhun· maveha patūt· pa-
(11)dulur· juga marayan· mareṁ ɾ-
(12)deśa salen· mvaṁ yan· pame-
(13)t· dval·, maṅkanātaḥ Ikanaṁ varga
(14) kilalan·, kliṁ, Ăryya, siṁhala, ɾ-
(15)(g)olaviṣaya, coli/ka\, malyāla, ka-
(16)rṇnăṭaka, vallahāra, cəmpa, Ṛmən·,
(17) havaṁ, mambaṁ, huñjəman·, senămu-
(18)kha, varahan·, mapaḍahi, keñcaka〈,〉[91]
(19) tarimba, matu(p)ukan·,[92] Abaɾ-
(20)ñol·, salahan· varga kila-
(21)lan·, Asiṁ samakavarga ya, A-
(22)siṁ pravṛtinya, sadeśa-saṁka(na)-
(23)nya(,) yāvat ya muṅgu Irikeṁ sīma
(24) I muṅgut·, An ikanaṁ varga mūla sī-
(25)ma I muṅgut· Atikā pramāṇa
(26) I sukhaduḥkhanya magəṁ maḍmit· ka-
(27)beḥ, tumūtak(na) yacānyayan i-
(28)ka masthānabati ri sājñănya[93] mapa-
(29)knā tambəhani pamūjanya, buyut·
(30) śūkṣma, maṁkana rasany anugraha śrī
(31) mahāraja, Irikanaṁ varga mūla sīma
(32) I muṅgut· sapasuk ṣīma kabeḥ
(33) kapagəhaknanyan· tamolaḥ I
(34) pana_taranya sovaṁ-sovaṁ tan·
(35) kolah-ulaha de sa〈ṅ a〉nāgata pra-
(36)bhu, (mvaṁ saṅ anāgata vineḥ tiṁha-)

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88. *salviranikanaṁ (na)* {1 *akṣ*. ille.}*ṁ (bha)ṇḍa pamvatanya* ◇ we seem to have here a somehow expanded version of the expression found as *salvīrani bhaṇḍanya kabeḥ* in Cane Cd21 and as *salviraniṅ bhaṇḍanya* in Patakan B22. There seems to be an intrusive *pasangan* or full interlinear *akṣara* below the *sa* of *salviranikanaṁ* as well as an intrusive *ṅa* or *U* engraved below the *pa* of *pamvatanya*.

89. *tamolah ata(ḥ paña)sthāna* ◇ the reading is rather uncertain, but *paṅasthāna* occurs in a similar context in Sima Anglayang 4v4–5.

90. *(A)nn ikanaṁ* ◇ instead of *A*, it would be easier to read *sa*, but this is hard to accept in the context. The turn of phrase *ann ikanaṅ* was also found above in 2.17.

91. *keñcaka* ◇ corr. *kecaka*.

92. *matu(p)ukan·* ◇ corr. *matapukan·*.

93. *tumūtak(na) yacānyayan ika masthānabati ri sājñănya* ◇ we are unable to understand this sequence, and therefore uncertain about some of the readings as well as the word divisions. We suspect *yacānyayan* may be a scribal error for *yathānyayan* or *yavānya yan*, but in neither case do we obtain an understandable text. More substantial emendation seems to be necessary.

a

b

Fig. 8 — Munggut, lateral face left, (a) upper part, (b) lower part. Orthophoto from a photogrammetric model by Adeline Levivier.

4. Left main part (fig. 8)

(1)[l· piṁhay]·, (ma)katə(vəka)
(2) [śrī ma](h)ārāja ri maṇiratnasi-
(3)[ṅhāsa]na makaḍatvan· vvatan mās·〈,〉[94]
(4) yapvan· hana sira kamatan·
(5) tan· yatnā I sara〈sa〉ny[95] ājñā śrĭ ma-
(6)hāraja, Umulah-ulaḥ Ikeṁ
(7) sīma I muṅgut·, ya saṅkāna-
(8)ni pramādanya, salvirani la(ṅgha)-
(9)(na) ri saṁ hyaṅ ājñā haji lviranya
(10) knāna ya _ nigraha mā kā 1 su
(11) 5[96] Īndaḥ ta kita bhaṭāra (śrī)
(12) haricandana, Agasti, mahārṣ(i),
(13) pūrbva, dakṣiṇa, paścīma, Uttarā-
(14)gneya(,) neriti, băyabhya, Urd(dhva)ma-
(15)dhaḥ raviḥ śaśī kṣiti jala pavana
(16) hutāsana ya〈ja〉māṇākāśa, A-
(17)horātra sandhyā, nāgarāja durgă-
(18)devī, sahananta hyaṁ kālamṛtyu
(19) yama baruṇa kuvera bāsava (ki)-
(20)ta masuki manarĭrerika vva(ṁ) sa(r)va-
(21)siddha rikiṁ jagat·, yāvat· bhaṅ(gi)
(22) gaṇa-gaṇa vna(ṅa) Umulah-ulaḥ I-
(23)keṁ sīma I muṅgut· patyanantā ya
(24) kamuṁ hyaṁ śŭkṣma, deyantat· pa-
(25)tīya, ta(t· to)liha[97] ri vuntat·
(26) tatiṅhala[98] ri likuran·, taruṁ riṅ adga-
(27)n·, tampyal· (I) hiriṅan·, tutu-

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94. The reconstruction of 3.34 through 4.2 is inspired by Cane Cd24–25: *tan· kolaḥ-ulaha de saṁ Anāgata-prabhu ṅuniveḥ saṁ Anāgata vineḥ tiṅhal· piṁhai makatəvəka paṁḍiri śrī mahārāja ri maṇiratnasiṅhāsana makaḍatvan· ri vvatan mās*. Nevertheless it is quite hypothetical, among other reasons because (1) the number of *akṣara*s on line 4.1 resulting from the reconstruction is 9, while the following lines have more; (2) the precise spelling *piṁhay·*, known in other periods, is never found in other Airlangga inscriptions.

95. *sara〈sa〉ny* ◇ cf. Baru Cdef lines 8 and 39, and Gandhakuti 4v5.

96. *yapvan hana ... su 5* ◇ cf. Baru Cf8–10 *kapvātikā tan· bari-barin denira, yathānya tan· pamuhara pramāda riṁ sira yāpvan hana sira kamatan· tan· yatna I sarasa (saṁ) hyaṅ ajñā haji tāmraprasāsti kmitanikanaṁ karāman· riṁ baru sapaśuk thāni matuha manvam· kabeḥ, ya saṅkānani pramādanya salvirniṁ laṅghana saṁ hyaṅ ājñā haji lviranya knāna nigraha kā 2 mās 〈s〉u 10* and Sima Anglayang 4v3–5 *yāpvan hana baṇigrāma mvaṁṅ ikaṁ sĭmāṅlayaṁ kamatān· kentasa tan pasuṁ ri kapālihani dṛbyanika(ṁ) madaga(ṁ) pjaḥ Anăpatya, yāvat tamolaḥ I saṁ hyaṁ sarvvadharmma, mvaṁ paṅasthāna ri jātakanira, ya saṁkanāni pramādanya, salvirniṁ laṅghana I saṁ hyaṁṅ ājñā haji lvirānya, knāna ya nigraha, mā (k)ā 1, su 5* //. There is also a damaged parallel passage in Pandaan B17–18 *yāpvan hana sira kamatan ta[n yatna I] saraśa saṁ hyaṅ ājñā haji, ya saṁkanani pramādanya, salvīrnīṁ laṅghana [I] saṁ hyaṅ ājñā haji lvīranya, knāna ya nigraha mā kā [1 su] 5*.

97. *ta(t· to)liha* ◇ the presence of a large irregularity in the surface of the stone and the descending parts of the word *sŭkṣma* in line 24 make it hard to recognize the segment *t· to* that is expected on the basis of Terep II 8r1 and Pandaan B26.

98. *tatiṅhala* ◇ understand *tat tiṅhala*. Cf. Bimalasrama 12r7 and Terep II 8r1.

(28)ḷ tuṇḍanya, blaḷ kapālanya, carika-
(29)kan· vtaṅnya, (vtvakə)n daḷ̥manya, pa-
(30)ṅan dagiṅnya, Inum· rāḅnya, (vkasakə)-
(31)n· pranantika, (yan pare)ṅ alas·
(32) {5 *akṣ*. ille.} paraniṁ moṁ[99] sa-

5. Back: Additional lines at top (fig. 6)

(1) {only traces of about 5 *akṣara*s remain}
(2) … [sa]///mb[ə]Ḷ̥n(i)[ṁ] glap·, puliraknaniṁ devamanyu

6. Right upper part (fig. 7)

(1) {4 *akṣ*. ille.} (p)ināna {3 *akṣ*. ille.}
(2) {6 *akṣ*. ille.} bhraṣṭa lipu-
(3) {7 *akṣ*. ille.} (tan· sva) {2 *akṣ*. ille.}
(4) {1 *akṣ*. ille.} piṁpitu A_ta yan· bimba-
(5)n· pāpāta sajīvakāla,[100] maṁ-
(6)kana tmahananikeṁ vvaṁ Anyāya
(7) Um(u)lah-ula(ḷ Ik)eṁ sīma I mu-

7. Left upper part (fig. 8)

The first line is a bit better preserved than the following eight lines, but still nothing can be read with certainty on the 9 top lines. Some *akṣara*s can be discerned a bit more clearly on lines 10–12, but there too the absence of any certainty about context has persuaded us not to make any attempt at deciphering the short segments of *akṣara*s that might be legible.

8. Front: Additional lines at top (fig. 5)

(1) rva(ṁ) 977 kā(la)
(2) sa[ṁ] hadyan· (j)ujul· sulur· kabayan·

9. Front: Additional line at bottom (fig. 5)

(1) guve Ubena giditikəm·, cacəm·, ṅayai[101]

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99. *(yan pare)ṅ alas·* {5 *akṣ*. ille.} *paraniṁ moṁ* ◇ it seems that there may be about five *akṣara*s engraved on the left half of line 4.32, but if indeed any were engraved here they must have been wholly or partially superfluous, as there are numerous parallels for the phrase *yan pareṅ alas paṅananiṁ moṁ* or *yan pareṅ alas dmakniṁ moṁ*, where nothing ever intervenes between *alas* and the passive irrealis form of *paṅan* or *dmak*. Based on the parallels, it also seems that *paraniṁ* is an error for *paṅananiṁ*.

100. *A_ta yan· bimban· pāpāta sajīvakāla*, ◇ there are no exact parallels for this passage in the Airlangga corpus, but there is a partial one in Kusambyan d33–34, while more extensive ones are found in the inscriptions of the time of Sindok. After *piṁpitu*, we normally find the words *ata yan bimbān pāpa ata ya saṁsāra sajīvakāla* (Linggasuntan C42; Paradah II 2B15; Alasantan 4r9) or *ata yan bimban pāpa ata ya kadi lavas saṅ hyaṅ candrāditya* (Anjuk Ladang C21). Although the entire passage is badly weathered, the proposed reading seems possible, but we cannot find any trace of *ya saṁsāra*.

101. The reading of this line is extremely uncertain. Seemingly it consists only in proper names, none of which are recognizable with certainty.

6.1.3. Translation

(1.1–1.3) Hail! Elapsed Śaka year 944, month of Caitra, fourteenth *tithi*, waning fortnight, Vurukuṅ, Pahiṅ, Tuesday, [the Vuku being] Balamuki, lunar mansion Kṛttikā, the deity Dahana (i.e., Agni),[102] the conjunction Āyuṣmān, the *karaṇa* Vaṇija.

(1.3–1.6) That was the time when the decree of the Great King, the Lord of (*rakai*, i.e. *rakryān i*) Halu, Śrī Lokeśvara Dharmavaṅśa Airlaṅga Anantavikramottuṅgadeva, was received by the Lady (*rakryān*) the Great Minister of Hino (named) Śrī Saṅgrāmavijayaprasādottuṅgadevī. It came down to the Lord of Paḍaṅ (named) *pu* Dvija. It gave an order with regard to the community in Muṅgut including all its (constituent) villages (*sapasuk thāni*) up to its (forest) clearings.[103]

(1.6–1.14) [The inhabitants] were named: Aṇḍuk, Bara, Marma, Cucya, Geḍoh, Bəcəm, Bajəm, Buṅah, Dītən, Bijo, Kuniṅ, Kəmboṅ, Kilano, Gajusa, Tiṅgal, Gantar, Liṇḍuṅ, Rəmban, Tuñjuṅ, … do, Marum, Beca, Vecuṅ, Kuruk Ləca, Bəntələ, Rəntap Bahuman, Robhana, the mother of Ran named Ḍərən, Gosəṅ, Pəlī, Kəleṅ, Bavvat, Godhanā, Ṅitam, Basakaṅ, Garuṅ, Aṣṭamī, Adinəm, Śoḍagañciṅ, Bamī, Aṣṭi, Parah, Śrīnam, Iṅgut, Vatəhər, Ḍintən Jenī,[104] Gṛha, Dhārya, Kesar, Nadī, Untal, Bənər, Uṅabakaḍut, Lutilaya, Sabhāmogha, Gəḍe, Bayog, Ḍaləman, Maraṇa, Daḍatañjamī, Surat, Pagəh,[105] Śrīmato, Iyo, Tuvuh, Kuniṅ, Niki, Gokəm, Mūlū, Sabotī, Boḍatəm, Pənəd, Kejī, Kedranī, Patyən, Bhuvanaṇī, Rimpiṅ, Godrəsa, Ajum, Dhəti, Hambəṅ, Sadī.

(1.14–1.17) The community occupational groups (**vulu*):
- *patṅahan*s:[106] Rapih, Akəmbaṅ Trəpiṅ, Abūbuh Auḍi, Atahun, Gorsatəm.
- scribes (*pañarikan*): Sudvinəm, Saṅkuba, Landəsoḍi, Gəvəg, Bhuvaṇa, Bata, Madoti, Ampaṅ, Galuh, Baṣūddha, Jujul, Sulur.
- *vinəkas*: Bagnalo.
- in the first place the two chiefs (*kabayan*) named Japo [and] Vvātan.

(1.17–1.18) [The order was] that they should make the holy royal decree in the form of an edict as confirmatory document sealed with the Garuḍa-face, to be kept in custody.

(1.18–2.4) The occasion: the community in Muṅgut including all its constituent villages, all together took counsel with and paid homage to all

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102. On the use of synonyms for deity names, see Gomperts 2011: 101–103, esp. n. 10.

103. The expression *sapasuk thāni* (which might also be translated 'including all its village inhabitants') occurs again in 1.19, but is then changed to *sapasuk sīma* in 2.18 and 3.32. Evidently, the change in terminology from *thāni* to *sīma* is a direct consequence of the grant recorded in lines 1.18 to 2.4.

104. The name Dintən stands so close to the right end of the front face that even its final consonant and *virāma* cannot be read with confidence. It is imaginable that the scribe, had space been sufficient, would have inserted a comma between this name and Jenī at the beginning of the next line — in other words, that we are dealing with two names and not one.

105. It is tempting to see in the words *surat pagəh* some kind of expression introducing a short list of names, but the punctuation of the text rather suggests that the words are themselves also names rather than common nouns in this context.

106. The word *patṅahan* is found right before a long list of names in Cane Ab6.

high functionaries of the council (*taṇḍa rakryān ri pakira-kirān*),[107] [but] in the first place to His Majesty the Great King, having as purpose to beg His Majesty the Great King for the grant that it would be proper[108] for them to keep in custody a holy royal decree sealed with the Garuḍa-face, having as substance to make the village of Muṅgut into a *sīma*, worshiping the invisible ancestors (**buyut sūkṣma*)[109] [and] yielding royal revenue [in the form of] *paṅaṣṭaṅgi* (tax) worth 5 *māṣa* every third month, to be accompanied with five *sukat* of all grain-crops (*sarvavīja*)[110] from every occupational group, as though they were a fivefold service with flowers — oil of sesame seed, incense, lamp, fragrance, and also diverse food offering — to be used by it (i.e., by the village) for worship every third month.[111]

(2.4–2.14) And the fixed rule (*tantu*) regarding all kinds of people who collect (*maṅilala*)[112] royal revenue from the occupational groups, big or small — the Paṅkur, the Tavan, the Tirip —, particularly all those who previously had a claim on the occupational groups, beginning with the various Miśras, the Paṅuraṅ, the Kriṅ, the Paḍəm, the Manimpiki, the Paranakan, the Limus Galuh, the Maṅriñca, the Maṅhuri, the Paraṅ, the Suṅka, the Dhūra, the Sukun, the Sinagiha, the Kyab, the Liṅgaṅ, the Sṛkan, the Halu Varak, the Rakadut, the Ramanaṅ, the Svara Gəṇḍiṅ, the Piniṅlai, the Kataṅgaran, the Tapa Haji, the Air Haji, the Malandaṅ, the Lca, the Lablab, the Pakalaṅkaṅ,

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107. Boechari (1962: 57; 1963: 126; 2012: 75, 109) has suggested that the *taṇḍa rakryān pakira-kirān* are first mentioned in the Kediri period, but he seems to have overlooked the occurrence in the Adulengen inscription which was known to him as Kakurugan. They also occur in Sima Anglayang 4v7 and 13r4.

108. The phrase *maṅhyaṅ ri knohanya* occurs also in Cane Ab.24–26: *maṁhyaṁ ri knohanya sumīma thāninya I cane, sīma karāmān·, phalānyan· prasiddha sāra, pinakapanpi kulvan·, maṅkana rasani panambaḥ, nikanaṁ karāmān· I cane sapaśuk thāni tka ri babadnya, kunaṁ saṅkā ri gə:ṁnyānumoda śrī mahārāja ri sapaṁhyaṁnikanaṅ karāmān· I cane*. Related passages with the keyword *knoh* are also found in Turun Hyang A4 and Bularut C14.

109. We have difficulty understanding the syntax of the words *kumabhaktyanira buyut sūkṣma* (and the reading is also slightly uncertain for the first word), so our translation is only approximative.

110. See Sukhamerta 10v6 *mvaṁ sarvvavīja, śveta rakta pīta kṛṣṇa, sukat·, 5, sovaṁ, Aṅkən tahun*. Cf. also, within the corpus of Airlangga inscriptions, the expression *sarvvaphala mūlaphala* found in Baru Cf8; Kusambyan B31–32; and Sima Anglayang 17r4.

111. This is a very interesting passage, which rather beautifully compares the five *sukat* of *sarvavīja* to be collected from the *vulu*s to the five constituents (*tīlatela*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*, *gandha*, *nivedya*) of a so called *pañcopacārapūjā* 'worship in five services'. The presence of the element *puṣpa* is a bit difficult. The same expression occurs in Kusambyan A28, but there without metaphorical meaning. Note also the offerings made in the Bimalasrama charter (3.1–2, emended *kaharan· mantranamaskārā parṇnaḥ dhūpadīpagandhākṣatā pamūjā mpuṅku muntun· ri bhaṭārī prajñāpāraramitā*) and in the Baharasrama charter of the time of Daksa (1v11–12 *vras· caturvvarṇna kukusan· 1 Iṁ savulu-savulu, piṇḍa kukusan· 4 vavānya matə[hər·]* {± 16 *akṣ.* lost} *[sarbvaphalapha]li bras· caturvvarṇna vavānya*).

112. That the term *maṅilala* is to be understood more or less in this sense is shown by the use of the word *maminta* in the parallel passage of Adulengen (3r3). This use of *maminta*, instead of the ubiquitous *maṅilala*, has no precise parallel anywhere in the Airlangga corpus, but may be compared with the sentence *An· tan deyən ata kāminta tinuṇḍa* right after the list of *maṅilala dravya haji* in Sima Anglayang 17v5. And we find the precise phrase *maminta drabya haji* in the Barsahan plate (r6), which we are inclined to date to the period between the reigns of Balitung and Airlangga: *tan· tamā ta ya maminta drabya haji vulu-vulu Irikeṁ sīma I barsahan·*. The same phraseology was already in use under King Daksa, as appears from Timbanan Wungkal (14) *nahan (pra)kārani tan tumamā maminta drabya haji*. See also *pinta-pintan* in Kubu-kubu (4v1) and Hantang (A20).

the Kutak, the Taṅkil, the Trəpan, the Salyut, the Vatu Valaṅ, the Pamanikan, the Maniga, the Sikpan, the Rumban, the Tirvan, the Vilaṅ Thāni, the Viji Kavah, the Tiṅkəs, the Māvī, the Manambaṅi, the Taṅhiran, the Tuha Dagaṅ, the Juru Gosalī, the Maṅrumbai, the Maṅguñjai, the overseer of the Nambi, the overseer of gambling, the overseer of prostitutes, the Pabisar, the Paguluṅ, the Pavuṅkunuṅ, the Vli Hapū, the Vli Harəṅ, the Vli Pañjut, the Palamak, the Urutan, the Dampulan, the Tpuṅ Kavuṅ, the Suṅsuṅ Paṅuraṅ, the Pasuk Alas, the Tikəl Haṅgas,[113] the Sipad Vilut, the Jukuṅ, the Paniṅaṅin, the Pamavasya, the Hopan, the Panrāṅan, the Skar Tahun, the Pabayai, the Paṅrāma, the Tuluṅ Hutaṅ, the Pobhaya, the Pacumbi, the Paprāyaścitta, the eunuch, the healer, the Sambal, the Sumbul, the royal servants, the Jəṅgi,[114] the Siṅgah, the Pamr̥ṣi, the Mavuluṅ-vuluṅ, all of the courtiers, and so forth — [is that] they shall not enter the *sīma* at Muṅgut. It is only the community in Muṅgut that has the exclusive authority over it.

(2.14–2.18) Likewise are all the [fines to be imposed for] 'pain and relief' (*sukha-duḥkha*),[115] great or small — 'areca-blossom without betelnut' (*mayaṅ tan pavvaḥ*), 'gourd vines that grow in the courtyard' (*valū rumambat iṅ natar*), 'disaster' (*vipati*), 'a corpse covered with dew' (*vaṅke kabunan*), 'blood spattered on the road' (*rāh kasavur iṅ dalan*), 'slander' (*duhilatən*), 'violence' (*sāhasa*), 'rash speech' (*vākcapala*), 'rash acts with the hand' (*hastacapala*), 'producing the dust of a file' (*mamijilakən vuriniṅ kikir*), 'attacking in fury' (*mamuk*), 'rape' (*mamuṅpaṅ*), 'repeated attack' (*ludan*), 'following' (*tūtan*), 'apportioning of shares' (*haṅśa pratyaṅśa*), 'punishment and wrongful punishment' (*ḍəṇḍa kuḍəṇḍa*), 'poisons of all sorts' (*maṇḍihala*) and such like — namely that only the community in Muṅgut has the authority over all of them.

(2.18–3.5) Such was the substance of the holy decree of the king kept in custody by the community in Muṅgut including all its (subsidiary) *sīma*s. And as for the entitlements of the inhabitants of the original *sīma* at Muṅgut[116] to have shops, [these include] for instance: two vendors of *titih*, two vendors of

113. Cf. the *patikəl (h)aṅgas* whom we find mentioned in the Balambangan, Garaman, Kudadu and Balawi inscriptions.

114. On the term *jəṅgi*, see Jákl 2017.

115. On the *sukha-duḥkha*, see Boechari 1977: 14–15 (2012: 39–41, esp. p. 40): "*sukhaduḥkha* bukanlah 'suka dan duka', melainkan diterangkan dengan *hala hayu*, ialah segala perbuatan yang buruk dan yang baik yang terjadi dalam masyarakat, atau seperti yang dimaksudkan di dalam setiap prasasti, yang terjadi dalam lingkungan daerah perdikan. Bahkan sebenarnya hanya perbuatan yang jahat saja yang dimaksudkan. Dengan perkataan lain, *sukhaduḥkha* ialah segala tindak pidana (yang terjadi di dalam lingkungan daerah perdikan) yang harus dikenai hukuman denda." Boechari seems to allude to a normative text that gave the explanation *hala hayu*, but we have not yet been able to identify the text in question. For translations of the individual terms, see Boechari 1986: 161–162 / 2012: 309–310; see also Boechari 2012: 510 for an English translation of a *sukha-duḥkha* passage. We adopt the interpretation of the term *sukha-duḥkha* itself, and of the meanings of the items in the following list, from work in progress by Timothy Lubin.

116. Or do the words *sapasuk· ṣīma kabeḥ mvaṁ ri vnaṅanikanaṁ vargga mūla sīma I muṅgut·* rather mean 'including all its *sīma* inhabitants. And as for the entitlements of the original inhabitants of the *sīma* at Muṅgut'? Several occurrences of the parallel phrase *vargga mūla sīma I kusambyan·* are found in the Kusambyan charter, to which we turn below. We find it perhaps slightly more likely that *mūla* goes with *sīma* than with *vargga*, in view of combinations like *mūla savah*, *mūla təgal*, *mūla kaḍatvan* in OJ literature, although the notion of 'original inhabitant' (*varga mūla*) also seems very plausible, and can be compared to the arguments advanced by protagonist Dhanadī in

yarn, two vendors of cloth, two vendors of fly-whisks (*cāmara*), two porters, two *awar-awar* preparers, two conjurors (? *amaṅmaṅ*), two *amuti-muti* (?), two goldsmiths, two ironsmiths, two bronze smiths, two coppersmiths, two *amutər* (churners? potters?), two boatmen, two cow traders, two buffalo buyers, two *parəmasan*, two retailers, two **pasəpahan*, two *mahīṣṭhvan*. Such were the … of the traders … all of the varieties of … of the goods that they transport (**pamvatan*).

(3.5–3.13) Unceasing, indeed, is [their] residence (**paṅasthāna*) in the *sīma* at Muṅgut, insofar as inhabitants of the original *sīma* at Muṅgut alone have power and authority (**vaśa-pramāṇa*) to weigh the royal revenues, although they shall still allow (others? the revenue collectors?) to maintain harmony side by side (**patūt padulur*), so that (they) go to other regions (*deśa *salen*) and so that they seek wares.

(3.14–3.30) Only the following are the inhabitants from whom revenue may be collected: the South Indians (*kliṅ*), the North Indians (*ārya*), the Singhalese, those from the Gauḍa-territory (**gola-viṣaya*), those from the Cola country (**colika*), those from Kerala (*malyāla*), those from Karṇāṭaka, from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-territory (**vallahāra*),[117] those from Campā, the Mons (*rəmən*), the Havaṅs, the Mambaṅs, the Huñjəmans, the Senāmukhas, the Varahans, the drummers (*mapaḍahi*), the Kecakas, the dancers (*tarimba*), the Tapuk performers, the comedians (*abañol*), the *Salahans. [They are] the inhabitants from whom revenue may be collected, to whatever group they belong, whatever be their activity, whatever be their country of origin, as long as they reside in that *sīma* at Muṅgut, whereas (*an*) the inhabitants of the original *sīma* at Muṅgut alone (*atikā*) have the authority over all of its [payments for] 'pain and relief', great or small, following … (? *yacānyayan ika masthānabati*) its entire decree, intended to further its worship of the invisible ancestors (*buyut sūkṣma*).

(3.30–4.3) Such was the substance of the grant of the Great King, to the inhabitants of the original *sīma* at Muṅgut including all its (subsidiary) *sīma*s. It is to be considered by them as irrevocable, as [long as] (*an*) they remain in their respective domains (*panataran*, **natar*).[118] It is not to be disturbed by future kings or by those who in the future will be granted [the status of] Tiṅhal Piṅhai, beginning with the Great King on the Gem-Jewel Lion-throne who has Vvatan Mās as royal residence (i.e., Airlangga).

(4.4–4.11) If there are ones seen not to be diligent with regard to the whole of the intent of the Great King's decree, disturbing the *sīma* at

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the Wurudu Kidul inscription (844 Śaka) that she was a true local and not a Khmer, hence not an descendant of 'unfree' or 'taxable' inhabitants.

117. The term Vallahāra, along with several other of the terms for foreigners figuring here, is also found in the (post-Airlangga) Sumengka charter of 981 Śaka. For discussion, see §7. Through which networks the term became known in Java is a fascinating question for further research.

118. The sentence is not explicit as to who or what remains (*tamolah*). The very close parallel passages in Cane Cd23–24 (quoted in our lexicographic notes under *panataran*) and Kusambyan c37 do not make this clear either, but from the looser parallel in Sima Anglayang 4v4–5 we infer that the beneficiaries of the grant are intended.

Muṅgut, it will become the cause of their [guilt of] negligence.[119] All forms of transgression of the holy royal decree, whatever kind, will be subjected to a fine in gold of 1 *kāṭi* and 5 *suvarṇa*.

(4.11–6.7) Pay heed, you Lord Śrī Haricandana, Great Sage Agasti; (gods of the directions) East, South, West, North, Southeast, Southwest, Northwest,[120] Zenith, Nadir; (the eight forms of Śiva, which are) Sun, Moon, Earth, Water, Wind, Fire, Sacrificer, Ether; day and night, transitional times (*sandhyā*); the king of the Nāgas; the goddess Durgā; all of you gods of Time and Death, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, Vāsava (i.e., Indra), you who penetrate [and] take bodily form in all people who have supernatural powers in the world: if arrogantly (*bhaṅgi*), wildly (*gaṇa-gaṇa*) they will be able to disturb the *sīma* at Muṅgut, let them be killed by you, the invisible gods (**buyut sūkṣma*). In killing, your approach shall be that you do not look to the rear, do not look to the side, while clashing with the opponent. Slap [his] side, cut his snout, split his skull, rip open his belly, draw out his entrails, eat his flesh, drink his blood, leave the dead one behind. When going to the forest, may he be eaten by a tiger, …. let him be struck by thunderclap, whirled around by the anger of the gods … ruined … no less than seven times. When he is given shape, it will only be a bad one as long as he lives! Such will be the consequence for the delinquent man who disturbs the *sīma* at Mu[ṅgut] …

(8.1–2) 977 was the time the honorable (*saṅ hadyan*) Jujul [and] Sulur were chiefs (*kabayan*).[121]

6.2. Kusambyan

6.2.1. Introduction

6.2.1.1. Location and physical description

The inscription of Kusambyan is engraved on a stela whose top part is broken into 11 pieces that are stacked randomly on top of the lower half of its body as it stands unprotected in the middle of agricultural fields under a big tree situated in *dusun* Grogol, *desa* Katemas, *kec.* Kudu, *kab.* Jombang, not far from the inscription of Munggut. The coordinates of the location are 07°23'54.031" S and 112°17'31.056" E. The name of the *sīma* Kusambyan, with which this charter is concerned, survives to this day as Kesamben, the name of a *desa* and *kecamatan* about 10 km south of the site where the stela is standing, across the Brantas river (see §8). Despite its condition, the text is relatively legible on the four faces of its lower body as well as on most of the detached fragments of its upper part. The stela's base takes the form of a double lotus cushion and the main preserved part of the body measures 47 cm in height, 63 in width, and 27 in depth. See fig. 9.

119. The phrase *ya saṅkānani pramādanya* is a formulaic expression occurring also in several other inscriptions of this period. See the parallels cited in our n. 96 above, as well as Anjatan 4r9 *yathānya tan pamuhara pramāda magəːṁ I sira*.

120. The Northeast has been omitted in the text.

121. This seems to be additional information about two persons mentioned in 1.16.

Fig. 9 — Kusambyan. Various fragments stacked randomly atop fragment 1. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

6.2.1.2. Previous research

The inscription was first mentioned by Brandes (*NBG* 25, 1887: 128) in his report on a gift of a number of estampages of previously unknown inscriptions that had been received by the *Bataviaasch Genootschap* from the *Assistent-Resident* of Jombang named Mr. H. E. Steinmetz (see above, §6.1.1.2). One of these new inscriptions was the stone from Grogol. Brandes elaborated that the uppermost part of the stela was completely lost but that there were several fragments of the same stela while the bottom part was still intact. Judging from the script, he concluded that the inscription must date from the reign of Airlangga.

The stela was then discussed briefly by Verbeek (1891: 227, no. 447) who indicated that he found it in the yard of the *Assistent-Resident* of Jombang. Subsequently, Knebel (*ROC* 1907: 127) reported that the inscription had been brought back to its former location, for the same reasons as those already cited for the Munggut stela, and that by way of precaution both stones were worshiped annually during a protective ritual (*barikan*). He mentioned 17 fragments, "piled together between 2 bamboos and wrapped with tampar". Krom (*ROC* 1911: 55) listed the estampages of the stela from Grogol kept at the Archaeological Office with the inventory numbers 1–7. In the same year, he published a list of dated inscriptions of Java where he noted that the inscription had been issued in the Śaka year 9.. (Krom 1911: 250). A few years later, the information that had been published up to that time was summarized in the new inventory of antiquities, published under the responsibility of Bosch, including the fact that local people had requested the stela to be transferred back to its original place (*ROD* 1915: 232–233, no. 1773 and 235–236, no. 1782). Subsequently, it was Krom who first identified that the inscription's contents are related to the foundation of a *sīma* in Kusambyan (1931: 263).

Ninie Susanti discussed the inscription briefly in her PhD dissertation. While she did not include any reading of the text, she did formulate a hypothesis for the order of reading of the inscription of the four faces of the intact lower part of the stela (2003: 480–481, no. 20). A decade later, Titi Surti Nastiti was the first to publish a nearly complete reading of the inscription, along with a translation into Indonesian (2013). She did not make use at that time of the estampages of the four faces of the intact part of the body of the stela that we had made during fieldwork in 2012, and which have since entered the EFEO collection under numbers n. 2202–2205.[122] We have here made use of the EFEO estampages as well as a more extensive set preserved in the Kern Institute collection at Leiden University Library (number K23).

6.2.1.3. Aspects of palaeography and the engraving process

This inscription makes use of a punctuation sign in the form of a median dot.[123] Another graphic feature of this inscription is the frequent use of *tarung* in the form of counter-clockwise loop around *akṣara*s (especially *akṣara*s containing *ṭ*, *ṅ*, and *l*).

It is important to highlight that the engraver seems to have been relatively sloppy, or that his work has suffered disturbance of some kind, as we need on multiple occasions to supply omitted *akṣara*s as in A28 *gandhākṣa*⟨*ta*⟩, A38 *maka*⟨*ka*⟩*bhaktyana*, B26 *maṁlampa*⟨*ha*⟩*kən* and B26 *ga*⟨*ve*⟩. We believe that a more significant amount of text has been omitted between the words *vuṅkunus·* and *tumūt* in B29: see our hypothesis formulated in n. 149. We have been forced to suppress superfluous *akṣara*s as found in A37–38

122. Alas at that time we did not have time or did not think it useful to make estampages of the smaller fragments.

123. It may be more widespread, but the most important other inscription displaying this feature that we can cite for the time being is the Cane stela.

Fig. 10 — Kusambyan. Largest inked estampage kept at UBL, no. K23, showing all four faces of fragment 1 at once.

prasasti⟨⟨*s(t)i*⟩⟩ and to make emendations as of the string *sapasak* (A36) to *sapasuk*, of *maṇit·* (B21) to *maḍmit·*, and of *smi ti* and *mva taṁn·* in B34 to *sīma* and *mvaṁ tan·*. A comparable situation is seen in c39–46, where several individual or strings of *akṣara*s need to be supplied or suppressed to obtain known phraseology, but then still comparison with parallel passages shows that the text is a collage of phrases which do not normally appear together. Even graver error seems to have occurred in B33 and B35 which contain several uninterpretable sequences that we are unable to fix.

6.2.1.4. Fragments, reproductions and text layout

For the intact lower part of the stela, with reference to its orientation in the field and the available estampages, we can record the following details:

East Face, remains of 15 lines
estampages EFEO n. 2204 and Leiden K23
West Face, remains of 17 lines
estampages EFEO n. 2205 and Leiden K23
South Face, remains of 18 lines
estampages EFEO n. 2203 and Leiden K23
North Face, remains of 11 lines
estampages EFEO n. 2202 and Leiden K23

Ninie Susanti (2003: 480–481) designates these faces as a (recto), b (verso), c (left) and d (right), and suggests that they are to be read in the order East (front), South (left), West (back) and North (right).[124] In our reconstruction of the text, the order is East, West, South, North, and we will designate these faces as A, B, c and d.

124. She counted respectively (front) 15, (back) 13, (left) 17 and (right) 11 lines; Titi Surti Nastiti (2013) counted 15, 18, 17 and 11 lines.

While Ninie Susanti gives no details concerning the detached fragments, Titi Surti Nastiti gives readings for three of them, which she numbers 1 (2 lines), 2 (6 lines) and 3 (9 lines). These correspond to our fragments 2, 3 and 4. With reference to our documentation of all preserved fragments in the field, and of estampages (inked and uninked) for most of these fragments available at the EFEO in Paris and the University Library in Leiden, we can list the following details:

Fragment 1 (fig. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14)
main preserved fragment of the stela
remains of 15 lines of A, 17 lines B, 18 lines of c and 11 lines of d
estampages EFEO n. 2202–2205 and Leiden K23
Fragment 2 (= Titi Surti Nastiti 2013 no. 1) (fig. 15, 16)
remains of 3 lines of A and B
no estampage available
Fragment 3 (= Titi Surti Nastiti 2013 no. 2) (fig. 17)
remains of 6 lines of B
estampage Leiden K23
Fragment 4 (= Titi Surti Nastiti 2013 no. 3) (fig. 18, 19, 20)
remains of 9 lines of A, 9 lines of B, and 5 lines of d
no estampage available
Fragment 5 (not included in Titi Surti Nastiti 2013) (fig. 21)
remains of 12 lines of B
estampage Leiden K23
Fragment 6 (not included in Titi Surti Nastiti 2013) (fig. 22)
remains of 11 lines of A, 8 lines of B, 13 lines of c
estampage Leiden K23
Fragment 7 (not included in Titi Surti Nastiti 2013) (fig. 23)
remains of 4 lines from an undetermined face
no estampage available
Fragment 8 (not included in Titi Surti Nastiti 2013) (fig. 24)
remains of 3 lines from an undetermined face
no estampage available
Fragment 9 (not included in Titi Surti Nastiti 2013) (fig. 25, 26)
remains of 4 lines of A, 5 lines of B
no estampage available
Fragment 10 (not included in Titi Surti Nastiti 2013) (fig. 27, 28, 29, 30)
remains of 6 lines of A, 6 lines of B, 3 lines of the upward-facing plane of c, and 7 lines of the sideways-facing plane of c
no estampage available
Fragment 11 (not included in Titi Surti Nastiti 2013) (fig. 31, 32, 33)
remains of 1 line of A, 3 lines of B, and 8 lines of the upward-facing plane of c
no estampage available

6.2.1.5. Reconstruction of line numbering

Several fragments can be joined to each other allowing us to reconstitute the whole or parts of many original lines, and in several other cases fragments known to belong to a given face can be positioned in relation to each other although they do not connect directly. Nevertheless, we are unable to infer from the available data the total number of lines that the faces would

have occupied in their original state, except in the case of B which seems to have covered 38 lines. In the case of c, it seems certain that the line count was greater than 38. In order to be able to furnish a simple line numbering system, we postulate that face A extended over 38 lines as did B, and that face d started at the same height on the upward-facing plane as did the text on face c. Future discovery of further substantial fragments, or physical reconstruction of the stela, is likely to require adjustment of the line numbering per face that we introduce here.

6.2.2. Text

The parenthetic indications in bold superscript consist in the sequential numbers for reading fragments of faces and the line number on the given face of the given fragment.

Face A (East) (fig. 11, 15, 18, 22, 25, 27, 31)

(A1) [|| ◦ ||] **(10.1)**svas[ti śa]**(11.1)**(ka)-varṣātī[ta- …]**(9.1)**-măsa t(i)[thi … da]**(2.1)**śi k[r̥]ṣṇa-pakṣa vu, ka, ra, vā[ra] …
(A2) **(10.2)**(dhatu)ṣ(ā)[-na]kṣatra, v[… de]**(9.2)**(vatā),[125] (ś)iva-(yo)[ga …]**(2.2)** stha, Irikā di[vaśan]**(4.1)**y [ājñā śrī mahā-][126]
(A3) **(10.3)**rāja, rakai ha(lu) [ś](rī)[lo]**(9.3)**k(e)ś(va)ra [dha]r[mmavaṅśa Airlaṅgānantavikramottuṅgadeva, t]**(2.3)**i[naḍaḥ] **(4.2)**rakryān· [mahāmantri]
(A4) **(10.4)**(I hi)no, śrī [saṅgrāma]**(9.4)**(v)i[jayadharmmaprasādotuṅgadevī, Umiṅsor· I rakryān· pa]**(4.3)**(ḍa)ṁ pu dvija, k(u)[monakə-]
(A5) **(10.5)**(ni)kanaṁ ka[rāmān· I kusambyan·] … **(4.4)**{traces of 1 *akṣ*.}h·, sī/// {2 *akṣ*. lost}
(A6) **(10.6)**maṅa[ran·] … **(4.5)**{traces of 1 *akṣ*.}(kna), sa {1 *akṣ*. ille.} /// {2 *akṣ*. lost}
(A7) **(6.1)**{traces of 1 or 2 *akṣ*.} … **(4.6)**{traces of 1 *akṣ*.}·, kakī (śo){traces of 1 *akṣ*.}
(A8) **(6.2)**nya, kaki k(ī)jib·, ba … **(4.7)**(p·/s·), kaki
(A9) **(6.3)**ta, pukal·, kuvu,///… **(4.8)**{traces of 1 *akṣ*.}(s)ir·
(A10) **(6.4)**gu(ru), bujag·, (bva) … **(4.9)**{traces of 1 *akṣ*.}(ka)/// {1 *akṣ*. lost}
(A11) **(6.5)**R̥nəb·, niha///

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125. *(dhatu)ṣ(ā)[-na]kṣatra, v[... de](vatā)*, ◇ the name of the *nakṣatra* cannot be recognized with certainty. Since the name of the *devatā* started with *v*, it may have been Vāyu, Vasu or Viṣṇu for which the corresponding *nakṣatra*s are Svāti, Dhaniṣṭhā and Śravaṇā (de Casparis 1978: 52). The closest match with what we see on the fragment is Dhaniṣṭhā. So we propose the correction *dhaniṣṭhā-nakṣatra*. The spelling may be the result of contamination from the name Dhanus of the zodiac sign Sagittarius. See also our n. 68 on an analogous aberration in the *nakṣatra* name in Munggut. And note that the dating formula of the Baru charter exceptionally matches Dhaniṣṭhā *nakṣatra* with Viṣṇu *devatā* (Eade & Gislén 2000: 73), so that we are unsure which *devatā* name to choose here.

126. The portion of the text from *Irikā divaśa* onwards would have been similar to that seen in Munggut 1.3–6: ***Irikā di****vāsan****y*** *āj̃ñā śrī mahārāja rake halu, śrī loke(ś)va[ra] dharmmavaṅśa Airlaṅganantavikramottuṅgadeva, tinaḍaḥ* ***rakryān·*** *mahāmantrī hino śrī saṁgrāmavijayaprasādottuṅgadevī, Umiṅsor· I rakryān· pa****daṁ pu dvija, k****umonakən ikanaṁ karāmān· Iṁ muṅgut·* … Only the elements in bold have so far been recovered in the available fragments. A very similar but slightly longer passage is found at the opening of Cane.

(A12) (6.6)samaṁkana kye///[ḥ][127]
(A13) (6.7)ṅ ājña haji (pa)///
(A14) (6.8)kabeḥ, ma///
(A15) (6.9)bayān·///
(A16) (6.10)rāga skara///
(A17) (6.11)i///

(A24) {3 or 4 *akṣ*. lost} (1.1){traces of 2 or 3 *akṣ*., rest entirely lost} …
(A25) {2/3 *akṣ*. lost} (1.2)bhaṭāra hyaṁ Ivak· I ku(sam)b(ya)[n](·) {± 14 *akṣ*. wholly or partly lost} …
(A26) {2/3 *akṣ*. lost} (1.3)(A)ṅkən· pūrṇnamaniṅ asuji-māsa, kabhaktyananikanaṁ karāmān· I kusambyan· sapasuk ṣĭ-
(A27) (1.4)ma kabeḥ, mapaknā saṅkānaniṁ pamahayvanya samananā ryy āyatana bhaṭāra hyaṁ Ivak· I kusambya-
(A28) (1.5)n·, kaharan· puṣpapañcopacāra, tila〈〈,〉〉-tela,[128] dhūpa, gandhākṣa〈ta〉 nivedyādi prakāra, pūjā-
(A29) (1.6)knanyāṅkən· pūrṇnamani Asuji-māsa, I bhaṭāra hyaṅ ivak· I kusambyan·, maṅkana rasani paṁhyaṁ-
(A30) (1.7)nikanaṁ karāmān· I kusambyan· sapasuk ṣīma kabeḥ I pāduka śrī mahārāja, kunaṁ saṅkā
(A31) (1.8)ri gəṁni kāruṇyānumoda śrī mahārāja I sapaṁhyaṁnikanaṁ karāmān· I kusambyan·〈,〉 maka-
(A32) (1.9)hetu, ri ka(to)nani mahābhārani giṇa-kāyotsāhanyan· tana kapālaṅ-alaṁ suṣṭu-bha-
(A33) (1.10)kti[129] dāśa-bhūta sakucumba makatoḥ svajīvitanyan· pamrihakən· pāduka śrī mahārăja
(A34) (1.11)riṁ samarakāryya, ṅūni ri kālanikanaṁ śatru si cṅek·,[130] An tamolaḥ mandəl· makadatvan·
(A35) (1.12)I madaṇḍər·, ya tikānuvuhak(ə)n· pūrvvaṚṇāsama-sama ri manaḥni lbŭni pāduka śrī mahā-
(A36) (1.13)rāja, kāraṇānyan· Inubhā(ya)n ata sapaṁhyaṁnikanaṁ karāmān· I kusambyan· sapasak[131] th(ā)ni
(A37) (1.14)kabeḥ, de śrī mahārāja, makaciḥna[132] ri sampunya vineḥ makmitana saṁ hyaṅ ājñā haji prasasti

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127. *samaṁkana kye///[ḥ]* ◇ corr. *samaṁkana kveḥ*. The word *kveḥ* is found after *samaṁkana* in numerous inscriptions of various periods. In the Airlangga corpus, cf. Bimalasrama 4.2, Baru Cdef 38, Kamalagyan A9, Turun Hyang C6.

128. *tila〈〈,〉〉-tela,* ◇ our expunction of the punctuation sign is supported by the parallel in Munggut 2.3.

129. *tana kapālaṅ-alaṁ suṣṭubhakti* ◇ corr. *tan· kapālaṅ-alaṁ*. See Adulengen 2r1–2 *tan· kapālaṅ-alaṁ suṣṭubhakti*.

130. *si cṅek·* ◇ reading *sira cṅak·* also seems possible, but we rather expect *si* before the name of an enemy. See Bularut line 9 and our discussion in §8.

131. *sapasak* ◇ corr. *sapasuk*.

132. *makaciḥna* ◇ this word is normally spelled *makacihna*. For the formula used here, compare Sima Anglayang 13v3 *makacihna vineḥ makmitana saṁ hyaṁ Ājñā haji pagəḥ-pagəḥ* and Munggut 1.17–18 *madamlakna saṁ hyaṅ ājñā haji prasāsti pagə-pagəḥ tinaṇḍa garuḍamukha kmitananya*.

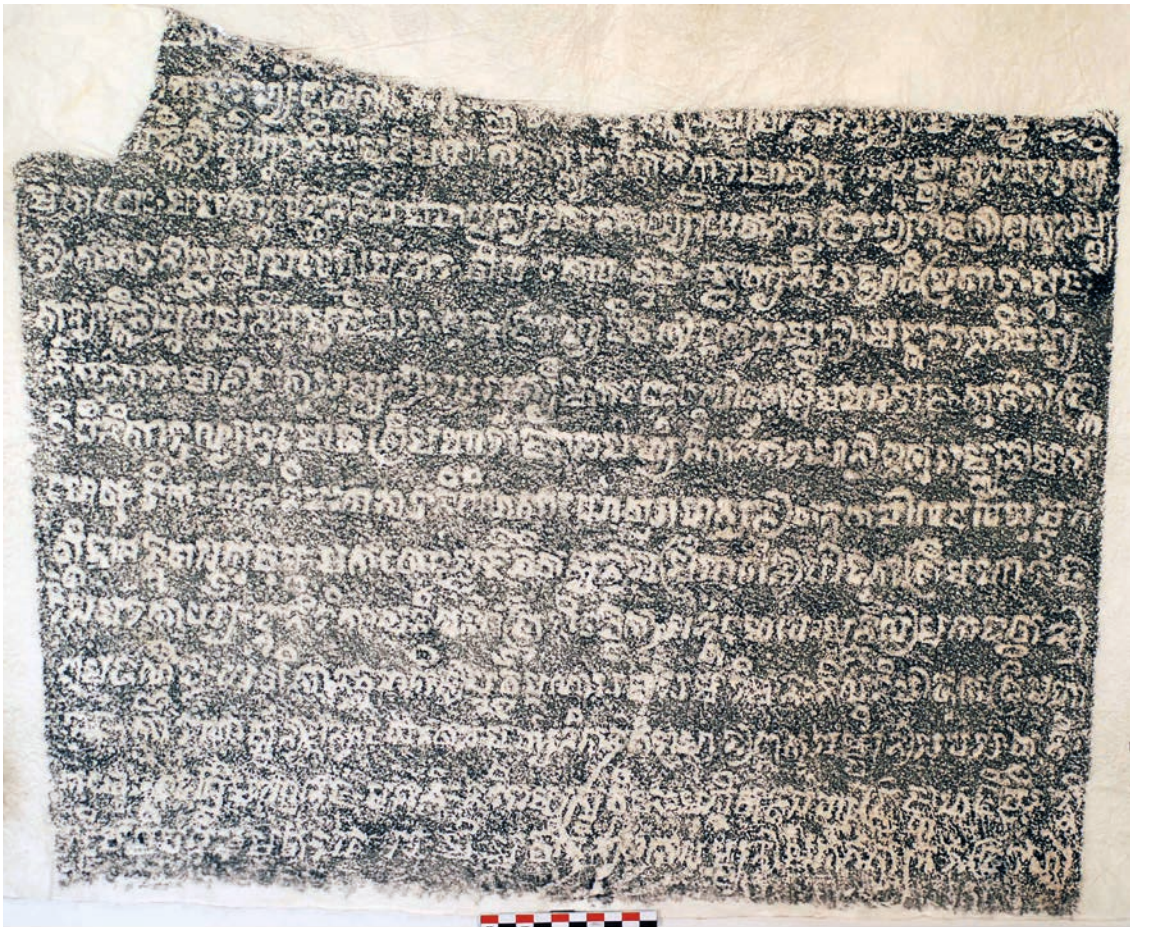

Fig. 11 — Kusambyan. Fragment 1, face A. Estampage EFEO n. 2204.

(A38) (1.15)〈〈s(t)i〉〉 pagə-pagəḥ, makarasa, sumĭma thāninya (I) kusambyan· maka〈ka〉bhaktyana[133] bhaṭāra hyaṁ[134]

Face B (West) (fig. 12, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 26, 28, 32)

(B1) … (2.1) (thā)n[i] I kusa[m]bya[n]· {3 *akṣ*. ille.} /// … (11.1) [pūr]ṇ(n)a-măniṁ Asuji-

(B2) [māsa… (2.2) juga (ya), (kavala)[135] /// … (9.1) {1 *akṣ*. ille.} /// (11.2) {1 *akṣ*. ille.} maṁrāga-skar aṅ[ka]-

(B3) [n]… (2.3)(ta)n(t)rā {traces of 1 *akṣ*.} /// … (9.2) kevalā/// …(11.3) {traces of 2 *akṣ*.}

133. *maka〈ka〉bhaktyana* ◇ corrected after Cane A30 *makakabhaktyana saṁ hyaṁ paḍaḍeṅ kaḍavuhan· I cane*.

134. *bhaṭāra hyaṁ* ◇ the text would have continued at the top of the next face with the word *Ivak*.

135. *(kavala)* ◇ we suspect that *kevala* was intended, but the context is too worn and fragmentary to be sure.

(B4) … **(4.1)**(·) I kusa(m)bya///[n·] … **(9.3)** sīma I kusambya[n·] … **(10.1)** {traces of 1 *akṣ*.} tan pi(ka)
(B5) … **(4.2)**(n·) An(·) pŭrṇa(ma)[136] /// … [māna]**(9.4)**(k)· katriṇi, paṅ[kur·,] **(10.2)** (ta)van· tirip·, ṅu[ni]-
(B6) [veḥ sa]**(4.3)**prakăra saṁ maṅila(la) [drabya haji vulu-]**(5.1)**vulu (riṁ daṅū) makā(d)[i] **(9.5)** (m)iśra (pa)[ramiśra, paṅuraṁ] **(10.3)** kriṁ, paḍəm·, (ma)-
(B7) [nimpiki,] **(4.4)** paranakan· lim[u]**(5.2)**[s] galuḥ, maṁriñca, maṁhuri, paraṁ, suṅ(ka) [dhūra, paṅaruhan·, taji, vatu] **(10.4)** (ta)jəm·, s(u)///[kun·]
(B8) [halu] **(4.5)** varak·, rakasaṁ **(5.3)** ramanaṁ, pinilai, kataṅgaran·, (ta)///[pa haji, Air haji, malandaṁ lca lab-lab· pa]**(10.5)**(ka)laṅ[kaṁ]
(B9) [kutak·,] **(4.6)**taṅkil·, (t)[r̥]**(5.4)**(pa)n·, saly[u]t·, vatu valaṁ, (pa)ṅga(re)[137] /// … **(10.6)** {traces of 1 *akṣ*.}
(B10) … [ti]**(4.7)**rvan·, vi[laṁ] **(5.5)** thāni, viji kavaḥ, tiṅkəs·, mavi mana/// [mbaṅi] …
(B11) … **(4.8)** (maṁguñjai) **(5.6)**(tu)hānambi, tuhā(n)· juḍi, juru huñjman·, /// …
(B12) … **(4.9)** miśr[āṅin-a]**(5.7)**[ṅ]i(n)· vli pañjut·,[138] vli vaduṁ, vli tambaṁ, palama///[k·] …
(B13) … [sipad vilu]**(5.8)**t·, juṅkuṁ, pāṅin-aṅin·, pamāvasya, /// …
(B14) … [pa]**(5.9)**dvā-mās·, pan(l)uṅ-ata(g)·, pinta pa///[laku][139] **(6.1)** {traces of 3 *akṣ*.}
(B15) … [hu]**(5.10)**lun haji, jəṅgi, siṅgaḥ, pamr̥(ṣi)[, mavuluṁ-vuluṁ, vatək i jro] **(6.2)** [Itye]///(va)mādi kabeḥ, tka r[i]
(B16) [sukha-duḥkha] … **(5.11)**(A)siṅ ataḥ lviranya, ka[dy aṅganiṁ mayaṁ tan pavvaḥ, valū rumamba]**(6.3)**(t) iṁ (na)tar·,[140] vipati
(B17) [vaṅke kabunan·, rāḥ kasavur]**(5.12)**i [da]lan·, hid[ū kasirat·] … [capa] **(6.4)**la duhihatən·[141]

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136. *An(·) pŭrṇa(ma)* ◇ the reading is very tentative. If indeed the word *pūrṇama* is intended here, then we must assume that the *pasangan*s from *kusambyan* have pushed the *layar* for *pŭrṇa* to the left, and we should then presumably understand *An·* to be an error for *A⟨ṅkə⟩n·*.

137. *(pa)ṅga(re)* ◇ the word is quite damaged, and we cannot cite in support of our reading any other occurrence of *paṅgare* immediately after *vatu valaṁ*, but the word does occur close to *vatu valaṁ* in Cane Cd4–5 … *salyut· vatu valaṁ pamaṇikan· maṇiga sikpan· rumban·, tirvan·, vilaṁ thāni viji kavaḥ paṁgare pavlaṁ-vlaṁ papikul·* … and in Sima Anglayang 17v2 … *pāṅgare, saḷ̥t·, vatu valaṁ, pamanikan·* …

138. *miśr[āṅin-aṅ]i(n)· vli pañjut·* ◇ this passage is exceptional if we compare it to other inscriptions (Cane Cd6, Baru Abe23, Turun Hyang A22, Pandaan C10), where we always find at least four items among the maximum set of *vli hapu, vli vaduṁ, vli tambaṁ, vli pañjut·, vli haḳ̥ṁ*, and *vli pañjut* never stands at the beginning of the list.

139. *[pa]dvā-mās·, pan(l)uṅ-ata(g)·, pinta pa///[laku]* ◇ our reading and restitutions are supported by parallel passages in Balambangan v6 *patikl aṅgas·, paliḥ tuvuḥ, padva-mas·, pana-mas·, pana-kupaṅ* …; Garaman 3r7 … *pabayai, pacumbi, paprāyaścittā, pakikis·, pavlit·, pali[ḥ] kuvu, paniga[ṁ]-blaḥ, paḍva-mās·, pana-mās·, pana-kupa[ṁ]* …; Talan Ab23 *panigaṅ-atak·, paṁdva-mās·, panigaṁ-blaḥ, patarapa, tampə: sisir·, pinta palaku, paṁharas· Atuluṁ hutaṁ, pobhaya* …; Kemulan Cd6 … *palamak panrāṅan skar tahun upihan pabaye […] matitiḥ padvā-mās panluṅ-atak pintalita*. See also Cane Cd8 and Adulengen 3v4. It seems that our engraver spelled *atag·* with a final *g* instead of expected *k*.

140. *tka r[i sukhaduḥkha] … (A)siṅ ataḥ lviranya, ka[dy aṅganiṁ mayaṁ tan pavvaḥ valū rumamba](t) iṁ (na)tar·* ◇ our restitutions are based on parallel passages in Cane Cd10, Munggut 2.14–15, Adulengen 4r2–3, Baru Abe29, Pandaan B14, and especially Kemulan Cd8 *tka rikaṅ sukhaduḥkhāgə:ṅ aḍmit asiṅ ata salviranya kady aṅgānikaṁ …*

141. *… [capa]la duhihatən·* ◇ the second word must be corrected to *duhilatən·*. Since there is quite a bit of variation in the way other Airlangga inscriptions arrange the elements in this part of

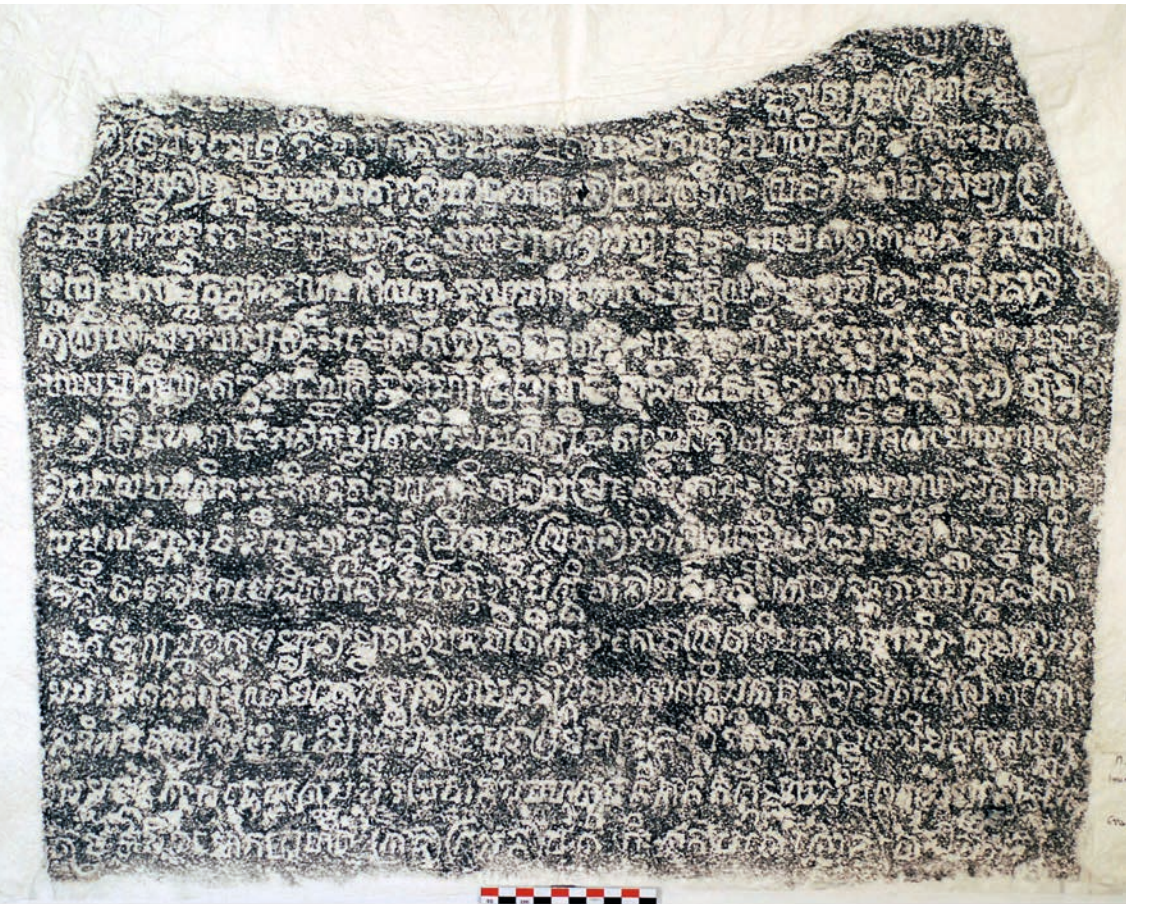

Fig. 12 — Kusambyan. Fragment 1, face B. Estampage EFEO n. 2205.

(B18) … [(3.1)]mamumpaṁ, lūdān·, tūtān·, Aṅśa, pratyaṅśa (ḍ)[əṇḍa] [(6.5)] kuḍaṇḍa, maṇḍi-
(B19) [halādi] … [i][(3.2)]kanaṁ sĭma I kusambyan·, kevalā Ikanaṁ drabya ha[ji] … [(6.6)]mā su 2 so-
(B20) [vaṁ-sovaṁ] … [pū][(3.3)]rṇama riṁ Asujimāsa, I bhaṭāra hyaṅ ivak· (I k)[usambya][(6.7)]n·, kumənḍə-
(B21) [ṅ][142] … [taṇḍa rakryā][(3.4)]n·(,) riṁ kabalān· kasiṅgahan·, sovāra sa(ṁ ma)[ṅasə: [ma][(6.8)]gə:ṁ maṇit·[143]
(B22) … [uma][(3.5)]r(ā) Ī vadvā haji, vadvā rakryan· (pa)[ra juru ha][(1.1)](m)ba (ra)kryān· [ryy avan·]

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the list (Cane Cd10, Munggut 2.14–15, Adulengen 4r3–4, Baru Abe29 through Cefd1, Pandaan C15, Patakan A10), we are not certain whether the preceding word was *vākcapala* or *hastacapala* and what, if anything, stood between that word and *kasirat*.

142. *kumənḍə//[ṅ]* ◇ except in Anjatan (4r5–6), this word is found in no other Airlangga inscription, but we do find it in Barsahan r7 *kumənḍəṁ tikā tka ri sukaduḥkha*.

143. *[ma]gə:ṁ maṇit·* ◇ corr. *magə:ṁ maḍmit·*. Cf. Baru Cdef4 *sovāra saṁ maṅasə: magə:ṁ maḍmit·*.

(B23) [hamba rakr]**(3.6)**yān· rāja(putra), rāja(putrī)[, kulaputtra, kulaputtrī, makādi] **(1.2)** hamba rakryan· strī haji, ma[kādi][144]
(B24) [rakryā]**(1.3)**n· śrī parameśvarī, tka rikana[ṁ] mamanaḥ, magalaḥ, magaṇḍi, mahalimān·, makuda, maka[rapa ka-]
(B25) [ruṅa]**(1.4)**n·,[145] maṁhvan· l̥mbu, maṁhvan· haturan· pādu, haturan· bāṁ pabaraṁka, lāvan· somiriṁ saṁ hyaṅ ā(jña) [ha]-
(B26) **(1.5)**ji Umarā ri para(d)eśa maṁl̥pas· bhasma, maṁlampa⟨ha⟩kən· saṁ hyaṁ vuruḥ,[146] Amet· kaka, Inaṁ, mvaṅ ga⟨ve⟩ bahan· [su]-
(B27) **(1.6)**ṅkul·,[147] saṁ makārmma candana, Uṇḍahagi lañcaṁ, Uṇḍahagi pasagi, parbvantilan·, pasarpān· posadhān·, (dh)ā-
(B28) **(1.7)**tukriyā, par(ā)hasyan·, Amet akar· davu-davutan·, Aṅiṅū (laṁ)liṁ, Aṅiṅū puyuḥ, mvaṁṅ ayam savuṁ,
(B29) **(1.8)**hayam· tgəl·, karuṁ, maṅilvakən· saṁ hyaṁ drabya haji[148] baniṁ, baḍavaṁ, kura, vuhaya, vuṅkunus· tumūt[149] u-
(B30) **(1.9)**(sa)n·[150] śrī mahārāja, An· kapvāta sira sama təkyəna, tan deyən· baryya-baryya śīla molah-ulaḥ, ta-
(B31) **(1.10)**n· paṅalapa (sa)linaraṅanikanaṁ tanayan thāni, tan· pamraṅa kayu-kayu, priṁ, ptuṁ, hampyal·, sarvvaphala, mū-

144. We extensively supply lost *akṣara*s in lines B21 through B23 based on parallel passages in Baru Cdef3–5; Sima Anglayang 10r1–2, and Gandhakuti 2r4 — the latter especially for the sequence *rājaputtra, rājaputtrī, kulaputtra kulaputtrī*, which is shorter in Baru and Sima Anglayang.

145. *maka[rapa karuṅa]n·* ◇ our restoration tentatively follows the parallel passage in Baru 6Cef *makarapa karuṅan·, pavḍusan·*. Yet that reading is itself problematic. Perhaps the best solution is to understand *makarapakaruṅan·* in Baru as a haplographic mistake for *makarapa pakaruṅan·*, despite the fact that the gap in the corresponding passage here in Kusambyan does not seem large enough to accommodate *maka**rapa paka**ruṅan*. Another disturbing fact is the fact that Kusambyan lacks *pavḍusan* at the end of the segment, thus weakening the argument in favor of reading an analogous form *pakaruṅan* right before that word Baru. In the absence of a more plausible scenario, we assume that the scribes of Baru and Kusambyan shared the erroneous omission of a syllable *pa*, and translate as if our text had *makarapa pakaruṅan·*.

146. *vuruḥ* ◇ it seems a bit unsure that the word *vuruh* is really intended, but none of the alternative readings that we have entertained (*vuvuḥ*, *juruḥ*, *juvuḥ*) yields any sense at all. Correct *varaḥ*?

147. *mvaṅ ga⟨ve⟩ bahan· [su]ṅkul·* ◇ we tentatively supply an *akṣara ve* and restore an *akṣara su*, to obtain the words *gave* and *suṅkul*. Both suggestions rely on *Prasasti Bali* no. 353 (945 Śaka) 2r5–2v1: *pataṅ siki hīṅananya salvirniṅ buñcaṅ haji rayāḍmit, kady aṅganiṅ aṅir **bahan** lañcaṅ, banava, **suṅkul***, where *buñcaṅ haji* offers some support to our restoration *gave*.

148. *saṁ hyaṁ drabya haji* ◇ these words, though clear enough on the stone, seem problematic, as the words *drabya haji* are never elsewhere preceded by *saṁ hyaṁ*, and the following list of animals is elsewhere (Adulengen 5r3, Gandhakuti 1v2) called *rājamāṅsa*, not *drabya haji*, while the syntactic construction is always *amaṅana (salvirniṅ) rājamāṅsa*. We are tempted to speculate that the intended text would here have repeated *saṁ hyaṅ ājña haji* (see lines B25–26 above), but that the *akṣara ṅa* was misread in the present context (by the engraver or in the draft from which he was copying) as *dra*, and that this error in turn led to *bya* being written instead of *jña*. It is possible that such a hypothetical error would have entailed further misrepresentation of the intended text, such as loss of a string of words.

149. *vuṅkunus· tumūt* ◇ the rare other inscriptions mentioning the word *vuṅkunus* strongly suggest that a scribal omission of several words, if not a whole line of text, has occurred between this word and *tumūt*. Cf. e.g. Garaman 4r7–8 *Amaṅana salvirniṁ rājamaṅśa, baḍavaṁ, vuṅkulus·* (i.e., ***vuṅkunus***), *vḍus guntiṁ, karuṁ puliḥ, Asu tugəl·, Ivat taluvaḥ, Amaṅana ri bale, Aririṅa banantən·, Asumpiṅa tuñjuṁ śasivak, kunə[ṁ] Inubhāyakəni lbuni pāduka śrī mahārāja*, …. In this parallel, the phrase *inubhāyakəni lbuni pāduka śrī mahārāja* corresponds to *tumūt usan śrī mahārāja* in our inscription.

150. *u(sa)n·* ◇ the parallel passage in Sima Anglayang 17v4–5 has *usyan* instead of *usan*. If forced, one might be able to imagine a trace of a possible *pasangan y* on the estampages, but *usyan* can only be a passive irrealis form to *usī* which would be impossible to accommodate in the present clause.

(B32) **(1.11)**laphala, nyu, pucaṁ, səR̥ḥ, tka riṁ vnaṁ-vnaṁ prakāra, lāvan· ri tan· padamil·-damlanira[151] vistăra, mvaṁ puriḥ
(B33) **(1.12)**ṅūniv(e)ḥ tan· parapedita (t)an· (simirassi)[152] riṁ (ma)kmitan·, (sanipartumatayanhanatamaṁmattanaḥ)nikanaṁ[153]
(B34) **(1.13)**varga mŭla smi I kusambyan·,[154] mva taṁn·[155] panahi-tikusa, kevalā tarima dāna juga sira, tumaṅgapana
(B35) **(1.14)**sapasaṁnikanaṁ vargga mūla sīma I kusambyan· sām(yāmīṅka)-nā[156] yathāśakti sakavnaṅña(nyā)mava de lokabho-
(B36) **(1.15)**gani(ṁ)[157] sama (ta)kyanira milu Umimbuḥ sapaṅāpura śrī mahārāja,[158] Irikanaṁ vargga mūla sĭma I kusambya[n·]
(B37) **(1.16)**samaṅ(k)ana (kuma)deyakna[159] saṁ purapra(dhā)na saṁ (sahutnaña)nikanaṁ[160] vargga mūla sĭma I kusambyan·, (An·)
(B38) **(1.17)**kumva ta sira mobhayahita kr(y)an·-kr(y)an· pa(ta)_giḥ, tan· pa(keṁ)koṁnya tan· (sayanya)[161]

Face c (South) (fig. 13, 22, 29, 30, 33)

Fragment 11: Upward-facing plane

(c1) **(11.1)** {traces of 1 *akṣ*.}
(c2) **(11.2)** {traces of 1 *akṣ*.} ke(va)
(c3) **(11.3)** {1 *akṣ*. ille.} /// {2 *akṣ*. ille.} juga sira {2 *akṣ*. ille.}
(c4) **(11.4)** {1 *akṣ*. ille.} sakupaṁ satak· {1 *akṣ*. ille.}
(c5) **(11.5)** (tampak)· (va) {1 *akṣ*. lost} (varaha) {1 *akṣ*. ille.}
(c6) **(11.6)** {2 *akṣ*. ille.} (ha)na {2 *akṣ*. ille.}· (ne) {1 *akṣ*. ille.}
(c7) **(11.7)** ta hulu(nanu) {2 *akṣ*. ille.} nisasī(ma)
(c8) **(11.8)** tin· {3/4 *akṣ*. ille.} kani mula

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151. *padamil·-* ◇ corr. *padamal·-*.

152. *(simirassi)* ◇ the string is incomprehensible and the reading therefore most uncertain.

153. *(sanipartumatayanhanatamaṁmattanaḥ)nikanaṁ* ◇ the string marked as unclear is incomprehensible and the reading therefore most uncertain. Another reading of the same string that we have considered is *sa*{body ille.}*i ba(t)iṁ pata(ha)nan(ta) kapiṁpat manaḥ*.

154. *smi I* ◇ corr. *sīma I*.

155. *mva taṁn·* ◇ corr. *mvaṁ tan·*.

156. *sām(yāmīṅka)nā* ◇ the string is incomprehensible and the reading therefore most uncertain.

157. *sakavnaṅña(nyā)mava de lokabhogani(ṁ)* ◇ the reading of *akṣara*s seems relatively clear, but we do not understand the syntax of the words *amava de lokabhoga*.

158. *sama (ta)kyanira milu Umimbuḥ sapaṅāpura śrī mahārāja* ◇ based on the parallel in B30, and on the parallels discussed in §7 s.v. *təku*, we are tempted to corrected *sama təkyənanira*. But the syntactic construction is anyhow different here from what is seen in most parallels (*sama təkyəna* + *sira* + irrealis verb) and maybe *takyanira*/*təkyənira* is acceptable. See Bimalasrama 1.10–2.2 *sama təkyənya Umapurāgə:ṁni paṅăram(bha) mpuṅku muntun· I pāduka śrī mahārājā prayojananiran padamal· gandhakoṭi*.

159. *samaṅ(k)ana kumadeyakna* ◇ the reading *kumadeyakna* is clear, although parallel passages (Baru Cdef3, *samaṅkanaṁ kadeyakna*, Anjatan 4r4 *kunaṁ pva kadeyaknanikaṁ* and 4r6 *tka ri kadeyaknanikanaṁ*) give reason to expect *kadeyakna*.

160. *(sahutnaña)nikanaṁ* ◇ we cannot make sense of the first four *akṣara*s in the context, and our reading may be incorrect.

161. Most of this last line is hard to read. For a possible (partial) parallel, see Terep II, 7r2–3: *mo[[n·]] kryan·-kryan· mon· taṇḍa kimuta vvaṁ sāmanya*.

Fig. 13 — Kusambyan. Fragment 1, face c. Estampage EFEO n. 2203.

Fig. 14 — Kusambyan. Fragment 1, face d. Estampage EFEO n. 2202.

Fragment 10: upward-facing and sideways-facing planes

For face c, this fragment shows between 3 and 5 *akṣara*s from the ends of 3 lines of the upward-facing plane, none legible with certainty. Then it shows between 2 and 5 *akṣara*s from the ends of 7 lines of the sideways-facing plane, again none legible with certainty.

Fragment 6

(c19) [(6.1)] {7–10 *akṣ*. ille.}
(c20) [(6.2)] {7–10 *akṣ*. ille.}
(c21) [(6.3)] {2 *akṣ*. ille.} rumuhun· I s(m)i ku-
(c22) [(6.4)]sam(byan·) {1 *akṣ*. ille.} ya vehə
(c23) [(6.5)] {5 *akṣ*. ille.} (sa)ṅa {2 *akṣ*. ille.}
(c24) [(6.6)] {2 *akṣ*. ille.} ra(ṅ)ya mvaṁ ri vnaṅani-
(c25) [(6.7)](ka)na[ṁ] vargga mŭla (sīma) I ku-

(c26) [6.8]sambyan· mapadagaṅa, lvira-
(c27) [6.9]nya, At(i)t(iḥ) rvaṁ tarub·
(c28) [6.10](A)lavay· rvaṁ tarub·, paṇḍa-
(c29) [6.11](y)· mās· rvaṁ paṟAn·
(c30) [pa][6.12](ṇḍa)y· (vs)i rvaṁ paṟAn·
(c31) [6.13]{2 *akṣ*. ille.} (t)i {5 *akṣ*. ille.}

Fragment 1

We are unable to estimate how many lines, if any, have been lost after the last line on fragment 6 and the first line on fragment 1. We tentatively assume that no lost fragment would have intervened, and hence count no lost lines.

(c32) {1–3 *akṣ*. lost} [rasan][1.1]yānugra(ha)
(c33) [śrī mahārā][1.2](ja,) Irikanaṁ
(c34) [vargga mūla] [1.3](sī)ma I kusa-
(c35) [1.4]m(b)ya[n·][162] (sa)pasuk ṣīma kabe-
(c36) [1.5]ḥ kapagəhaknanyan tamo-
(c37) [1.6]laḥ I (pa)nataranya (so)vaṁ-
(c38) [1.7]sovaṁ, tan· kolah-u-
(c39) [1.8]laha de saṅ anāgata pra-
(c40) [1.9]bhu mvaṁ saṅ anāgata vineḥ
(c41) [1.10]madaṇḍər· ṅuniveḥ I-
(c42) [1.11]kanaṁ vineḥ ma(k)urug· sa-
(c43) [1.12](keta) kaliliranani[163] sa(ntā)-
(c44) [1.13]na pratisantā(na)n(i)kanaṁ va-
(c45) [1.14]rgga mūla sima I kusambya[n·]
(c46) [1.15]makatə⟨və⟩ka paṁ(ḍiri) ⟨śrī mahārāja⟩ ⟨⟨maniratna
(c47) [1.16]{1 *akṣ*. ille.} sa⟩⟩ ri maṇiratnasiṁhāsa-
(c48) [1.17]na makaḍatvan· I vvatan ⟨m⟩as·
(c49) [1.18](mvaṁ) yāpvan· hana sira lā-[164]

Face d (North) (fig. 14, 20)

Looking at the Leiden estampage that shows all faces on fragment 1, and based on comparison with the fully engraved face c (with its estimated number of 49 lines), which bears about 8 more lines below the end of the last line of the incompletely engraved face d, we estimate that face d would have covered 41 lines. Of these 41 lines, vestiges are preserved on fragments 4 (the top of the face) and 1 (the lower part of the face).

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162. Our restitutions in lines 1–3 are based on the parallel passage in Munggut 3.30–32.

163. *sa(keta) kalilirani* ◇ based on parallel passages (Adulengen 5v5, Bimalasrama 3.3, Kamalagyan A23, Turun Hyang C18), we expect before *kalilirani* a form like *katmva* or *kapaṅgiha*, but nothing remotely similar can be read here. We are unable to parse our tentative reading *saketa*.

164. *makatə⟨və⟩ka paṁ(ḍiri) ⟨śrī mahārāja⟩ ⟨⟨maniratna* // {1 *akṣ*. ille.} *sa⟩⟩ ri maṇiratnasiṁhāsa*// *na makaḍatvan· I vvatan ⟨m⟩as· (mvaṁ) yāpvan· hana sira lā-* ◇ this seems to be a corrupt rendering of the formula found in Cane Cd 24–25: *makatəvəka paṁḍiri śrī mahārāja* ***ri maṇiratnasiṁhāsana makaḍatvan· ri vvatan mās· yapvan hana sira lāmlām·*** *tan eṅət· I rasa saṁ hyaṁ Ājñā haji prasasti*. This parallel also shows how we expect the text would have been continued after *lā-* onto face d. Compare further Munggut 4.1–4. In the light of these and other parallels, the presence of an unclear *akṣara*, which we tentatively read *mvaṁ*, at the beginning of line c35, in unexpected.

Fragment 4

(d12) (4.1) {traces of 1 *akṣ*.}
(d13) (4.2) {1 *akṣ*. ille.} tya deya///[ntat patī]-
(d14) (4.3)(ya) tatan(o)///[liha I vu]-
(d15) (4.4)(nta)t· tatiṅha(la) /// [ri liku]-
(d16) (4.5)[ran· ta]///(ruṁ) riṅ a///[dgan·][165]

Fragment 1

(d31) (1.1)māla-păta(ka) {2 *akṣ*. ille.} /// [Avūka]
(d32) (1.2)tan· tmvaṁ sāma, (mipa) /// {2 *akṣ*. lost}
(d33) (1.3)yan· maṁjanma (p)āpā///[ta ya]
(d34) (1.4)saṁsārā sajīvakāla,[166] (ma)-
(d35) (1.5)ṅkana tmahananikāṅ vaṁ Anyā-
(d36) (1.6)ya, Umulah-ulaḥ Ikeṁ
(d37) (1.7)sīma I kusambyan·, Anu-
(d38) (1.8)graha śrī mahārāja Iri-
(d39) (1.9)kanaṁ vargga mūla sĭma I ku-
(d40) (1.10)sambyan·, I vruhanira kaɾ-
(d41) (1.11)be[ḥ] prayatna, // Ø //[167]

Additional Fragments

Fragment 7 (fig. 23)

This cracked fragment shows vestiges of text from an undermined face.

(7.1) {traces of 2/3 *akṣ*.}
(7.2) {1 *akṣ*. ille.} le(ka) {2 *akṣ*. ille.}
(7.3) {1 *akṣ*. ille.}, Aniru ta {1 *akṣ*. ille.}
(7.4) {1 *akṣ*. ille.} p(u) {2 *akṣ*. ille.}· (ru)

Fragment 8 (fig. 24)

This fragment shows vestiges of text from an undermined face.

(8.1) {2 *akṣ*. lost} t·, {1 *akṣ*. ille.}
(8.2) {1 *akṣ*. lost} ma {1 *akṣ*. ille.}
(8.3) {1 *akṣ*. ille.} (r/t/k)· {body ille.}i

165. Our restorations of the gaps at the beginnings and ends of the lines on this fragment follow the pattern of Munggut 5.23–26. The rather clear *akṣara tya* before *deyantat* is unexpected, because numerous parallel passages, including Munggut, read *hyaṁ* in that position.

166. It is striking that not a single Airlangga inscription has a close parallel for the preceding part of the curse formula, while parallels are numerous from Sindok's reign and even earlier. But even those are not sufficiently precise to allow us to fill in all gaps in the preceding lines. See also our n. 100.

167. *I vruhannira kabe[ḥ] prayatna,* // *Ø* // ◇ cf. the end of the Barsahan inscription: *i vruhanira prayatna*, and Sima Anglayang 16r5–6, at the end of one of this inscription's constituent texts: *I vrūḥhanira kabaiḥ prayatnā* /.

Fig. 15 — Kusambyan. Fragment 2, face A. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

Fig. 16 — Kusambyan. Fragment 2, face B. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

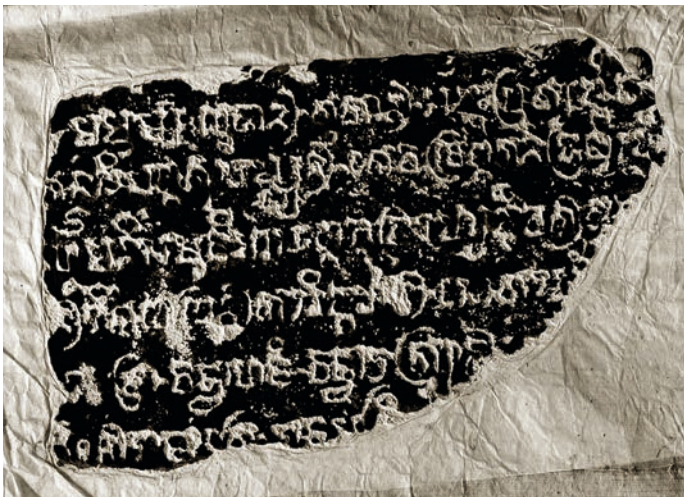

Fig. 17 — Kusambyan. Fragment 3. Inked estampage Leiden K23.

Fig. 18 — Kusambyan. Fragment 4, face A. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

Fig. 19 — Kusambyan. Fragment 4, face B. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

Fig. 20 — Kusambyan. Fragment 4, face d. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

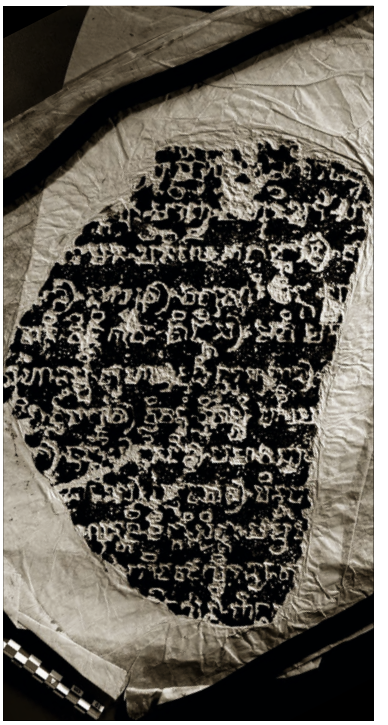

Fig. 21 — Kusambyan. Fragment 5. Inked estampage Leiden K23.

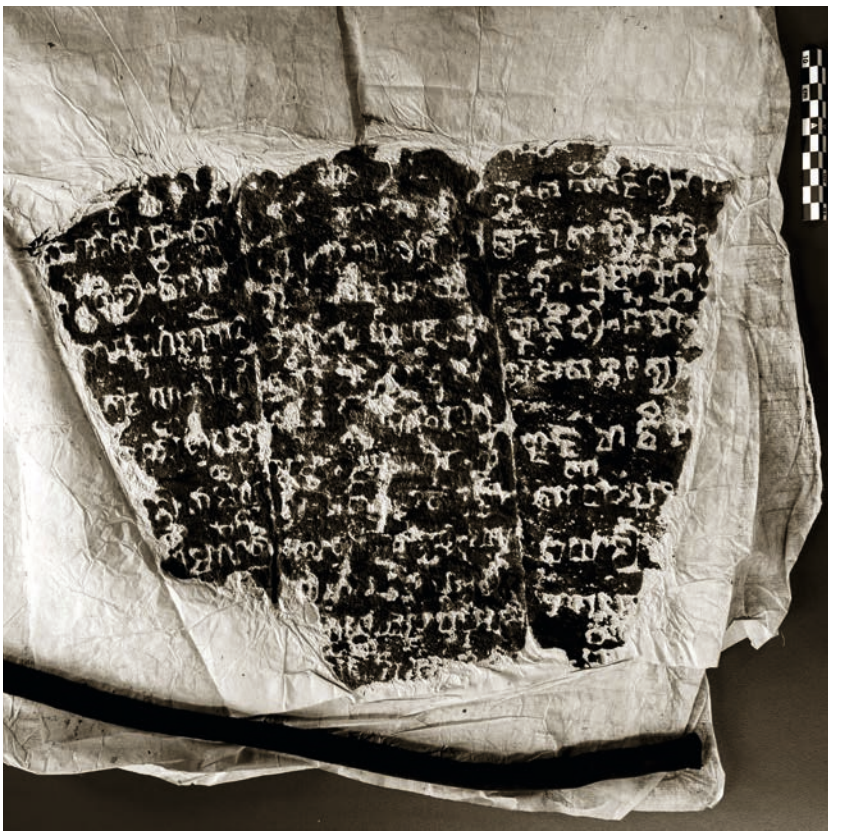

Fig. 22 — Kusambyan. Fragment 6. Inked estampage Leiden K23.

Fig. 23 — Kusambyan. Fragment 7. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

Fig. 24 — Kusambyan. Fragment 8. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

Fig. 25 — Kusambyan. Fragment 9, face A. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

Fig. 26 — Kusambyan. Fragment 9, face B. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

Fig. 27 — Kusambyan. Fragment 10, face A. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

Fig. 28 — Kusambyan. Fragment 10, face B. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

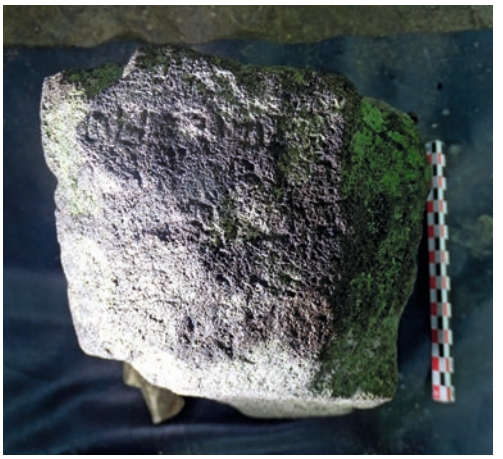

Fig. 29 — Kusambyan. Fragment 10, face c upward-facing plane. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

Fig. 30 — Kusambyan. Fragment 10, face c sideways-facing plane. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

Fig. 31 — Kusambyan. Fragment 11, Face A. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

Fig. 32 — Kusambyan. Fragment 11, face B. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

Fig. 33 — Kusambyan. Fragment 11, face c upward-facing plane. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

6.2.3. Translation

(A1–A5) Hail! Elapsed Śaka year …, month of …, … *tithi*, waning fortnight, Vurukuṅ, Kalivon, Sunday, [the Vuku being] …, lunar mansion Dhaniṣṭhā, the deity V…, the conjunction Śiva, …[168] That was the time when the decree of the Great King, the Lord of (*rakai*, i.e. *rakryān i*) Halu, Śrī Lokeśvara Dharmavaṅśa Airlaṅga Anantavikramottuṅgadeva, was received by Lady (*rakryān*) the Great Minister of Hino (named) Śrī Saṅgrāmavijaya-prasādottuṅgadevī. It came down to the Lord of Paḍaṅ (named) *pu* Dvija. It gave an order with regard to the community in Kusambyan…

(A5–A17) *This part of the text, of which only very little remains, starts with a list of people, in a manner probably comparable to what is seen on the opening faces of the Cane and Munggut stelae, and on the back face of Baru, concluded by* samaṅkana kyeḥ *(to be read* kveḥ*). After this, we recognize tiny fragments of the beginning of the* sambandha *portion.*

(A24–30) … the Lord Fish-God (*bhaṭāra hyaṅ ivak*)[169] at Kusambyan … every Full Moon of the month of Asuji, to become the object of devotion (? *kabhaktyan-a*) of the community of Kusambyan including all its (subsidiary) *sīma*s (*sapasuk sīma kabeh*),[170] having as purpose that it would be the source for its refurbishment of everything that is dilapidated (*sa-mananā*, **nanā*) in the sanctuary (*āyatana*) of the Lord Fish-God at Kusambyan, like a fivefold service with flowers — oil of sesame seed, incense, fragrance, unhusked grains, and also diverse food offerings[171] — to be used for worship every Full Moon of the month of Asuji to the Lord Fish-God at Kusambyan. Such was the substance of the request (**paṅhyaṅ*) of the community at Kusambyan including all its (subsidiary) *sīma*s to His Majesty the Great King.

(A30–38) And because of the greatness of [his] compassion, the Great King was sympathetic to the entire request of the community at Kusambyan. It had as reason the visibility of the great weight of their effort for accumulation of virtues (**giṇa-kāya*) as they were unwaveringly highly loyal as servants (**dāsa-bhūta*) with their entire households, risking their own lives as they exerted themselves on behalf of His Majesty the Great King during the war, formerly, at the time of the enemy [named] *si* Cəṅek who

168. The compatible dates falling between 940 and 970 Śaka are 1018 Aug. 10 (940 Śaka, Śravaṇa, *ekādaśī kṛṣṇa*), 1019 Mar. 8 (940 Śaka, Phālguna, *caturdaśī kṛṣṇa*), 1023 Oct. 13 (945 Śaka, Asuji, *ekādaśī kṛṣṇa*), 1028 Dec. 15 (950 Śaka, Mārgaśira, *ekādaśī kṛṣṇa*), 1029 Jul. 13 (951 Śaka, Āṣāḍha, *caturdaśī kṛṣṇa*), 1034 Feb. 17 (955 Śaka, Phālguna, *ekādaśī kṛṣṇa*), 1039 Apr. 22 (961 Śaka, Vaiśākha, *dvādaśī kṛṣṇa*), 1039 Nov. 18 (961 Śaka, Kārttika, *caturdaśī kṛṣṇa*), 1044 Jun. 24 (966 Śaka, Āṣāḍha, *ekādaśī kṛṣṇa*). As the inscription states that the royal residence was at Wwatan Mas, we can disregard all dates falling after 954, the date of the Terep charter, by which time Airlangga had fled to Patakan. We consider 1023 Oct. 13 the most likely date, for reason of its proximity to the dates of the Cane and Munggut inscriptions, which, like Kusambyan, mention the *rakryān* Paḍaṅ *pu* Dvija.

169. On this deity, see our discussion below, in §8.

170. On the interpretation of the expressions *sapasuk sīma kabeh* here and in c35–36 contrasting with *sapasuk thāni kabeh* in A36–37, see n. 103.

171. Cf. the similar passage in Munggut 2.3 and our discussion in n. 111.

continuously held firm with Madaṇḍər as royal residence.[172] That caused an incomparable (*asama-sama*) feeling of indebtedness (*pūrva-ṛṇa*) to grow in the mind of His Majesty the Great King,[173] [which was] the reason that the entire request from the community at Kusambyan including all its (constituent) villages (*sapasuk thāni kabeh*) was approved outright by the Great King. The visible sign of it was that [they] had been allowed to keep a holy royal decree in the form of an edict as a confirmatory document. Its purpose was to make its (the community's) village in Kusambyan into a *sīma* devoted to the cult of the Lord Fish-God.

(B1–5) *The contents of these lines are too incompletely preserved for their substance to be summarized here.*

(B6–29) … all those who formerly collected royal revenue on occupational groups, beginning with the various Miśras, the Paṅuraṅ, the Kriṅ, the Paḍəm, the Manimpiki, the Paranakan, the Limus Galuh, the Maṅriñca, the Maṅhuri, the Paraṅ, the Suṅka, the Dhūra, the Paṅaruhan, the Taji, the Vatu Tajəm, the Sukun, the Halu Varak, the Rakasaṅ, the Ramanaṅ, the Pinilai, the Kataṅgaran, the Tapa Haji, the Air Haji, the Malandaṅ, the Ləca, the Lablab, the Pakalaṅkaṅ, the Kutak, the Taṅkil, the Trəpan, the Salyut, the Vatu Valaṅ, the Paṅgare, …, the Tirvan, the Vilaṅ Thāni, the Viji Kavah, the Tiṅkəs, the Mavi, the Manambaṅi, …, the Maṅguñjai, the overseer of the Nambi, the overseer of gambling, the overseer of the Huñjəman, … the Miśra Aṅin-aṅin, the Vli Pañjut, the Vli Vaduṅ, the Vli Tambaṅ, the Palamak, … Sipad Vilut, the Juṅkuṅ, the Paniṅ-aṅin, the Pamāvasya, …, the Padvā-mās, the Panluṅ-atak, the Pinta Palaku …, the royal servants, the Jəṅgi, the Siṅgah, the Pamṛṣi, the Mavuluṅ-vuluṅ, all of the courtiers, and so forth, including the [fines to be imposed for] 'pain and relief' (*sukha-duḥkha*), …, of any kind at all, such as 'areca-blossom without betelnut' (*mayaṅ tan pavvaḥ*), 'gourd vines that grow in the courtyard' (*valū rumambat iṅ natar*), 'disaster' (*vipati*), 'a corpse covered with dew' (*vaṅke kabunan*), 'blood spattered on the road' (*rāh kasavur i dalan*), 'spittle that is sprayed' (*hidū kasirat*), … (*capala*),

172. It is possible to assume that the clause beginning with *an tamolaḥ* has His Majesty himself as subject, but this seems less natural given that the last person mentioned is the enemy Cəṅek. Moreover, we do not have any other inscription stating that His Majesty, i.e. Airlangga, resided at Madaṇḍər at any time, while several other *kraton* sites are known for him from other inscriptions, and the present inscription situates his *kraton* in Vvatan Mas (line c34). Titi Surti Nastiti's argument (2013) that Madaṇḍər was Airlangga's *kraton* was a consequence of the fact that she read *madval* instead of *mandəl* and interpreted the word she read as meaning 'destroying'. On the figure Cəṅek and on the toponym Madaṇḍər, see §8. It should be pointed out that the second occurrence of *madaṇḍər* in this inscription (line c27) is not a toponym but the name of a function (cf. *makurug* in the same context).

173. The translation 'having contracted a debt of gratitude' for *pūrva-ṛṇa* in *OJED* is not suitable in our context. Our 'feeling of indebtedness' is less faithful to the literal meaning in Sanskrit, but seems required by the context. A very close variant of the present sentence occurs in Balambangan r3 (*ya tikānuvuhakna pŭrvva-Ṝṇa Asama-sama ri manaḥ śrī mahārāja*) and variants of the same become more common in the period after Airlangga's reign. See, e.g., Garaman (975 Śaka) 2r7 and Jaring (1103 Śaka) Ab10–11. Within the Airlangga corpus, see also the somewhat more distant parallel in Baru Abe10–12: *ya tikā maṅkin· Asama-sama nirmalajñāna pāduka śrī mahārāja ri pamisiṅgiḥnira riṁ pitutur· samgat· laṇḍayān· rarai mvaṁ samgat· lucəm· rarai ya ta kāraṇā samgat· … Āpan atyanta gə:ṁni pūrvvaṜṇa śrī mahārāja*.

'slander' (*duhilatən*), …, 'rape' (*mamuṅpaṅ*), 'repeated attack' (*ludan*), 'following' (*tūtan*), 'apportioning of shares' (*aṅśa pratyaṅśa*), 'punishment and wrongful punishment' (*ḍəṇḍa kuḍəṇḍa*), 'poisons of all sorts' (*maṇḍihala*) and such like — … the *sīma* at Kusambyan will exclusively [have the authority over] the royal revenue … 2 *suvarṇa* of gold per person … full moon day of the month of Asuji, to the Lord Fish-God at Kusambyan, extending to … the high functionaries (*taṇḍa rakryān*) of the military camps (*kabalān*) [and] the places of refuge (*kasiṅgahan*), all those who bring gifts, great or small, … intended (*umarā*) for the royal companions, the companions of the Lords and Ladies, the overseers, the servants of the Lord of Avan, the servants of Lords and Ladies, the Princes and Princesses, or sons and daughters of good families, and first of all the servants of the Ladies Royal Consorts, beginning with the Lady Chief Queen, including the archers, the lancers, the *gaṇḍi*-bearers, the mahouts, the horse grooms, those who scavenge (*makarapa*, **rapa*) the boar pen (*pakaruṅan*), those who herd cows, those who herd **haturan pādu* [and] **haturan bāṅ*, the kris-sheath makers (*pabaraṅka*, **baraṅka*), with all those who accompany the holy royal decrees intended for other regions, who release the ashes, who set the holy young men (? *vuruh*) in motion, seeking female attendants (*kaka*) [and] elderly ladies (*inaṅ*), as well as work [to be delivered, such as furnishing] material for sheaths, the processors of sandal (wood), boat builders, makers of boxes (*pasagi*) [and of] pavilions (**parvantilan*), snake baskets (*pasarpān*), medicine baskets (*poṣadhān*), metallurgy (**dhātukriyā*), secret quarters; seeking for pulled out roots; keeping Laṅliṅ (birds), keeping quails and fighting-cocks with artificial spurs (*ayam savuṅ*), fighting-cocks with natural spurs (*ayam təgəl*),[174] boars; bringing along holy royal goods (?) [such as] *baniṅ* turtles, *baḍavaṅ* turtles, tortoises, crocodiles [and] **vuṅkunus*.[175]

(B29–38) The Great King immediately followed up that all of them together should be urged (*təkyəna*, **təku*) not to be neglectful of good conduct by causing disturbance; not to take anything reserved for the villagers; not to hew trees,[176] *priṅ* bamboo, *pətuṅ* bamboo, *hampyal* bamboo,

174. Regarding the sequence *ayam savuṁ, hayam· tgəl·*, we learn from Tom Hoogervorst (pers. comm.) that there are traditionally two types of cockfights: one with artificial spurs and one with 'natural' ones. The word *savuṅ* appears to have denoted the former. In Madurese, *sabung* still denotes a fighting cock with artificial spurs (*taji*). In Modern Javanese, *sawung* appears to have become a generic word for rooster, whereas in Malay *sabung* means letting two animals fight each other. The word *təgəl* appears to have denoted a natural cockspur — cf. Modern Javanese *jalu* and Malay *susuh* — as it still does in Balinese (*tegil*) and Madurese (*tegghel*). So, in Madurese, *ayam savuṅ* would correspond to *ajam sabungan* (fighting cock with artificial spurs), whereas *ayam təgəl* would be *ajam tegghelan* (fighting cock with natural spurs). See also our emendation in Sima Anglayang 17v3 (n. 312).

175. See n. 148–149 above. Disregarding the near-certainty that the Kusambyan text is heavily corrupt for the end of this paragraph, we tentatively translate it as though it could ever have been intended as it stands.

176. The present passage may be compared with Jonker, *Wetboek* (1885), §40: *hana ta voṅ amraṅ kayu-kayuniṅ len nora amit iṅ kaṅ adṛve kayu, ḍəṇḍa pataṅ tali denira saṅ amava bhumi; yen vəṅi kāla, pati doṣane denira saṅ amava bhumi; kayu kaṅ den-praṅ mulihanikəl samulene* 'In case a person cuts down other people's trees without permission from the owners of the trees, the punishment is four thousands (*kupaṅ*?) by the sovereign; if [moreover] it was night time, his guilt

any kinds of fruit (*sarvaphala*), root fruits (*mūlaphala*), coconut-palm, areca-palm, betel-vine, [or] even diverse domestic animals; and that they should neither make extensions (*vistāra*) nor changes in the regulations (*purih*);[177] especially that they should not oppress (**parapedita*), should not *simirassi* (?) to the keeper(s), *sanipartumatayanhanatamaṁmattanaḥ* (?) of the inhabitants of the original *sīma* at Kusambyan;[178] and that they should not claim 'mouse-droppings' (*tahi tikus*).[179] They just accept donations:[180] they should receive one pair (?) from the inhabitants of the original *sīma* at Kusambyan *sāmyāmīṅkanā* (?) according to ability (*yathāśakti*), according to their capacity (*sa-kavnaṅan-nya*) *amava* (?) by the worldly enjoyments of all those urged by them to participate in increasing the complete forgiveness (*sa-paṅāpura*, **apura*) of the Great King for the inhabitants of the original *sīma* at Kusambyan. Such should be the course of action of the temple (*pura*) leaders,[181] the *sahutnaṅa(n)* (?) of the inhabitants of the original *sīma* at Kusambyan, when they have agreed this, the noblemen who had claims, not *pakeṅkoṅnya* (?), not *sayanya* (?) …

(c1–23) *The contents of these lines are too incompletely preserved for their substance to be summarized here.*

(c24–31) … And as for the entitlements of the inhabitants of the original *sīma* at Kusambyan to have shops, [these include] for instance: vendors of *titih*, two workshops; vendors of yarn, two workshops; goldsmiths, two anvils; ironsmiths, two anvils, …

(c32–48) [Such was] the substance of the grant of the Great King to the inhabitants of the original *sīma* at Kusambyan including all its (subsidiary) *sīma*s. It is to be considered by them as irrevocable, as [long as] (*an*) they remain in their respective domains. It is not to be disturbed by future kings

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[merits] death by the sovereign; the trees which have been cut are to be repaid double their value.' See also the Geneng II charter (1268 Śaka?), line 29: *Amraṅa kayu riṁ vatəs*.

177. The interpretation of the terms *vistāra* (see also Sima Anglayang 17r3 *ati-vistāra*) and *purih* is somewhat unclear. See de Casparis 1940: 60, who proposes for *purih* the meaning 'restriction', with reference to Adulengen 3r1. See also Sima Anglayang 4v1, and Barsahan 1r13. *OJED* (*purih* II) glosses "change in the regulations (taxes, etc)?".

178. See our discussion in n. 116 of the problem of how to interpret the sequence *varga mūla sīma*.

179. *OJED* glosses *tahi tikus* as 'a part. kind of tax or contribution (which?)'. The dictionary cites two attestations, one of which being our Sima Anglayang 17r1 (*anahi-tikus*), and the other *Prasasti Bali* no. 352 (944 Śaka) 3r6 *an palakvana hayam tan sraṅ sisikən, tan* ***tahi-tikusən*** *mvaṅ tan palakvana pahəlar təkapniṅ amanah*. Goris (1954, II: 200) commented on the latter: "In this edict the term *tahi-tikusən* is used for the first time. The literal meaning of the words is „droppings of mice", but it is always used in this special form of a negative gerundive: they are not to be „*tahi tikus*"; we do not know the value of this term." As shown in the present inscription, and in Sima Anglayang, Javanese inscriptions rather use the expression in the active. This is still observed in the Kemulan charter (1116 Śaka) A30 *...****hitikusa*** *mvaṅ amuṅvakna*.

180. Judging by the entry *atarima* in *OJED*, it seems that occurrences of this form are only found in late texts, while *kevalā* is often spelt with *-ā* in the inscriptions of Airlangga without any apparent reason, so that we do not need to assume the *-ā* here is due to sandhi with a prefix *a-*. We have the impression that an active transitive verb form is required in the context, and therefore translate as though the text were *kevalā tumarima* or *kevalānarima*.

181. We do not find any other occurrence of the Sanskrit word *pradhāna*, let alone the compound *pura-pradhāna*, in any other Airlangga inscription. The reading and interpretation are therefore rather uncertain.

or by those who in the future will be granted [the status of] Madaṇḍər,[182] especially those who will be granted [the status of] Makurug. *saketa* (?) to be the inheritance of the descendants in continuous succession of the inhabitants of the original *sīma* at Kusambyan, beginning with the reign of the Great King on the Gem-Jewel Lion-throne who has Vvatan Mas as his royal residence.[183]

(c49) And if there is …

(d12–16) … In killing, your approach shall be that you do not look to the rear, do not look to the side, while clashing with the opponent.

(d31–41) … disaster (*mala-pātaka*). They will rot away [and] not find peace … If they take birth, they will only be sinful [and] they will suffer as long as they live. Such is the fate of the people who act improperly, by disturbing the *sīma* at Kusambyan, [which is] the grant of the Great King to the inhabitants of the original *sīma* at Kusambyan. May all take notice [and] be aware!

6.3. Bularut

6.3.1. Introduction

6.3.1.1. Location and physical description

The inscription of Bularut is engraved on a stela which was reconstructed from around 145 fragments displayed in Museum Nasional Indonesia in Jakarta with the inventory number D.170. The stone is labeled as "Selorejo inscription" based on its provenance from *desa* Selorejo in *kab.* Lamongan. It measures 165 cm in height, 92 cm in width, and 28 cm in depth. It is not known whether its base was once decorated with typical lotus petals, as it is broken. Its reddish stone (presumably some kind of tuff or andesite) is rather unusual compared to Javanese stone inscriptions in general but similar to that of the Silet inscription. An emblem might have been carved at the top of the front face because the first line of text on this face is engraved rather far below the apex of the stela. The remainder of the text covers all of the six exposed faces. Although the stone is extremely fragmented as a whole, many fragments still show *akṣara*s that are relatively clear and legible. See fig. 34.

6.3.1.2. Previous research

The inscription has drawn little scholarly attention so far. To our knowledge, there is only one publication which very briefly mentions it among new

182. See n. 172. In the opening paragraph of the inscriptions of the early years of Sindok's reign, we typically find a phrase like *Umiṁsor i samgat momaḥh-umaḥ kāliḥ maḍaṇḍər pu padma, Aṅgəhān pu kuṇḍala* (Linggasuntan, 851 Ś., A3–4). From this evidence it is clear that, at least under King Sindok, the official of Madaṇḍər was one of the two highest court dignitaries below the king. See Boechari 1967–1968: 10 (2012: 120) n. 10.

183. Cf. the similar sentences occurring in Munggut 3.30–4.3.

Fig. 34 — Bularut, MNI D.170, face C. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

acquisitions by the Museum (*JBG* 1938: 132), while an unpublished inventory (Susadjat 1958: 48, no. 170) specifies that the provenance is Selorejo, Muntup (*sic*, for Mantup), Lamongan. We do not know if the administrative map was drawn differently at the time, but by today's map, Selorejo falls in *kec.* Sambeng rather than in Mantup.

6.3.1.3. Description of text layout

In our reconstruction of the text, we will designate the exposed faces of the stele as follows: front (A), proper left (b), back (C), proper right (d), upper left (e) and upper right (f). We further divide the text into two parts, the first called "main" and the second "additional". The main part consists in 28 lines which are read continuously going around the vertical faces of the stone (A, b, C, d). Face C shows six additional lines engraved above the 28 lines of the main part on this face, such that the 7th physical line on this face belongs with the first physical lines of A, b and d, before the text of the main part continues on the 2nd lines of A, the 2nd line of b, the 8th physical line of C, the 2nd of d, and so on. In other words, it is only on face C that there is a difference between the physical line numbering and the order of reading, and the line numbering in our edition must be understood to be by text part. The additional text part covers the aforementioned 6 lines at the top of face C, plus the 15 lines found respectively on faces e and f. Given the fragmented state of the stele, we are unable to determine in which sequence the text is to be read in this part, and so for the "additional" text part we present our reading face by face.

6.3.1.4. Date

This fragmented inscription offers a nice instance of an incompletely preserved dating formula where parameters that remain legible allow us to infer the values of others that are lost and to arrive finally at a precise dating. In this case, the fully preserved cyclical parameters *tu po ra*, in combination with the partly preserved number of the tens in the Śaka year that can only be a *6*, have allowed us to narrow down our search for a fitting date to the 960s. In that decade, HIC software returns only one date which was a *tu po ra* and had the required *śukla-pakṣa* and *nakṣatra* Kr̥ttikā, namely 964 Śaka, Kārttika *pūrṇimā*, corresponding to 31 October 1042. See the diagram (fig. 35).

6.3.1.5. Other data contained in the text

Although this inscription cannot be fully read, it can be confirmed that it was issued under Airlangga as his name and that of Dharmamūrti Narottama as *rakryān* Kanuruhan are clearly inscribed (fig. 36). The name of the *sīma*, several instances of which are clearly preserved, was Bularut, so this is how we designate the inscription. Among the interesting historical data that we can extract from this very imperfectly preserved text are several correspondences with information from the Kusambyan and Pucangan charters. The occurrence of figure *si* Cəṅek (Main 9) is reminiscent of Kusambyan (A34) *riṁ samarakāryya, ṅūni ri kālanikanaṁ śatru si cṅek·*, while another

figure, namely the *haji* Kapaṅ figuring in Bularut (Main 10) is also found in Pucangan (B29) *Irikāṁ śakakāla 959 vaṟgg anusup· haji ri kapaṁ mvaṁ balanira samāsiḥ ri sira*.

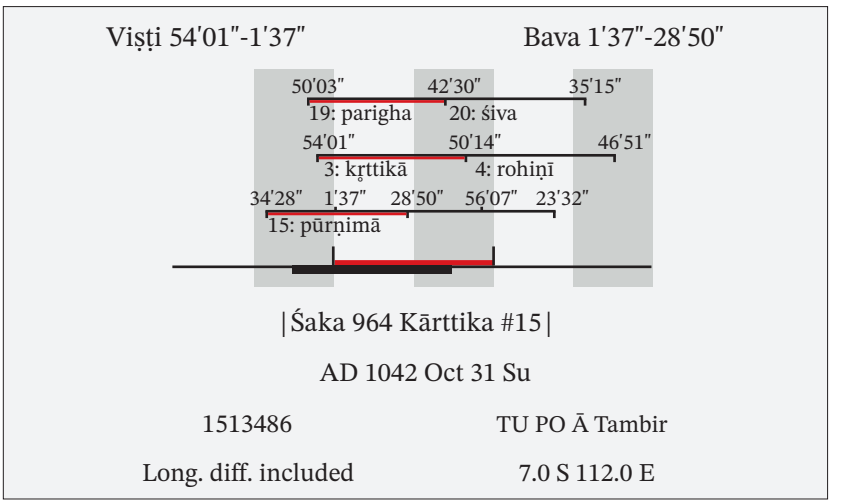

Fig. 35 — Diagram, generated with HIC software, showing the dating parameters of the Bularut charter.

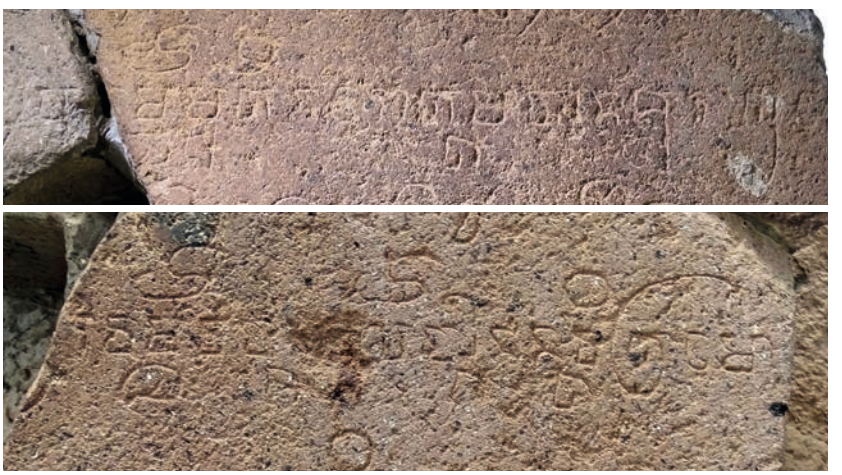

Fig. 36 — Bularut, MNI D.170. Details (a) line A2 *[dha]rmmamūrti, narottama dānaśū[ra]*; (b) line C1 *dharmmavaṅśa [Ai]rlaṅgānantavikramo*. Photographs Eko Bastiawan.

6.3.2. Text

The edition that is offered below has been established on the basis of photos and direct inspection of the stone.[184] The fragmentary state of the text does not make it practicable to propose a translation.

184. After an initial reading had been established on the basis of photos taken in 2019, the whole text was deciphered directly from the stone by Eko Bastiawan from the 30th of January to the 3rd of February 2022.

Main Part (faces A, b, C, d)

(1A) [svasti śaka-var]ṣātīta 9(6)[4 kārttika-māsa pūrṇnimā ś]u[k]la-pa[k]ṣa, tu, po, ra, vāra tamb[i]r· kr̥tt[ikā]-(na)kṣatra, dahana-devatā, pari**(b)**gha-yo⟨ga⟩, vava-[karaṇa] {2 *akṣ*. lost} **(C)** {11 *akṣ*. lost} [śrī mahārāja rakai halu śrī lokeśva]ra dharmmavaṅśa Airlaṅgānanta vikramo[ttuṅgadeva, tinaḍaḥ rakr]yā[n](·) [mahā]**(d)**[man]tr[ī] I hino [śrī samara]-

(2A)[vijaya su]parṇnavāhana tguh uttuṅga(de)va, [Umiṅsor· I rakryān· ka]-nuruhan· (pu dha)rmmamūrti, narottama dānaśū[ra] ku[monakən· Ikanaṁ rā]manta I bula**(b)**rut· sapas[uk] th[āni] {4 *akṣ*. lost} **(C)** {22 *akṣ*. lost} [tina]ṇḍa garuḍamukha kmitananya, sambandha {6 *akṣ*. lost} sapaśuk thāni {2 *akṣ*. lost} **(d)** {2 *akṣ*. lost}· ma{ṅara}n· həṅə{2 *akṣ*. lost}

(3A) {3 *akṣ*. lost}(ga){1 *akṣ*. lost}{1 *akṣ*. ille.} ḍuṁduṁ, ji/ta\man·, vanda(na) {1 *akṣ*. lost} lara, (s)uvitəm·, {4 *akṣ*. ille.}ṇḍa {4–5 *akṣ*. lost} {body ille.}ilyan·, Uḍit·, vañcət·, turuk ma{3 *akṣ*. lost}{1 *akṣ*. ille.} (pa) {4 *akṣ*. lost} **(b)** {3 *akṣ*. lost}gar·, pnəd· {2 *akṣ*. lost} **(C)** {2 *akṣ*. lost} kantəḥ tu{body ille.}u{1 *akṣ*. lost}ma {15 *akṣ*. lost} ve{1 *akṣ*. ille.}guḥ, hurip·, vaseni, citsā, {body ille.}i {3 *akṣ*. lost}·⟨,⟩ s(a)na, Ṟmbaṁ basə{body lost} ət·, m(ə)nā{1 *akṣ*. lost} **(d)** {1 *akṣ*. lost}ṇḍəḥ, busya {4 *akṣ*. lost}

(4A) {3 *akṣ*. lost}, gandar·, ji{1 *akṣ*. ille.}r(iḥ,) Ampit· {6. *akṣ*. lost}mpa(ra)n· vanda(na) {8 *akṣ*. lost} tatur·, (g)asyak·, tuger·, A(v)i{1 *akṣ*. lost}təm·, suta{1 *akṣ*. lost} **(b)** {3 *akṣ*. lost}dyaṅga, maṇḍarat· {1 *akṣ*. lost}**(C)**ṇḍat·, {1 *akṣ*. ille.}dhanitəm·, ko{12 *akṣ*. lost}(g)·, b(ibu)r·, baḍ(ə){1 *akṣ*. ille.}·, basukrī, bala{1 *akṣ*. ille.}, baḍa{1 *akṣ*. lost}smana, viraman·, laj(ə)r·, vr̥guḥ tuṅgu**(d)**l·, ku(ṁ)b(n)ar·, d(ə)n(ə) {3 *akṣ*. lost}

(5A) {3 *akṣ*. lost}· A(ś)os·, tiḶ{16–17 *akṣ*. lost} {body ille.}ə(p)·, kambar·, vuyai, ba{1 *akṣ*. lost}ja(,) haryya, manirum· **(b)** (U)nən·, basukəs·, vaci, Ṟ**(C)**məṁ, sambar·, Aujəm·, saba {11 *akṣ*. lost} taman·, pusər·, tama{1 *akṣ*. lost}· tampu, Aka(n)·, godri(n)əm·, bega(t)·, garūsa, tula, gunda **(d)**, munda, mandəl·, {5 *akṣ*. lost}

(6A) {4 *akṣ*. lost}n·, Ṟnək·, b(e){12 *akṣ*. lost}k· {9 *akṣ*. lost}ddhiman·, baliḥ, U{3 *akṣ*. lost}mān·, kimuk·, (b)opa **(b)**, kr̥Ṟntal·, (ra)ma{1 *akṣ*. ille.}l·, bisi**(C)**r· maṅnəb·, gañjəl·, ta(ṇḍa){3 *akṣ*. lost} tambas·(,) b(a)ṅ(a)r· {2 *akṣ*. lost}ñjāt·, baligra{1 *akṣ*. lost}nag·, tapiḥ, gopalar·, baddha, {body ille.}e{body ille.}es·, Ḷkər·, sumən̓(ka), moɾ**(d)**bo,[185] sumən̓{6 *akṣ*. lost}

(7A)d·, baḍən·, Aṅgit· {15 *akṣ*. lost}, ḍaḍəṁ, (d)va(,) gval·, ḍanu {6 *akṣ*. lost} {body ille.}əm{body ille.}i, {1 *akṣ*. ille.}ṇḍu, Umbak·, sa{5 *akṣ*. lost} **(b)** {1 *akṣ*. ille.}nəm·, cak(e){1 *akṣ*. ille.}·, {1 *akṣ*. ille.}{body ille.}əl·, {body ille.}i{body ille.}ə**(C)**(s)·, buddhaman·, Utuṁ, mu(ñ)jit·, muṇḍuku, mbapiṁ, tayəm·, {1 *akṣ*. lost}rip·, vāhaṁ{1 *akṣ*. ille.} {5 *akṣ*. lost}nəm·, ṭikā, mḍaṁ, kesara, te(ṅ)eṁ {3 *akṣ*. lost}, cag(ə)n(ə)ṁ, pujyan·, səma **(d)** {body ille.}u{1 *akṣ*. ille.}du {1 *akṣ*. ille.}{body ille.}ə {2 *akṣ*. ille.} ḍ(a), maḍ(ə)m·, koɾ-

185. A *pangkon* seems to be canceled, it is only engraved halfway.

(8A)leḥ, tuṅtus·, \vunan·/[186] gosi{1 *akṣ*. ille.}, sə{14 *akṣ*. lost}(t)uḥ rāmanta I bularu[t] {5 *akṣ*. lost} I pāduka śrī mahārāja, ma{1 *akṣ*. lost} **(b)** {3 *akṣ*. lost}(a)na samgat· la{body ille.}(i)tan· **(C)** pu burit· {3 *akṣ*. ille.}(ya) I knoha rāmanta I bularut· sumīma {8 *akṣ*. lost} de samgat· tiṅhal· piṅhai tka ri saṅ anāgata viṙ**(d)**neḥ tiṅhal· piṅhai, keva-

(9A)lā rāma[n]ta I bularut· juga {2 *akṣ*. ille.} {12 *akṣ*. lost} [p]r[a]māṇa I sakveḥ {9–10 *akṣ*. lost} [ta]n· kapālaṅ-a**(b)**laṁ suṣ[ṭu](bha)k[t]i [I] pāduka śrī **(C)** mahārā[ja, lot ka]huda⟨na⟩n· kapvayān· kadadaḥ jīvita {8 *akṣ*. lost} n· pāduka śrī mahārāja ri samara(kā)ryya {5 *akṣ*. lost}**(d)**tu Ikāṁ śatru (s) i cṅek·[187] ra-

(10A)hyaṅ ya·, tka ri haji kapaṁ, mva(ṁ) sakveḥ {6 *akṣ*. lost} [pād]uka śr[ī] mahā[rā]ja[188] pinakasoca{11 *akṣ*. lost}· vaḷstāsi(ḥ) (U)**(b)**masagil(a) {1 *akṣ*. lost}{1 *akṣ*. ille.}ṇa {2 *akṣ*. lost} saṁ tu**(C)**ha {9 *akṣ*. lost}[rāma]nta I bularut· pva pra{9 *akṣ*. lost} ṣuṣṭu[189] kabhaktin· rāmanta {3 *akṣ*. lost} kāla makadadaḥ jĭvita rā**(d)**manta, y[ā]vat· {1 *akṣ*. ille.}laṅanikāṁ

(11A) sa(pa){2 *akṣ*. lost}ta I pāduka śrī mahārāja de{3 *akṣ*. lost} mataṅyan· Inubhaya-sanma(ta) sapaṁh[ya]ṁ {5 *akṣ*. lost} [pāduka śrī mahā]rāja, maka**(b)**cihna, An· vineḥ makmitana **(C)** sa[ṁ h]ya[ṅ ājñā haji praśāsti tinaṇḍa garu]ḍamukha, maka[rasa An· prasiddha rāma]nta[190] I bularu[t]· sapa[su]k thāni para dūvān· sumīma thani rāmanta **(d)** pramā[ṇa I] sa-l(ba)[k·-vukirni(ṁ) thā-

(12A)ni rāman[ta] (k)a{1 *akṣ*. ille.}yakan·[191] makādi savaḥ gagā, kbvan· mvaḥ Alas·, Ṟnək·, drab[ya ha]ji, tpi-tpi saprakā[ra] {9 *akṣ*. lost} (ti)**(b)**ṅ-[ha]l piṅhai mvaṁ sakveḥnira vi**(C)**neḥ tiṅ[ha]l· [pi]ṅhai [saṅ anāgata] prabhu, hlam· tka r[i] dl[āhaniṁ dlāha] kevalā rāmanta I bularut· [ju]ga pramāna[192] Irikā, Atəhər· ta rā**(d)**manta I bularut· sapas[u]k [th]ā[n]i

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186. This could also be inserted before *Aṅgit·* in the previous line.

187. The figure of *si* Cəṅek is also mentioned in the Kusambyan inscription (A34). However, the structure of the sentence seems too different to help us decipher the lost preceding *akṣara*s. Observing the following passage from the Pucangan inscription (B26–29), *śrī mahārāja [sa]-(ṅka)ni hilaṁniṁ sahanani han(i)-hanituniṁ yavadvīpa, kunaṁ kramani kahilaṁ haji vəṅkər· de śrī mahārāja, [mū]la kaḍatvani(ra) ri kapaṁ sira naṁ pratiniyata hinārohara deśanirāṅkən· Asuji-māsa de śrī mahārāja, muvaḥ Irikāṁ śakakāla 95[7] vvay ata, samaṁkana (ta) sirar kaparājaya ri kapaṁ de śrī mahārāja, sirāmriḥ manusup amet· deśa durgga, matiṅgal· tanaya dāra tka riṁ rājadrabya rājavāhana prakāra, ri kahləmanya Irikāṁ śakakāla 959 vaṟgg anusup· haji ri kapaṁ mvaṁ balanira samāsiḥ ri sira*, one wonders whether the word ending *-tu* at the beginning of this line was *hanitu*. But we cannot be certain as there is no structural similarity between that passage and ours here.

188. *[ta]n· kapālaṅ-alaṁ suṣ[ṭu](bha)k[t]i [I] pāduka śrī mahārā[ja, lot ka]huda⟨na⟩n· kapvayān· kadadaḥ jĭvita* {8 *akṣ*. lost}*n· pāduka śrī mahārāja* ◇ corr. *kapyayān·*. Cf. Adulengen 2r2–2r3 *tan· kapālaṅ-alaṁ susṭubhakti I pāduka śrī mahārāja, lot kahudanan·, kapyayān·, An paṅekānta I pāduka śrī mahārāja*. The expression *kadadaḥ jĭvita* is synonymous with *makatoḥ svajīvitanyan·* in Kusambyan A33.

189. Norm. *suṣṭu*. We might expect *kasuṣṭubhaktin·* as found in a few other Airlangga inscriptions. But the intended syntax here may have been a bit different: 'the devotion of the elders was steadfast'.

190. *maka[rasa An· prasiddha rāma]nta* ◇ cf. Cane Ab29 *tinaṇḍa garuḍamukha, makarasa An· prasiddha sumīma thāninya*.

191. *(k)a*{1 *akṣ*. ille.}*yakan·* ◇ possibly restore *kabayakan·* and then emend to *kabayān·*?

192. Norm. *pramāṇa*.

(13A) {5 *akṣ*. lost}· makādi kabayān· An· kapva pūrbvaR̥ṇna (I) mahābhăra-(n)i turunyānugraha pāduka śrī ma[hārāja] {10 *akṣ*. lost}· **(b)** {8 *akṣ*. lost} (n)ya {1 *akṣ*. ille.}**(C)**{1 *akṣ*. ille.}paR̥ṅ ri rāma[nta] {9 *akṣ*. lost}· hārohara parāṁmukha I p[āduka ś]rī mahārā[ja], Athava, manibāna A{1 *akṣ*. ille.} (vas)a I rāma[n]ta kunaṁ An kapo **(d)** juga t(a){1 *akṣ*. lost}yən· {5 *akṣ*. lost}

(14A) {5 *akṣ*. lost}· savka-vet· rāmanta An· kapvātikā pranata[193] bhaktya {2 *akṣ*. lost}la I savka-vet· santāna pāduka śrī [mahārāja] {10 *akṣ*. lost}· **(b)** {5 *akṣ*. lost} [turun]yānugra**(C)**ha pāduka [śrī mahārāja] {4 *akṣ*. lost} hnəṅa rāmanta yăvat· hanā {5 *akṣ*. lost}n·[194] Avaghāta parāṁmukha [d]e pāduka śrī mahārāja {1 *akṣ*. lost} **(d)** {1 *akṣ*. lost} {body ille.}u kalana (I) {5 *akṣ*. lost}

(15A) {4 *akṣ*. lost}tura (Ika) carvan· saṁ hyaṁ vatu {2 *akṣ*. ille.}ga, Aṅkən· māsa {body ille.}i {5 *akṣ*. lost} saṁ hyaṁ kaḍatvan· pa{1 *akṣ*. ille.} {13 *akṣ*. lost} **(b)** {3 *akṣ*. lost} [pāduka śrī] (ma)hārāja **(C)** (s)atu{1 *akṣ*. ille.} {11 *akṣ*. lost}, tan· knā riṁ parabyapāra, tan katam[āna] d[e]ni vinava saṁ māna katrīṇī, paṅkur·, tavan·, tirip·, [pi]**(d)**[ṅhai vahu]ta rāma [lāvan· sa]-

(16A)[prakāra] saṁ maṅilala drabya haji vulu-vulu riṁ da[ṅu makādi miśra, paramiśra, paṅuraṁ, kriṁ, paḍam·, manimpiki, paranakan·, lim]u[s] ga-[l]u[ḥ,] **(b)** [maṁrī]ñca, ma(ṅ)[huri, paraṁ, suṅka, dhū]**(C)**[ra,] pa[ṅar]u[han·, taji, vatu tajəm·, su]kun·, halu varak·, ramanaṁ, [ra]kasaṁ, pinil(ai)[, ka]-taṁgaran·, tapa haji, Air haji, mala[ndaṁ, lca, lablab·, paka]**(d)**[laṅkaṁ, kutak·,] ta(ṅ)[ki·, tr̥pan·,]

(17A) salyut·[, s]inagiha, liṅgaṁ, kyab·, [sr̥ka]n·, vatu va[laṁ] {23 *akṣ*. lost} [tiṁ]kəs·, ma**(b)**vī, manambaṅi, [ta]ṅhiran·, tuha (da)**(C)**gaṁ, juru gosali, maṁrumb(ai)[, maṁguñjai], tuha⟨n⟩ nambi, t[u]ha juḍī, juru huñjəman·, juru jalir·, pabi[sar·, pa](gu)luṁ, pavuṁkunuṁ, {7 *akṣ*. lost} **(d)** {4 *akṣ*. lost}(na)ṅi{1 *akṣ*. lost}·, makarapa, vli

(18A) hapū, vli vaduṁ[, vli] tambaṁ, vli pañj[u]t·[, vli] haR̥ṁ, palamak·, {25 *akṣ*. lost} [hopa]n·, **(b)** panrāṅan·, [pa]bayai, skar tahu**(C)**n·, juṁk[uṁ], pāṅin-aṅin·, pamavasya, (pa){2 *akṣ*. lost} {2 *akṣ*. ille.}l(a)ḥ, pobha(ya), pombuk·, davut urus·, kipa-kipa[ḥ,] panusuḥ, mahaliman·, {8 *akṣ*. lost} **(d)** {4 *akṣ*. lost} [pavu]vuḥ⟨,⟩ kḍi, valyan·⟨,⟩ ma-

(19A)paḍahi, vi[du ma]ṅiduṁ, sambal· [su]mbul·, hulun [ha]ji, [j]ə[ṅgi, siṅgaḥ, pamr̥ṣi,] (ma)vulu[ṁ]-vulu[ṁ, vatək i jro Itye]vamădi ka[beḥ] {2–3 *akṣ*. lost} [sukhaduḥ](kha) **(b)** kady a[ṅgāniṁ] mayaṁ tan (pa)[vvaḥ, va]**(C)**[lu ru]mambat iṁ natar·, vipati, vaṁkay·, kabunan·⟨,⟩ raḥ kasavur iṁ dalan·, duhilatən·, hidu kasirat·, sāhasa, hastacapa[la,] **(d)** [mamijila]-kən· vu-

(20A)[r]i[n]iṁ [kikir·, mamuk]·, mamuṁpaṁ, lūdan·, [tūtan·, A]ṅśa [prat]ya-[ṅśa, ḍə]ṇḍa kuḍeṇḍa(,) maṇḍihalādi pra[kā]ra tka ri tuṇḍ(a){6 *akṣ*. lost} **(b)** {3 *akṣ*. lost}ḥ Irikaṁ thā(n)i I bu**(C)**larut·, kevalā rāmanta I b[u]larut·

193. Norm. *praṇata*.

194. *hanā* {5 *akṣ*. lost}*n*· ◇ it seems that *akṣara*s are inserted under this part. We read *(ntu)…(yā)*.

sapasuk thāni para duvān· juga pramāna[195] Irik(ā), maṅkana turunyānugraha pāduka śrī ma[hārā]**(d)**[ja] {8 *akṣ*. lost}

(21A) {10 *akṣ*. lost}baḥ, ṚṚb·, hūnur·, \pəḍit·/ manut·, bhanumān·, manu{1 *akṣ*. lost}·, {1 *akṣ*. ille.}ntən·, trinəm·, raras·, somo(he), {3 *akṣ*. lost} {2 *akṣ*. ille.}**(b)**m·, ka{1 *akṣ*. ille.}sabot·, sali**(C)**t·, bajən·, paruha, rāman·, Irup·, toṅga, {body ille.}olo, havalan·, sugama〈,〉 pavuṅan·, rimbun·, lodi, ba{4 *akṣ*. lost} **(d)** {9 *akṣ*. lost}

(22A) {4 *akṣ*. lost}(ka)sī, dinəm·, {2 *akṣ*. lost}mān·, Agrini, varaga, bogolo, tguḥ, {3 *akṣ*. lost}·, dagasan·, (ṭ)aṅi, {1 *akṣ*. lost}umava, liṅgamān·〈,〉 {1 *akṣ*. ille.}ya**(b)**nī, sa{2 *akṣ*. lost} koṭanavil· **(C)**, resan·, səvəː, sa{3 *akṣ*. lost}, p(u)trī, li{2 *akṣ*. lost}·, jaga(vva), bindəl·, svatī, (ṭo)ṅvaṁ, Udra, saṅkəp·〈,〉 Ḷvu, suka, giso{4 *akṣ*. lost} **(d)** {9 *akṣ*. lost}

(23A) {2 *akṣ*. lost}yut·, gusar·, pəṇḍil·, {1 *akṣ*. lost}tan·, kotol·, sukatan·, yuki, surati, dəṅ(ə)n·, gu{1 *akṣ*. ille.}tu, Undiga, gintya, \nini/ pa{2 *akṣ*. lost} **(b)** {1 *akṣ*. lost}{body lost}iḍā, pəṇḍal· **(C)**, gosikā, ma{3 *akṣ*. lost}· kaka(n)urut· batu madəg(a) kabayan·, mvaṁ lajər·, gosta, vinkas· {1 *akṣ*. ille.}laṅaḥ, pabā{6 *akṣ*. lost} **(d)** {3 *akṣ*. lost}d·, patṅa{3 *akṣ*. lost}

(24A) {2 *akṣ*. lost}{body ille.}i bamāna, kāla kabayan· {2 *akṣ*. lost}{body lost}əg·, saṁ hyaṁ rā(ja) prasast(i)[196] vatu [t]i(t)i(k)· ga{3 *akṣ*. ille.}· kaki yo{body ille.}ī, caṇḍi vatu, {body ille.}i{1 *akṣ*. ille.}ta{1 *akṣ*. lost} **(b)** {2 *akṣ*. lost}, pabāra(lan)· turuka**(C)**ni, yā{3 *akṣ*. lost} (sa)rakama {2 *akṣ*. lost} tan· yatna Umulah-u[laḥ] A[n]ugra[ha p]āduka śrī mahārāja I [rā]manta I bu[larut·] {4 *akṣ*. lost} **(d)** {3 *akṣ*. lost}vā(n)· {4 *akṣ*. lost}

(25A) [saṅ]kanani pramādanya, salvi[r]n[iṁ] la(ṅgha)[na saṁ hya]ṅ ājñā haji lviranya, knāna ya nigraha mā (ka 2) su (1) Atəhər salvirniṁ pañca **(b)**gahapātaka[197] (bh)[uktinya] **(C)** [riṅ ihā]traparātra [Indaḥ ta] kita kamuṁ hyaṁ [de]va sakala (s)ūkṣma Agas[t]i [maharṣi] sahananta sa[r](v)va[devata kabeḥ] **(d)** [pūrbva dak]ṣiṇa,[198] paścima, U-

(26A)t[ta]rāgneya[199] neriti bāyabya, Aiśanyāmā[dh]ya, Urdhamadhaḥ, yāvat· hana {8 *akṣ*. lost} {1 *akṣ*. ille.} sīma ɾ**(b)**ṅke bularut· {4 *akṣ*. lost} **(C)** {1 *akṣ*. lost} [ka]mu hyaṁ pañcamāhabhūta deyantat· {1 *akṣ*. ille.}pa, taruṁ riṅ adəgan· tampya[lˑ] {2 *akṣ*. lost}ṅguhan· səṅkākən· ri {5 *akṣ*. lost} **(d)** {2 *akṣ*. lost} [A]təhər· tutuḥ tu[ṇḍa]-

(27A)[nya] siva[k] kapālanya cavuk utəknya blaḥ ḍaḍanya (ḍ)[uḍu]k· hatinya,

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195. Norm. *pramāṇa*.

196. Norm. *praśasti*.

197. The scribe may have been confused between *pañcagatisaṅsāra* (Sima Anglayang 4r1) and *pañcamahāpātaka*. Corr. *pañcamahāpātaka*.

198. *[pūrbva dak]ṣiṇa* ◇ above *ṣiṇa* we see the *akṣara*s *mān·*, possibly belonging to the previous line.

199. *Ut[ta]rāgneya* ◇ above *t[ta]*, what seems to be an *akṣara to* is inserted, though it could perhaps be *Utā* and it could belong to the line above.

Uḍul· pahu(ṁ)nya {5 *akṣ*. lost} paṅan dagiṁnya Inu**(b)**m· rāḥ[nya] vkasakən· havu **(C)** kerir·, Atma⟨ha⟩nya sikəp· bəbəd· tibā(ka)[n·] riṅ aveci {body ille.}i{2 *akṣ*. lost}(ga)nniṁ kavaḥ ya[ma] palun· sakitana de saṁ {5 *akṣ*. lost} **(d)** {9 *akṣ*. lost} [sa]-

(28A)mpalən· deni rākṣasa, sambəR̥niṁ glap·, tan· pahudan· yan para ya riṅ alas[· sa]hutəniṅ ulā yan para {2 *akṣ*. lost} **(b)** {1 *akṣ*. lost}{1 *akṣ*. ille.}· sa[hu]təniṁ vuha[ya] **(C)** Ala[pən·] saṁ hyaṁ daL̥m er·, {12 *akṣ*. lost}{1 *akṣ*. ille.}ma{3 *akṣ*. ille.} {3 *akṣ*. lost}nahamana {2 *akṣ*. ille.}{body ille.}i{3 *akṣ*. ille.} {4 *akṣ*. lost} **(d)** {10 *akṣ*. lost}

Additional Part

Face C

(1) pada {± 10 *akṣ*. lost}
(2) Aṅulaṁ sapi, [Aṅu]la[ṁ] vḍus·, Aṅulaṁ ce[leṁ] {± 4 *akṣ*. lost} [A]-
(3)ṇḍaḥ savantayan·, pa[ṇḍ]e [vs]i tluṁ paR̥n·, Agritan [sapasaṁ, Amutər·,]
(4) [kulu]mpaṁ, paṇ[ḍe tāmra paṇḍe mās· pa]ṇḍ[e] gaṅśa rvaṁ[200] ⟨pa⟩R̥n·, Ama[la-malam] {2–3 *akṣ*. lost} A-
(5) {± 4 *akṣ*. lost} Avada rvaṁ sā[ra] {7 *akṣ*. lost} mara rvaṁ sā[ra] {1 *akṣ*. lost}
(6) {± 18 *akṣ*. lost} {1 *akṣ*. ille.}r· Aparahu rvaṁ sā[ra] {2 *akṣ*. lost}(ma)r[va]ṁ sā[ra] {± 2–3 *akṣ*. lost}

Face e (upper left)

(1) {2 *akṣ*. lost}{1 *akṣ*. ille.}· _ _ _ _ _
(2) {2 *akṣ*. lost}{1 *akṣ*. ille.}vata(ra){1 *akṣ*. ille.}{2 *akṣ*. lost}
(3) [turunyā]nugraha [pā]duka śr[ī]
(4) [mahārāja] (gaṅa pu) {2 *akṣ*. lost} rvaṁ sāra
(5) {2 *akṣ*. lost}{2 *akṣ*. ille.}ti{1 *akṣ*. ille.} (sā)ra
(6) {3 *akṣ*. lost}{1 *akṣ*. ille.}s· {1 *akṣ*. ille.} _ _ _
(7) [prakā]raniṁ [dval· pi]nikul·
(8) {± 7 *akṣ*. lost} {2 *akṣ*. ille.}
(9) {± 9 *akṣ*. lost}
(10) tuha{± 7 *akṣ*. lost}[201]
(11) kabeḥ [Ikaṁ samaṅkana ta]-
(12)n· knana de [saṁ maṅilala dra]-
(13)bya haji, [Asiṁ deśa parāna]-
(14)nya ndan· (ma)[kmitana ya tuli]-
(15)s·, ma[ṅ](k)e [lvīranya,] {± 3 *akṣ*. lost}

200. The occurrences of *rvaṁ* on this face and on face f are all written with *pasangan v* below *akṣara r*, not with *layar* atop *v*.

201. Based on parallels in Cane (Cd20–21) and Patakan (B22), we would like to restore here *tuha[n ataḥ hīṅananya, salviraniṁ bhaṇḍanya]*, but there does not seem to be enough space for all those *akṣara*s.

Face f (upper right)

(1) {1 *akṣ*. lost} {1 *akṣ*. ille.} (Ara)ṇḍə rva(ṁ) (s)[āra]
(2) {1 *akṣ*. lost} {1 *akṣ*. ille.}ulā rvaṁ s[āra] {± 3 *akṣ*. lost}
(3) {± 3 *akṣ*. lost}caṁ rvaṁ s[āra] {± 2 *akṣ*. lost}
(4) {± 4 *akṣ*. lost} rvaṁ s[āra] {± 2 *akṣ*. lost}
(5) ya rvaṁ sāra, A{± 2 *akṣ*. lost}
(6) Adagaṁ bras· {± 2 *akṣ*. lost}
(7) {± 9 *akṣ*. lost}
(8) {± 9 *akṣ*. lost}
(9) {± 9 *akṣ*. lost}
(10) {± 9 *akṣ*. lost}
(11) {± 9 *akṣ*. lost}
(12) {± 9 *akṣ*. lost}
(13) {± 9 *akṣ*. lost}
(14) {± 9 *akṣ*. lost}
(15) {± 3 *akṣ*. lost}(mā) [r]vaṁ sāra

6.4. Sima Anglayang

6.4.1. Introduction

The inscription we edit here is a reissue that, judging by the script, must have been made in the Majapahit period, of a series of edicts, all of which — to the extent we can tell in the parts of the inscription as we have them today — were originally issued by Airlangga. The reissue was made on more than seventeen large plates, and must have counted among the longest copperplate charters of Java when it was manufactured.

6.4.1.1. Overview

The set of plates constituting the reissue has had an unusually checkered history of discovery and publication, and we begin our discussion with a brief overview of the preserved plates in chronological order of their coming to light:

1928 — number 8 and a plate without number preserved: These two plates were shown by a certain Mr. Soenito in Soerakarta to Stutterheim, who read the text and published it without translation or reproduction. Both plates were said to originate in the Malang area. The second was only a fragment of a hook-shape cut out of a plate. Although we are not certain as to its number, which may also have been 9 or 11, we shall henceforth designate it as plate 10. The present whereabouts of both plates published by Stutterheim are unknown.

1936 — number 17: The text on this plate was published by Poerbatjaraka (1936), who reported that the plate was kept at a Museum in Malang (where it bore number R.M. 882). The plate was transferred to Museum Nasional, Jakarta, at an unknown date and recorded there under inv. no. E.91. It was published again by Boechari (1985–1986), who wrongly states that the plate "merupakan lempeng ke-18" (misreading 18 for 17). We documented it at Museum Nasional in 2019.

1997 — numbers 4, 13, 14, and 16: The text on these plates was provisionally published by Titi Surti Nastiti (2016a) on the basis of xerox copies furnished to her by Jan Wisseman Christie, who had obtained these when Annabel Gallop consulted her in 1997, on behalf of the British Library, about an offer of sale made by the USA-based antique dealer Jim Singer. It is unknown to which party these plates were sold after the offer had been rejected by the British Library. The present whereabouts of these plates are unknown.

2017 — number 5: The text on this plate has not previously been published. The plate was unknown until 2017, when mediocre photos of both sides were shared with Arlo Griffiths by Hadi Sidomulyo, who had received them from Hery Kurniawan, a Malang-based medical doctor and history enthusiast. It was subsequently determined by Eko Bastiawan that the plate was held by Jati Kusumo, a Malang-based artist and collector of heirlooms, when those photos were taken. It was also at Jati Kusumo's house that a video of the plate was taken in 2017, which came into our hands in the summer of 2021. Stills from this video have allowed us to confirm and correct our provisional reading based on the aforementioned photographs. At the time of this writing, we have not yet been able to confirm whether the plate is still held by Jati Kusumo. We have understood that at least three groups of scholars have visited Jati Kusumo and documented the plate, but as far as we are aware this has not led to any written report let alone publication.

While nothing is known about the precise provenance of even one of these 8 plates, we have seen that there is a repeated association with Malang or the Malang area. The only plate whose present whereabouts is known with certainty is the one that bears number 17. Since this plate does not contain the end of the text, it is clear that the set must have extended over at least 18 plates. Of these, we see that only 8 have so far come to light, and out of these 8, two entirely lack any visual documentation (plates 8 and 10), four can be studied only on the basis of mediocre black and white xerox copies (4, 13, 14, 16), one only based on mediocre photographs and a video (5). It is only the 17th plate that we have been able to study with satisfactory documentation. This plate measures 10 cm in height, 44 in width and 0.1 in thickness. Height and width agree exactly with the measurements recorded for plates 8 and 10 by Stutterheim (see below), while no measurements have been recorded for the other known plates. All plates bear 7 lines of text on both sides, with between 58 and 69 (or an average of about 63) *akṣara*s per line. Plate numbers are engraved in the left margins of the verso sides. In all cases where we are able to judge from visual evidence, we have observed the same, relatively simple (not ornate) Majapahit-period script.

6.4.1.2. History of research

The history of research on this charter starts nearly a century ago, when Stutterheim opened an article as follows (1928: 105):

> Two bronze plates, one of which heavily mutilated, were handed over to me by Mr. Soenito in Soerakarta for study. The one, intact plate bears

> plate number 8, while the fragment does not show a number. This fragment has been damaged by very deliberate alteration of the shape. For a number (probably two) of hooks have been cut from the plate, the shortest leg also being wider than the long one, and furnished with four screw holes. One of these hooks has been lost, the other is lying in front of me. Since no attention whatsoever has been paid to the letters in producing these hooks, damage other than that by cutting off can also be observed. Based on the script type, on the word divisions, etc., it may be assumed that the hook comes from a plate which belonged to the same set as that numbered with the figure 8. The plates' provenance is in the Malang area. The script suggests that we are dealing with a, not too young, reissue standing between that of K. O. XXII and K. O. II.[202] […]

Stutterheim records measurements 44 × 10 cm for plate 8. For the hook, he records length 26 cm, height 10.2 cm, width of the long leg 6 cm, width of the short leg 4.8 cm, and observes that "one of the angles of the long leg has been cut off hollow". Stutterheim does not make clear on what grounds he decided to present what remained readable of the text on the two faces of this fragment in the order that he did. Based on the occurrence of the phrases *hambā rakryan ryy avān hambā rakryan rājaputra kulaputra* and *makādi hambā rakryan śrī parameśvari*, Stutterheim proposed to date the plates to the Kediri period, or possibly to the time of Airlangga.

Several decades later, Jan Wisseman Christie (1998a: 373) discussed these two plates under the designation Manañjung and asserted a dating to Airlangga's time with more confidence, on the basis of "the language, the script, and some of the references in plate 8".[203] She pointed out the interest of the inclusion in this charter of "a number of terms known from Balinese charters of the same period, but not found in earlier Javanese charters", and noted that "Manañjung is mentioned in another inscription from the Brantas delta region—the charter of Sangguran, dated 928 A.D., about a century earlier than this inscription".[204] Wisseman Christie connected the fact that Sangguran "concerns the creation of a *sīma* benefice at the village of Sangguran to serve the god of the holy temple of the smiths at Manañjung", with "the reference to iron production in the first line of plate 8" of the "Manañjung" inscription. She did not entertain the possibility — in favor of which we argue below — that this "Manañjung" inscription forms part of the charter we are dealing with here, which her 1998 article was the first to make known to scholarship under the designation "Sima Anglayang". We must quote the same article here at length (Wisseman Christie 1998a: 374–376):

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202. These are, respectively, the Sobhamerta and Kuti charters, the latter known to have been reissued at the Majapahit court, the former presumably somewhat earlier. See Griffiths 2020: 118 (about Sobhamerta) and 133–135 (about Kuti).

203. The allusion to the script seems to be based on a misunderstanding of Stutterheim's words. As we are dealing with a reissue, the script could never prove the dating to the reign of Airlangga.

204. Wisseman Christie incorrectly suggests that the Sangguran stone originates from the Brantas river's delta; rather, it originates from near Ngandat (Krom 1917) close to the two sources of the river, in the *kotamadya* Batu (Blasius Suprapta 2015: 172).

The copper-plate inscription of Sīma Anglayang comes from an unknown location in east Java. The surviving plates are those numbered 4, 13, 14, and 16 of a longer set, which appears to be a Majapahit period archive copy of a series of related charters, first issued during the reign of Airlangga in the first half of the eleventh century. The name of Airlangga, and the only surviving date are found in the middle of plate 16, where a new text begins. This date, of Śaka 968 (1046 A.D.), extends by four years the previously known dates of Airlangga's reign. The other plates appear to have contained copies granted at earlier dates in Airlangga's reign. The text on plate 4 is part of the first document in the series. Although the date is missing, there are strong parallels between this text and other early Airlangga charters. The text on plates 13, 14 and 16a all belong to a later document. The names of officials appear in other charters dated between 1034 and 1041 A.D., in the document that begins on plate 16. There was, in addition, almost certainly another document on the missing plates between 4 and 13.[205] Thus, this fourteenth-century archive copy must have included at least four eleventh-century texts, originally issued over a period of at least a dozen years, all of which were considered by the copyists to have been closely linked. It is interesting to note that the text on plate 14 refers to an original charter issued by one of Airlangga's predecessors, which Airlangga updated and reconfirmed.

These documents were all apparently issued to confirm the entitlements and responsibilities of merchant groups (*baṇigrāma*) whose trading activities carried them throughout the Javanese state. As in the Manañjung charter, there are clear Balinese parallels—particularly with charters issued during the same period relating to the port of Julah on Bali's north coast,[206] and both share the same vocabulary. There are close parallels between the general contents of this series of charters and that of Manañjung, in addition to the fact that both inscriptions include references to royal interest in the trade in iron. There is also considerable overlap between the two inscriptions in the names of administrative regions; few of these names appear to have survived into the Majapahit period. Whereas the charter of Manañjung had involved only the *baṇigrama parawulu* of the apanage district of Kanuruhan, in the Brantas delta, the focus of the regulations in this series is the *baṇigrama parawulu pañcadeśa* (the merchant association of all regions).[207] The Old Javanese term *parawulu*, attached to the term for merchant association, *baṇigrāma* (Sanskrit, *vaṇig-grāma*) appears to indicate that the group involved was large and included non-elite membership. The term *parawulu* was, in other contexts, associated with long lists of low-level officials who had rights to collect certain taxes on behalf of the ruler. The term *pañcadeśa* (borrowed from Sanskrit) refers to all regions within the state.

The unique feature of this series of documents is the fact that it does not relate to a specific place. Most *sīma* (tax grant) charters relate to specific settlements, or parts thereof, with clear physical boundaries. This *sīma anglayang* was a "flying" *sīma*, that is, one that related to a mobile group of people—the *baṇigrāma parawulu* of all regions—no matter where they traded within the state.

205. This is where the "Mananjung" charter fits in.

206. Here, Wisseman Christie adds a note (n. 62) citing inscriptions edited by Brandes and Goris.

207. The availability of plate no. 5 now shows that Wisseman Christie's impression of difference expressed here was wrong, as both the *baṇigrāma para vulu* of Kanuruhan (besides *baṇigrāma para vulu* of Manañjuṅ and of Valaṇḍit) and the *baṇigrāma para vulu pañcadeśa* are mentioned.

The author goes on to offer substantial extracts in translation plus summaries of the untranslated parts of plates, based on her own provisional reading. The text of these four plates was published only twenty years later, by Titi Surti Nastiti (2016a: 414–420), who could offer a few historical comments on the data contained in the text (2016a: 133–134, 332) but did not include a translation.

Plate number 17 was edited with Dutch translation by Poerbatjaraka (1936: 384–387), who noticed, on the ground of the occurrence of the word *ājñā haji mataṇḍa garuḍamukha* (17r7), that the inscription must date to the reign of Airlangga. Fifty years later, the same plate was included in Boechari's publication of copperplate inscriptions in the National Museum at Jakarta (1985–1986: 191–192). Boechari does not refer to Poerbatjaraka's publication, so he may not have realized that the plate had already been published. The text of this plate was recently included also in a compilation of inscriptions kept at Museum Nasional by Edhie Wurjantoro (2018: no. 96, 639–643), which basically reproduces Boechari's reading (including the mistaken reading of the plate number as 18), though with addition of footnotes mentioning variant readings by Poerbatjaraka or offering corrections of the text. This publication also includes a translation into Indonesian. Neither Boechari nor Edhie Wurjantoro explicitly associates this inscription with Airlangga.

Despite the fact that three plates have been known to scholarship for nearly a century, while four more plates have been known since 1998, and despite explicit assertions by Stutterheim, Poerbatjaraka and Wisseman Christie that the plates they were dealing with are dated or datable to the reign of Airlangga, the Sima Anglayang charter is entirely missing from the dissertation and book dedicated to Airlangga by Ninie Susanti (2003, 2010).

The unity of the eight plates that we here reassemble for the first time is apparent from the consistency of the physical aspects of the plates (known measurements, number of lines per face, script style), from the repeated association of the known plates with Malang or the Malang area, and especially from contents — despite the challenge to interpretation that is posed by the incomplete preservation of the set.

6.4.1.3. Some notes on the inscription's contents

Correspondences with other Airlangga inscriptions

Since there is really no good reason to doubt our grouping of these eight plates together nor to question the conclusions already reached by Jan Wisseman Christie (based on six of the eight plates assembled here) about the fact that the several charters contained in this set were all issued by Airlangga, to reinforce these points we mention here only a few of the numerous terminological and even phraseological correspondences between this inscription and other charters of Airlangga. E.g., the expressions *pasarpan, poṣadhan* (17v4), *amet akar davu-davutan* (17v3), *amet kaka, mvaṅ inaṅ* (17v4), *aṅlpas bhasma* (17v4) are found elsewhere only in Kusambyan (B26–28); likewise, the phrase *tumūt usan śrī mahārāja* (17v5) is found only in Kusambyan (B29–30); the expression or toponym *thāni jumput*, occurring several times

on plates 5, 16 and 17, occurs elsewhere only in Kamalagyan (A8, A19); the expression *amutra hyaṅ* (17v7) is found elsewhere only in Turun Hyang (A6) and Pucangan (B24). See also our notes in §7 on *kamatan* (under *mata*), *kalen* (under *len*), *lañcuran*, *bhāṇḍa adəgan* and *patūt padulur*.

sarvadharma and *thāni jumput*

The repeated occurrences of the terms *sarvadharma* (on plate 4) and of the term *thāni jumput* (on plates 5, 16, 17) connect this inscription with Airlangga's Kamalagyan charter (A8 and A18–21). It is indeed remarkable that *thāni jumput* only occurs in the Kamalagyan and Sima Anglayang charters of Airlangga, before it reappears much later, as *dharma jumput*, in the Sarvadharma charter of 1191 Śaka. All three inscriptions where it occurs make repeated mention of the institution called Sarvadharma. Note also that Jumput figures among Buddhist foundations in *Deśavarṇana* 78.3. Although it figures among generic terms such as *vihāra* and *kalaṅ kalagyan* in the Kamalagyan and Sarvadharma charters, in the Sima Anglayang and *Deśavarṇana* contexts one has the impression that *(thāni) jumput* is a toponym, and apparently a central one from the point of view of the *deśāṣṭa-taṇḍa* — an odd term that seems to designate the fullest totality of space, perhaps represented by eight surrounding villages — repeatedly mentioned in Sima Anglayang. A village Djoempoet (Jumput) is seen near the coast to the east-northeast of Gedangan on *blad* 4 of the 19th-century map mentioned in §4.3; at about half of its distance from Gedangan, but to the southwest, the same map shows hamlets Djoempoet Koelon and Djoempoet Wetan, which correspond to Jumputrejo (*kec.* Sukodono, *kab.* Sidoarjo) on the contemporary map. This latter Jumput is, in turn, less than 5 km removed from Klagen, the village where the Kamalagyan inscription can still be found today. It seems very likely that the setting of the parts of the Sima Anglayang inscription that mention *thāni jumput* is to be sought in that part of East Java.

The expression *baṇigrāma para vulu pañcadeśa*

As recognized by Wisseman Christie, the inscription concerns the "entitlements and responsibilities of merchant groups (*baṇigrāma*)". The expression that is repeatedly used to designate the beneficiaries is *baṇigrāma para vulu pañcadeśa*, which she has glossed as meaning "the merchant association of all regions", with some further comments on the terms *baṇigrāma*, *para vulu* and *pañcadeśa* — see our full citation above. Now it appears to us that this expression — which is known also from the Garaman inscription issued in 975 Śaka by a successor of Airlangga[208] — is even richer in meaning than

208. Garaman (4r1–4v2) *... Inubhāyakən i lbuni pāduka śrī mahārāja, mapadagaṅanikanaṁ sīma iṅ garamān· ... Aṅalapa baṇḍa riṁ deśā dura lyan·, madodola ri siri[ṁ]nya, tan kasapa denī banigrama, para vulu sapañca deśa* 'It was also agreed by the dust [on the feet] of His Majesty the king that the inhabitants of the *sīma* of Garamān were allowed to trade [to a certain amount without paying taxes], … taking merchandise from other villages farther away, selling them at the surrounding villages, they would not be spoken to by other merchants and by all the *vulu*s of the five villages'. We have cited the edition by Boechari (2012: 507, 511–512), along with his translation, which of course differs from the way we would interpret the words *banigrama, para*

our predecessor imagined. Concretely, we believe that it must be connected generally with the merchant guilds *maṇigrāmam*, *nānādēsi* and *añcuvaṇṇam* known from Tamil epigraphy, and more specifically that part or whole of the Javanese expression is meant to be the Old Javanese equivalent of the Tamil name Añcuvaṇṇam, literally meaning 'The Five Varṇas (or Colors)'.[209]

The argument revolves around the term *vulu* which is extremely common in Old Javanese inscriptions, and capable of expressing a variety of meanings. See our entry *vulu* in §7, where we cite epigraphic evidence that establishes an explicit connection between the terms *varṇa* and *vulu*. If, on this basis, we are allowed to believe that *vulu* can in certain contexts mean 'color', and can also have the secondary meanings of Sanskrit *varṇa*, then the expression *baṇigrāma para vulu pañcadeśa* can be translated 'the merchant guild(s) of the *varṇa*s of the five directions'. And hence we obtain a sense that is evidently connected with the meaning of the Tamil term *añcuvaṇṇam*. The scholarly literature on this name of a Tamil merchant guild tends to mention it together with the names *maṇigrāmam* and *nānādēsi*, resonating with *baṇigrāma* and *pañcadeśa* in the Old Javanese expression. The publications we have consulted do not make clear what was the relationship between the guilds bearing those names in Tamil, and we must leave for future research to explore the historical connections between merchant guilds across the Bay of Bengal in the light of the new evidence that the Sima Anglayang and Garaman inscriptions have to offer.[210]

6.4.1.4. Editorial methodology

The text of plate 8 and of the one we provisionally designate as 10 is adapted here according to our transliteration system from Stutterheim's reading, which follows a less precise mode of transliteration. This means that all of Stutterheim's *ng*s have been interpreted by us as either *ṁ* or *ṅ* and that all *patén* signs we represent are inferred from the way Stutterheim records punctuation. We have the impression that Stutterheim's text is somewhat unreliable on the distinction between *ḥ* and *h*, *t* and *ṭ*, *d* and *ḍ*, and we are uncertain that he was correct in his choice of order of the two faces of plate 10, which we tentatively follow. The text of plates 4, 13, 14 and 16 has been re-edited using Titi Surti Nastiti's provisional edition as base-text, re-checked against the photocopies of the plates shared by Jan Wisseman Christie. The text of plate 5 is edited here for the first time on the basis of the materials mentioned above, while that of plate 17 was read directly from the plate at Museum Nasional.

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vulu sapañca deśa, and differs also from the way we would translate *deśa*, namely as 'direction', 'country' or 'region', depending on the context.

209. This idea has its origin in a suggestion made to us by Emmanuel Francis.

210. See Karashima 2009 and Subbarayalu 2012, chapter 14 ("*Añjuvaṇṇam*: A Maritime Trade Guild of Medieval Times", an essay previously published in 2001). These experts of South Indian history have not failed to notice that Javanese epigraphic evidence is relevant for the study of trade connections between South India and Java, but they tend to rely on outdated source materials for Javanese epigraphy, so that the expression discussed here has not so far become known outside of the narrow circle of specialists of early Java.

The distinction made between *ru* and *rū* in the script of these plates is often not so clear, and there is a strong preponderance of cases that look like *rū* where *ru* is expected. More generally, we doubt whether short and long *suku*s are distinguished at all, but we edit the text as though they were.

6.4.2. Text

Plate 4. recto. (fig. 37)

Fig. 37 — Sima Anglayang, plate 4, recto. Xerox copy received from J. Wisseman Christie.

(4r1) ri (ya)śa, Ann ikaṁ pjaḥ Anāpatya[211] ta ṅaranikā(ṁ) magavaya yaśa,[212] ma/ka\phalā[213] svarga ⟨ka⟩lpasanya saṁka ri pañcāgatisaṁsāra,[214] sadŭman marerikaṁ sumaṅgaḥ śara[ṇa]-

(4r2)n(ya) sĭmāṅlayaṁ, tan hana deyan· vihaṅa, mvaṁ tan sor·-lviha deniṁ madum· dṛbyanikaṁ pjaḥh anāpatya, maṅkana tiṅkaḥ vidhi pāduka śrĭ mahārāja I

(4r3) mpuṅku śaiva sogata Ṛṣi mahābrāhmaṇa, mvaṁ baṇigrāma para vulu pañcadeśa, tka rikaṁ sĭmāṅlayaṁ, samaṅāśraya I saṁ hyaṁ sarvvadharmma, mvaṁ samaṅasthă-

(4r4)na I jātakanira, makatəvək· ri kālani kocapanikaṁ Adagaṁ pjaḥ Anāpatya riṁ yaso mva[ṁ] mpuṅku riṁ yaśo ḍaṅ āryya jñănasena, yathānya-

(4r5)n menaka patut· padulur· mpuṅku śaiva sogata Ṛṣi, mahābrāhmaṇa, mvaṁ baṇigrāma para vulu pañcadeśa, sama marāśraya ri sa(ṁ) hyaṁ sarvvadha-

(4r6)rmma, Apan· kapvāpagəḥ rasa saṁ hyaṁ Ăjñā haji praśāsti kmitanira riṁ muhun[215] malama, Atəhər tājñā pāduka śrĭ mahārāja, I baṇigrāma para vulu pa-

(4r7)ñcadeśa, tka rikanaṁ sīmāṅlayaṁ samaṅasthăna I saṁ hyaṁ sarvvadharmma, An meṅətātaḥ baṇigrāma mvaṁṅ ikanaṁ sīmāṅlayaṁ kabeḥ samaṅāśraya ri saṁ hyaṁ ⟨sarvva⟩dha-

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211. *ikaṁ pjaḥ Anāpatya* ◇ the sense seems to require supplying *tan* either before *pjaḥ* or before *Anāpatya*.

212. *magavaya yaśa* ◇ corr. *magavay· yaśa*? Cf. Pucangan B30 *madaməl· yaśa*.

213. *ma/ka\phalā* ◇ the *akṣara* to be inserted is enclosed, below the line, in small signs looking like basic punctuation signs.

214. *svarga ⟨ka⟩lpasanya saṁka ri pañcāgatisaṁsāra* ◇ cf. *Agastyaparva* (ed. Gonda 1933: 394, line 24) *yatanyan ləpasa saṅka riṅ pañcagati-saṅsārārṇava* and *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu* (ed. Undang Ahmad Darsa 1998: 159, §11 last paragraph) *tan inucap makabalaṅ svarga kalpasən*.

215. *muhun* ◇ the reading with *m*- is secure.

Plate 4. verso. (fig. 38)

plate number: 4

Fig. 38 — Sima Anglayang, plate 4, verso. Xerox copy received from J. Wisseman Christie.

(4v1)(r)mma tka ri jātakanira, Irikana(ṁ) pūrvvasthiti sapinahayuni mamarāśraya ri lāgi, tan deyən· madaməl·-damla puriḥ,[216] makaphalā tan pamuharānya [p]r[a]-

(4v2)māda magəhi[217] baṇigrāma tka rikanaṁ sīmāṅlayaṁ kabeḥ, samaṅkana ri sḍəṅanyan· tan aṅgā baṇigrāma mvaṁ Ikanaṁ sĭmāṅlayaṁ kabeḥ, Irikanaṁ vi(dhi)

(4v3) pāduka śrĭ mahārāja, An· hayva baṇigrāma mvaṁṅ ikaṁ sīmāṅlayaṁ kabeḥ tamolaḥ mamarāśraya ri saṁ hyaṁ sarvvadharmma, yan· maṁkanā yāpvan·

(4v4) hana baṇigrāma mvaṁṅ ikaṁ sĭmāṅlayaṁ kamatān· kentasa tan pasuṁ ri kapālihani dṛbyanika(ṁ) madaga[ṁ] pjaḥ Anăpatya, yāvat tamolaḥ I saṁ hyaṁ sarvva-

(4v5)dharmma, mvaṁ paṅasthāna ri jātakanira,[218] ya saṁkanāni pramādanya, salvirniṁ laṅghana I saṁ hyaṁṅ ājñā haji lvirānya, knāna ya nigraha, mā (k)ā 1, su 5 //

(4v6) maṅkana rasany anugraha pāduka śrĭ mahārāja, I mpuṇku[219] śeva sogata Ṛṣi mahăbrāhmaṇa, kapagəhaknanira hlam· tka ri dlāhaniṁ dlāha(,) pra-

(4v7)tyeka taṇḍa rakryān· ri pakira-kirān·\,/ pinakasākṣīrikaṁ kāla, samgət· laṅka pu liṅir·, samgət· maṁhuryy aṅilala pu candragomi, samgət·

Plate 5. recto.

(5r1) tirvan· pu puṇḍarīka, samgət· lucəm· kabayan· pu ⟨mi⟩naghnapāda,[220] samgət· tugaran· kabayān· pu vuṅsu, rakryan· lasun·[221] mapapan· pu maṅuṇḍuḥ, rakrya-

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216. Cf. Kusambyan B32 and Adulengen 3r1–2 *tan pagavayakna puriḥ, mvaṁ vistăra, kevala sapūrvva-sthitinya sakapaṅgih riṁ muhun· malama juga pagəhaknanya lāvan tan· pintana saprakāra*.

217. *makaphalā tan pamuharānya [p]r[a]māda magəhi* ◇ cf. Baru Cdef8 *yathānya tan· pamuhara pramāda riṁ sira* and Anjatan 4r9 *yathānya tan pamuhara pramāda magə:ṁ I sira*. The latter parallel makes clear that we need to correct *magəhi* to *magəṅ i*.

218. *mvaṁ paṅasthāna ri jātakanira* ◇ corr. *maṅasthāna*. Cf. 4r3–4 *mvaṁ samaṅasthăna I jātakanira*.

219. *mpuṇku* ◇ scribal error for or sloppy execution of *mpuṅku*.

220. ⟨*mi*⟩*naghnapāda* ◇ restored after 16r2.

221. *lasun·* ◇ cf. n. 328 below.

(5r2)n· ram·ram· kabayan· pu Aśmara⟨nā⟩tha,[222] rakryan· lasun· vuṅkal· pu niṅhal· makăḍi /ra\kryan· kanuruhan· pu dharmmamūrtti narot⟨t⟩ama dānaśŭra pasək·
(5r3) , su 1, mā 4, kinabehanira, likita samgət· laṅka pu liṅir· // ⊙ // pratyekaniṁ maveḥ skar māsa I baṇigrāma para vulu I kanuruhan· I valaṇḍit·
(5r4) su 2, mā 8, mijilăṅkən· pūrṇnamāsani cetra-māsa |:| muvaḥ patahil·nire paṅavan·, skar māsa mā⟨⟨,⟩⟩ su 2, mā 8, I baṇigrāma para vulu mijilāṅkə§-
(5r5)n· pūrṇnamaniṁ cetra-māsa |:| I kahyaṅan· ri paḍaṁ skar māsa, mā su 2, mā 8, I baṇigrāma para vulu, mijilāṅkən· pūrṇnamaniṁ cetra-māsa |:| ri vnaṅani-
(5r6)re kahyaṁṅān· katrĭṇi mapa/da\gaṅa sāra, 32, Iṁ sakahyaṅān·, kunaṁ sinaṅguḥ sasāra mata pikul aməpəg· tan pabantal·, tuhun tan· vnaṁ mijil iṁ pkən· riṁ
(5r7) kanuruhan· |:| hana ta panityakarmanireṁ pabasanan· ri kaḍiri I baṇigrāma para vulu Iṁ kanuruhan·, su 1, mā 4, mijilāṅkən· pabalik·, I vnaṁṅanirā-

Plate 5. verso.

plate number: 5

(5v1)dva-dvala Iṁ deśāṣṭa-taṇḍa kasaṅa thāni jumput· makādi jro thāni kanuruhan· |:| muvaḥ patahilnireṁ pacāmaran· ri kaḍiri I baṇigrāma para vu-
(5v2)lu ri kanuruhan·, mā 5, mijilāṅkən· pabalik·, I vnaṅanirādva-dvala Iṁ deśāṣṭa-taṇḍa kasaṅa thāni jumput· makādi jro thāni kanuruhan·, parṇnaḥ
(5v3) pinakapaveḥ vnaṁ mamla-mlaḥ, muvaḥ hana ta patahilnire(ṁ) manañjuṁ panitya, mā su 2, mā 8, mijilāṅkən· pabalik·, Iṁ vnaṁṅaniṁ[223] mapadagaṅa moṇḍya, 100
(5v4) |:| kunaṁ patahil· baṇigrāma para vulu I sire(ṁ) manañjuṁ, mā su 1, mā 4, kasrahāṅkən· pabalik· |:| vvaya ta pamasaṁ-girinireṁ kamaṇḍalan· I baṇigrā-
(5v5)ma para vulu pañcadeśa, mā su 12, mā 8, mijilāṅkən· poṣya-māsa, I vnaṁṅanireṁ kamaṇḍalan·, mamvat· vulu baṇigrāma para vulu, lvirnya vsi pamaja timaḥ
(5v6) timbraḥ,[224] Aṣṭāṅgi⟨,⟩ malam·, lṅa⟨,⟩ lṅis·, luruṅan·,[225] madūmān ta baṇigrāma I kanuruhan·, I rampaḥ, I palṅan·, mā su 2, mā 8, Irikā ta yan· minaliḥ§
(5v7) baṇigrāma I rampaḥ, mvaṁ baṇigrāma I palṅan· |:| vvaya ta patahil· panityanikaṁ I gapuk·, mā 2, ku 2, I baṇigrāma para vulu I kanuruhan· miji-

222. *Aśmara⟨nā⟩tha* ◇ restored after 16v1.

223. *vnaṅaniṁ* ◇ corr. *vnaṅanira*.

224. *timbraḥ* ◇ corr. *tāmbra*.

225. *lṅa⟨,⟩ lṅis·, luruṅan·* ◇ this combination is not found elsewhere, nor do we find *lṅis* in any of the comparable passages. Comparing examples of the sequence *lṅa bras* in three Sindok inscriptions (Linggasuntan A25, Turyan A20, Alasantan 2r5), we have considered the possibility that *lṅis* is a mistake for *bras*. But Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan has pointed out to us that *lengis* is the standard word for 'oil' or 'lubricant' in Balinese and Tom Hoogervorst has cited the following further cognates: Sasak *lengis* 'oil', Tagalog *langis* 'coconut oil', and Kapampangan *langis* 'sesame'. Even though the only recorded meanings for Old Javanese are 'shine, gleam; smoothness, slipperiness' and Modern Javanese *lengis* means 'slippery', it may safely be presumed that *lṅis* could have expressed the meaning 'oil' also in Old Javanese. The word thus appears fitting between *lṅa* and *luruṅan*.

Plate 8. recto.

(8r1) sahanan paṅhaR̥pakan dval·, salvirniṅ[226] kasulakṣaṇan·, Atitabaja yaknaniran gəṅgə:ṁ svakarmma dagaṁ,[227] Umraddhyakəsa[228] vsi-vsi pāduka śrĭ mahārāja, ṅuni-

(8r2)veḥ saṁ hyaṁ pani⟨tya⟩karmma,[229] lāvan kadeyakna para panəṅgək iṁ rəmpaḥ, mvaṁ para panəṅgəknira ri ⟨ma⟩nañjuṁ, tan maṅakv-akva dvalnikā saṁ madagaṁ tan poṇḍi, tan

(8r3) pamisurupa dval·, kevalā priḥ-śarintən· mvaṁ /vu\ṅkalan ikaṁ pinahayu baṇigrāma para vulu ri kanuruhan·, karuhun para vargga I manañjuṁ, An kapva mā-

(8r4)jara ri sapanəṅgəknira samaṅlās kasavur kabeḥ, karuhun para panəṅgəknira ri rəmpaḥ, I vulu, samaṅantə ṅkai jro thāni kanuruhan·, kapva

(8r5) meṅət irikaṁ tinadāyakən·,[230] An prihən rakṣan· sāri-sāri, tan hana deyən manləsa mirica[231] kacaṁ hadas kasumū[232] jamuju, pañjlaṁ, vuṅkuḍu, ma/kă\di bra-

(8r6)s·, ya Ikā Inuhutakən·, sahtunya[233] riṁ lāgi, yan mirica kulak katipadhara,[234] miricā sakul iṅ sarehan·, hadas kati kulakanya, pa-

(8r7)ñjlaṁ, jamuju, vuṅkuḍu, kacaṁ, vuyaḥ pasagi kula⟨ka⟩nya, Anādin sukat sālaranya, sovaṁ-sovaṁ mvaṅ ikaṁ jasun cinaktan ya Ika kātyakna tum-

Plate 8. verso.

plate number: 8

(8v1)tana[235] sārgghanya, tan pahavana kulak katinikā maṅkana sireṁ pabrasan mājara sira ri panəṅgəknira, tan pakulaka sor sakeṅ ka-

(8v2)ti, kapaṅgiha mvaṁ[236] kulak sor sakeṅ kati, mvaṁ bras tinlas alapən bhaṇḍanira, Iku kulak· sivakan·, Atəhər sipatən iṅ mā 10

(8v3) maṅkana velānikaṁ pañcaśikṣa, Iṁ para panaṅgək iṁ pabrasan

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226. *salvirniṅ* ◇ Stutterheim (n. 2) reports that the *layar* is written in Indonesian mode.

227. *Atitabaja yaknaniran gəṅgə:ṁ svakarmma dagaṁ* ◇ Stutterheim's readings and word divisions are very likely to contain some mistakes, but we are unable to reconstruct the originally intended text.

228. *Umraddhyakəsa* ◇ corr. *Umṛddhyakəna*, as already proposed by Stutterheim (n. 3). The emendation seems to find confirmation in 13r7 *lāvan katon· ta hilaṁni vsi-vsi pāduka śrĭ mahārāja*, in the sense that the latter passage expresses the opposite idea.

229. *saṁ hyaṁ pani⟨tya⟩karmma* ◇ Stutterheim (n. 4) proposes to correct *pāṇikarmma*. But the emendation we propose is supported by other occurrences of *panityakarmma* in 5r7 and 13r7. To us, it seems that the words *saṁ hyaṁ* possibly require emendation to *maṁhyaṁ* or *paṁhyaṁ*.

230. *tinadāyakən·* ◇ corr. *kinadāyakən·*.

231. *mirica* ◇ Stutterheim (n. 2) proposes to correct *marica*. But the spelling with *mi* is repeated several times in this text.

232. *kasumū* ◇ corr. *kasumba*.

233. *sahtunya* ◇ corr. *savtunya*.

234. *katipadhara* ◇ corr. *kāṭi-Adhara*? Cf. *sor sakeṅ kati* below; the Sanskrit word *adhara* means 'lower, below' and would be a perfect translation of Old Javanese *sor*. In this and the next three lines, four more cases of *kati* should be normalized to *kāti* or *kāṭi*, and (if the latter spelling is preferred) *kātyakna* to *kāṭyakna*.

235. *tumtana* ◇ corr. *tumkana*? The fact that Stutterheim indicated a page and line-break between *m* and *t* (which latter we suspect to be an error for *k*) is surprising. One would expect a division *tu-mtana* or *tumta-na*. Did the plate really show *tum·-tana*?

236. *mvaṁ* ◇ corr. *pva*.

makabehān·, ṅuniveḥ para panaṅgəknire manañjuṁ,[237] Ulih baṇigrā-
(8v4)ma para vulu I kanuruhan maṅăpyăyanălapkna,[238] mvaṁ para vargga I manañjuṁ, tlas kinatuṅgalakən ikaṅ ləs-ləsəḥ vinahvan·, kunaṅ ikāṁ saṁ mananəm-
(8v5)nanəm·, tka riṅ paradeśa Iṁ vaharu〈,〉 hujuṁ, tagaran·, kanuruhan·, vvaryaṁ, masəṅhitāta ya tan linavanan ri sapakṣanyan pagavai kriyălā-
(8v6)bha, mājar-ajara riṁ sanāyakanira sovaṁ-sovaṁ, makāntaṅ apuṅkupuṅkuran ālapkna lāvan baṇigrāma para vulu riṁ kanuruhan·, ṅuniveḥ para
(8v7) vargga I manañjuṁ, ya Ikā sinamaya lañcaṅ kaṟ̥m i haṟ̥p·, kaṟ̥m i burit·, riṅ hala hayu maṅkanātaḥ, prasiddhaniṁ sampu binuddhi[239] samya, mvaṁ kaṛ-

Plate 10 (?). recto (?).

(10r1) {a few *akṣara*s lost?}[240] [va]dvā haji, hambā rakryan· ryy avān· hambā rakryan· rājuputra[241] kulaputra, makādi hambā rakrya-
(10r2)[n· strī ha]ji, makādi hambā rakryan· śrī parameśvari, tka ritan[242] piṅhai Akurug anak thāni, magalaḥ, ma-
(10r3)[mana]ḥ,[243] I pigsonyajā[244] śrī mahārāja, kumonakən sira Ajarən·, An tamolaḥ piṅi[t]iṁī-[245]
(10r4) -kanaṁ vvaṁniṅ kuśa-[246]
(10r5) -kṣā sadval-dvalan ri-
(10r6) [so]vaṁ-sovaṁ, duma-
(10r7) -ra-niṅa saṁ mahaṟ̥-

Plate 10 (?). verso (?).

(10v1) -hadyan agyava-
(10v2) -n ktəb·, I mana-[247]
(10v3) -vatu ḍəṅḍəṅ[248] kakik-
(10v4) -ta, I jajagu buddha-

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237. *manañjuṁ* ◇ *mañanjuṁ* Stutterheim. This is an error we can confidently ascribe to Stutterheim.

238. *maṅăpyăyanălapkna* ◇ *maṅapya yan alapkna* Stutterheim. We adopt the analysis of this string of *akṣara*s presented in *OJED* under *āpyāyana*.

239. *sampu binuddhi* ◇ corr. *sampu〈n·〉 śinuddhi*?

240. Stutterheim does not clearly describe whether there is systematic loss of *akṣara*s on the left ends of all lines on this face, but we infer that such is the case here from his restitutions at the beginnings of the next lines.

241. *rājuputra* ◇ corr. *rājaputra*.

242. *ritan* ◇ corr. *rikanaṁ*.

243. *ma[mana]ḥ* ◇ *ma- -ḥ* Stutterheim.

244. *pigsonyajā* ◇ corr. *piṅsornyājñā*.

245. *piṅi[t]iṁī-* ◇ possibly *piṅit-piṅit*?

246. *kuśa-* ◇ after this, Stutterheim inserts a footnote explaining the following: "The hiatus is caused by a screw hole. The traces of the letter that stood here point to *ra*."

247. *mana-* ◇ after this, Stutterheim inserts a footnote suggesting to restore *manañjuṁ*.

248. *vatu ḍəṅḍəṅ* ◇ Stutterheim (n. 5) suggests that this might mean something like 'crow's stone', *ḍəṅḍəṅ* then, according to Stutterheim, being a Madurese-like variant for *ḍaṅḍaṅ*.

(10v5) -(ma) para vulu ri kanuruhan·, mvaṁ para vargga I manañjuṁ, yan hana sira para panəṅgək· praladdha,[249] A-
(10v6) -ikāṅ antukniṁ manipat·, tan hanāniṁ vehən agəm gulā, maṅkana velāni tiṅkaḷnya tapāra-
(10v7) -t·, mvaṁ sireṁ patrusan prayatna || Ujar haji tinaḍaḥ rakryan mahāmantri I hino, Umi[ṅsor]-

Plate 13. recto. (fig. 39)

Fig. 39 — Sima Anglayang, plate 13, recto. Xerox copy received from J. Wisseman Christie.

(13r1)rāja, ya ta dvahanyan·[250] sakāma-kāmāpravṛtti, vnaṁ mapadaga(ṁ) Adoḥ sa(ṅk)ā ri gri(tanya) kalen· saṁkā ri vnaṁ manumbas· bhăṇḍa Aḍəgan·, lāvan ta vaneḥ maṁdadya-
(13r2)kan· prihati I baṇigrăma para vulu pañcadeśa(,) ri hananikāṁ mada(gaṁ) sampun· maniddhakan· drabya haji katapa-hajyan·, ya tikāmet· paṅalapan a(n)ya-
(13r3)sā\ra/ /sa\mbal·[251] sumbul·, tumiṅgalakan· ri sa(m)pun yāṅalap· Uṇḍi katapa-hajyan·, marapvan· tinisan· deni pabalap[252] anyasāra, maṅkana rasani hatur baṇigrăma para vu-
(13r4)lu pañcadeśa makabehan·, makādi juru para vulu, tumuluy· ka[253] taṇḍa rakryăn· ri pakira-kiran· miṚsəpakən· sapanambaḥ baṇigrăma para vulu pañcadeśa (I)
(13r5) (lbu)ni pāduka śrĭ mahārāja, Atəhər humyaṅakən· tan yuktinikāṁ madagaṁ huvus anarima Uṇḍi mgila ri samba\l·/ sumbul·, mvaṁ yogyă-yogyaniṁ pracāranikāṁ ma(gi)-
(13r6)liṅan· mapadagaṁ Adoha saṅke gritanya, kunaṁ saṁkā ri kāruṇyani lbuni pāduka śrĭ mahārāja, ri sa⟨pa⟩nambaḥnikanaṁ baṇigrăma para vulu pañcadeśa ma(ka-
(13r7)beha)n· makādi juru (para) vulu, lāvan katon· (ka)hilaṁni vsi-vsi pāduka śrĭ mahārāja, kalvaṅan· niyatanikaṁ drabya haji ka⟨tapa⟩-hajyan·, panityakarmma {2 *akṣ*. ille.}

249. *praladdha* ◇ Stutterheim (n. 6) suggests correcting this to *pralabdha*. In the light of 8v7, one might alternatively suggest *prasiddha*.

250. *ta dvahanyan·* ◇ corr. *kadvahanyan·* or *ta dvalanyan·*? Our translation supposes the latter.

251. *sā\ra/ /sa\mbal·* ◇ it seems that we have insertions both from above and from below the line. In the former case, one could even read two inserted *akṣara*s *ra*, or one *layar* plus *ra*, to get either *sārara* or *sārra*.

252. *pabalap* ◇ corr. *paṅalapan*, as in 13r2 and 13v2, or *paṅalap*?

253. *ka* ◇ corr. *ta*.

Plate 13. verso. (fig. 40)
plate number: 13

Fig. 40 — Sima Anglayang, plate 13, verso. Xerox copy received from J. Wisseman Christie.

(13v1) {4 *akṣ*. ille.}n· (ri sa)kevyən· pāduka śrī mahārāja sāri-sāri, yan ubhayānn atikā magritan· mapadagaṅādo〈ha〉 saṁke gritanya, mvaṁ (ta)n· hnəṅakna hika {1 *akṣ*. lost}
(13v2) {2 *akṣ*. ille.} (m)untən·[254] Anarima Uṇḍi, vkasan amet· sambal· sumbul· paṅalapan anyasāra(, mata)ṅyan turun· sanmatani lbu pāduka śrī mahārāja, I baṇigrăma para vulu pa-
(13v3)ñcadeśa, makacihna vine(ḷ) makmitana saṁ hyaṁ Ājñā haji pagəḥ-pagəḥ[255] Ātmarak(ṣā) baṇigrăma,[256] makarasa I vnaṅa baṇigrăma para vulu pañcadeśa, t(u)mibāna ma-
(13v4)padagaṁni(kaṁ ma)gritan· Uṇḍi sadeśa-paranya, sadva-dvalanya, sabhăṇḍānya, yăvat· kapva yādoha sake[257] gritanya, knāna juga ya drabya haji sadeni 〈tu〉(marime) dra-
(13v5)(bya ha)ji (katapa-hajyan)·, Apan· mandəl adagaṁ tan· poṇḍī[258] prasiddhiniṁ mali[ṁ] drabya haji ṅaranikā, An· vnaṁ sumambut· vulu baṇigrăma para vulu pañcadeśa tan· (§)
(13v6) [k]nanā[259] drabya haji katapa-hajyan·, maṁkana rasa saṁ hyaṁ Ăjñāji[260] kmitan· baṇigrăma para vulu pañcadeśa makabehān·(,) kinonakan· kayatnakna baṇigrăma
(13v7) (para) vulu (pañcade)śa, sādhana baṇigrăma para vulu An· knāna padagaṁnikaṁ magritan· drabya haji yan adoha sakeṁ giliṅan·, k(i)na(b)e-(ha)〈n·〉[261] baṇigrāma riṁ (pa-)

254. *hika* {1 *akṣ*. lost} {2 *akṣ*. ille.} *(m)untən·* ◇ it seems possible to read *dagaṁ* before *(m)untən·* on line 2, and one can imagine that *hikanaṁ* stood at the end of line 1. But we see no sense emerge from these possibilities.

255. *saṁ hyaṁ Ājñā haji pagəḥ-pagəḥ* ◇ the same formula is found in Munggut 1.18, Kusambyan (A37–38) and in Anjatan (4r2), but in the cases of Munggut and Kusambyan it contains the extra word *praśasti*.

256. *Ātmarakṣa baṇigrăma* ◇ cf. Jaring (1103 Śaka), A11–12: *saṅ hyaṅ rājapraśāsti ātmarakṣa-nyāpagəha apan śrī mahārāja rumakṣāmagəhakən ryy anugraha saṅ atĭtaprabhu*.

257. *sake* ◇ one might be tempted to read or normalize *saṁke*, but we encounter *sake* again in 13v7 and 14r6.

258. *poṇḍī* ◇ norm. *poṇḍi*. See 8r2.

259. *[k]nanā* ◇ corr. *knāna*.

260. *Ăjñāji* ◇ corr. *Ăjñā haji*.

261. *k(i)na(b)e(ha)〈n·〉* ◇ the entire reading is quite uncertain.

Plate 14. recto. (fig. 41)

Fig. 41 — Sima Anglayang, plate 14, recto. Xerox copy received from J. Wisseman Christie.

(14r1)grita⟨na⟩n·[262] ri sapinasukniṁ yavadvĭpa kabeḥ, lasun·, paḍa⟨ṁ⟩, paṅkaja,[263] kanurūhan·, lamajaṁ, panumbaṁṅan·, pavuyahan·, deśa luvuk·, vuravan·, kaḍaṅayan· ka[b]e[ḥ]
(14r2) tka rikanaṁ magiliṅan· maṁlās· kasavur sahana ri deśāntara, An· keṅətaknanya bhārani rasa saṁ hyaṁ Ăjñā haji pagəḥ-pagəḥ kmitan· baṇigrăma para vulu
(14r3) pañcadeśa makabeḥhān· ri tan· papadagaṁṅa baṇigrăma riṁ pagiliṅanan· Adoha saṁke giliṅanya, lāvan tan· panumbasa bhăṇḍădəgan· Asiṁ salviranya, A-
(14r4)pa tan inulah-ulaḥ pva pakmitan·[264] baṇigrăma riṁ pagritanan· saṁ hyaṁ Ăjñā haji Anugraha haji devatā saṅ atĭtaprabhū, An· tan· k⟨⟨n⟩⟩akna[265] de saṁ maṅilala drabya ha-
(14r5)ji vulu-vulu, pinagəhakan· ri vnaṁṅa baṇigrăma riṁ pagiliṅanan· mapadagaṁṅāpikul·-pikula, tan· svĭkārān· An padval avli strĭnikaṁ magiliṅan·, pinakasambya-
(14r6)sambyanyan· lampah abuñcaṁ-haji ⟨ja⟩lunya sumaddhakan·[266] sasuruhanya sake pāduka grī[267] mahārāja, saṅkānani paveḥnya drabya haji I samgət· vuṅkal· psat anand(ā)-
(14r7)(n)·[268] hiniṅā⟨nan·⟩[269] kvaihanya, An· rvaṁ siki papikul-pikulanya, yan· strĭ-strĭ pataṁ siki riṁ sagritan·, tan L̥viha saṁkerikā, Ikā tan adoha saṁke giliṅanya, sa-

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262. *(pa)grita⟨na⟩n·* ◇ our restoration of the *akṣara na* is based on the fact that *baṇigrāma riṁ pagritanan* is found in 14r4 while the apparently synonymous expression *baṇigrāma riṁ pagiliṅanan* occurs in 14r3 and 14r5. A very similar sentence is found in Patitihan 2v5 *kumonakən ikanaṁ baṇigrăma ⟨⟨pa⟩⟩riṁ patitihan·, sapinasukniṁ yavadvĭpa*.

263. *paḍa⟨ṁ⟩, paṅkaja* ◇ cf. Alasantan 3r4 *patiḥ maṁharap· babak· I paḍaṁ I paṅkaja saṁ baruṇa* and Tija & Haru-Haru 3r3 *Ikaṁ Avaju ri mapapan·, Avaju ri paḍaṁ, Avaju ri paṅkaja, Avaju ri paliñjvan·*.

264. *pakmitan·* ◇ the form *pakəmitan* is not attested in *OJED*, though *pakemitan* means 'waiting place' in Modern Javanese. There is one possible case in Kusambyan B13, but we tentatively read *makmitan* there. Should we correct *sakəmitan* here?

265. *k⟨⟨n⟩⟩akna* ◇ cf. Gandhakuti 3r1, Bimalasrama 8v4.

266. *sumaddhakan·* ◇ corr. *sumiddhakan·*.

267. *grī* ◇ corr. *śrī*.

268. *psat anand(ān)·* ◇ though the reading of most of these *akṣara*s is rather clear, we do not grasp their meaning and hence remain in doubt. We tentatively assume that *psat* is part of a toponym with preceding *vuṅkal*.

269. *hiniṅā⟨nan·⟩* ◇ the form *hiniṅanan* is not recorded in *OJED*, but occurs quite often in inscriptions. See, e.g., Cunggrang II 3r2, Wurandungan 3v, Cane Cd16, Bimalasrama 8r1.

Plate 14. verso. (fig. 42)
plate number: 14

Fig. 42 — Sima Anglayang, plate 14, verso. Xerox copy received from J. Wisseman Christie.

(14v1)sambhava[270] paṅantyananya taḥ pam(v)at·-mvatananya, tan deyən ata yān asat⟨y⟩a Irikaṁ huvus· kapara[271] ri saṁ (h)yaṁ Ājñā haji {2 *akṣ*. ille.}pa(n) ta(m)olaḥ Ubhaya ta kapva (ya)[272]
(14v2) deni l[bu](n)i (pā)du(ka ś)rī mahārāja (maṅa)nugraha ri baṇigrăma para vulu pañcadeśa, si tan· U(nā)nikaṁ drabya haji[273] katapa-hajyan· prayojana śrī mahārāja(,)
(14v3) mataṁnya(n·) (ki)nonakan· padagaṁ(n)ika(ṁ) magiliṅa(n)· knāna (U)ṇḍi (y)an adoḥ saṁke gritanya, lavan a(m)itādimukti[274] pāduka śrī mahārāja, ri vnaṅanikaṁ magi-
(14v4)liṅan· mapa(pikul-p)i⟨ku⟩(la) (rva)ṁ siki (y)an·[275] strĭ-strī pataṁ siki riṁ sagiliṅan· tan· kaknāna drabya haji(,) (t)uhun tan adoha saṁke giliṅanya, kunaṁ yatan· magəm anə(ṁ)-
(14v5)(gə)k·[276] Ikanaṁ magritan· I sara(sa saṁ hyaṁ) Ăjñā haji, kamatan ānumbasa bhăṇḍa Adəgan·, lāvan tatan· kaṅg(ək·) padaga(ṁ) Ḷ(vi)ha saṁkerikaṁ paṁhəṅ[277] iriya, mvaṁ yan a-
(14v6)doḥ (g)i(li)ṅanya (saṁ)k(eri)kaṁ pkan· (I) dva-dvalanya, kinonakan· ya Ṛgəpən· sakveḥni bhăṇḍanya, Atəhər knāna (ni)graha, kuna(ṁ) Ikanaṁ

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270. *sasambhava* ◇ cf. Gandhakuti 2v5 *sayatasambhava* (= *sayathāsambhava*).

271. *kapara* ◇ corr. *kapāṭa*. Cf. Turun Hyang C27 *sampun· kapāṭa ri saṁ hyaṁ praśa[sti]* and Anjatan 4r2 *huvus kapāṭa ri saṁ hyaṁ rājapraśāsti*.

272. *haji* {2 *akṣ*. ille.}*pa(n) ta(m)olaḥ Ubhaya ta kapva (ya)* ◇ The reading of the words on this line after *Ājñā haji* remains doubtful. The *akṣara*s we have read are more or less clear, but we are not sure about the sense they might yield together. Some word like *Apan* or *mapan* can be supposed after the gap. For the whole phrase, we see a possible parallel with 13v1 *pāduka śrī mahārāja sārisāri, yan ubhayānn atikā magritan· mapadagaṅādo⟨ha⟩ saṁke gritanya*.

273. *U[n](ā)nikaṁ* ◇ cf. Kamalagyan A10 *dumadyakan· Unānikāṁ drabya haji mvaṁ hilaṁnikāṁ carik· kabeḥ*.

274. *a(m)itādimukti* ◇ norm. *amitādhimukti*. The reading was at first not evident, but it can be supported with reference to Warunggahan 5v3–4 *makanimitta gə:⟨ṁ⟩ny adhimukti bhaṭāra śrī kṛtanagara ri pāduka mpuṅku śrī buddhaketu* and Manah i Manuk 4r2–3 *maṁrasa-rasani saṅka ri gə:ṁniy adimuktinikaṁ vyavahāri kāliḥ*.

275. *mapa(pikul-p)i⟨ku⟩(la) (rva)ṁ siki (y)an·* ◇ the reading of these words is not clear at all, but our choices of reading and restitution of two omitted *akṣara*s find support in 14r7 *An· rvaṁ siki papikul-pikulanya, yan· strĭ-strī pataṁ siki riṁ sagritan·* read together with 14r5 *mapadagaṁṅāpikul·-pikula, tan· svīkārān· An padval avli strīnikaṁ magiliṅan·*.

276. *anə(ṁ)(gə)k·* ◇ the reading is very uncertain; ought we to read *anəgak·*?

277. *paṁhəṅ* ◇ corr. *paṁhīṅ*.

sambal· sumbul· mva(ṁ) kr(a)s·
(14v7) {3 *akṣ*. ille.} (p)rakăra[278] tan· vehən (s)i(rā)burva-burva, lani(ṅ)a-la(n)iṅa, kevalā pahlya maṁhlyana juga ya, Āpan· kapaṅgi(ḥ) riṅ anādi, samaṁkana Ikanaṁ Akarañja(ṁ),

Plate 16. recto. (fig. 43)

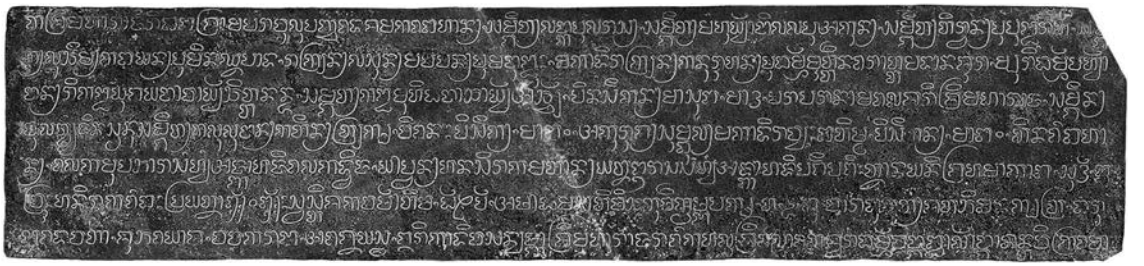

Fig. 43 — Sima Anglayang, plate 16, recto. Xerox copy received from J. Wisseman Christie.

(16r1)ka[279] śrĭ mahārāja ri baṇ(i)grāma para vulu pañcadeśa makabehān·, samgət· laṅka pu laras·, samgət· maṁhuryy āṅilala pu Akun·, samgət· tirvan· pu puṇḍarĭka, sa(mg)[ə]-
(16r2)t· lucəm· kabayan· pu mīnaghnapāda, rakryan· lasun· mapapan· pu maṅuṇḍuḥ, makādi rakryan· kanurūhan· pu dharmmamūrtti narottama dānaśūra, mpu riṁ dharmma parhyā-
(16r3)ṅan· ri kaṇḍayuga[280] yaṅ āvāryya[281] cittănanda, samgat· kaṇḍamuhi ḍaṅ ācāryya Arccya, pinasəkan· mā su 1, mā 4, para paranāma leśa[282] ri śrĭ mahārāja, samgən·[283]
(16r4) vulat thyaṁ jina sṛnu samgət· kaluluṅan· katən· tryakṣa, vineḥ pisək·,[284] mā 10, Akurug· sumbul· makādi ravyaḥ batiṣṭa, pi⟨na⟩sə(k)an·, mā 10, kinabaihā-
(16r5)n·, leka mupacāra saṁ hyaṁ Ăjñā haji leka dvija, yāpvan· hana sira kamatān· ⟨tan·⟩ yatna[285] Ī rasa saṁ hyaṁ Ăjñā haji pagə-pagəḥ knāna ya nigraha mā kā 1, su 5, I
(16r6) vrūḥhanira kabaiḥ prayatnā // 0 // ḥ[286] svasti śaka-varṣātītha, 968, Ăṣāḍa-măsa tithi caturthi kṛṣṇa-pakṣa, ha, U, bu, vāra dukut· śatabhiṣa-nakṣatra, baru-

278. *kr(a)s·* {3 *akṣ*. ille.} *(p)rakăra* ◇ the reading is quite uncertain; we have considered reading *trus·* or *kris·* instead of *kras·*, and reading *siddha citrakăra* at the beginning of line 7, but these possibilities do not yield an evidently satisfactory sense.

279. *-ka* ◇ restore *pāduka*.

280. *kaṇḍayuga* ◇ corr. *siddhayuga*?

281. *yaṅ āvāryya* ◇ corr. *ḍaṅ ācāryya*.

282. *paranāma-leśa* ◇ corr. *parināma-leśa*. Cf. *parināma* in 16v6 and 17r7.

283. *samgən·* ◇ corr. *samgət·*.

284. *pisək·* ◇ corr. *pasək·*.

285. *kamatān· ⟨tan·⟩ yatna* ◇ supplying *tan·* is supported by parallel passages in Munggut 4.4, Baru Cdef8, Pandaan C17–18. Cf. also Sima Anglayang 4v4, though there is also a passage where *kamatan* figures without *tan* in 14v5.

286. The *visarga* shape here serves as a punctuation sign.

(16r7)ṇa-devatā, śubha-yoga, vava-karaṇa, Ăgneyastha, Irikā divasany ăjñā śrī mahārāja rakai halu śrī lokeśvara dharmmavaṅśa Airlāṅgānantavikramo-

Plate 16. verso. (fig. 44)
plate number: 16

Fig. 44 — Sima Anglayang, plate 16, verso. Xerox copy received from J. Wisseman Christie.

(16v1)ttuṅgadeva, tinaḍaḥ rakryan· māhamantri I hino śrī samaravijaya suparṇṇavā(ha)na tguh uttuṅgadeva, Umiṅso(r=) I[287] rakryan· kanurūhan· pu Asmarană(th)a, ku-
(16v2)monakan· Ikanaṁ piṅhai Akurug anak thăni ri deśa-Aṣṭa-taṇḍa[288] kasaṅa thāni jumput·, svasva, lucəm·, pavuyahan·, panumbaṅan·, vaharū, tagaran·, hujuṁ,
(16v3) kanurūhan·, kasaṅa thāni jumput·, paku bāṁ, halaran·, vka, tka rikanaṁ sīma para-sīma, kalaṁ kalagyan·, para-patapān· kakṣaitran·, pada-mlakna saṁ hyaṁ
(16v4) Ăjñā haji mataṇḍa garūḍamukha, kmitananikanaṁ piṅhai makurūg anak thāni riṁ deśāṣṭa-taṇḍa, kasaṅa thāni jumput·, sambandha, Ikanaṁ piṅhai makurūg ana-
(16v5)k thāni riṁ deśāṣṭa-taṇḍa kasaṅa thāni jumput·, mapulu(ṁ) rahi manambaḥ I Ḷbuni pāduka śrĭ mahārāja, Umajarakən· saka-prihatinya[289] ri svadeśanya so-
(16v6)vaṁ-sovaṁ, makanimitta, ri tan·-rva-tlunika(ṁ) maṁdadyakən· hārohara, deni kveḥnirāparināma sahulun· pāduka śrĭ mahārāja, samaṅilala dṛvya ha-
(16v7)ji vulu-vulu magə:ṁ maḍmat·[290] ri deśāṣṭa-taṇḍa, kasaṅa thāni jumput·, ya tika tan kavnaṁ tinalaṅkupan·, yāvat· tkāna māsa *(pa)mupvan· drabya haji, kevalāta ta-

287. *umiṅso(r=) I* ◇ a somewhat eccentrically shaped *layar* seems to have been noted on top of *I*.

288. *deśa-Aṣṭa-taṇḍa* ◇ elsewhere in this charter (plates 5, 16, 17) we find the spelling *deśāṣṭa-taṇḍa*.

289. *saka-prihatinya* ◇ corr. *śoka-prihatinya*. Although analysis as *sa-kaprihatinya* is possible, we prefer emending to obtain *śoka-prihati* as a so-called "twin-form" (Gonda 1973: 472–473). Cf. near-collocations of the two words in *Agastyaparva*, ed. Gonda 1933, pp. 388–389: *tiga pratyekanikaṅ brata: akrodha, ayo gāṅ krodha; alobha, ayo lobha;* ***śoka****varjita, ayo gāṅ* ***prihati***. See also *Uttarakāṇḍa*, ed. Zoetmulder 2006, p. 72: *təkvan bhagavān Bālmīki makon* ***aṅrapvari śokanira, lumālanā prihatinira***.

290. *maḍmat·* ◇ corr. *maḍmit·*.

Plate 17. recto. (fig. 45)

Fig. 45 — Sima Anglayang, plate 17, recto. MNI E.91. Photograph Véronique Degroot.

(17r1)pvāḶbut·-Ḷbuti riṁ hnū,[291] tan vurūṁ[292] manisik·-nisik anahi-tikus·,[293] Akvaiḥ[294] tapva kriyākāranaṇyan tan apiliḥ lvirnikāṅ ulaḥ[295] makapuhara hala ri tanayan thāni
(17r2) dinamlakanya, tātan· kenakan· palaliṅgiḥnya[296] ri panataranya, tan apagəḥ mulahakan· svakarmanya ri kānak-thānyan·, deni[297] kvaiḥnikanaṅ vaṁ parapĭḍi-
(17r3)kātivisthārātəhər[298] aminta lañcuran·, sakupaṁ sātak·,[299] kalen saṁkeṅ amalaku tinuṇḍa, An· tan hana puriḥnya katampak deniṁ tuṇḍan· magəṁ maḍmit·, ndā-
(17r4)n· tamolaḥ juga padaməlnya prihati,[300] Apa tan· vurūṁ[301] maṅanti riṁ pa⟨ṁ⟩kti ma,mintāhārārapa-rapāṅalap·[302] sarvvaphala, mŭlaphala, makădi vnaṁ-vnaṁ prakăra, maṅkana
(17r5) rasani panambaḥnikanaṁ piṅhai makurūg[303] anak thāni ri deśāṣṭa-taṇḍa kasaṅa thāni jumput· I lbuni pāduka śrī mahārāja, kūnaṁ saṅkā ri kārūṇyani[304] lbuni

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291. *kevalāta tapvāḶbut·-Ḷbuti riṁ hnū* ◇ B, *(ka)pvaḶbut·-Ḷbut i riṁ hnū* P. B's and P's readings only concern the text on plate 17. It is imaginable that the second of the two *akṣara*s *ta* in this string is to be deleted. But it does not seem to us entirely impossible that the intention was *kevala+ata tapva*. Does the denasalized irrealis active form *parəbut-rəbutana* in 17v5–6 (*tan· paḶbut·-Ḷbutanaṅālapana yan· halintaṁ riṁ hnū*) imply that one ought to supply *ma* and edit *tapvā⟨ma⟩Ḷbut·-Ḷbuti* in the present context?

292. *vurūṁ* ◇ *vuruṁ* P, *vurū* B.

293. *manisik·-nisik anahi-tikus·* ◇ P, *manisik·-nisikana hi tikus·* B.

294. *Akvaiḥ* ◇ B, *Akveḥ* P.

295. *lvirnikāṅulaḥ* ◇ P, *lvirnikāṅulah* B.

296. *palaliṅgiḥnya* ◇ emend *ya paliṅgihnya*? *ya ri paliṅgiḥnya*?

297. *deni* ◇ *deniṁ* P, *de ni* B.

298. *parapiḍikātivisthārātəhər* ◇ B, *para-vidhikātivisthārātəhər* P. Corr. *parapīḍitātivistārātəhər*.

299. *sātak* ◇ B, *satak* P.

300. *prihati* ◇ B, *prih-ati* P.

301. *vurūṁ* ◇ *vuruṁ* P B.

302. *maṅanti riṁ pa⟨ṁ⟩kti ma,mintāhārārapa-rapāṅalap* ◇ *maṅanti riṁ paktima, mintāhā ra para haṅalap* P, *maṅanti riṁ paktima, mintāhārāraparapāṅalap* B. P suggests to emend *maṅanti riṁ paṁkti, mamintāhara ri*. Having considered more far-reaching emendations such as *maṅanti riṁ saṁ hyaṁ sĭma* (inspired by Bimalasrama 8r1) or *maṅanti riṁ paṁktikrama*, we find that P's suggestion that punctuation sign and *akṣara ma* need to be inverted is the most plausible option.

303. *makurūg* ◇ *makurug* P B.

304. *kārūṇyani* ◇ *kāruṇyani* P, *kārunyani* B.

(17r6) pāduka śrĩ mahārāja, I paṁhyaṁnikanaṁ piṅhai makurug anak thāni ri deśāṣṭa-taṇḍa kasaṅa thāni jumput·, mataṁnyan tūrūn· Anugraha śrĩ mahārāja, ma-
(17r7)kacihnaṁ vineḥ makmitana saṁ hyaṁ Ajñā haji mataṇḍa garūḍamukha, makarāsa ri tan hanānira para parināma vulu-vulu, makădi miśra, para-miśra, paṁṅuraṁ,[305] kriṁ, pa-

Plate 17. verso. (fig. 46)
plate number: 17

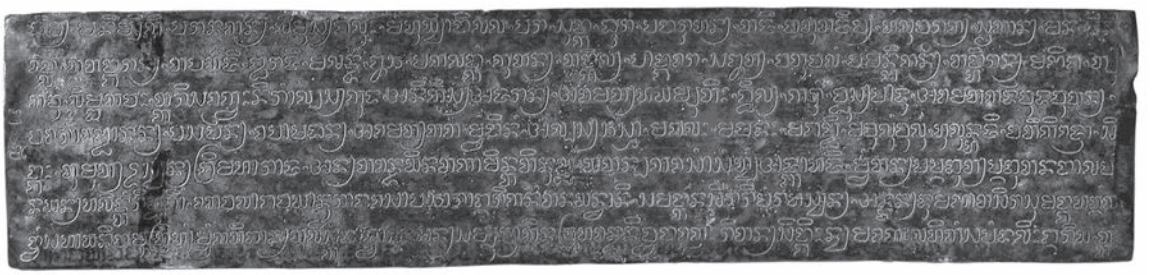

Fig. 46 — Sima Anglayang, plate 17, verso. MNI E.91. Photograph Véronique Degroot.

(17v1)ḍəm·, manimpiki, paranakan·, limus· galuḥ, maṁhuryy āṅilala,[306] paraṁ, suṅka, dhūra, paṅarūhan·, taji, vatu tajəm·, halu varak·, sr̥kān·,[307] manaṁ, pini-
(17v2)ṅlai, kataṅgaran·, tapa haji, Air aji, malandaṁ, L̥ca, pakalaṅkaṁ, kutan·,[308] taṅkil·, pāṅgare, saL̥t·,[309] vatu valaṁ, pamanikan·,[310] taṅhiran·, maṇiga, tpuṁ
(17v3) kavuṁ, limba kavaḥ, tka ri sakveḥnirāṁlpas· kuda, Aniṁkəs·[311] Ajaran·, Amet· hayam putiḥ, gḍəl·,[312] karūṁ, vḍus· pādu, Amet akar davu-davutan·,
(17v4) paroṇḍonan·, pasarpan·, poṣadhan·, Amet kaka, mvaṁṅ inaṁ, Aṁlpas· bhasmā, magalaḥ, mamanaḥ, magaṇḍi,[313] mavuluṁ-vuluṁ, hulun haji, vatək i jro, si-

305. *paṁṅuraṁ* ◇ *paṅuraṁ* P B.
306. *maṁhuryy āṅilala* ◇ *maṁhury aṅilala* P, *maṁhuryāṅilala* B.
307. *sr̥kān·* ◇ B, *sr̥kan·* P.
308. *kutan·* ◇ B, *tutan·* P. Boechari notes "Di dalam prasasti-prasasti yang lain selalu dijumpai istilah *kutak* sebelum *taṅkil*." Corr. *kutak·*.
309. *pāṅgare, saL̥t·* ◇ *paṅgare, salət·* P B. Corr. *salyut*.
310. *pamanikan·* ◇ *pamanṇikan·* P, *pamaṇikan·* B. What P takes as a conjunct is actually intended as an interlinear scribal correction of *n* to *ṇ*, to get *pamaṇikan·*. Boechari simply adopts the corrected reading.
311. *Aniṁkəs·* ◇ B, *Anəkəs·* P.
312. *gḍəl·* ◇ B, *gdəl·* P. Corr. *tgəl·*. Cf. Kusambyan B29 and n. 174. Tom Hoogervorst informs us that if *gdəl* was really the intended reading, then we may perhaps compare Modern Javanese *gudél* and Madurese *gudil* 'water buffalo calf".
313. *magaṇḍi* ◇ B, *magandi* P.

(17v5)ṅgaḥ, tumut· Usyan· śrĭ mahārāja,[314] An· tan deyən ata kāminta[315] tinuṇḍa,[316] yatan pakasoṁ saṁ hyaṁ Ajñā haji, mvaṁ tan· paR̥but·-R̥butanăṅālapa-

(17v6)na[317] yan· halintaṁ riṁ hnū[318] gə:ṁ, kevalāgavayānurāga[319] sopacārā Irikanaṁ tanayan thāni, samaṅkana sira ri parahasyan·, An tan· dumaṇāta[320] sira sumaṅgaha Ika-

(17v7)ṅ vaṁ sahāyaniṅ[321] amutra hyaṁ mvaṁ katibān·[322] tulis kaṅāśvāsa,[323] An· sampun· kinavruhan deni vvaṅ akveḥ ri tan· siṅgiḥnya makolah ikaṁ sapaṁdaliḥ Iriya, tka

6.4.3. Translation

(4r1–4r2) … for the meritorious deed, as the one who dies childless means the one who performs a meritorious deed;[324] he will have heaven as reward [or even] his release from the five forms of suffering. One share is for the ones who consider the floating *sīma* their refuge. There is no way (**tan hana deyan*) they shall refuse. And they will not be lesser or greater than the ones who have a share of the property of one who dies childless.

(4r2–4r6) Such were the regulations of His Majesty the Great King with regard to the reverend Śaivas, Buddhists, R̥ṣis [and] Mahābrāhmaṇas, as well as the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of the five directions, including the floating *sīma*s, all of whom are dependent on (*maṅāśraya i*) the holy Sarvadharma, and all of whom dwell (**maṅasthāna*) in its domains (**jātaka*), starting from the time of the announcement of the trader dying childless at Yaso and [when] the reverend of Yaśo[325] was the venerable Ārya Jñănasena, so that the reverend Śaivas, Buddhists, R̥ṣis, Mahābrāhmaṇas, as well as the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of the five directions, all of whom are dependent on the holy Sarvadharma, will easily maintain harmony side by side (**patūt padulur*). Because the substance of the holy royal decrees in the form of edicts kept by them all from olden times (**riṅ muhun malama*) is irrevocable (*apagəh*).

(4r6–4v2) His Majesty the Great King's decree (*ājñā*) to the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of the five directions including the

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314. *tumut· Usyan· śrĭ mahārāja* ◇ Cf. Kusambyan B29–30 *tumūt u(sa)n· śrī mahārāja*. For the reason given in n. 150, we suspect that *Usyan* needs to be corrected to *Usan*.

315. *ata kāminta* ◇ B, *ataka minta* or *ataḥ Aminta* P. Corr. *ata yāminta*. See 14v1.

316. *tinuṇḍa* ◇ B, *tinunda* P.

317. *paR̥but·-R̥butanăṅālapana* ◇ B, *paR̥but·R̥butana, ṅālapana* P.

318. *hnū* ◇ P, *hnu* B.

319. *kevalāgavayānurāga* ◇ B, *kevala gavayānurāga* P.

320. *dumaṇāta* ◇ B, *dumaṇā ta* or *duṣaṇa ta* P.

321. *sahāyaniṅ* ◇ *sahayaniṅ* P, *sahaya niṅ* B.

322. *katibān* ◇ B, *katiban* P.

323. *kaṅāśvāsa* ◇ B, *kava śva sa* (?) P. Corr. *maṅāśvāsa*.

324. As noted above, we suspect a scribal omission of *tan* whose correction would allow us to translate 'does **not** die childless' or 'dies without being childless'.

325. Not knowing what was the 'normal' spelling of the toponym, we retain the variant spellings as found in the original.

floating *sīma*s — all of which dwell in the holy Sarvadharma — is in addition (*atəhər*) that all the (members of the) merchant guild and the floating *sīma*s, which are all dependent on the holy Sarvadharma including its domains must remain aware of the original arrangements entirely respected (*sapinahayu*) by those who were dependent [on it] in the past, [and that] they should not (**tan deyən*) make changes to the regulations (*purih*), in order that (*makaphalā*) [guilt of] grave negligence will not befall the (members of the) merchant guild including all of the floating *sīma*s.

(4v2–4v5) Likewise, when the (members of the) merchant guild and all of the floating *sīma*s are not compliant with the regulations of His Majesty the Great King that the (members of) the merchant guild and all of the floating *sīma*s should not be permanently dependent on the holy Sarvadharma — if it is like that, [and] if there are (members of) the merchant guild and floating *sīma*s visibly intending to come to shore (**kentas*) without giving for the division in two (i.e., half share) of the revenue of those traders who die childless, [and] if they stay permanently in the holy Sarvadharma and dwell in its domains, that will be the cause of their [guilt of] negligence, of all their various transgressions of the holy royal decree. They will be liable [to pay] a fine in gold of 1 *kāṭi* and 5 *suvarṇa*.

(4v6) Such was the substance of the grant of His Majesty the Great King to the reverend Śaivas, Buddhists, Ṛṣis [and] Mahābrāhmaṇas, that it be considered by them to be irrevocable hereafter up to the future's future.

(4v6–5r3) Enumeration of the *taṇḍa rakryan* of the council (*pakirakirān*) who were witnesses at the time: the official of Laṅka (called) *pu* Liṅir, the official of Maṅhury Aṅilala (called) *pu* Candragomi,[326] the official of Tirvan (called) *pu* Puṇḍarīka, the official of Lucəm (called) chief *pu* Minaghnapāda, the official of Tugaran[327] (called) chief *pu* Vuṅsu, the Lord of Lasun Mapapan (called) *pu* Maṅuṇḍuh, the Lord of Ramram (called) chief *pu* Asmaranātha, the Lord of Lasun Vuṅkal (called) *pu* Niṅhal,[328] and first of all the Lord of Kanuruhan (called) *pu* Dharmamūrti Narottama

326. The same official *pu* Candragomi also appears in Turun Hyang A40.

327. It seems possible that this toponym Tugaran was an equivalent of the name Tagaran found several times further on in this charter. Compare especially the association of Tagaran with Vaharu, Hujuṅ and Kanuruhan in 8v5 and 16v2, while the Sugih Manek charter (837 Śaka) mentions a *rake hujuṅ* and a *rake tugaran* in one sentence (back, line 1) and the Sangguran charter (850 Śaka) lists *patih i kanuruhan, patih i hujuṅ, patih vaharu and patih i t**u**garan* in one sentence (back, lines 9–10). The toponym Tugaran is then also found in several inscriptions of the reign of Sindok (Linggasuntan, Jeru-Jeru, Muncang, and Turyan, all from around Malang). In the light of the predominance of Tugaran in original stone inscriptions, one might consider the occurrences of Tagaran in the present *tinulad* to be errors for Tugaran.

328. Regarding the titles *rakryan· lasun· mapapan·* (also in 16r2) and *rakryan· lasun· vuṅkal·* seen in this context, it appears that *lasun* is a variant of *jasun*. For a *rakryān jasun mapapan* called *pu* Bhakti (according to our reading of the name) figures in Cane Ab5. The name Jasun/Lasun Mapapan in turn seems to be synonymous with the *vatək* name Bavaṅ Mapapan found i.a. in the Alasantan charter (1r3, 2r17, 3r2). At the same time, there are several occurrences of the toponym Jasun Vuṅkal (and synonyms) in East Javanese epigraphy, both during the time of Airlangga (Baru Cdef11) and during the Majapahit period when the present inscription was reissued (Kudadu, 1216 Śaka, 3r3). The variation may be due to the fact that *bavaṅ* means 'onion' in OJ, while the OJ word *jasun* 'garlic' is semantically close and the same meaning 'garlic' is expressed by *laśuna* in Sanskrit.

Dānaśūra — a gift of 2 *suvarṇa* [and] 4 *māṣa* [in gold],[329] was [received] by them collectively. Written by the official of Laṅka (called) *pu* Liṅir.

(5r3–5r7) Enumeration of the gifts of 'monthly interest' (*səkar māsa*) to the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus at Kanuruhan:

- at Valaṇḍit, 2 *suvarṇa* and 8 *māṣa*, which must be produced every full-moon of the month of Caitra;
- the contribution (**patahil*) of those at Paṅavan is also 2 *suvarṇa* and 8 *māṣa* in gold of 'monthly interest' to the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus to be produced every full-moon of the month of Caitra;[330]
- in the temples at Paḍaṅ, 2 *suvarṇa* and 8 *māṣa* in gold of 'monthly interest' to the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus[331] to be produced every full-moon of the month of Caitra, so that all those three temples will be able to trade 32 *sāra* per temple. And just (*mata*) one *sāra* is considered to be a complete pole-carrying load without a bundle (*bantal*).[332] But they are not permitted to be produced in the market of Kanuruhan.

(5r7–5v1) Those in the cloth shops at Kaḍiri have a **panityakarma* to the (members of the) guild of the Vulus at Kanuruhan: 1 *suvarṇa* [and] 4 *māṣa*, which must be produced every new-moon day (**pabalik*), with a view to their permission to sell in the eight quarters of space (*deśa-aṣṭa-taṇḍa*),[333] [with] as ninth the *jumput* community beginning with the *jro thāni*[334] of Kanuruhan.

(5v1–5v4) And the contribution of those in the fly-whisk shops in Kaḍiri to the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus at Kanuruhan is 5 *māṣa*, to be produced every new-moon day, with a view to their permission to sell in the eight quarters of space [with] as ninth the *jumput* community

329. As happens occasionally in Old Javanese inscriptions, the precious metal being quantified is left implicit here.

330. All three toponyms (Kanuruhan, Valaṇḍit and Paṅavan) occur, often close together, in several Sindok inscriptions of the Malang area. Since the geographic context of most Airlangga inscriptions is different, it is not surprising that the names Valaṇḍit and Paṅavan are not found elsewhere in the Airlangga corpus, while Kanuruhan obviously had a special status as apanage of the highest official of the kingdom after the *rakryan* Hino.

331. The toponym Paḍaṅ is also best attested in the Sindok corpus.

332. We do not understand what the specification *tan pabantal* implies, but it seems to us that it may require rethinking of the hypothesis proposed by Wisseman Christie (1998b: 154–155) that *bantal* was a sub-unit of weight of which there were five to the *pikul*.

333. We have the impression that *deśa-aṣṭa-taṇḍa* is an expression for the fullest totality of space. We suspect that it is a calque on Sanskrit terms such as *aṣṭadikpāla* with *taṇḍa* standing in the meaning of 'guardian' (see Jákl 2019: 311, 317). Our interpretation assumes also that the juxtaposition with the word *kasaṅa* is not without significance, in the light of the connections between the series of *aṣṭadikpāla*s and *navasaṅa*s discussed by Acri & Jordaan 2012. See 16v2–3 for eight concrete toponyms apparently corresponding to the totality of space that Airlangga's charter envisaged, and for an instance where *kasaṅa* is separated from *taṇḍa*, but still joined with *kasaṅa thāni jumput* — which justifies the way we group the words together in our interpretation.

334. We are unsure as to the precise meaning of the apparently equivalent expressions *jro thāni* and *jro vanua* that are occasionally found in inscriptions. The *prima facie* rendering 'within the village' is not evidently suitable here and in the next line, though it might be in 8r4.

beginning with the *jro thāni* of Kanuruhan. The status was the gift of being permitted to cut sheets (*mamla-mlah*).[335] And those in Manañjuṅ have a contribution of 2 *suvarṇa* [and] 8 *māṣa* in gold as *panitya* to be produced every new moon-day, with a view to their permission to trade having 100 **uṇḍi*s.

(5v4) Further, the contribution of the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus to those at Manañjuṅ is 1 *suvarṇa* [and] 4 *māṣa* in gold to be handed over every new moon-day.

(5v4–5v7) Those in the *maṇḍala* estates have a *pasaṅ giri* tax (**pasaṅ giri*) to the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of the five directions [to the amount of] 12 *suvarṇa* and 8 *māṣa* in gold to be produced every month of Poṣya, with a view to the permission of those in the *maṇḍala* estates to transport the raw materials (**vulu*) for the merchant guild of the Vulus, such as iron, steel (**pamaja*), tin, copper, incense, wax, sesame oil, lubricant (**ləṅis*), castor oil. The (members of the) merchant guild(s?) of Kanuruhan, Rampah [and] Palṅan each take a share of 2 *suvarṇa* [and] 8 *māṣa* in gold. That is when the transfer is carried out by the (members of the) merchant guild of Rampah and the (members of the) merchant guild of Palṅan.[336]

(5v7) Those at Gapuk have a contribution [and] a **panitya(karma?)* of 2 *māṣa* [and] 2 *kupaṅ* to the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of Kanuruhan, to be produced …

(8r1–8v2)[337] … all present when they offer wares, every way in which they are exquisite, *atitabajayaknaniran gəṅgəṅ*[338] *svakarmma dagaṅ*, causing the increase of the iron utensils (*vsi-vsi*) of His Majesty the Great King, all the more so the holy (?) *panityakarma*. And what needs to be done by the guardians (*panəṅgək*, **təṅgək*)[339] in Rəmpah, and their guardians in Manañjuṅ, is not to claim the wares of those trading without **uṇḍi*s [and] not to bring in (*mamisurupa*, **surup*) wares (of their own). What is restored by the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus at Kanuruhan, first of all (by) the inhabitants at Manañjuṅ, shall be only unaccompanied (**prih-śarintən*) and basic, as they will all make known to all their guardians who are all dispersed (*kasavur*)[340] instantly. First of

335. The meaning of this sentence is rather unclear, and we are therefore in doubt as to the correctness of the text, but see no evident ways of emending it. The form *mamla-mlah*, presumably from *vəlah*, does not appear to be attested elsewhere and is not recorded in *OJED*.

336. The meaning of the last two sentences seems obscure to us. Another imaginable interpretation of the syntax could yield a translation like this: 'The (members of the) merchant guild of Kanuruhan give a share to Rampah [and] Palṅan [to the amount of] 2 *suvarṇa* [and] 8 *māṣa* in gold. That is when (or why) the transfer …'.

337. For the plates published by Stutterheim, whose readings we have not been able to check ourselves, the edition is clearly less reliable than for other plates, and it is often hard to make sense of the text. Our translation is literal and we are forced to accept that it often seems incoherent.

338. The word *gəṅgəṅ* (or is it *gəṅ-gəṅ*?) is not recorded in *OJED*. We have found *genggeng* recorded for Modern Javanese in the meaning '(in a) row'. Since the context is unclear, we do not know if this meaning is suitable here.

339. In 8v6 below, we find *nāyaka*. Perhaps this was a synonym of *panəṅgək*.

340. Possibly, *kasavur* = *kasahur*, in which case we could translate 'paid off' or 'answered'.

all their guardians in Rəmpah, with regard to the *vulu*(s?), who all wait here in the *jro thāni* of Kanuruhan. All remember what is taken as course of action so that (they) are permanently protected with great care. In no case should they allow moisture to affect peppercorns (*mirica*), beans, fennel seeds (*hadas*), safflower seeds, *jamuju*, coriander seeds (*pañjəlaṅ*),[341] *mengkudu*, and least of all unhusked rice grains. Those are customarily (*riṅ lāgi*) covered, whenever they are displayed. In case of peppercorns, the measure (**kulak*) is less than a *kāṭi* (? *kāṭi-Adhara*); the peppercorns shall be as big as a snail (*kul*) in all cases (? *sarehan*). The measure for fennel seeds shall be the *kāṭi*. For coriander seeds, *jamuju*, *mengkudu*, beans, and salt, the measure is (the) square (*pasagi*).[342] The toll (**sālaran*) on each one of them is more than (*anādin*)[343] a *sukat*. And tied garlics,[344] they are to be weighed by the *kāṭi* in order to obtain (*tuməkana*) their full price,[345] without needing to use the *kulak kāṭi* as a means (*havan*) for it. Those in the rice warehouse should make such things known to their guardians. They should not use a measure lower than the *kāṭi*. Should a measure lower than the *kāṭi* be found (to be used), and (the relevant merchants') husked rice be used up, (then) their wares should be seized, (and) that measure should be split (in order to render it unusable). Let them immediately be restricted (? *sipatən*) to 10 *māṣa*.

(8v3–8v7) Such are the limits (*velā*) of the Five Disciplines (*pañcaśikṣa*) for the guardians in the rice warehouses collectively, especially all their guardians at Manañjuṅ, as a result (*ulih*) of the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus at Kanuruhan supporting the deliberation with the inhabitants of Manañjuṅ. United, the worn things (*ləs-ləsəh*) have been restored. But those who do the planting, including in other regions (such as) in Vaharu, Hujuṅ, Tagaran,[346] Kanuruhan and Vvaryaṅ,[347] they shall be very angry when they are not asked to join (? *linavanan*) their partner (*sapakṣa-nya*) when (the latter) makes profit in business (*kriyā-lābha*). They shall inform all their respective chiefs. Finally, they shall be back-to-back (? *apuṅku-puṅkura*) when deliberating with the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus in Kanuruhan, especially the inhabitants of Manañjuṅ. That was agreed upon (*sinamaya*) — the *lañcaṅ* boat sunken at the bow, sunken at

341. Wisseman Christie (1998a: 352, 374) translated 'coriander seeds', and this meaning is recorded for Modern Javanese *panjelang*.

342. We are not familiar with any other evidence that the term *pasagi* might have been used as a measure of volume. Could the volume of square salt blocks be intended?

343. We are guessing the contextual meaning of *anādin*. *OJED*, s.v. *tadin*, glosses 'to leave, leave behind, abandon, be separated from'.

344. The form *cinaktan* (i.e., *cinakətan*), derived from *cakət*, is not recorded in *OJED*. But *OJED* does record *rakət*, with meanings essentially identical to those cited for *cakət*, and a richer repertoire of derived forms, including *aṅrakəti* which would give *rinakətan* in the passive. We apply to *cinaktan* the meaning cited in *OJED* for *rinakət*.

345. No verbal derivations from *kati* (*kāti*/*kāṭi*) are listed in *OJED*. Our translation of *kātyakna* is a guess.

346. On the toponym Tagaran, possibly an error for Tugaran, see n. 327.

347. The name Vvaryaṅ is unknown elsewhere and the reading may be an error, but we do not yet see how it is to be corrected.

the stern, for bad and good.[348] Such was the only thing accomplished by the one who (…). And, …

(10r1) … the royal companions, the servants of the Lord of Avān, the servants of the Lords Princes or sons of good families, and first of all the servants **(2)** of the Ladies Royal Consorts, beginning with the servants of the Lady Chief Queen, including the Piṅhai, the Akurug, the villagers, the lancers,[349] **(3)** the archers. At the descent of the edict of the Great King, which ordered with regard to the ones who should be informed that unceasingly … **(4)** … those people of … **(5)** … all wares in … **(6)** … respectively … **(7)** …

(10v1–4) *untranslatable* **(5)** … the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus at Kanuruhan, and the inhabitants of Manañjuṅ, if there are guardians who … **(6)** the result of the ones who make restrictions (*manipat*) so that there shall be none who are given a handful of sugar. Such were the limits on the behavior of … **(7)** and those at Patrusan made efforts. The king's words were received by the Lord (*rakryān*) Great Minister of Hino. They came down to …

(13r1–3) … That should be sold by them when they are active as they please. They are entitled to trade (**mapadagaṅ*) far from their carts (**gritan*), aside (**kalen*) from being entitled to buy *adəgan* goods (**bhāṇḍa adəgan*). And what further causes the concern of the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of the five directions about the presence of traders who have already fulfilled [their obligation to pay] royal tax on *katapa-hajyan* [is that] they are looking for the collecting place of the *sāra* of others (**anya-sāra*) as *sambal sumbul*, abandoning it after they have collected the **uṇḍi katapa-hajyan*, in order that coolness be given by the collecting place of *sāra* of others.[350]

(13r3–13v2) Such was the substance of the petition (*hatur*) of the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of the five directions collectively, beginning with the chief of the Vulus. Thereupon the high functionaries (*taṇḍa rakryān*) of the council made known the entire request (**panambah*) of the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of the five directions to His Majesty the Great King. Then, they made a request regarding (*humyaṅakən*, see **hyaṅ*) the inappropriateness of those who trade after receiving **uṇḍi* going to the *sambal sumbul*, and regarding the fittingness or not of the conduct of those carters to trade far from their carts. But, because of the sympathy of His Majesty the Great King for the entire

348. Is it possible that *sinamaya* here means 'compared to …, imagined as …'? The sentence probably expresses some metaphor or proverb that is unknown to us.

349. The series *piṅhai akurug anak thāni* is also found in precisely this form in Anjatan 4r6 and in Waharu IV (853 Śaka) 6r6. Slightly expanded variants are found in a few Singasari and Majapahit inscriptions. Was it equivalent to the more common series *piṅhai vahuta rāma*?

350. The interpretation of the sequence *paṅalapananyasāra* that occurs here (13r2) for the first time, then reoccurs in the next line (if *pabalapanyasāra* is an error for the same) and in 13v2, as *paṅalapan anyasāra* is doubtful. But the only other possibility we see, namely to analyze *paṅalapan-a-nya sāra* 'will be their collecting place for *sāra*' seems even less plausible. In any case, the meaning of the whole paragraph is rather obscure.

request of the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of the five directions collectively, beginning with the chief of the Vulus, and [because of] the visible loss of the iron utensils of His Majesty the Great King, [and because of the] decrease of regularity of the royal revenue of the *katapa-hajyan*, of the *panityakarma* … with regard to all ceremonies (*sakevyən*) that are constantly performed by His Majesty the Great King,[351] insofar as he agrees that the carters may trade far from their carts, and that the … receiving **uṇḍi* should not be ignored. In the end, they look for the *sambal sumbul* as collecting place for the **sāra* of others.

(13v2–13v7) That is why the favor of His Majesty the Great King descended onto the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of the five directions. The visible sign (of the favor) was that [they] were allowed to keep in custody a holy royal decree as confirmatory document that would protect the (members of the) merchant guild. It had as substance the fact that the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of the five directions would be entitled to direct … the merchandise of the carters, the *uṇḍi* to whatever regions they travel, whatever their wares, whatever their goods. As long as they are all far from their carts, they will still be subjected to royal tax in the same way as those who receive the royal revenue on *katapa-hajyan*. Because quietly trading without *uṇḍi* is called proof (**prasiddhi*) of the thief of royal revenue, insofar as the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of the five directions are entitled to accept *vulu*s (raw materials or occupational groups?) without being subject to royal tax on *katapa-hajyan*. Such was the substance of the holy royal decree kept in custody by the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of the five directions collectively, that was made object of an order to be executed assiduously by the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of the five directions, evidence (**sādhana*) of the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus that the merchandise (*padagaṅ*) of the carters is subject to royal tax when they are far from [their] carts.

(13v7–14v7) It is collectively that the (members of) the merchant guild of carters in all parts of the island of Java, (namely) Lasun, Paḍaṅ, Paṅkaja, Kanuruhan, Lamajaṅ, Panumbaṅan, Pavuyahan, the region of Luvuk, Vuravan,[352] Kaḍaṅayan,[353] all (of them), including those carters who are all quickly scattered in other regions, should bear in mind the weight (*bhāra*) of the substance of the holy royal decree as a confirmatory document kept in custody by the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of the five directions all together regarding the fact that the (members of) merchant guild of carters should not have merchandise far from their carts and that they should not buy any kind of *adəgan* goods, because there has been alteration of none of the holy royal decrees granted by the deified kings of

351. A passage from the *Ṛṣiśāsana* (forthcoming ed. Marine Schoettel, Arlo Griffiths & Timothy Lubin, §12.1), *mvaṅ ri kevyənika saṅ viku pəjah anapatya*, suggests that the ceremony *kevyən* intended in that context was worship of a deceased mendicant.

352. The toponym Vuravan also figures in the Mula-Malurung charter (4v5). May it be identified with the toponyms Vurahan and/or Vuravari in the Pucangan charter?

353. The toponym Kaḍaṅayan figures also in the Alasantan charter (1r5).

the past that are kept (? *pakəmitan*) by the (members of the) merchant guild of carters, [which ordered] that it will be exempted by the collectors of royal revenue on *vulu*s. [On the contrary, they] have been confirmed with regard to the (members of the) merchant guild of carters being entitled to trade using shoulder pole. It shall not be allowed (*tan svīkārān*, see **svīkāra*) that the wives of those carters engage in transactions, as their pastime when their husbands are traveling under royal corvée to carry out all of their tasks from His Majesty the Great King, which is why the amount of royal tax that they give to the official of Vuṅkal Pəsat *anandān* (?) is limited: their pole-carriers may be two, (or) if they are females[354] four of them per single cart, (but) should not be in excess of that. They may not be far from their carts. As far as possible, their camping ground should be the same as their loading location.[355] It should never happen that they are unfaithful to what has been read in the holy royal decree … for they have all been lastingly approved (?)[356] by His Majesty the Great King when he made a grant to the (members of the) merchant guild of the Vulus of the five directions. The (*si*) non-deficiency of the royal revenue on *katapa-hajyan* was the aim of the Great King. This is why an order was given with regard to the merchandise of the carters that they should be subjected to *uṇḍi* if they are far from their carts. And His Majesty the Great King had unlimited dedication (*amitādhimukti*) to the entitlement of those carters to employ two pole-carriers, (or) if they are females four of them per single cart, (and) not to be subjected to royal tax, although they may not be far from their carts. But if those carters are not steadfast (*magəm*) in guarding (*anəṅgək*, **təṅgək*) the whole substance of the holy royal decree, [insofar as] they are seen buying *adəgan* goods, and the merchandise is not at all stopped from exceeding the limit (imposed) on it, and if their carts are far from the market for their wares, an order is issued with regard to them that all their goods be confiscated and also that they will be liable to be fined. As for the *sambal sumbul* and all manner of …, they will not be allowed to go hunting, to *laniṅ* (*laniṅa-laniṅa*).[357] They will only be a replacement in order to replace (them). For they were obtained long ago. Likewise, those who use wicker baskets …

(16r1–16r6) … His Majesty the Great King to the (members of the) merchant guilds of the Vulus of the five directions collectively: the official of Laṅka (called) *pu* Laras, the official of Maṅhury Aṅilala (called) *pu* Akun, the official of Tirvan (called) *pu* Puṇḍarīka, the official of Lucəm (called) chief *pu* Minaghnapāda, the Lord of Lasun Mapapan (called) *pu* Maṅuṇḍuḥ, and first of all the Lord of Kanuruhan (called) *pu* Dharmamūrti Narottama

354. The text seems entirely ambiguous to us on the question whether 'they' (*strī-strī*) are the pole-carriers themselves or the ones employing the pole-carriers.

355. The words *pañantyanananya* and *pamvat-mvatananya* seem to be *paN-…-an* derivations with irrealis suffix *-a*.

356. The translation of the string *haji* {2 *akṣ*. ille.}*pa(n) ta(m)olaḥ Ubhaya ta kapva (ya)* remains very doubtful, not only because the reading itself is uncertain, but also because the words as we read them do not seem to allow interpretation without fudging. In our translation, for instance, we fudge the fact that *ubhaya* is not a passive form.

357. We have not been able to find any plausible explanation for the meaning of *laniṅ*.

Dānaśūra, the master (*mpu*) of the temple foundation (*dharma parhyaṅan*)[358] at Kaṇḍayuga,[359] (namely) the master (*ḍaṅ ācārya*) Cittānanda, the official of Kaṇḍamuhi (namely) the master Arcya — [they all] were gifted (*pinasəkan*)[360] 1 *suvarṇa* [and] 4 *māṣa* in gold. The ones called pretexts (*para parināma leśa*) for the Great King[361] — the official *vulat hyaṅ jina śṛṇu* 'Look God, Hear Buddha' [and] the official *kaluluṅan katən tryakṣa* 'Enraptured by Desire for the Three-Eyed (Śiva)'[362] — were gifted 10 *māṣa*. The ones wearing the *kurug* of the Sumbul, beginning with Ravyah Batiṣṭa, were gifted 10 *māṣa* collectively. The scribe (*lekha*) who adorned the holy royal decree was the scribe (called) Dvija.[363] If there are ones seen not to be diligent with regard to the substance of the holy royal decree [given] as a confirmatory document, they will be liable to be fined 1 *kāṭi* [and] 5 *suvarṇa* in gold. May all take notice [and] be aware!

(16r6–16v4) Hail! Elapsed Śaka year 968, month of Āṣāḍha, fourth *tithi*, waning fortnight, Hariyaṅ, Umanis, Wednesday, [the Wuku being] Dukut, lunar mansion Śatabhiṣaj, the deity Varuṇa, the conjunction Śubha, the *karaṇa* Vava, [the *maṇḍala*] in the Southeast. That was the time when the decree of the Great King, the Lord of (*rakai*, i.e. *rakryān i*) Halu, Śrī Lokeśvara Dharmavaṅśa Airlaṅgānantavikramottuṅgadeva, was received by the Lord Great Minister of Hino, Śrī Samaravijaya Suparṇavāhana Təguh Uttuṅgadeva. It came down to the Lord of Kanuruhan (called) *pu* Asmaranātha. It ordered, with regard to the Piṅhai, the Akurug, the villagers in the eight quarters of space [with] as ninth the *jumput* community — (namely) Svasva, Lucəm, Pavuyahan, Panumbaṅan, Vaharu, Tagaran, Hujuṅ, Kanuruhan, [with] as ninth the *jumput* community —, Paku Bāṅ, Halaran, Vka, including the *sīma*s and the minor *sīma*s, the *kalaṅ*s, the *kalagyan*s, the hermitages (*para-patapān*) and the sanctuaries (**kakṣaitran*), that a holy

358. Another *dharma parhyaṅan*, namely at Vvatan, figures in Pucangan B6.

359. The toponym Kaṇḍayuga is not known from any other source. We suspect it may be an error for Siddhayuga or Siddhayoga, the name of an important shrine that figures prominently in the Muncang charter issued by Sindok in 866 Śaka.

360. Neither this verb form, nor any other form of the *-i* derivation from base *pasək* (*umasəki*, etc.) that it implies, is recorded in *OJED*, but we find occurrences in the inscriptions Turun Hyang C6 and Sobhamerta 6r4.

361. We obtain the expression *para parināma* through emendation, based on the occurrence of the same words twice further on in the inscription, and assume that the term *leśa* applies to the unusual names borne by the officials *vulat hyaṅ jina śṛṇu* and *kaluluṅan katən tryakṣa*. The word *leśa* may have a meaning related to that which it has in the Sanskrit vocabulary for figures of speech, namely "a figure in which a quality is portrayed as involving a defect, or vice versa" (Gerow 1971: 259). It seems that these names were sobriquets used by the Great King for these officials.

362. *OJED* record *lələṅ* as alternative form of *ləṅləṅ*, and it seems likely that *luluṅ* is a so far unrecorded alternative. We understand *kaluluṅan* as *ka-* derivation from *aṅləṅləṅi* which *OJED* glosses as 'to entrance, enrapture'.

363. The word *leka* is not evidently recorded in *OJED*, although it has entries for *lekan* ('among the bhujaṅga haji') and for *lekha* as synonym of *citralekha* 'scribe'. This latter usage is attested by at least two inscriptions from Bali dating around the period of Airlangga's reign (van Stein Callenfels 1926: 14–18, 7r2; Goris 1954, no. 305, 10r1). Goris (1954, II: 268) interprets *lekha* as meaning 'writing' in such contexts, but it is rather clear that the meaning is actually 'scribe'. We find a few occurrences of functionaries called *saṅ leka* (with this spelling *leka*!) in Bimalasrama 3.8 and 3.12.

royal decree be made, sealed with the Garuḍa-face, to be kept in custody by the Piṅhai, the Makurug, the villagers in the eight quarters of space [with] as ninth the *jumput* community.

(16v4–17r4) The occasion: the Piṅhai, the Makurug, the villagers in the eight quarters of space [with] as ninth the *jumput* community had taken counsel with [and] paid homage to His Majesty the Great King, making known their worries (*śoka*) [and] concerns (*prihati*) about their respective regions, for reason of not two or three [but many] (*tan rva tlu*)[364] causing disturbance, due to the [excessive] number of all those called servants of His Majesty the Great King, (namely) all collectors of royal revenue on *vulu*s, big or small in the eight quarters of space [with] as ninth the *jumput* community. Those (royal servants) cannot be contained (*tinalaṅkupan*, **talaṅkup*) when the time for collecting (**pamupvan*) royal tax is upon them (i.e., upon the villagers).[365] They only contest with each other on the road, ceaselessly pecking for 'mouse-droppings' (*tahi tikus*).[366] Numerous are the court cases (**kriyākāraṇa*) against them, as the nature of their actions is so careless that they result in damage to the villagers being done by them. Their position (*palaliṅgih*)[367] in their domains (**panataran*) is very much unsettled. They are insecure as they carry out their own work in the village community, due to the [excessive] number of people who oppress (**parapīḍita*) by continuing too long (*ati-vistāra*) to ask for the **lañcuran*, one *kupaṅ* per *atak*, aside from requesting (or: except when they request) for (the *lañcuran*) to be replaced (*tinuṇḍa*), since there has been no change in the regulation (*purih*) that is infringed upon by a greater or smaller replacement.[368] And that is their constant cause of concern. For (the so-called royal servants) are unremittingly waiting in rows (*paṅkti*),

364. Tom Hoogervorst has proposed to us the more idiomatic translation 'no few', with reference to the fact that in pre-WWII Malay and Javanese, *dua-tiga ~ loro-telu* meant 'a few' while *tiada dua-tiga ~ ora ana loro-telu* meant 'no few', idioms that are now no longer common in either language. Analogous idiom exists in Sundanese: *ku dua ku tilu* '(happy, angry, etc.) because of one or more reasons'. In Old Javanese, we find it in the *kakavin* Sumanasāntaka, 94.8c: *saṅ hyaṅ Manmatha duṣṭa tan rva təlu pat rovaṅ nirāśālara*. Worsley *et al.* (2013) translate this stanza as follows: "The God of Love is malicious for inevitably not just one or two of his companions are dejected and suffer but many."

365. We tentatively suggest that *tkāna māsa* might be a transitivized variant of the construction *təka X-māsa* that is found in several Old Javanese texts, among which *Ādiparva*, ed. Juynboll 1906, p. 122 *təka taṅ vasantamāsa, panəḍəṅaniṅ sarvapuṣpa*; also *Deśavarṇana*, ed. Kern & Krom 1919, 86.3d *ṅgvan śrī nāthan dunuṅ i tkaniṅ cetramāsan pamaṅguṅ*.

366. On *tahi tikus*, see our discussion under Kusambyan, in n. 179.

367. The word *palaliṅgih* not listed in *OJED*, but similar forms seem to exist, e.g. OJ *palalañciṅan*, or Sundanese *palalangon*. If the text is correct as it stands, then we assume the word is synonymous with *paliṅgih*. However, it seems quite possible that *pala-* is a copying mistake for *ya (ri) pa-*.

368. In translating the forms of base *tuṇḍa*, we stay close to the meanings indicated in *OJED*. It might also be possible to translate "other than when requesting for it to be paid in installments (*tinuṇḍa*) since there has been no change in the regulation (*purih*) that is infringed upon by greater or smaller installments", or again "other than when requesting for it to be done in shifts (*tinuṇḍa*) since there has been no change in the regulation (*purih*) that is infringed upon by greater or smaller shifts". Alas we lack the understanding of the general meaning of the passage that is necessary to be able to determine which translation is most suitable. Comparison with 17v5 does not seem to help decide which meaning is intended.

begging for food, scavenging (? *arapa-rapa*, see **rapa*), [or] taking any kind of fruit, tuber, and especially various domestic animals.[369]

(17r4–17v7) Such was the substance of the request of the Piṅhai, the Makurug, the villagers in the eight quarters of space [with] as ninth the *jumput* community to His Majesty the Great King. Now (*kunaṅ*), it was because of the sympathy of His Majesty the Great King for the request of the Piṅhai, the Makurug, the villagers in the eight quarters of space [with] as ninth the *jumput* community, that the favor of the Great King descended. The visible signs (of the favor) were the ones who were allowed to keep a holy royal decree sealed with the Garuḍa-face having as purpose that there shall be none of those called Vulus, beginning with the various Miśras, the Paṅuraṅ, the Kriṅ, the Paḍəm, the Manimpiki, the Paranakan, the Limus Galuh, the Maṅhury Aṅilala, the Paraṅ, the Suṅka, the Dhūra, the Paṅaruhan, the Taji, the Vatu Tajəm, the Halu Varak, the Srəkān, the Manaṅ, the Piniṅlai, the Kataṅgaran, the Tapa Haji, the Air Aji, the Malandaṅ, the Ləca, the Pakalaṅkaṅ, the Kutan, the Taṅkil, the Paṅgare, the Salyut, the Vatu Valaṅ, the Pamanikan, the Taṅhiran, the Maṇiga, the Tpuṅ Kavuṅ, the Limba Kavah, including all those who release the horses, who *tiṅkəs* trained horses (*ajaran*), who seek chickens white or gelded (*tgəl*), boars, fighting rams, who seek pulled out roots, leaf baskets (*paroṇḍonan*), snake baskets (*pasarpan*), medicine baskets (*poṣadhan*), who seek female attendants (*kaka*) and elderly ladies (*inaṅ*), who release the ashes (*maṅləpas bhasma*),[370] the lancers, the bowmen, the *gaṇḍi*-bearers, the Mavuluṅ-vuluṅ, the royal servants, the courtiers, the Siṅgah (— that there shall be none of them who disturb). The Great King immediately (*usyan*) followed up that they should not ask for (the *lañcuran*) to be replaced, if they do not have protection from a holy royal decree, and should not contest with each other, take from (one another) when traveling along the main road — [that] they should only act kindly [and] politely to the villagers. Likewise those in the private quarters, that none of them shall be given any share who consider man to be a companion for the world beyond (*amutra hyaṅ*)[371] and to whom the consolatory writing is directed, as many people already know about the dishonesty of the ones who use all accusations against them,[372] up to …

369. *Prasasti Bali* no. 305, 8v5–9r1 *atəhār ta inimbuhan pāduka haji, sakveḥniṅ adalan asuṅsuṅ, humalivat i thaninya ṅke iṅ er havaṅ, tan vehən maṅraparapa, irikeṅ anak thāni, tan paṅalapa tuvu-tuvuhan, tkeṅ sarvvaphala mulaphala* 'And His Majesty added that all those walking or in a palanquin who might pass this village here of Er Havaṅ should not be allowed to scavenge from the villagers [or] to take crops, including any kind of fruit or tuber' (translation after Goris 1954, II).

370. The same expression, whose meaning is uncertain but may be related to cremation practices, figures in Sima Anglayang 17v4.

371. Vararuci's *Sārasamuccaya* 38 *apanikaṅ kadaṅ-varga rakva, riṅ tunvan hiṅan ikan paṅatərakən, kunaṅ ikaṅ tumūt, sahāyanikaṅ dadi hyaṅ riṅ paran, gavenya śubhāśubha juga, mataṅnyan prihəna tikiṅ gave hayu, sahāyanta anuntunakəna ri pāna dlāha* 'When one dies, his kinsmen follow him up to the burning ground, and return when the smoke has subsided. It is only his good deeds that accompany him beyond. Therefore it is these which he must cultivate' (ed. and transl. Raghu Vira 1962).

372. Cf. Gandhakuti 4v4 *dalihən tan sakolahnya*.

7. Lexicographic notes

One of the challenges of studying the corpus of Airlangga inscriptions is the substantial number of words, derived forms, or meanings that are inadequately recorded in the *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* (Zoetmulder 1982, *OJED*) or are not recorded there at all. Indeed, specialists in the field have known all along that the dictionary is stronger in its coverage of literary than of epigraphical materials.[373] Forty years after the publication of *OJED*, progress in Old Javanese (OJ) epigraphy and philology is such that the time has come to start preparing for a future revised and expanded edition of Zoetmulder's seminal work. It is with that long-term aim in view that we present here our lexicographic notes referred to with asterisks in the body of this article. Our entries are normally structured in the following way: (1) headword and derived forms, (2) meaning of headword in *OJED*, (3) epigraphic attestations in chronological order (without aiming to be exhaustive, focusing on the Airlangga corpus and other epigraphy of the 10th and 11th centuries), (4) discussion. The alphabetical arrangement follows Zoetmulder's system. Several of our entries can be clarified with reference to Old Javanese data from Balinese epigraphy made accessible through the glossary in Goris' work (1954), which was among Zoetmulder's sources but appears not to have been excerpted in full. We have somewhat arbitrarily decided to list epigraphic occurrences only from Javanese epigraphy, while citing the relevant Balinese data only in our discussion. All references to Modern Javanese (MdJ) lexicon can be traced on the magnificent resource https://www.sastra.org/leksikon.

adəgan — see *bhāṇḍa adəgan*.

anyasāra — see *sāra*.

apura, paṅapura — *OJED* 'to return, make up (number), restore (to favour), forgive' — Kusambyan B36; Kemulan (1116 Ś.) Cd15. The derived form *paṅapura* is not recorded in *OJED* under *apura*. It must have had the meaning 'forgiveness' that *pangapura* still has in MdJ.

asthāna, paṅasthāna, maṅasthāna — *OJED asthana* '(Skt. āsthāna, assembly; hall of audience) prob.: a place in the inner part of the palace' — Munggut 3.5–9; Sima Anglayang 4r3–4, 4r7, 4v4–5. The derived forms are not recorded in *OJED*, which only records *paṅasthanan*. We tentatively translate *paṅasthāna* as action noun 'residence, dwelling', and *maṅasthāna* as 'to dwell'. The same usage is found in a contemporary Balinese inscription (*Prasasti Bali* no. 305, 933 Ś., 2v3).

373. Teeuw (2001: 535): "[…] for generations of students in The Netherlands Old Javanese literature/philology on the one hand and Old Javanese epigraphy/history on the other were two different worlds which rarely met, with some exceptions such as P. V. van Stein Callenfels and to a lesser extent F. D. K. Bosch. The most eloquent demonstration how far apart these worlds were is Zoetmulder's *magnum opus*, his *Old Javanese-English dictionary* (1982); this mine of information covers Old Javanese literature in its broadest sense, but is of little avail to the student of Old Javanese inscriptions, as Zoetmulder never found occasion to include the very different vocabulary of the numerous *praśasti* systematically in his lexicographical studies."

balik, pabalik — *OJED abalik* 'to turn into (the opposite), turn back to' — Sima Anglayang 5r7, 5v2, 5v3, 5v4. We assume that *pabalik* is a calque on Sanskrit *pratipad* (*OJED pratipāda*), literally meaning 'the return' but normally used as the name of the first day of the new month (new moon day). Although our hypothesis seems quite convincing both from the context (opposition to *pūrṇama* in previous *mijilāṅkən* sentences) and from the point of view of meaning (*valik*/*balik* is a close match in meaning to the Sanskrit base *prati-pad*), it is a remarkable fact that the word does not seem to be attested in this meaning at all.

bhāṇḍa adəgan — Muncang (866 Ś.) A35; Turun Hyang A34; Sima Anglayang 13r1, 14v5. *OJED* records these words individually under the headwords *bhāṇḍa* ('goods, wares, merchandise') and *adəgan* ('the adversary who stands opposite to someone, direct opponent?; = paṅadəgan (see below)?'); the word *paṅadəgan* is glossed as 'the place where so. or st. stands; stand, established position, function'. In Muncang and Turun Hyang, the term *bhāṇḍa adəgan* is associated with *paradeśa*, which may mean 'foreign countries'. There is thus a possibility that the term designates imported merchandise, though the implication of *adəgan* still escapes us.

baraṅka, pabaraṅka — *OJED* 'sheath of a kris (see waraṅka)' — Baru Cefd6; Kusambyan B25. The word is attested elsewhere only in some Balinese inscriptions of the 12th/13th centuries. It is on their basis that *OJED* has a subentry *pabaraṅka* with the gloss 'a certain tax (on the making of sheaths)'. The Baru passage (*mahvan· lambu, haturan· bāṁ, haturan· pādu, pabaraṁka, kḍi, valyan·, sambal·, sumbul·, hulun· haji jəṅgi siṅgaḥ, mabṛṣi, mavulu-vuluṁ Ityaivamādi kabeḥ*) is not cited, as Brandes read *pabaraka*. Our reading *pabaraṁka* is confirmed by the parallel passage in Kusambyan. These passages are incompatible with the gloss offered in *OJED* for *pabaraṅka*. We propose that the word meant 'kris sheath maker' in the 11th century, and there is probably a connection with the *OJED* entry *baraka* 'a certain metal and the artisan who works with it?'.

buyut sūkṣma — *OJED buyut* 'great-grandfather; great-grandchild; elder' and *sūkṣma* 'subtle, invisible, immaterial' — Munggut 3.29–30. The term *buyut sūkṣma*, as far as we know, does not occur as such in any other OJ source. We guess that no specific ancestor is intended, and therefore translate as plural. The expression very likely denotes the same collectivity as that which is named *hyaṁ śŭkṣma* in 4.24 of this same inscription; *deva sakala sūkṣma* in Pandaan C19, 23–24; and *sahananta deva sūkṣmā kabaiḥ* in the Kuti charter (date uncertain) 9v2–3.

colika — Munggut 3.15; Kuti (date uncertain) 5v4; Garaman (975 Ś.) 3v8; Sumengka (981 Ś.) 16. *OJED* has an entry *colika* with an unsuitable meaning; it also has an entry *cvalika* which is the term we are dealing with here. That entry is based on the passage from the Kuti charter that mentions *cvalika* in direct association with *gola* (*q.v.*). The term *colika*/*cvalika* is a designation of foreigners originating in the Cola realm of South India. See Sarkar 1969: 199–200.

dagaṅ, padagaṅ, mapadagaṅ — *OJED* ‘trading’ — Bimalasrama 8v6; Turun Hyang A31 and A34; Sima Anglayang 13r1, 13r6, 13v1, 13v7, 14r3, 14r5, 14v3, 14v5. Neither the form *ma-padagaṅ* nor its base *padagaṅ* are recorded in *OJED*. An occurrence of *mapadagaṅ* in Garaman (975 Ś.) 4r8 is translated as ‘trade’ by Boechari (2012: 511).

dāsa-bhūta — Waharu II (851 Ś.) 3r; Waharu III 3r1; Waharu IV (853 Ś.) 2v1; Kusambyan A33. The meaning is that of Sanskrit *dāsa-bhūta* ‘being slaves’, i.e. humble servants. See Waharu III 3r1 *pva suśrŭṣābhakti vastu* ***dăśa-bhūta*** *de lbūni pāduka śrī mahārāja*.

de, deyən/deyan — see *tan (hana) deyən* / *tan (hana) deyan*.

dhātukriyā — Kusambyan B27–28. The word is unattested in *OJED*, but is a known Sanskrit word, meaning ‘metallurgy’. Despite the difficulty of inserting this meaning in the context, we see no reason to speculate that the word had a different meaning in OJ.

əntas (intas?), kentas — Sima Anglayang 4v4. *OJED* only records *kantas* under *əntas*, and only with the transitive meanings ‘to set on land, carry across, pull out (of a well), rescue; to free (from sin etc, from taxation), rescue; (with sin etc as object) to wipe out’. The specific form *kentas* and the intransitive meaning ‘to come to shore’ that we seem to require are recorded for MdJ, although neither for that language nor for OJ, a base *intas* has been postulated.

giṇa-kāya — Cane Ab26, Ab28; Kusambyan A32; Balambangan r2. See *OJED guṇakāya* ‘excellent qualities and strength?; or: accumulation of virtues?’. The spelling *giṇa-kāya* is consistent in the Airlangga corpus and not, to our knowledge, ever found elsewhere epigraphically. Note that *gina* is the *krama* form of *guna* in MdJ. The occurrence in Cane Ab26 was edited as *gaṇitāyotsāhanya* by Brandes; the one in Ab28 as *giṇagāyanya*. We have checked the Cane stela directly and found the correct readings to be *giṇakāyotsāhanya* and *giṇakāyanya*.

gola — Munggut 3.15. *OJED* records *gola* with the gloss ‘a group of persons among the watĕk i jro. It seems to refer to a region (in India?)’. It may confidently be assumed to be a somewhat localized spelling of the name Gauḍa, i.e., the Bengal region of what is today Northeast India and Bangladesh that was during Airlangga’s time governed by the Pāla dynasty. See also the person called *saṅ* Gola in Kurungan (807 Ś.), line 5, and the collocation of *gola* with *cvalika* in the Kuti charter (see s.v. *colika*). The hypothesis that the term designates Gauḍa is strongly supported by the recent reinterpretation (Sinclair 2018–2019) of the short Sanskrit inscription of Pasir Panjang on Karimun Besar island in Kepulauan Riau, probably dating to the mid-13th century, as mentioning the ***gaula****paṇḍita* (= *gauḍapaṇḍita*, scholar from Gauḍa) Gautamaśrī, a historical figure indeed hailing from Bengal.

gritan, magritan, pagritanan — Sugih Manek (837 Ś.) A29; Cane Cd17; Sima Anglayang 13r1, 13r6, 13v1, 13v4, 13v7, 14r4, 14r7, 14v3, 14v5; Anjatan 3r10; Bularut C3. The meaning of *gritan* is not evident from the meaning of forms of *gərit* in *OJED* (*grit* I *gumrit*, *aṅgrit* ‘to creak, grind,

squeak') nor from the repeated use of the term in this inscription. Wisseman Christie (1998a: 376–377), discussing the Sima Anglayang charter, translates *gritan* as 'vehicle'. Elsewhere in the same article (p. 371), she translates both *agrītan* and *amutər* as 'cart-owners'. The meaning 'cart, wagon' is not implausible with reference to the meanings of the base word *gərit* if we assume that *gritan* would, in origin, have meant a squeaking cart. The Sima Anglayang charter indeed shows multiple indications (e.g., in 13v–14r) that it uses *gritan* (and derived forms) as synonym to *giliṅan*, a term which *OJED* glosses as 'wagon, carriage, cart'. And the fact that *gritan* is synonymous with *giliṅan* is beautifully confirmed in the OJ text *Tatvajñāna* (ed. Sudarshana Devi Singhal 1962, §27), where *gritan* is used as a synonym of *śakaṭa* (Skt. for 'cart') and *giliṅan*:

> *śakaṭopamaṁ pradhānaṁ puruṣo vṛṣabhopamaḥ |*
> *īśa-sārathi-saṁyuktaṁ jagat bhramita-cakravat ||*
>
> *ikaṅ pradhānatattva yāṅkən śakaṭa, ikaṅ ātmā yāṅkən vṛṣabha, īśah, bhaṭara īśvara sira kāṅkən sārathya, humrəg ikaṅ ātmā maṅhirid gritan, jagat bhramita-cakravat, ikaṅ jagat kāṅkən cakraniṅ giliṅan gumuluṅ aputəran riṅ devatā, mānuṣa, triyak, makanimitta deniṅ karma hala-hayu …*
>
> 'The ontic level of Nature is like a chariot. The Soul is like a bull. Īśa, the Lord Īsvara, is like a charioteer. He impels the Soul to pull the cart. *jagat bhramita-cakravat*: The universe is like the wheel of the cart that rolls and goes about in the deity, the human, [and] the animal because of the bad and good *karma* …'[374]

It is thus necessary to expand and correct *OJED*, which records *agritan* based only on the Cane passage and tentatively glosses 'with a grinding-stone (or -instrument)?'. The derived form *pagritanan* (13v7–14r1, 14r4), like *pagiliṅan* (14r3, 14r5), seems to serve as name of a specific merchant guild.

haturan — Kusambyan B25; Baru Cdef 6; Hantang (1057 Ś.) Cd20; Jepun (1066 Ś.) Cd17. All these passages have the sequence *haturan bāṅ, haturan pādu* in very similar contexts, always as objects of the verb *maṁhvan* 'to herd cattle'. *OJED* cites some of such passages only in the entry *padu* II 'a part. kind of goat or sheep (conn. with adu: fighting ram?)'. Goris (1954, II: 166), in a footnote to his translation of *Prasasti Bali* no. 351 7r1, explains that *haturan* means 'offering'; in his glossary, he observes that *haturan* figures in that inscription in a list of animals. There is an occurrence of *vḍus pādu* in Sima Anglayang 17v3 (*vḍus· pādu, Amet akar davu-davutan·*) while Kusambyan has *haturan· pādu, haturan· bāṁ* in B26 and *Amet akar· davu-davutan·* in B28. This might suggest that *haturan pādu* means the same as *vḍus pādu*. But the fact that Hantang Ab21 also figures the latter, besides *haturan pādu* in Cd20, might suggest otherwise.

hyaṅ, paṅhyaṅ, humyaṅakən — In *OJED*, under subentry *aṅhyaṅ, hinyaṅ, paṅhyaṅ* we find the glosses '(avs) to worship as god, approach a god to obtain st.; to implore, beg, pray'. The latter meanings are relevant for the

374. We are grateful to Andrea Acri for drawing this passage to our attention.

word *paṅhyaṅ*, which is frequently used in inscriptions of Airlangga's reign, and during other periods (including in literary OJ), in the meaning 'request', none of the relevant epigraphic passages being cited in the dictionary. Limiting ourselves to the Airlangga corpus, the relevant passages are Cane (Ab26), Bimalasrama (2.7), Sima Anglayang (13r5, 17r6) and Kusambyan (A29, A31, A36). It is to be noted that *panambah* (see s.v. *sambah*) is used in the same meaning in the Sima Anglayang charter. No derived forms with suffix *-akən* are recorded in *OJED* at all, but we find *humyaṅakən* in Sima Anglayang (13r5). See Zoetmulder (1976: 190) on the difference between verbs with and without *-akən* suffix: his example *kon*/*kumon*/*kumonakən* is analogous to *hyaṅ*/*aṅhyaṅ*/*humyaṅakən*.

jātaka — Waharu II (851 Ś.) 3v = Waharu III 3r4; Sumbut (855 Ś.) 2r6; Anjuk Ladang (859 Ś.) A28; Muncang (866 Ś.) A29; Kalimusan (10th c.) r4; Barsahan (10th/11th c.) r7; Kamalagyan A3; Sima Anglayang 4r4, 4v1, 4v5. The meaning 'domain', not recorded in *OJED* (*jātaka* II), was determined by de Casparis (1940: 57–58), who pointed out the parallelism between *jātaka punpunan*, in the Himad-Walandit inscription (of the Majapahit period), and the expression *viṣaya punpunan* in the Sarvadharma charter (1191 Ś.). De Casparis' argument was ignored by Gomperts 2001: 99, who cites from a Central Javanese inscription the precise expression *rāma jātaka* (that also occurs in Barsahan, Kalimusan, Kamalagyan, Muncang and Watu Kura I), in an argument leading to the conclusion that the "*jātaka* was possibly the astrologer who made birth horoscopes and had the rank of a religious official". The same interpretation of *rāma jātaka* had already been proposed by Stutterheim in a 1934 article, cited by de Casparis, who argued against it.

kalen — see *len*.

karapa — see *rapa*.

kriyākāraṇa — Sima Anglayang (17r1). The word must be understood as *kriyākaraṇa*, which is synonymous with *kriyākāra*. See Olivelle *et al.* 2015: 139 ('legal process, court procedure; same as *vyavahāra*').

kṣetra, kakṣaitran — *OJED* 'field' — Sima Anglayang 16v3. We tentatively assume that the word *kakṣaitran*, unknown to us from any other source, was synonymous with the term *dharmakṣetra* (also spelt *dharmakṣaitra*, *OJED* 'an area for a religious foundation') found in some charters of the Sindok period.

kulak — Sima Anglayang 8r6, 8v1–2; Kukub (15th c.) 2v5. The word is not recorded in *OJED*. It indicates a container for measuring quantities of edible commodities in MdJ.

lañcuran — Barsahan (10th c.) 5r; Gandhakuti 3r1; Sima Anglayang 17r3. The meaning of this term, not recorded in *OJED*, is not precisely known. But it seems to designate some kind of tax or fine. In dictionaries of MdJ, the term is recorded in the meaning 'fighting cock'.[375]

375. Tom Hoogervorst comments (pers. comm.): "The word *lancur* seems to denote the long tail feathers (Dutch: *sikkelveren*, Malay: *lawi*) of a rooster. It still has this meaning in modern

ləṅis — Sima Anglayang 5v5. The meaning 'oil, lubricant' required in this context is not recorded in *OJED*, but is still standard for *lengis* in Balinese.

len — *OJED* 'other, different, otherwise, and also' — *salen* (Munggut 3.12), *kalen* (Sima Anglayang 13r1, 17r3). In Munggut 3.12 *deśa salen*, the second word means 'other'. It is morphologically equivalent to Indonesian *selain*, but the meaning required in the context is a bit different. There are numerous occurrences of the collocation *thāni salen* 'other village' in Balinese inscriptions (Goris 1954, II: 268, e.g. no. 303, 916 Ś., 4r10), but *salen* is not recorded in *OJED*. By contrast, *kalen* is recorded in *OJED* but in a meaning other than 'aside', which seems required in the Sima Anglayang contexts.

mala-pātaka — Kusambyan d31. The expression stands right at the edge of a fragment, and the context therefore does not help to confirm that we have here the OJ equivalent to Malay *mala-petaka*. The term is not recorded in *OJED* and indeed not attested in other sources as early as this inscription. We have found it, i.a., in the Merapi-Merbabu manuscripts of the prose redaction of the *Kuñjarakarṇa* story (van der Molen 1983: 224–225, line 2210) and in the *Calon Araṅ* (Poerbatjaraka 1926: 129, Suastika 1997: 72). If our reading in the Kusambyan passage is correct, we have here the so far earliest attestation of the expression, a so-called "twin-form" (Gonda 1973: 472–473) composed of an OJ and a Sanskrit term for 'evil, sin' (cf. n. 289).

maṅasthāna — see *asthāna*.

mata, kamatan — *OJED* records no epigraphic occurrences of *kamatan* 'seen, spotted'. They are rare elsewhere (Barsahan 10th c. v6, *Prasasti Bali* no. 305, 933 Ś., 9r4), but common in the Airlangga corpus (Munggut 4.4, Baru Cdef8, Pandaan C17, Sima Anglayang 4v4, 14v5, 16r5).

natar, panataran — The word *panataran* is attested in several published and unpublished inscriptions, with a notable concentration during Airlangga's reign (Munggut 3.34; Kusambyan c37; Bimalasrama 1.2; Sima Anglayang 17r2). In Bimalasrama, for instance, we read: *mvaṁ panataranya maṅaran iṁ pamuntāran·, lmaḥ karāma-rāman· I sikuñit· ya ta tinumbas de mpuṅku muntun* 'And their *panataran* called Pamuntaran, a land of the village community of Sikuñit, was purchased by Mpuṅku Muntun'. In the context of that text it is clear that Pamuntaran designates a rather extensive piece of land. The parallelism between Munggut 3.34 *tamolaḥ I panatarannya* and Cane Cd 23–24 *tamolaḥ ṅke ri sīmanya I cane* suggests that *panataran* is practically a synonym of *sīma*, and so we propose the translations 'domain, estate'. The form is surprising by its absence in *OJED*, although the dictionary does record *natar* which is glossed 'grounds, yard (in front or around a building, house, temple, etc); ground, surface of

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Javanese and Sundanese. In combination with the suffix *-an* it means 'having *lancur*', hence Javanese and Sundanese *lancuran* 'a young rooster (whose tail-feathers have developed)'. A secondary meaning is that of an outstanding man (cf. Malay *jago*). In OJ, however, the suffix *-an* appears to have been used differently. May we speculate there was a tax on having (presumably lucrative) adolescent roosters?"

a piece of cloth on which the pattern is painted'. The form *panataran* could have been known to Zoetmulder among other published inscriptions from *Prasasti Bali* 352 (944 Ś.) 5r1–3, where Goris translates it as 'front yard of the temple', although we believe 'domain, estate' is more plausible in that context.[376] Another occurrence of the word is found in Waringin Pitu (1369 Ś.) 12v3–4 *tan hiṅ ataḥ kveḥnyan maṅhəb i panataran saṁ hyaṁ dharmma riṁ răjasakusumapura* 'Their numbers as they seek shelter in the domain (*panataran*) of the holy foundation at Rājasakusumapura should not be limited'.

nanā, mananā — Sangguran (850 Ś.) A9; Linggasuntan (851 Ś.) A6; Masahar (852 Ś.) A5; Kamalagyan A16; Kusambyan A27; Anjatan 4r1–2. *OJED* has an entry *nanā, ananā* 'destroyed, annihilated, badly damaged, with heavy losses' but cites no epigraphic occurrences. After a few attestations in early inscriptions of Sindok's reign, the word is only used in the Airlangga corpus, besides in contemporary inscriptions of Bali. See *Prasasti Bali* nos. 303 (916 Ś.) 3r9 *mapaknā pamahayva iṅ samananā ṅkāna* and 352 (944 Ś.) 4r5 *ikā ta milvā ya mobhayadharmma mamahayva riṅ samanāna*. In all epigraphic attestations, the word is used in the form *sa-ma-nanā* and the double prefix has obviously stood in the way of the form being recognized by previous scholars. Brandes read *pamananā* in Kamalagyan A16. Goris (1954, II: 301), thinking it is a Sanskrit expression, proposes an entry *samānanā* 'worshiped' and translates the quoted passages accordingly. Trigangga (2003: 50) translates Linggasuntan A6 *paknānya sīma punpunana bhaṭāra Umyāpāra Asiṁ samananā I saṁ hyaṁ dharmma* as 'Perlunya menjadi *sīma punpunan* Bhaṭāra agar siapa pun berusaha keras demi (kepentingan) *sang hyang dharmma*', whereas the meaning is 'The purpose of it becoming a *sīma* estate of the Lord is to care for anything that is dilapidated in the holy foundation'. That this is the kind of meaning that is intended emerges clearly from the fact that *samananā* is generally combined with forms derived from base *pahayu*, here meaning 'to restore'.

nityakarma, panityakarma — Sima Anglayang 5r7, 8r2, 13r7. We understand *pa-nityakarma* as a derivation from *nityakarma* meaning 'regular work, day-to-day task', in the same way that we find *patahil* in the structurally analogous phrase *patahilnireṁ macāmaran ri kaḍiri* in 5v1. Or are *panitya* and *karma* separate words? If so, the meaning of the element *panitya* is unknown (though a connection with Malay *panitia* 'commission;

376. *Prasasti Bali* no. 352 5r1–3: *maṅkana rasani turunyānugraha pāduka haji, irikanaṅ karāmān i baturan sapasuk thāni, kunaṅ yathānyan ta lusāpagəha i panataranya i karāmān i baturan, mataṅnyan vineh ya makmitan saṅ hyaṅ ajñā haji praṣaṣtī* 'Aldus is de inhoud van het gunstbewijs van de Heer Vorst aan het dorp Baturan met geheel zijn gebied. Opdat niet afgebroken worde al wat vastgesteld is op het voorplein van de tempel in het dorp Baturan, daarom werd hun gegeven het heilige edict van de Vorst te bewaren, …' (Goris). Goris' reading *ta lusā-* must be a mistake for *tulusā-*, for we read in the Barsahan charter (v3–4): *kunaṁ yathānyan· tulusāpagəha Anugraha śrī mahārāja I ḍapuṅku Ugihan·, muAṁ Anak· sarikā saṁ pantan·, mataṅyan· vineḥ sarikā makmitana tulis· Ājñā haji de śrī mahārāja* 'But in order that the grant of the Great King to *ḍapuṅku* Ugihan and his children who are *pantan* be permanent [and] irrevocable, that is why they were allowed to keep in custody a document with the royal decree of the Great King'.

committee' seems imaginable), and *karma* could mean 'work' as well as 'spouse' (see *OJED*, *karma* I and II). The word *panitya* could be derived from Sanskrit *nitya*, or from OJ *titi*, one of whose meanings is 'smith'. Cf. *Bhomāntaka* 56.4: *yan karmā titi mavrat ambək ika* 'if she marries a smith, his thoughts are heavy' (ed. & transl. Teeuw & Robson 2005). It seems unlikely that there is any connection with MdJ *paniti krama* 'partner, spouse'.

paṅhyaṅ — see *hyaṅ*.

para-patapan — This rare expression is cited in *OJED* only from Kamalagyan A9, A19 and now also found in Sima Anglayang 16v3. It seems that *para* has the function described by de Casparis (1991) for *X para-X* constructions.

parapīḍita, parapedita — 'to oppress' — Kusambyan B33; Sima Anglayang 17r2–3. *OJED* cites *parapedita* (from Sanskrit *parapīḍana* 'the oppression or tormenting of others') on the basis of a single Balinese inscription (van Stein Callenfels 1926: 46 f., 1181 Ś., 3v3: *tan ilva codya kilalan parapeditan*), and adds that the term occurs three times in Balinese inscriptions. For more details, see Goris 1954, II: 287. The word becomes frequent in Balinese epigraphy from *Prasasti Bali* no. 353 (945 Ś.) onwards. And we find *parapiḍika*, a spelling mistake for *parapīḍita*, in Sima Anglayang 17r2–3.

pasaṅ giri, pamasaṅ-giri — Sima Anglayang 5v4. The term *pasaṅ giri* must be a synonym of the fiscal terms *pasaṅ gunuṅ* and *pasaṅ vukir* none of which are recorded in *OJED* but all mentioned on the basis of Balinese records in Goris' glossary (1954, II: 286). The term *pasaṅ gunuṅ* is used in a handful of 10th-century charters, among which Tihang (836 Ś.), where we read in 1v3: *paṅguhanya pasaṁ gunuṁ pirak· dhā 6 Avur· dhā 7* 'Its *pasaṅ gunuṅ* revenue is: 6 *dhāraṇa* of silver, 7 *dhāraṇa* of *avur*'. The term *pasaṅ giri* itself survives in MdJ where *pasang giri* has meanings such as 'condition, promise' but also 'lottery'.

patūt padulur — 'to maintain harmony side by side' — Munggut 3.10–11; Sima Anglayang 4r5. While the forms *patūt* and *padulur* are recorded individually in *OJED* under the headwords *tūt* and *dulur*, their combination, which is found in two inscriptions published in this article, is not recognized by Zoetmulder as a fixed idiom (although an example of its use is cited under *padulur*). In his publications on OJ grammar (Zoetmulder 1950: 168, 222; Zoetmulder & Poedjadwijatna 1992, II: 68), the two *pa-* forms are analyzed as imperatives. The non-epigraphic occurrences of *patūt padulur*, as far as we have been able to find them, are the following: *Ādiparva* 137.19 *saṅkṣepanyānaku, patūt padulur lāvan saṅ lima sānak, narapvan kitān tinəmuṅ hayu, mvaṅ amuhara sukhanikaṅ rāt kabeh*; *Bhīṣmaparva* 144.22 *pahuvusan juga kitāpraṅ, at gave ta pvaṅ sandhi patut padulur lavan saṅ dhanañjaya*.[377] The usage in the two epigraphic passages is slightly different

377. We have found variants of the expression in two other texts. See *Tantu Paṅgəlaran* 58:4–5 *pinatmokən pva hulih hyaṅ brahmā viṣṇu magave manuṣa, sama* ***hatūt madulur*** *mapasih-pasihan* 'The products of the gods Brahmā and Wiṣṇu making human beings were brought together, and

from that seen in these two Parva texts, as *patūt padulur* is not combined with *lavan*. While the Parva passages allow analysis as imperative forms, the Munggut and Sima Angalayang passages do not. We are hesitantly inclined to propose that the *pa-* prefix was able to form reciprocal expressions. This, we believe, has not so far been observed in OJ, but it is one of the important functions of the prefix *pa-* in Old Sundanese (see Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006: 39).

prasiddhi — Sima Anglayang 13v5. The word can have the meaning 'proof, evidence' in Sanskrit, and it seems that we require such a meaning in this passage.

prih-śarintən — 'by oneself, alone, own' — Sima Anglayang 8r3. The form *prih-śarintən* is a *krama*-like variant of *prih-śarīra* which in turn is equivalent to *prih-avak*. Only the latter is recorded in *OJED*.

puhun — see *riṅ muhun malama*.

pupu, pamupvan — Sima Anglayang 16v7. The word *pamupvan* is not recorded in *OJED*, but it does cite an example with another form derived from the same base found in Kancana (10th c.) 8r2 under *mupvani, pinupvan* 'to collect, bring' (*pupvana ya dṛvya-haji*). See also Tija & Haru-Haru (no date) 2v4 *Ikaṁ pinupunikaṅ avaju*.

rapa, arapa-rapa, karapa, pakarapa, pakarapan, makarapa — Sobhamerta (861 Ś.) 3r6, Kancana (10th c.) 6v1, Barsahan (10th c.) r5; Baru Cdef5–6; Kusambyan B24–25; Sima Anglayang 17r4; Garaman (975 Ś.) 3v1; Plumbangan (1042 Ś.) Cd6; Geneng I (1050 Ś.) Ab18; Hantang (1057 Ś.) Cd21; Kudadu (1216 Ś.) 10r. *OJED* (p. 813, s.v. *pakaruṅan*) cites the Baru passage as *makuda mahaliman* ***makara pakaruṅan*** *pavḍusan mahvan lambu*, begging the question what *makara* would mean. Parallel passages from Balinese inscriptions make clear that we are dealing with a base word *rapa*, which in those inscriptions tends to figure in the reduplicated base *rapa-rapa* (that we encounter in Sima Anglayang 17r4), although Goris (1954, II: 296), who glosses 'meaning uncertain; to plunder; to take away?', also lists one occurrence of the secondary base *ka-rapa* that is more commonly found in the Javanese corpus. Some of the relevant passages in *Prasasti Bali* are no. 303 (916 Ś.) 4r8 *tan paṅrapa-rapā irikanaṅ sarva tumuvuh salinaraṅannikaṅ pañambahan haji i bvahan*; no. 352 (944 Ś.) 4v3 *tan alapana vvah sərəh təkapnikaṅ makarapa*; no. 353 (945 Ś.) 3r2–3 *tan hana sira vehən maṅrapa-rapā maṅramva, tan paṅalapa vvītniṅ pucaṅ […] sakveh linaraṅaniṅ anak thāni*. The contemporary Balinese inscriptions tend to use forms of *rapa* in formulating prohibitions on the harvesting of

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they were joined in mutual love' (Robson & Hadi Sidomulyo 2021: 11, 224) and *Deśavarṇana* (ed. Kern & Krom 1919) 35.1 *tuhun i ḍatəṅnire pasuruhan manimpaṅ aṅidul ri kāpāñaṅan, anuluy* ***atut*** *ḍamārga* ***madulur*** *tikaṅ ratha ḍatəṅ riṅ andoh vavaṅ, muvah i kḍu plukh lavan i hambal antyanikaṅ pradeśenituṅ, jhathiti ri siṅhasāripura rājadharma dinunuṅ narendrāmgil* 'However, on coming to Pasuruhan he turned off southwards to Kapañangan, And then following the main road the carriages arrived together in Andoh Wawang, And Kĕḍung Pĕluk as well as Hambal, the last of the villages to be noted. At once the King headed for the royal sanctuary at the palace of Singhasāri to lodge there' (transl. Robson 1995).

certain plants. As explained in n. 145, the Baru and Kusambyan passages are problematic; we are unsure which word actually was intended to follow the form *makarapa*; it is also uncertain whether this form is to be analyzed as *maka-rapa* or *ma-karapa*. The latter seems more plausible, among other reasons because the base *krapa* is still known in MdJ where it seems to mean something like 'gathering wild roots/herbs'. We tentatively translate the forms derived from *rapa* with the English verb 'to scavenge', but a meaning like 'to collect forest products' would also be plausible.

riṅ muhun malama — Adulengen 3r1; Sima Anglayang 4r6. *OJED* (s.v. *puhun* III) quotes only *riṅ puhun malama*, but the first of its citations is taken from Adulengen where *pu* is the result of a 'correction' by Cohen Stuart (1875, no. XXI). While the variant with *p* is exclusively found in inscriptions issued during the Majapahit period, it seems that the variant with *m* was normal during earlier centuries. Besides in the mentioned two Airlangga inscriptions, and in a contemporary inscription from Bali (*Prasasti Bali* no. 353, 945 Ś., 1v2), we have found it in Mula-Malurung (1177 Ś., 5v5). And the expression *muhun vəːṅi*, in the Baharasrama inscription (837 Ś., 1v8), seems to be an early equivalent, with *vāṅi* 'night' somehow corresponding to *malama* (which obviously makes one think of a connection with the Malay word *malam*). We have the impression that we see evolving over the centuries an expression basically meaning 'of former times', whose semantics remained stable while its form evolved (involving words that mean 'before', 'night', 'for a long time'), presumably because it was not transparent even to speakers of the language.

sādhana — Baru Abe 11, 16; Sima Anglayang 13v7. Without citing any epigraphic evidence, *OJED* records three meanings: '1. that with which to…, means; esp. means to attain perfection and final release, religious practices, 2. master, conqueror? 3. wealth, money?'. The first meaning is in evidence in the two Baru passages. The Sima Anglayang passage requires postulating a fourth meaning for *sādhana*, one that it also has in Sanskrit juridical literature, namely 'means of proof, evidence' (Olivelle *et al.* 2015: 419).

salaran — Cane Cd15; Patakan B16; Sima Anglayang 8r7. *OJED* has an entry *salaran* (see below, *salahan*) but does not propose a meaning, and it is unclear whether that *salaran* is the same as the one intended here. The meaning 'toll' had, however, already been determined by Goris 1954, II: 300–301. This meaning is also recorded for MdJ.

salahan — Munggut 3.20. OJED cites an example of *salahan* under *salaran*, suggesting an equivalence between the two. While *salaran* is found in inscriptions of Airlangga's reign (Cane Cd15 and Patakan B16) and possibly earlier (Kalimusan 10th c., r3), always in a similar context, the present form *salahan* is found elsewhere only in post-Airlangga inscriptions (Rameswarapura 1197 Ś. 9r2, Balawi 1127 Ś. 7v6, Warunggahan 1127 Ś. 11r2) and in the *tinulad* Kuti (date uncertain, 6r1). It thus seems that the form *salahan* is used more often in the period after Airlangga, while before and during Airlangga's reign, the expected form is *salaran*. We remain unsure, however, whether both words can actually express the same meaning.

salen — see *len*.

sambah, panambah — Cane Ab25, Ab28; Terep I 3r2; Sima Anglayang 13r4, 13r6, 17r5; Geneng I (1050 Ś.) Ab7; Talan (1058 Ś.) Ab8; Padlegan II (1081 Ś.) Ab10. See discussion of *paṅhyaṅ* under *hyaṅ*. Though *OJED* lists the meaning 'respectful request' under the base word *səmbah*/*sambah*, this meaning is not repeated in the entry *anəmbah, suməmbah, sinəmbah, panəmbah* ('to worship, revere, pay respect to, pay homage to, greet reverentially …') and none of the epigraphic occurrences of *panambah* are cited.

sāra — Cane Ab25; Bularut C5–6, e4–5, f1–5, 11; Sima Anglayang 5r6, 13r2–3, 13v2; Garaman (975 Ś.) 4v1–2. From the repeated occurrence of *rvaṁ sāra* ('two *sāra*s') in Bularut, from two occurrences on Sima Anglayang plate 5 (*mapadagaṅa sāra, 32, Iṁ sakahyaṅān·, kunaṁ sinaṅguḥ sasāra*), as also from the occurrences in Garaman, it is clear that *sāra* denoted something countable, while from the repeated occurrence of *anya-sāra* ('other *sāra*' or '*sāra* of others') on plate 13 it appears that *sāra* could be different or belong to others. No unit *sāra* seems to be known from other OJ sources, and none of the meanings recorded by *OJED* for *sāra* are countable words. (Since the spelling is consistently *sāra*, a connection with *OJED śara* seems unlikely.) It is perhaps noteworthy in this connection that *sāra* commonly occurs in the OJ compound *sāra-bhāra* whose meaning (*OJED* 'entrusted with power, put in a position of trust, trusted functionary or officer') cannot transparently be derived from the meanings of the two Sanskrit words that it combines. The second, *bhāra*, has the general meaning 'weight, importance' (cf. Sima Anglayang 14r2) but is also used as a specific unit of weight in Sanskrit. We are still unsure what to make of these facts and leave *sāra* untranslated.

səpah, pasəpahan — Munggut 3.2. The term is not found in *OJED*, which does have the entries *səpah* 'quid (esp. betel); (pre)chewed food' and *səpahan* 'a part. kind of small bird (GR)'. Presumably *pasəpahan* is derived from the former and designates those who trade in requisites for betel consumption.

sūkṣma — see *buyut sūkṣma*.

surup, pisurup — *OJED surup* '(subst.) going down, setting (of sun, moon, stars)', *sumurup* 'to enter (a narrow opening), penetrate, enter and become invisible, set (sun, moon, stars)' — Sima Anglayang 8r3. The causative derivation *pisurup* (whence the form *mamisurupa*) is not recorded in *OJED*.

svīkāra — Muncang (866 Ś.) A48; Baru Abe29; Sima Anglayang 14r5; Hantang (1057 Ś.) Ab21–22; Kemulan (1116 Ś.) Ab24. None of the meanings indicated in *OJED* seem to be suitable in most or all of these epigraphic passages. We believe that the meaning of *svīkāra* intended is close to meanings like 'assent, consent' that the word can have in Sanskrit.

tahil, patahil — Kamalagyan A4, A18; Sima Anglayang 5v1, 5v3–4. There is no entry *patahil* in *OJED*, though this derivation from *tahil* is mentioned among others in Goris' glossary (1954, II: 314) on the basis of Balinese inscriptions and the term, indicating some form of tax, is not unknown in

Javanese epigraphy either. Cf. the Palepangan charter (828 Ś.) line 7: *piṇḍa pirak patahil rāmanta rikanaṅ savaḥ lamvit 1 tampaḥ 7 blaḥ 1 pirak kā 5 dhā 5* 'The total amount of silver serving the elders to contribute *tahil* on the ricefield of 1 *lamvit*, 7 *tampah*, 1 *blah*, was 5 *kāṭi* and 5 *dhāraṇa* of silver'. Cf. also the apparently equivalent expression *panaṅkan tahil* in the 13th-century Narasinghanagara charter (14r2).

talaṅkup, tinalaṅkupan — *OJED manalaṅkup* 'to enclose from two sides' — Sima Anglayang 16v7. The *-i* derivation from *talaṅkup* that is implied by the passive form *tinalaṅkupan* is not listed in *OJED*.

tan (hana) deyən / tan (hana) deyan — Sima Anglayang 4v1, 4r2, 14v1, 17v5; Kusambyan B30; Anjatan 4r8. Besides in these inscriptions of the Airlangga corpus, the expression is also found in a Sindok inscription (Muncang 866 Ś. A34, A38) and in some inscriptions of the time of Balitung (Kayu Ara Hiwang 823 Ś. AbC4; Panggumulan A 824 Ś. 1v5; Mantyasih I 829 Ś. 1v8). Although *deyan* occurs in MdJ meaning 'possibly, probably', there is no entry *deyən* or *deyan* in *OJED*. The former could be analyzed as an irrealis passive of *aṅde*, but we expect that *tan (hana) dey(ə/a)n* is an idiom similar to *tidak mungkin* ('it's impossible that …') or *jangan sampai* ('may it not come so far that …') in Indonesian.

təku, anəkvi, təkyəna — Barsahan 1r13; Baru Cdef7; Bimalasrama 1.10–2.2; Kusambyan B30, B36; Anjatan 4r7; Padlegan II (1081 Ś.) Ab17. These epigraphic passages have in common a sequence that figures with slight variation as *sira sama təkyəna* (Baru, Kusambyan B30), *sama təkyənāta sira* (Barsahan, Anjatan), *sama təkyənata* (Padlegan II), *sama təkyənya* (Bimalasrama) or *sama takyanira* (Kusambyan B36). The word division is not always clear; our predecessors have not always recognized the word *sama* that seems to be present in all instances, and *ata* that is present in three. The last-mentioned variant is also found in an Old Balinese equivalent *sama təkyānənida* (*Prasasti Bali* no. 304, 923 Ś., 4r3), which Goris (1954, II: 303, 315) explained with reference to a base *taki* 'to take care of, to receive a guest with due honor'. We think the forms must be explained with reference to *OJED təku*, whose subentry *anəkvi, anəkvani, tinəkvan* is glossed 'to solicit, beg insistently', and propose that *təkyəna* is the passive irrealis form, not recorded in *OJED*, corresponding to active realis *anəkvani*. Thus, a sentence like Anjatan 4r7 *An* ***sama təkyənāta sira*** *Umimbuha sakaparipūrṇnāknani daməl· śrī mahārāja saṁ hyaṁ kuṭi Iṅ amṛtamaṅgala* could mean 'that all of them should be urged to increase the perfection of the Great King's foundation of the holy cloister of Amṛtamaṅgala' — if *təkyənāta = təkyəna+ata*. Alas this explanation still fails to account for the forms *sama təkyənya* (Bimalasrama) and *sama takyanira* (Kusambyan B36).

təṅgək, anəṅgək, panəṅgək — Sima Anglayang 8r2, 8r4, 8v1, 10v5, 14v4. In *OJED*, under *təṅgək* '1. neck, throat; 2. what comes after the head (beginning), the middle', there is a subentry *panəṅgək* '1. the second child (cf paṅgulu); 2. guardian?'. The second meaning of the subentry is based, besides the Sima Anglayang inscription, on *Agastyaparva* 393.12 (ed. Gonda 1933) *bhagavān kaṇva ṅaranira … panəṅgək anak bhagavān viśvāmitra*

'Lord Kaṇva, […] was the guardian of Viśvāmitra's daughter'. This passage indeed requires postulating a meaning such as 'to guard (a child), to take care of'. The same can be inferred from the words *anəṅgək kita bapebu* read in the two Merapi-Merbabu manuscripts of the Kuñjarakarṇa story, line 1871 in van der Molen's edition (1983: 210–211). Instead of the editor's Dutch translation "U ging 'vader' en 'moeder' zeggen" ["You started saying 'mom' and 'dad'"], we believe the phrase means "Mom and dad took care of you". The Sima Anglayang passages seem to imply that the verb could also be used for objects other than children.

uṇḍi, moṇḍi — Sima Anglayang 5v3, 8r2, 13r3, 13r5, 13v2, 13v4, 13v5. The word is attested epigraphically elsewhere only in the Tulang Er charter (914 Ś.) of the time of Daksa, where we find several occurrences, all of the structure seen in 1r13 *kapuA vinaiḥ pirak uṇḍi dhā 1 sovaṁ-sovaṁ* 'they were all given 1 *dhāraṇa* of *pirak uṇḍi* per person', the only difference being the number and the unit of weight. *OJED* cites the word only from the *Ādiparva* and the *Tantu Paṅgəlaran*, from contexts wholly unrelated to economic transactions, and tentatively assigns the meaning 'ball'. On (Old) Javanese *uṇḍi* and Malay *undi*, going back to Tamil *uṇṭai* (pronounced *uṇḍai*), whose basic meaning is 'ball, globe, sphere; anything round or globular, commonly rather small', see Hoogervorst 2015: 74. In Tulang Er, the combination *pirak uṇḍi* must denote the small globular silver coinage that was common in ancient Java (Wicks 1986). The connection with monetary units is possible but not as evident in the Sima Anglayang context, where the expression *uṇḍi katapa-hajyan* (13r3) might imply a monetary contribution to whatever *tapa haji* precisely means (cf. Goris 1954, II: 286 s.v. *pasaṅ gunuṅ*, 319). It seems clear at least that the meaning 'penalty' assumed by Wisseman Christie (1998a: 374–376) for the Sima Anglayang contexts where *uṇḍi* occurs must be rejected.

vaja, pamaja — Linggasuntan (851 Ś.) A25; Anjuk Ladang (859 Ś.) A47; Sobhamerta (861 Ś.) 5v6; Patakan 21; Sima Anglayang 5v5; Anjatan 3r8; Warunggahan (1127 Ś.) 12r7. *OJED* only records two meanings for the word *pamaja*, namely '1. the spearhead (troops in the front; officer, chief?' and '2. the blade of a plane'. It seems that a third meaning must be admitted, probably 'steel'. In the Balitung corpus (Taji 3v4, Dalinan 4r11, Rukam 2r4, Poh 2v18), the spelling is always *pama(j)jha* (see Damais 1952: 90–91, n. 1) and the word always denotes some kind of tool, so the meaning 'carpenter's plane' seems acceptable. In the Sindok corpus, the spelling is always *pamaja*, and the word seems to denote a raw material. See Linggasuntan A24–25 *kady aṅgāniṁ mabasana, masayaṁ, makacapuri maṅuñjal makapas vuṅkuḍu vsi tambaga gaṅsa timaḥ vuyaḥ paḍat lṅa bras gula pamaja bsar kasumba, saprakāraniṁ dval pinikul* and Anjuk Ladang A47–48 *sajiniṁ momah-umah vsi pamaja tambaga gaṅśa prakāra*. The latter phrase is found almost identically in Sobhamerta 5v6. Similar lists are also found in Bimalasrama 8v8–9r2 (though *pamaja* is lacking here) and in the above-indicated passage of Patakan. Even in a much later inscription (Warunggahan 12r7), *pamaja* is still found in a similar list. Finally, in Anjatan (3r8) we find the word *vaja* taking the place of *pamaja* in all previously quoted lists, suggesting that *pamaja* and *vaja* can mean the same thing.

vallahāra — Munggut 3.16; Sumengka (981 Ś.) 16. The term figures in almost identical lists of *varga kilalān* in both inscriptions, and from the structure of the two lists it is clear that the geographic origins of the group thus designated must have been on the Indian west coast. There is thus no doubt that the term must reflect the same (ultimately Indian) word as does *balharā* in the accounts of India by Ibn Khurradādhbih (10th c.) and other Arabic authors, according to which it represented a title of the kings of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty that ruled substantial territories extending from what is now Gujarat, through Maharashtra, into Karnakata, during the last quarter of the 1st millennium CE. See Ahmad 2012 and Schmiedchen 2014: 25 n. 2.

vantilan, parvantilan — Kusambyan B27. Neither the word *parvantilan* (spelt *parbvantilan*) nor its base *vantilan* are recorded in *OJED*, but several contemporary inscriptions from Bali do contain occurrences, and Goris states in his glossary entry (1954, II: 221): "*bantilan* (Ind) open loods, zoals de huidige *wantilan* voor hanengevechten". Cf. i.a. *Prasasti Bali* no. 353 (945 Ś.) 2r5–2v1, which shares several items with the list found in Kusambyan: *pataṅ siki hīṅananya salvirniṅ buñcaṅ haji rayāḍmit, kady aṅganiṅ aṅir* ***bahan*** *lañcaṅ, banava,* ***suṅkul, mamantilan****, larya-laryyan, madaməl kali*, "Echter is limiet der bijdragen voor herendiensten vier stuks, zowel voor grote als kleine herendiensten: zoals materiaal (hout?) voor boten, schepen, krisscheden, loodsen, larya-laryan, grachten-aanleg." The *wantilan*, a roofed pavilion with pillars but no walls, standing upon a raised platform, is ubiquitous in modern Bali. It is used as cockfighting arena and community meeting space.

vaśa-pramāṇa — Munggut 3.8–9. The expression *vaśa-pramāṇa* 'absolute authority' is found also in the charters of Panggumulan (824 Ś.) 1v5–6 *bhaṭāra muaṁ bhaṭārī Ataḥ basa-pramāṇā I sovarani sukha-duḥkhanya kabaiḥ*; of Poh (827 Ś.) 1v5–6 *saṁ hyaṁ caitya saṁ devata saṁ lumāḥ Iṁ pastika Ataḥ basa-pramāṇā I sovarani sukhaduḥkhanya kabaiḥ*; and of Sobhamerta (861 Ś.) 1r6 *an sira juga bāsa-pramāṇa irikanaṁ lmaḥ savaḥ kubvan*. Besides *kevala* or *kevala juga*, it is very rare to find any word between *ataḥ* and *pramāṇa*. The epigraphically attested spellings all suggest a connection with Sanskrit *vāsa* 'residence', but there is no entry for such a *basa*/*bāsa*/*vāsa* in *OJED* and non-epigraphic sources suggest that the intended first element is actually *vaśa*. Thus, in *Sumanasāntaka* 141.4 one reads *kita vaśa-pramāṇa*, which has been translated 'You have absolute control over her' (Worsley *et al.* 2013). *OJED* s.v. *vaśa* cites *Udyogaparva* 4.20: *rahadyan saṅhulun vaśā mramāṇa (r. pramāna?) ri vadva pinakaṅhulun*. Finally, a passage in the *Ṛṣiśāsana*, which reads *apan saṅ paṇḍita pramāṇa irikaṅ patapan, sira vaśa-vaśitva ry alasnya* (forthcoming ed. Marine Schoettel, Arlo Griffiths & Timothy Lubin), makes the connection with *vaśa* explicit by using the expression *vaśa-vaśitva* to gloss *pramāṇa*.

vulu — *passim*. The word, though extremely common in OJ epigraphy, has not so far been recognized as the calque on Sanskrit *varṇa* that it seems to have been. Important evidence is contained in the Barahasrama charter of the time of Daksa, where we read: *muAṁ mamava ron· smat·, sarbvaphalaphali, vras· caturvvarṇna kukusan· 1 Iṁ savulu-savulu, piṇḍa*

kukusan· 4 vavānya ‘and bring pinned leaves, all different kinds of fruit, uncooked rice in four colors, 1 steaming basket, per *vulu*; in total there are four steaming baskets to be brought by them’. Since the rice is said to be four-colored, and there is one basket per *vulu* for a total of four baskets, it is obvious that there is some connection between *vulu* and color.[378] *OJED* does not admit precisely the meaning ‘color’ for *vulu*, but it comes close (*vulu* I: ‘hair on the body, feather’), and it records a derived form *pamulu* which means ‘complexion, colour of the skin (colour of the hair on the skin?)’. However, in the majority of contexts, the meaning ‘color’ would be inadequate, as the word predominantly indicates some kind of social status. *OJED* reserves a separate entry for these meanings (*vulu* II: ‘person of an inferior social status (having an occupation which is considered inferior)’). Now the connection between color and social class is well known in Indic culture, to the extent that the single Sanskrit term *varṇa* can mean both. The term is emblematic of the Indian caste system, with its theoretical division into four classes of society and the empirical division of society into (mostly endogamous and commensal) occupational groups. Although we do not claim that Javanese society at the time of the inscriptions functioned as a caste system, in the sense that endogamy and commensality were core values, it is obvious from the inscriptions alone that there were numerous and fairly consistently identified occupational groups. The hypothesis we propose here is that *vulu* was used in OJ with an ability to express a semantic range analogous to that of *varṇa* in Sanskrit, and signify both ‘color’ and ‘occupational group’. Nevertheless, some passages require assuming meanings that cannot be connected with meanings of Sanskrit *varṇa*. For instance, in Sima Anglayang 5v5–6 *mamvat· vulu baṇigrāma para vulu, lvirnya vsi pamaja timaḥ timbraḥ* (corr. *tāmbra*), *Aṣṭāṅgi malam·, lna lṅis·, luruṅan·*, the examples given of *vulu* are all raw materials. Such a meaning, which could foreshadow MdJ *wulu wetu(-ning bumi)* ‘agricultural product’, may also be intended in Muncang (866 Ś.) A39 *tan paḌṅan· vulunikāṁ dval maṅalima bantal*.

vuṅkunus — Kusambyan B29; Warunggahan (1227 Ś.) 11v3. From the contexts where it occurs, the word seems to have denoted some kind of animal. In an analogous context of the Garaman inscription (975 Ś., 4r7) we read *vuṅkulus*. Whether spelled *vuṅkunus* or *vuṅkulus*, the word is not known from other OJ sources (and unrecorded in *OJED*). Tom Hoogervorst has suggested to us the word may have designated a large fish, citing Osing Javanese *bengkunis* ‘tuna’, Bajau *bengkunis* ‘tuna’, Bikol *bangkulis* ‘yellowfin tuna’, Cebuano *bangkulísan* ‘k.o. fish’, Sangir *bangkulise* ‘k.o. fish’.

vvat, pamvatan, mamvat, pamvat-mvatanan — The derived form *pamvatan* (Munggut 3.5) is not recorded in *OJED* under *vvat* II, but we assume it has the same meaning as (*pe*)*muatan* in Indonesian. See also *mamvat* in Sima Anglayang 5v5 and *pamvat-mvatanan* in Sima Anglayang 14v1.

378. In the parallel passage in Munggut (2.2–3), where offerings are also made per *vulu*, there is no such explicit association with color, but it may be implicit in the context. On the connection between *vulu* and *varṇa*, see also our discussion of *baṇigrāma patra vulu pañcadeśa*, in §6.4.1.3.

8. Implications and Perspectives

The main aims of this study have been to determine which inscriptions constitute the corpus of charters issued by King Airlangga and to make available for future study a significant amount of previously unpublished epigraphic material. In so doing, we have tried to show the way towards a future complete publication of this corpus. We hope that the reader will have been struck not only by the substantial difficulties that this epigraphic corpus presents, but also by its wealth in data of various sorts. We have highlighted the lexical data in §7. It is not our intention to offer a similarly exhaustive appraisal from the historical point of view, but to conclude our study we do offer here some reflections on the implications of the data and outline some perspectives for further research.

One of Airlangga's inscriptions long known and provisionally deciphered by Brandes but never yet translated is the Patakan charter. The inscription, the upper halves of whose faces are worn to the point of being illegible, and whose date is consequently unknown, mentions the inauguration of the community of Pātakan as a *sīma* in connection with the cult of a deity called *bhaṭāra ri saṅ hyaṅ patahunan*. The name Patakan further figures in the Terep charter (954 Śaka) which states that when Airlangga lost a battle, he left the *kraton* in Wwatan Mas and fled to Patakan. It also seems to play a significant role in the Pasar Legi inscription (see §5.5). The name Patakan itself is still known nowadays but spelt Pataan, a *desa* in *kec.* Sambeng, *kab.* Lamongan (Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2014: 103).

The Patakan charter is presumably associated with the Pataan site, as mentioned in n. 8 above. In 2011, Supriyo, a history enthusiast from Lamongan, traced the existence of the temple mentioned in the Patakan inscription in *dusun* Montor, *desa* Pataan, *kec.* Sambeng. He discovered collapsed structures in an area located on the Perumahan Kehutanan Negara Indonesia of the Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan of Mojokerto. The findings were reported to what was then the Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya (BPCB) for Jawa Timur, presently BPK Wilayah XI. It was not until 2013 that this institution started to excavate the site. The excavations were then continued in 2018, 2019, and 2020, revealing ruins of structures in the form of a complex surrounded by a rectangular wall measuring 72 × 71 m. On the west side, attached to the surrounding wall, are remnants of the foundation of the *gapura* measuring 8 × 6 m, which is thought to be the only access connecting the inner courtyard and the outer courtyard. Both *gapura* and the perimeter walls are composed of a mixture of tufa and brick. In the inner courtyard of the complex there are two buildings, which are currently referred to as the Main Building and the South Building. The Main Building has a rectangular shape extending north-south and measures 17.88 × 11.81 m, with a height of 5.20 m. Four meters to the south side of this building stands the South Building with a rectangular floor plan measuring 9.9 × 7 m, and a height of 4.20 m (BPCB Jawa Timur 2020: 96–97). The hypothesis that this complex was constructed during Airlangga's reign was strengthened by the discovery of Chinese ceramics

from the Song Dynasty (10–13th c.) (BPCB Jawa Timur 2020: 95). The nature of the deity *bhaṭāra ri saṅ hyaṅ patahunan* still eludes us, though the name suggests some connection with the 'year' (*tahun*), and it is still too early to conclude that the Pataan complex is the site where this deity was worshiped.

We now know two charters issued by Airlangga in 945 Śaka, namely Adulengen (26 September 1023 CE) and Kusambyan (13 October 1023 CE). Subsequently, four charters were issued in the year 964 Śaka, namely Pandaan (1042 CE, probably 10 July), Bularut (31 October 1042 CE), Gandhakuti (24 November 1042 CE), and Pamwatan (19 December 1042 CE). Although these small peaks in epigraphic production are not necessarily significant, the fact that Airlangga issued more than one charter in 945 Śaka and 964 Śaka might reflect unusual events in those years.

In the two inscriptions issued in 945 Śaka, namely Adulengen and Kusambyan, it is stated that the *sīma* grants were given because the residents of the two villages helped the king during war. In Kusambyan, *si* Cəṅek who was constantly holding fast to the Madaṇḍər *kraton*, is identified as Airlangga's enemy. The toponym Madaṇḍər may be identified with *dusun* Bedander which is divided over two villages, namely *desa* Sumbergondang and *desa* Manduro in *kec.* Kabuh, *kab.* Jombang (Titi Surti Nastiti 2013: 76).[379] The toponym Kusambyan itself is known also in the Tuhanyaru charter (1245 Śaka) as the name of a village which, with Tuhanyaru, benefits from a royal grant (van Stein Callenfels 1929: 377–378, Hadi Sidomulyo 2018: 234–236). That village Kusambyan seems, however, to have been a different one from the one intended in the present inscription, which is identifiable as *desa* Kesamben, *kec.* Kesamben, *kab.* Jombang (Titi Surti Nastiti 2013: 77–78).[380] The Adulengen charter, a reissue (*tinulad*) produced in the Majapahit period, records that Airlangga granted a *sīma* and other privileges to a figure called *dyah kaki* from the village of Adulengen because he always showed devotion and loyalty to the king. We have not yet succeeded in situating Adulengen on the modern map. The two charters dated to 945 Śaka inform us that Airlangga was engaged in warfare before or during that year and that one of his enemies was called *si* Cəṅek, a figure

379. This may in turn be the same place as Badaṇḍər, which plays an important role in the *Pararaton* (ed. Brandes 1920: 33), as Jayanagara's hiding-place when the *kraton* is taken over by Kuṭi. Not very far from the site of the Kusambyan stela, in *dusun* Bedander, *desa* Sumbergondang, *kec.* Kabuh, *kab.* Jombang, there is a shrine known as Pesarean Gunung Jladri. This location is located at 07°23' 16.33" E and 112°14' 26.90" S, with an altitude of 93 m above sea level. The Jladri temple is a brick structure measuring 10.70 × 13.5 m and facing west. Above it is the cemetery, where about 30 plain and decorated pillar bases (*umpak*) have been found, of varying sizes, besides grinding stones, scales, and ceramics from the 17th–19th centuries CE (Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2012: 62–64).

380. In *dusun* Ngembul, *desa* Kesamben, *kec.* Kesamben, there are two locations with archaeological remains. The first is in the middle of an agricultural field located at 7°28'07.1" N and 112°18'11.7" E, with an altitude of 26 meters above sea level. In this location many ancient bricks were found scattered and in piles, as well as temple stones, grinding stones, mortars, fine and coarse pottery, and Chinese ceramics (the oldest from the Song Dynasty, i.e. 11th–12th century). See Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2012: 49–50.

Fig. 47 — Fish-head sculpture from Bata-Palung, UPIM 141/BTA/MJK/85/PIM. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

whom we will find mentioned again in the Bularut charter of 964 Śaka.[381] Neither this name nor the altercations in or before 945 Śaka figure explicitly in the narrative of the Pucangan charter, but this narrative does depict Airlangga as having received attacks for a period of ten years, from 941 through 951 Śaka,[382] before moving to the offensive and attacking various enemies from 951 to 959 Śaka.

Besides the mysterious *bhaṭāra ri saṅ hyaṅ patahunan*, another deity who benefited from Airlangga's patronage was the *bhaṭāra hyaṅ ivak*, or 'Fish God', whose sanctuary is at the heart of the Kusambyan charter and also mentioned in the Balambangan plate. We can only speculate on his nature and iconographic representation. Might there be a connection with the Matsyanātha who figures as a *mahārāja* in the *Bhāratayuddha* and *Virāṭaparva*, or with Viṣṇu's *avatāra* as Fish (*matsya*)?[383] Might the giant sculpture of a fish head preserved at UPIM in Trowulan (fig. 47) be related

381. The name also occurs, though not in connection with an enemy, in Baru d19: read *cñek·*, where previous scholars read *vñek·* or *dñek·*.

382. A damaged passage in Pucangan B18–19, that was largely left unread in the editions of Brandes and Kern, turns out to contain the segment *sapuluḥ tahun· An· paṁ(di)ri, pinakarovaṁ mad(v)andva yuddhaca(kra)*, alas still preceded and followed by lacunae. These words seem to mean 'the ten years that he reigned, and were his companions (or: opponents) when meeting in battle formations'. See Dezső & Griffiths, forthcoming.

383. We have considered the possibility that 'Lord Fish God' is to be identified as the subsidiary deity sitting on a fish on the Camundi sculpture dated 1292 CE from Ardimulyo (OD 9029, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:3653). This has been plausibly identified as the Haṭhayogic deity Matsyendranātha (Lunsingh Scheurleer 2008: 292, n. 21). But this deity is unlikely to have been worshiped in Java as early as the 11th century (Mallinson 2019).

Fig. 48 — Reconstruction of the Pandaan stela in progress at UPIM, September 2021. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

to the cult of this deity?[384] Given the location of the Kusambyan inscription which is not far from the Brantas, we wonder whether his cult was connected with the proximity of the river.

As said above, we know four charters issued by Airlangga in the year 964 Śaka. The first is Pandaan (from *kec.* Kemlagi, *kab.* Mojokerto), which was issued between 20 June and 19 July of 1042 CE, and may date precisely to 10 July in that year (Damais 1977). This charter has not yet been properly published, one of the challenges being that it is broken into numerous fragments. On the occasion of a visit to the Trowulan Museum in September 2021, Eko Bastiawan learned that the museum plans to reconstruct all fragmentary stone inscriptions, starting with Pandaan. Unfortunately, citizens who are keeping some fragments of Pandaan are refusing to give these fragments to the museum, so that the process of reconstruction (fig. 48)

384. First reported by Knebel in *ROC* 1907 (p. 53) in a *dukuh* Bata-Palung, or nowadays Batok Palung, a hamlet of the village Temon in Trowulan, between Candi Kedaton and Candi Bajang Ratu, the stone had by 1915 already entered the collection of the Mojokerto Museum (no. 626, see *ROD* 1915: 188–189) and is visible on the photograph OD 2459. It was briefly mentioned in the article entitled "Hyang Iwak" by Edi Triharyantoro (1994) which focuses on a post-Majapahit fish sculpture discovered from *desa* Wonosalam, *kec.* Wonosalam, *kab.* Jombang and its relation to the continued religious significance of fishes in Java from the distant past to the present time. (The latter is depicted on the cover of Andi Muhammad Said *et al.* 2018, as well as on page 162 of the same volume.) Among data not taken into account by Edi Triharyontoro, we may cite the occurrence of an *ivak hyaṅ*, which is not preceded by the honorific *bhaṭāra*, in the *Ṛṣiśāsana* (forthcoming edition by Marine Schoettel, Arlo Griffiths & Timothy Lubin, §14.2): (…) *tan paguṇadoṣa sirāmpu ri patapan, tan kəna sira riṅ ivak hyaṅ, apan ya sakahananira juga* (…). Maybe it refers to some kind of a (ritual) service that is not required / expected from the hermits.

Fig. 49 — The Pamwatan stela before it was looted in 2003. Photograph Hadi Sidomulyo.

has been discontinued for the time being. Next comes the Bularut charter (from *kec.* Sambeng, *kab.* Lamongan), dated to 31 October 1042 CE, another fragmented inscription of which we have tried to salvage what we could, as presented in §6.3 above. This charter mentions once again the enemy called *si* Cəṅek (Main part, line 9), whom we had encountered in the Kusambyan charter (945 Śaka), while another figure, namely the *haji* Kapaṅ figuring in Bularut is also known from the Pucangan charter (963 Śaka).

The Gandhakuti charter, a reissue (*tinulad*) produced in the Majapahit period, mentions that an authority called *aji pāduka mpuṅku saṅ pinakhacatraniṅ bhuvaṇa* (whose relationship to Airlangga remains a subject of speculation),[385] inaugurated the holy foundation of Gandhakuti in Kambang Sri village on a date corresponding to 24 November 1042 CE (Damais 1955: 67). A month later, Airlangga issued the Pamwatan charter on a date corresponding to 19 December 1042 CE (Damais 1955: 183–184). Unfortunately, the Pamwatan inscription was looted in 2003, before it could be deciphered (see n. 23 above). It was originally found in *desa* Pamotan, *kec.* Sambeng, *kab.* Lamongan, which borders *kab.* Jombang, about 4.3 km from Mt Pucangan. At the top of the front face of the Pamwatan stela, the word

385. Damais 1955: 185, footnote continued from the previous page: "We must therefore, I believe, suppose either that *Aji Pāduka Mpungku Sang Pinakacatra ning Bhuvaṇa* was not Airlangga but an unknown royal character, or else that the copyist will have replaced the original title of the inscription by Airlangga's hermit name, the reissue being certainly posterior to 964 śaka." See Krom 1913: 596–598 and Boechari 1962: 72–73 / 2012: 98–99. See also p. 75 above, and further discussion in Eko Bastiawan, Titi Surti Nastiti & Griffiths (forthcoming).

dahaṇa is found written in quadrate script (fig. 49), a fact that was interpreted by Boechari as indicating the name Dahanapura which would have been Airlangga's last *kraton*, after the one in Wwatan Mas mentioned in his earlier inscriptions and the one in Kahuripan mentioned in the Kamalagyan charter.[386] We believe that this interpretation is still insufficiently supported by evidence, but it is true that there are significant archaeological remains on the border between Jombang and Lamongan, in *kec.* Ngusikan and *kec.* Kudu, both *kab.* Jombang. Remains from this area, thought to be datable to the 11th century, take the form of artifacts, structural remains, and waterways. There is a dense concentration of local wares and trade ceramics over an area of 1 square km (Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2011, 2012). It is in these same two *kecamatan*s that Airlangga's charters of Pucangan, Munggut, Wilang-wilang, and Kusambyan were found. Meanwhile, *kec.* Sambeng, *kab.* Lamongan, which borders *kec.* Ngusikan and where Airlangga's charters of Cane, Patakan, Pamwatan and Bularut were found, has not yet been the object of an archaeological survey.

The Pucangan charter (Sanskrit, stanza XV; Old Javanese, lines 13–15) relates that Airlangga was crowned in the month of Māgha 941 Śaka. As we will show in our forthcoming study of the Talan charter of King Jayabhaya, there is reason to believe that Airlangga started issuing charters within one month after his coronation, but the earliest inscription unquestionably issued by Airlangga is the Cane charter (943 Śaka).[387] While the *Deśavarṇana* stanza with which we began this study might mean that Airlangga was still in power as late as 974 Śaka, the last date recorded in any inscription issued by the king is now the one found in the Sima Anglayang, whose date 968 Śaka, Āṣāḍha, waning 5, converts unproblematically as 25 June 1046. With this discovery, the Pamwatan and Pandaan inscriptions (both dated 964 Śaka) can no longer be considered the king's last inscriptions as assumed by Boechari (1968: 5 with n. 18 / 2012: 143 with n.18), nor can the Pasar Legi inscription (965 Śaka) which was singled out by Ninie Susanti (2010: 102).[388] In the Sima Anglayang charter, it is stated that Airlangga's decree initially descended to *māhamantri i hino* Śrī Samaravijaya Suparṇavāhana Təguh Uttuṅgadeva. This Samaravijaya is mentioned as *māhamantri i hino* for the first time in 963 Śaka, after the office had earlier been held for more than fifteen years (943 until at least 959 Śaka) by Śrī Saṅgrāmavijayaprasādottuṅgadevī, whose name we have encountered above in the Munggut and Kusambyan charters. The identities of these dignitaries, and the question why the one replaced the other, have been the subject of much

386. See Boechari 1968: 7 (2012: 145–146) and 1990: 127–128 (2012: 440). It seems that Boechari has changed his mind over time regarding the relationship of this Dahanapura (a name which, in this form, is known only from Majapahit-period sources) to Daha / Kediri. Whereas in 1968, he seemed to identify the two, in 1990 (n. 7) he explicitly stated that Dahanapura cannot be identified with the present Kediri.

387. See our demonstration in n. 15 that the year 940 assigned by Damais and subsequent scholars to the Silet charter cannot be correct.

388. This conclusion had already been drawn in 1998 by Wisseman Christie (1998a: 375): "This date, of Śaka 968 (1046 A.D.), extends by four years the previously known dates of Airlangga's reign".

speculation in the 20th-century scholarly literature, with more reliance on post-Majapahit (*babad*) sources than we deem warranted.[389] Since there are no new epigraphic sources that throw any light on the matter, we refrain from expressing any opinion on these issues.

The Sima Anglayang charter concerns a series of grants to a merchant guild called *baṇigrāma para vulu pañcadeśa*, a term we have interpreted above (§6.4.1.3) as reflecting commercial relations with South Indian trade guilds. The charter states that there are rules for merchants that must be obeyed and cannot be changed, any violations being punishable by fines. One of the rules concerns the measures used to quantify commodities called *kulak kāṭi* and *kāṭi*. If merchandise such as rice, which must be weighed using *kāṭi*, is in fact quantified using the *kulak kāṭi*, the merchandise must be confiscated and the measure destroyed to prevent it being used again. There is also a rule that the merchants' trade should take place close to their carts. If any merchandise is found far from the cart, it is taxed by the government. Of particular interest is a rule that imposes a variable gender-based limit on commodities that can be traded tax-free.

Observing the map of the distribution of Airlangga's inscriptions concentrated in the present *kabupaten*s of Jombang, Lamongan, Mojokerto, and Sidoarjo, one is tempted to infer that the territory effectively controlled by Airlangga was considerably more limited than that of Balitung (early 10th c.), whose inscriptions are spread from Central Java to East Java, and even than that of Sindok (mid 10th c.), whose inscriptions are found over a significant distance in East Java, from *kab.* Nganjuk to *kab.* Malang. According to the Pucangan charter, by the year 959 Airlangga claimed to have achieved sovereignty over the whole island of Java. But given the strength of resistance to him in the first decade of his reign, we should probably not take him at his word. It is perhaps more plausible that he never was more than "a king in Java", among a handful of others. The Anjatan and Gajihan and inscriptions (numbers 20 and 42 on our map) could in that scenario be traces of contemporary political entities in more westerly parts of the Javanese-speaking parts of Java. In any case, the territorial situation was certainly more complex and subject to development over time than it is suggested to have been in schoolbooks and even in scholarly cartography, as in the map included here in fig. 50.[390]

It is also remarkable that Airlangga's territory seems to have been centered to the north of the Brantas river, while Sindok's realm seems to have been centered to its south. In her work, Ninie Susanti has claimed that

389. See, i.a., Boechari's essays of 1962 and 1968, both republished in Boechari 2012; see also the discussion in *SNI*, vol. II (Bambang Sumadio & Endang Sri Hardiati 2008: 283).

390. In this map taken from Cribb (2000), Hujung Galah is a typing error. It may have been inspired in part by map 10b in Muhammad Yamin's *Atlas Sedjarah* (1956), which however situates Hujung Galuh elsewhere (though equally in error), and completely misrepresents the position of Pucangan (which Cribb does not show on his map). The map of 'Kerajaan Airlangga' on p. 8 of the *Atlas Sejarah: Indonesia dan Dunia* (15th printing, by Chalid Latif, Irwin Lay & Salahudin Damar Jaya 2011) imagines Airlangga's kingdom to have occupied most of the present provinces of Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Region, and all of East Java with the exception of Madura.

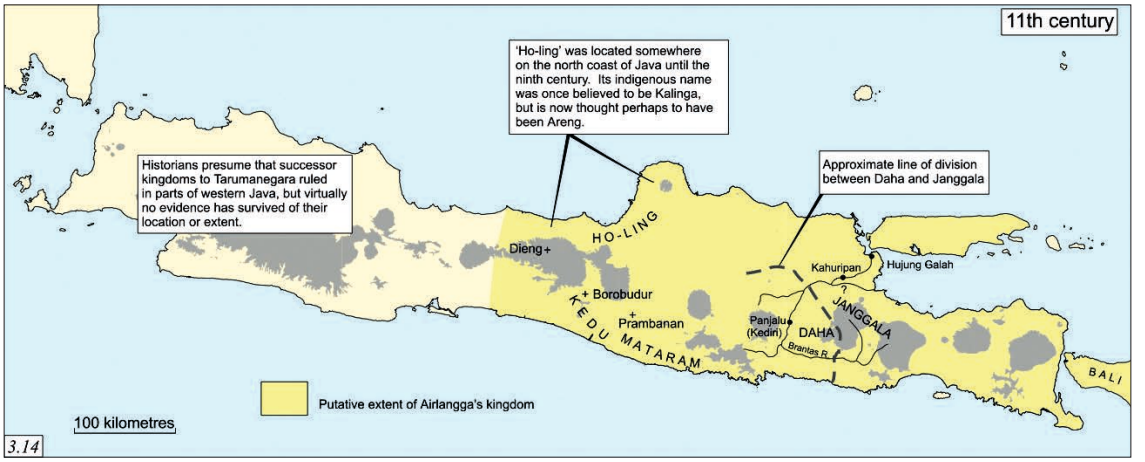

Fig. 50 — Map 'Airlangga's Kingdom, 11th century' reproduced with permission from Cribb 2000 (no. 3.14).

Airlangga was a major reformer, who did much to promote agrarian expansion and international trade (2010: 219–221). It is true that his epigraphic record can be read as revealing expansion into an area of Java that was previously undeveloped, and that it shows traces of the importance of international trade to a degree never witnessed under previous kings. The Sima Anglayang charter is a major new piece of evidence in this regard. From the Kamalagyan charter, the importance of a place called Hujung Galuh in trade networks has long been known. Ninie Susanti (2010: 219–220) has rightly corrected the popular misconception (also represented in fig. 50) that Hujung Galuh was located at the site of modern Surabaya; rather, it must have been situated in the Brantas valley upstream from the village of Kelagen, where the Kamalagyan charter still stands. Ninie Susanti proposes that Airlangga's territory was ideally situated to limit the distance of transportation of goods from Hujung Galuh and transit ports on the Solo river, to a major port, Kambang Putih, which would have been situated on the north coast in present Tuban (2010: 220–221). All of this is, at this stage of research, still a matter of speculation, but the presence of foreigners in significant numbers can be inferred from the list of *varga kilalān* — inhabitants from whom revenue may be collected — which always begin with categories including foreigners. Prior to Airlangga's reign, the first inscription that mentions *varga kilalān* is the Kaladi charter (831 Ś.), but one finds the term *kilalān* by itself, clearly intended to express the same meaning, in the charters of Kalirungan (805 Ś.), Taji (823 Ś.) and Palebuhan (849 Ś.), and the equivalent term *vka kilalān* in the *jayapattra* of Wurudu Kidul (844 Ś.). Until now, three Airlangga inscriptions were known that mention the *varga kilalān*, namely Cane, Patakan, and Turun Hyang. To these we can now add the Munggut charter (lines 3.14–3.30). Many of the categories of foreigners mentioned in such lists are recognizable as originating in mainland Southeast Asia, or in various regions of South Asia. It is never made explicit in such lists, but the new evidence from the Sima Anglayang gives support to the idea that these *varga kilalān* were foreign traders (Ninie Susanti 2010: 221).

The Sima Anglayang charter is truly extraordinary, and we hope that this article will be the start of a great deal more thinking and rethinking of its historical implications.

We conclude this contribution by looking ahead to the further significant progress that can and must be made towards editing as much of the corpus of inscriptions issued by Airlangga as can still be recovered, despite the ravages of time. To make this possible, competent authorities will need to be convinced of the urgency to invest resources in the restoration of the broken stelae preserved at UPIM in Trowulan and their subsequent exhibition in a manner that will allow all that remains readable to be deciphered, so that these inscriptions can also finally be published as fully as possible. Our fieldwork in 2022 has yielded an abundance of new photographic documentation of *in situ* Airlangga inscriptions from Lamongan and Tuban that have so far not been published, though all are damaged to significant degrees. Based on this new material, and making maximum use of colonial-period estampages, when available, such as the ones preserved in Leiden, for inscriptions that have been damaged or lost since those estampages were made, a concerted further effort is now necessary to decipher whatever can still be read of these inscriptions, most of which have been known for more than a century, without ever attracting significant scholarly attention.

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10. Bibliography

Abbreviations

JBG	*Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*
NBG	*Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*
OJED	*Old Javanese-English Dictionary* — Zoetmulder 1982
ROC	*Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera*
ROD	*Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*
SNI	*Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* — Bambang Sumadio (1990) or Bambang Sumadio & Endang Sri Hardiati (2008)

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