



HAL
open science

The Talan Charter of Jayabhaya: A Kadiri-period Inscription Casting New Light on Airlangga's Kingdom

Eko Bastiawan, Titi Surti Nastiti, Arlo Griffiths

► To cite this version:

Eko Bastiawan, Titi Surti Nastiti, Arlo Griffiths. The Talan Charter of Jayabhaya: A Kadiri-period Inscription Casting New Light on Airlangga's Kingdom. *Archipel*, 2023, 106, pp.15-59. 10.4000/11wu5 . hal-04669195

HAL Id: hal-04669195

<https://hal.science/hal-04669195v1>

Submitted on 8 Aug 2024

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

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



Distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

*EKO BASTIAWAN**, *TITI SURTI NASTITI***, *ARLO GRIFFITHS****

The Talan Charter of Jayabhaya: A Kadiri-period Inscription Casting New Light on Airlangga's Kingdom

1. Introduction

This article has sprung from the convergence of two separate research endeavors. On the one hand, all three authors have been collaborating over several years now on studying the epigraphic corpus of King Airlangga, who ruled in the first half of the 11th century with a powerbase in what is today *kabupaten* Lamongan. On the other hand, the first author is carrying out doctoral research on the inscriptions of Airlangga's successors first in Janggala and later in Kadiri, which are the terms commonly used in historiography and historical cartography to designate two historical territories in what is now the province of East Java, presented in the sources as having resulted from a division of Airlangga's realm and having gone through a period of armed conflict.¹

* École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) and Universitas Padjadjaran.

** Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional (BRIN); Organisasi Riset Arkeologi, Bahasa, dan Sastra; Pusat Riset Arkeologi Prasejarah dan Sejarah.

*** École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) and Centre Asie du Sud-Est (CASE).

1. See Krom 1931: 272–279; Boechari 1968 and 1990; Bambang Sumadio & Endang Sri Hardiati 2008: 279–280; Hadi Sidomulyo 2011. As we have pointed out in our recent study (Titi Surti Nastiti, Eko Bastiawan & Griffiths 2022: 65–67), these events are known mainly from sources postdating it by several centuries, and it is not sure that all aspects of the commonly accepted historical narrative may be taken as fact.

After the end of Airlangga's reign, in the same territory as that, generally north of the Brantas river, where Airlangga's inscriptions have been found,² we find a small number of inscriptions dating from the 970s and 980s of the Śaka era, i.e. from ca. the 1040s CE.³ This territory is conventionally called Janggala, although the name is hardly attested, if at all, in the relevant inscriptions, from which we learn about three kings, namely Garasakan (inscriptions of Malenga, 974 Śaka;⁴ Garaman, 975 Śaka;⁵ Turun Hyang B, 976 Śaka;⁶ Kambang Putih, no date),⁷ Samarotsaha (Sumengka, 981 Śaka),⁸ and Alanjung Ahyes (Banjaran, 974 Śaka).⁹ Since the epigraphic evidence is

2. See the map in fig. 1 in Titi Surti Nastiti, Eko Bastiawan & Griffiths 2022.

3. Henceforward, we will often refer only to the Śaka dates that are a fundamental part of early Javanese culture. Any Śaka year can be easily converted to its approximate CE equivalent by adding 78.

4. In this article, designations of inscriptions are simplified to conform to the spelling of Indonesian (*Ejaan yang disempurnakan*), so we spell Malenga instead of Maḷṅga, etc. We normally cite inscriptions from our own (mostly still unpublished) editions. Our readings of any inscriptions mentioned without reference to an edition can be compared to editions and/or secondary literature identifiable via Nakada (1982). For inscriptions published since Nakada's time, or absent from his inventory for any other reason, we refer to any relevant edition at the first citation. For instance, the Malenga inscription, though discovered already in 1960, does not figure in Nakada (1982) because it remained unpublished until its inclusion in Boechari 2012d: 500–503.

5. Ed. Boechari 2012d: 503–512.

6. Only short excerpts of this inscription have so far been published. With only the last digit preserved and in the absence of any calendrical elements, Boechari proposed to reconstruct the date of the Turun Hyang B inscription as 966 Śaka (1968: 2, 5; 2012b: 138, 143). However, after the discovery of new evidence on the division of Airlangga's kingdom, namely new manuscripts of the *Deśavarṇana* in Bali, Boechari revised his earlier proposal from 966 to 976 Śaka (1990: 128, 134; 2012c: 440–441, 446). The revision of the date by Boechari went unnoticed in the *Edisi Pemutakhiran of Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* which still cites the date as 966 Śaka (Bambang Sumadio & Endang Sri Hardiati 2008: 281 n. 7, 284). The same date was likewise still cited by Ninie Susanti (2010: 103, 196). The latest publication concerning the inscription is the catalog entry by Andi Muhammad Said *et al.* (2018: 12, no. 9) who cited the dates 958 and 966/976 Śaka in accordance with Boechari's 1968 and 1990 articles.

7. Ed. Hasan Djafar & Trigangga 2019: 111–114.

8. This is the only item with a provenance south of the Brantas (about 13 km removed from its present course, in *kabupaten* Mojokerto). For reasons unclear to us, even though the charter was discovered early on and commented on by Brandes in Groeneveldt's catalog (1887), no reading of it seems to have been available when Krom prepared Brandes' unpublished transcriptions for publication (Brandes 1913). A provisional reading was published only a few years ago (Hasan Djafar & Trigangga 2019: 234–237). In this charter, line A8, we encounter the word *jaṅgalāñchana*. Based on his own unpublished reading, Boechari proposed that the intended word is *jaṅgala-lāñchana*, implying that the scribe has forgotten to write *la* after *jaṅga* (1968: 4–5).

9. See Bambang Sumadio & Endang Sri Hardiati 2008: 281–286. It is worth mentioning

extremely limited, only little can be said about these figures. Nonetheless, two inscriptions issued by Garasakan, namely Garaman and Turun Hyang B, are of great importance as they are the only two contemporary sources on the partition of Airlangga's kingdom into territories here called *jaṅgala* and *pañjalu* as well as the subsequent strife between the two. According to the *Deśavarṇana*, the division took place in 974 Śaka, and we learn from the Garaman charter, issued one year later, about a conflict between the two parties.¹⁰ One year later still, the partition is alluded to in the inscription of Turun Hyang B.¹¹ After a few decades from which we entirely lack inscriptional sources, the historical record resumes with inscriptions issued from a different territory, conventionally called Kadiri or Pangjalu, although these names too are not so prominent in the contemporary sources.¹²

that Shalihah Sri Prabharani (2009), in her undergraduate thesis (*skripsi*), investigated an inscription she calls Mataji which is found in *desa* Bangle, *kecamatan* Lengkong, *kabupaten* Nganjuk. She concluded that the charter in question was issued in 973 Śaka by a king from Pangjalu called Jitendrakara. She further raised the question whether Jitendra and the *haji pañjalu* mentioned in the Garaman charter are the same figure. Regrettably, without having direct access to the stone or to a usable reproduction, we do not yet dare to give credence to the Mataji data.

10. See the *Deśavarṇana* passage cited at the beginning of Titi Surti Nastiti, Eko Bastiawan & Griffiths 2022. The Garaman passage (2r4–5) is as follows: *lot-kahudanan kapveyan· makadadah sarintanya mamrihakān· I lbunim pāduka śrī mahārāja hane garuṃ, mapalah-ala(han lava)n· kakanirā hāji pājalu* (corr. *pañjalu*) ‘steadfast [despite being] exposed to rain and sun, putting their lives at stake in exerting themselves for His Majesty the Great King, when he was present in Garuṃ, engaged in fierce combat with his elder brother, the king of Pañjalu’.

11. Cd13: ... [*mahā*]rāja *mapañji garasakan· Irikanam karamān· [I turun hyam, tatka]laniran· hañar ablah lavān· haji pañjalu pamaṅnya*. ‘... of the Great King with the byname Garasakan to the village community of Turun Hyaṅ. That is when his status had just become separated from the king of Pañjalu ...’.

12. Regarding Pangjalu, see the preceding notes. Potentially the earliest explicit reference to the toponym *kaḍiri* is observed in the Carama charter dated 937 Śaka (ed. van Naerssen 1941), but this is a *tinulad*. Although the date engraved is clearly 937, several elements of the inscription make it necessary to be cautious in accepting this date. First, the dating parameters find no match in that year. Second, the contents show some connections with Airlangga's unique Malang-area inscription called Sima Anglayang issued no earlier than 968 Śaka (ed. Titi Surti Nasiti, Eko Bastiawan & Griffiths 2022). For instance, *kurug sumbhul* (2v1) is similar to the *Akurug sumbul* of Sima Anglayang 16r4 while the same *rakryan Rām-Rām* (2v1) is found in Sima Anglayang 5r1–5r2. Third, the charter contains two specific parallels which are seen in the Kadiri-period inscription of Kemulan (1116 Śaka). The passage in 1v2–1v4... *tan· kna ri(m) parabyāpāra, man· ḍikṣa vulu-vulu pravulu, salvirniṃ tuha jaga, ludan-tutan·, pavu-Avu, ...* is similar to Kemulan Ab17–18 ... *tan kaparabyapara deniṃ alakvan in vuvuh tan kna salvirniṃ maṅḍikaṅ pakaliṅkiṃ lūdan tūtan pakrāk pakrīk pahavu-havu ...* whereas the expression *ḍoḍot (t)inulis·* (3r1–3r2) is also observed in Kamulan Cd12. It is worth mentioning that in terms of paleography, the inscription is comparable to the charter of Malenga (originally written in 974 Śaka and reissued in

As for this territory of Kadiri, corresponding to the present *kabupatens* of Kediri, Blitar, Tulungagung and Trenggalek, among the names of kings who reigned here during the century between 1038 and 1138 Śaka (1116–1216 CE), that of King Jayabhaya is the only one with broad appeal, associated as it is with the so-called “Prophecies of Jayabhaya.”¹³ Many people are still flocking regularly to the pilgrimage site associated with him called Pamuksan Sri Aji Joyoboyo located in *desa* Menang, *kecamatan* Pagu, *kabupaten* Kediri (fig. 1). The site is popularly considered as the place where Jayabhaya attained his liberation (*mokṣa*). While there is no evidence to confirm that the prophecies and pilgrimage site associated with his name have any factual connection with the historical King Jayabhaya, the king in question has left us a textual legacy in the form of stone inscriptions and literary works in Old Javanese called *kakavins*.

At least two such works were composed under his patronage (Zoetmulder 1974: 250–278, 1983: 317–349), namely the *Harivaṅśa* (Teeuw 1950) and the *Bhāratayuddha* (Supomo Suryohudoyo 1993). Three royal inscriptions have so far been discovered from his reign, which lasted for almost three decades,¹⁴ namely the charters of Hantang (1057 Śaka), Talan (1058 Śaka), and Tamparang (1066 Śaka).¹⁵ Studies on both the inscriptional record and literary works sponsored by Jayabhaya started in colonial times and are pursued down to the present-day.

Regarding the inscriptional record, a complete reading of the Hantang inscription was offered by Brandes (1913: 154–158, *OJO* LXVIII), Dwi

1238 Śaka). Considering all these facts, the date engraved in the Carama charter might imply either that some events really happened in Kadiri in 937 Śaka or else that some centuries later someone wanted to claim them to have happened in that year.

13. See the index entry “Jayabaya prophecies” on p. 907 of Carey 2007. In various footnotes of his work, Carey refers to a range of colonial-period and post-independence publications on this subject, among which we mention here only Drewes 1925: 130–137.

14. Jayabhaya must have ascended the throne after 1052 Śaka (the Tangkulan inscription issued by Bameswara) and been succeeded before 1081 Śaka (the Padlegan II inscription issued by Sarweswara). As pointed out by Damais (1952: 68–69, n. 2), the *Bhāratayuddha* contains a stanza in honor of Jayabhaya suggesting he was still in power in 1079 Śaka. See also Supomo Suryohudoyo 1993: 8.

15. Apart from three royal inscriptions, there are at least eight short inscriptions containing dates which fall under Jayabhaya’s reign. It is not known at whose initiative these inscriptions were created nor what events occurred in the years they record. They are observed in the southern part of East Java and engraved on various supports such as stone well mouths and large rectangular stones whose function remains to be determined. These inscriptions bear the Śaka dates 1058 (from Kandangan, Kediri), 1058 (from Kauman, Nganjuk), 1060 (two stones from Botoran and Rejotangan, Tulungagung), 1061 (from Kalidawir, Tulungagung), 1061 (from Karangpatihan, Ponorogo), 1061 and 1063 (from Kanigoro and Kepanjenkidul, Blitar). Four of these items are recorded in Nakada 1982, part II (under numbers 20, 21, 22 and 25) whereas the four which are not included are those from Kandangan, Kauman, Kalidawir and Kanigoro, none of which has been formally published.



Fig. 1 – The site of Pamuksan Sri Aji Joyoboyo. Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

Sardjuningsih Setyawardhani (1980),¹⁶ and Hasan Djafar & Trigangga (2019: 82–89). However, it is only Dwi Sardjuningsih Setyawardhani who provides a translation of the inscription. By contrast, although it is perhaps the best preserved record of this period, the Talan inscription has not been adequately studied. It was partially read by Brandes (1913: 163–164, *OJO LXX*) and fully read by Nakada (1994: 1–7) as well as Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma (1996: 27–30, 56–57).¹⁷ However, no scholar has so far attempted to translate it, and the data contained in it have consequently played on a very small role in historiography. The last inscription, Tamparang, is less well preserved than the other two. Many of its *akṣaras* are badly weathered. Nonetheless, the first nine lines were read by Damais (1955: 145–146).¹⁸ Even in the cases of Hantang and Talan, the published readings are in many instances inaccurate.

16. The inscription of Hantang was the subject of Dwi Sardjuningsih Setyawardhani's undergraduate thesis at University of Indonesia under the guidance of Boechari and Soekmono.

17. Details of previous studies on the Talan charter will be presented below.

18. Damais' reading was reproduced by Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma (1996: 26–27, 56). Damais (and after him Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma) designated the inscription as Jepun with reference to its findspot. The text-internal designation Tamparang is based on our decipherment of the inscription which is unfinished at the time of this writing.

Jayabhaya's inscriptional legacy constitutes the primary source material to study his reign. In view of the fact that it has not been comprehensively studied, whether from the epigraphic or from the historiographic viewpoint, it is not surprising that the figure of Jayabhaya is still known more from the prophecies ascribed to him. Against this background, the following study of one of his inscriptions, the Talan charter, aims first and foremost to offer a critical edition of the text, accompanied by a reliable translation. On that basis, we will turn our attention to some major topics that emerge from this primary source, namely the fact that besides its date of issue it contains the date of an earlier charter that is incorporated, the identity of the figure Bhaṭāra Guru who is the issuer of the incorporated charter and his relation to Jayabhaya, the significance of the Garuḍamukha emblem, the issue of territorial connections between Janggala and Kadiri, and the role played by agents other than the king in the transaction that is the *raison d'être* of this charter.

2. Location and physical description

The Talan charter, also known (it would seem erroneously) as Munggut inscription,¹⁹ is engraved on a large stela situated at *dusun* Gurit, *desa* Babadan, *kecamatan* Wlingi, *kabupaten* Blitar, East Java (fig. 2). The coordinates of the location are 8°04'22.6" S and 112°19'34.8" E. This is not far from the sites of two other stone inscriptions, viz. the Panumbangan charter (1042 Śaka) (fig. 3) and the charter of Pagiliran (1042 Śaka) (fig. 4),²⁰ both issued by King Bameswara, also of the Kadiri period. The stela we are concerned with here, standing under a small *pendopo*, is relatively well preserved with text clearly visible on its four faces. Its measurements are H. 157, W. 71–95, D. 19–28 cm. A circular roundel at the top of the front face (A) shows the emblem called Garuḍamukha, to which we return below in section 6. The base of the stone takes the form of a lotus.

¹⁹ The designation Munggut for the Talan inscription has never appeared in any publication that we know of. But we mention it here because it has taken root as "local knowledge", shared for instance by the guardian of the site where the inscription is preserved. It is important to note that this inscription is different from the Munggut inscription issued by Airlangga which is situated in Jombang (and has been published in Titi Surti Nastiti, Eko Bastiawan & Griffiths 2022). The name Munggut, instead of Talan, is mostly used by the locals when referring to the stone and we do not know for certain why this is the case. The only explanation that we can imagine is that the designation Munggut has emerged for the Talan inscription due to the fact that it is located in *desa* Gurit while the Munggut inscription is from a *desa* Sumber Gurit. The common toponymic element Gurit may have created confusion and led to the Talan stone being referred to as Munggut.

²⁰ Only the first four lines are published (Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma 1996: 25).



Fig. 2 – The Talan inscription.
Photograph Eko Bastiawan.



Fig. 3 – The Panumbangan inscription.
Photograph Eko Bastiawan.



Fig. 4 – The Pagiliran inscription.
Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

3. Previous research

Two inscribed stones from the district of Wlingi in Kediri are alluded to for the first time in scholarly literature in 1869 in a list of estampages that were part of the estate of R. H. Th. Friederich entrusted to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, apparently comprising in part estampages made by N. W. Hoepermans who had been working under Friederich's charge (*NBG* 7, 1869: 8, XCVII, CVIII).²¹ These two inscriptions must be the aforementioned Panumbangan charter as well as the one that concerns us here.²² Duplicates of these estampages of the Talan stele, in four sheets, were subsequently dispatched to the Leiden Museum of Antiquities in 1891 (*NBG* 14, 1876: I–IV, no. 24).²³ The inscription then figures under no. 555 in R. D. M. Verbeek's inventory of Javanese antiquities, which assigns to it the date 1068 Śaka (1891: 10, 269) mentioning the estampages kept in Batavia and in Leiden. Two

²¹ See below for more about Hoepermans' work.

²² The Pagiliran stela, on the other hand, was discovered much later, the earliest record mentioning it being the *Laporan kegiatan penelitian arkeologi selama Pelita II* (1985: 110).

²³ They seem to be related to the items mentioned in H. N. Juynboll's catalog of the national ethnographic museum in Leiden (1909: 234, no. 3000), though Juynboll's use of the term "afgietsels" (which would seem to mean "plaster casts") and his explanation in n. 3 on p. 231 ("*Deze afgietsels zijn vervaardigd op afdruksels in papier van elk der opschriften, die door het bestuur van het Batav. Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen aan het Rijks Museum van Oudheden overgemaakt waren*") suggests that Juynboll was describing surrogates of surrogates.

years later, the Batavian Society's Museum received another reproduction, this time a "facsimile on linen cloth" ("*afteekening op doortreklinnen*"), sent by J. Knebel. We learn from J. L. A. Brandes' report on the receipt of this reproduction that the charter was issued by King Jayabhaya and that he read the date not as 1068 but as 1058 Śaka (*NBG* 31, 1893: 72–73).

A decade later, Brandes (1904: 452–453) reported that two facsimiles (*afteekening*) of the beginning of this inscription are found in the University Library in Leiden, one in the H. N. van der Tuuk collection and another among the papers suspected to come from C. J. van der Vlis. Brandes detailed that the facsimiles cover only the beginning part of a stone inscription that, judging from the form of the lettering as well as the content, could have been from East Java. The one from the van der Tuuk collection comes with a caption "Inscription found at Soengkoeh" (*inscriptie gevonden te Soengkoeh*). In relation to that, Brandes refers to an entry about Soengkoep in the Geographical and Statistical Dictionary (Veth & van Alphen 1869: 392) citing it as basis for the idea that the inscribed stone would once have been found at that site, but that it had gone missing. The entry in question in fact only elaborates that Soengkoep was the ruin of a *candi* situated in Kediri but does not mention any inscribed stone, in surprising contrast with what is suggested by Brandes. Brandes proposed that the stone reproduced in the facsimile may have been found at Soengkoep as one of the names Soengkoeh and Soengkoep may have been a writing error for the other. He also recorded that the facsimiles concern a charter of King Jayabhaya from Śaka 1068. Finally, he noted, erroneously, that the stone had not been listed in Verbeek's inventory. It seems that the varying readings of the date induced this error, and it is important to note that the whole section in Brandes 1904 is somewhat incoherent. Frankly, we have the impression that it was written by someone other than Brandes himself.

Reporting on fieldwork undertaken in 1908, Knebel noted that the stela was located to the east of the road from Wlingi to Semen, and that it is decorated with the figure of Garuḍamukha as emblem (1910: 161). Shortly thereafter, this charter was included in N. J. Krom's list of dated inscriptions which indicates 1058 Śaka as its date (1911a: 251) and the same scholar in the same year published a list of estampages preserved at the Archaeological Office in Batavia, including two estampages, one of them on linen (1911b: 52, nos. 539 and 341). In the report on his fieldwork in the years 1864–1867, published a half century later, Hoepermans (1913: 348) had described the stone as inscribed on its four faces, resting on a bed of lotus leaves, still intact and undamaged, and described the emblem engraved on the top of the front face as a rosette containing a monstrous figure. In the same year, a significant part of the contents of the inscription figured under the designation Soengkoeh/Soengkoep, in the posthumous publication of transcriptions by Brandes (1913: 163–164, *OJO* LXX), the date being read here as 1068 Śaka.²⁴

24. It seems that the handwritten transcription by Brandes prepared for publication

In his study on the kings from Kadiri, Krom corrected Brandes' naming of the stone and pointed out that the stela in question is the one from *desa* Gurit which was in fact still *in situ* (1914: 243). Further, the information that had been published until then was summarized in the new inventory of antiquities edited under the responsibility of F. D. K. Bosch (*ROD* 1915: 348, no. 2098). Twenty-five years later, in a discussion of King Teguh's records, W. F. Stutterheim highlighted the different epithets used by King Jayabaya in the Hantang and Talan inscriptions. He expressed doubt as to the correct reading of the date of the Talan inscription but was unable to investigate it further as he was unaware of the existence of the estampages kept in Batavia and believed that only the eye-copies at Leiden were available to decipher the date (1940: 354, n. 1).

The seminal publications of L.-Ch. Damais (1952: 66–67 no. A.152, 1955: 71) comprised a decipherment of the first five lines of the text with the dating formula where Damais read 1058, on which basis he was able to convert the date to 24 August 1136 CE. In subsequent decades, the inscription kept figuring now and then in scholarly literature,²⁵ but it was not until 1994 that a complete reading of the inscription was first published, by the Japanese scholar Kōzō Nakada (1994: 1–7). Two years after that, another complete edition of the inscription was published by Indonesian scholars, namely Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma (1996: 27–30). This last edition was presumably based on the undergraduate thesis (*skripsi*) by Machi Suhadi when he was a student at the University of Indonesia in 1970. Unfortunately, we have not been able to get access to his thesis.²⁶

Despite more than a century of publication record, and three editions (two of which complete), the text cannot be said to have started being studied in earnest, as none of the publications was accompanied by a translation, and the reliability of the editions evidently suffers from the fact that the editors did not carry out the counter-check on their readings which comes from translating them.²⁷

by Krom had not been updated in the light of Brandes's own observations in *NBG* 31 (1893), referred to above. As editor, Krom also failed to make the connection with the stele on which Hoepermans, Verbeek and Knebel had reported.

25. Nurhadi Magetsari *et al.* 1979: 280; Nakada 1982: 110–111; Eade & Gislén 2000: 84–85; Bambang Sumadio & Endang Sri Hardiati 2008: 290.

26. We know that the Talan inscription was the subject of Machi Suhadi's undergraduate thesis as it is cited in two of his publications, namely "Status tanah/desa perdikan di Jawa: Suatu catatan dari sumber prasasti kuno" (1981–1982: 137–143) and "Prasasti Rumwiga" (1983: 37–47). However, it is not cited as source in the 1996 publication.

27. This is clear from the numerous untranslatable readings observed in previous editions, from among which we mention here only some examples: *pañajyan*· (faces Ab, line 5) read as *pajyen*· by Brandes; *garuḍamukha* (Ab6) read as *raruḍamuA* by Nakada; *suṣṭubhakti* (Ab10) read as *sṣṣṭabhakti* by Brandes; *vinava sam mānak katrīṇi* (Ab14) read as *vənam vasa mānak katrīṇi* by Nakada; *paṃrāma* (Ab22) read as *vānāma* by which Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma; *941* (Cd6) read as *rīan ugaḥ*

4. Text

The text starts on the large front face (here called A), each line of which is continued on the lateral face (b) to its right. After the 25th line on face Ab, the text continues on the opposite large face (C) each line of which is again to be read together with the lateral face to its right (d).

The reading presented here was established by using Nakada's edition (1994: 1–7) as a base text (N). This base text was checked against the readings of Brandes (1913: 163–164, *OJO LXX*) only covering Ab lines 1–22 (B), of Damais (1955: 71) only covering Ab lines 1–5 (D), and of Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma (1996: 27–30) (M&R). It was then verified using the set of estampages, made during a field trip led by Titi Surti Nastiti and Arlo Griffiths in 2012, and held at the EFEO library in Paris (n. 2287–2290).²⁸ The text was checked again by direct inspection of the stone on the 25th of September 2021 and the 18th & 22nd of March 2022 by Eko Bastiawan, benefiting from remote supervision and assistance from Arlo Griffiths. Arlo Griffiths finished revising the edition, using the EFEO estampages, on the 28th of June 2022.²⁹

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

(xyz)	reading of text is unclear
[xyz]	text 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)
:	<i>tarung</i> to make long <i>pepet</i>
.	vowel killer used to suppress from any consonant character its inherent vowel <i>a</i>

by Nakada; *Anumpyataka* (Cd7–8) read as *Anumaiṅhyāmtikam* by Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma; *mā 2* (Cd11) read as *mā bū* by Nakada; *pagəḥniṁ* (Cd13–14) read as *pamsəḥniṁ* by Nakada; *patyanikam* (Cd20) read as *gatyānikam* by Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma; *samaṅkana* (Cd24) read as *sapaṅkaca* by Nakada.

28. Face A, n. 2287; face b, n. 2288; face C, n. 2289; face d, n. 2290.

29. In our footnotes, we record variant readings from previous editions but we ignore differences which only pertain to one or more of the following phenomena: presence/absence of vowel length, presence/absence of *cecak/anusvāra* (*m̄*), presence/absence of a punctuation mark, a gap left unread by one editor being read by us and/or some other editors, probably unintentional omission of a diacritic.

Faces A and b (figs 5 and 6)

- (1) //o// Om̐ //o// svasti śaka-varṣātīta 1058,³⁰ śravaṇa-māsa,³¹ tithi Ekādaśī kṛṣṇa-pakṣa, tu,³² va, ca, vāra, pra(m)bakat-, grahacāra da**(b)**kṣiṇastha, punarvvaśū-nakṣatra
- (2) Aditi-devatā, siddhi-yoga, vava-karaṇa, kuvera-parvveśa, vāyavya-maṇḍala, Irikā divasani Ājñā śrī mahārāja, śrī-varmmeśvara-madhusū**(b)** danāvātārānandita-suhr-
- (3)t-simha-parākrama-digjayottuṅgadeva-nāma,³³ jayabhaya-lāñchana, tinaḍaḥ rakryān mahāmantrī I halu kabayan rim sarvvaḡata Umiṁso**(b)r** i taṇḍa rakryān ri pakira-(ki)-
- (4)ran makabehan makādi rakryān kanuruhan mapañji maṇḍaka(,)³⁴ sambandha(,) Ikaṁ varḡa ri talan kabeḥ māmpak-ampak manambaḥ ri lbuni pā**(b)**duka śrī mahārāja maka-
- (5)sopāṇa³⁵ rakryān apatiḥ mpu kesareśvara kṛta-vivekālanḡhanīya-parākrama mapañji bāḡuṇa,³⁶ tan kavuntat pañajyan³⁷ śrī mahā**(b)**rāja mpuṅku naiyāyika-
- (6)darśana-samṛddhi-kāraṇa³⁸ bhai[ra]va-mārgānugamana-yogīśvarādhikāra³⁹ mājar⁴⁰yan hana kmitanya praśāsti⁴¹ muṅgu rim⁴² ripta tinaḍa garuḍamu(kha)⁴³
- (b)** Ātmarakṣayan inanugrahān ma-

30. 1058 ◇ D N M&R, 1068 B.

31. śravaṇa-māsa ◇ D N M&R, śravaṇa-māsa ri (!) B. We are not sure what the '(!)' in B's reading means. It could be that Krom added it as editor, if he was surprised by the occurrence of *ri* in B's manuscript.

32. tu ◇ D N M&R, (śa) B.

33. śrī-varmmeśvara-madhusūdanāvātārānandita-suhr-t-simha-parākrama- ◇ D N M&R, dharmmeśvara- {15 akṣ. ille.} parākrama- B.

34. maṇḍaka(,) ◇ D N M&R, maṇḍa(la) B. By contrast with the other occurrences of this person (Hantang A6 and Tamparang A7), there is definitely no final *tarung* on maṇḍaka here.

35. lbuni pāduka śrī mahārāja makasopāṇa ◇ D M&R, lbu {9 akṣ. ille.} sopāṇa B, lbuni pādūka śrī mahārāja makasopāṇa N.

36. kesareśvara kṛtavivekālanḡhanīya-parākrama mapañji bāḡuṇa ◇ D N M&R, kesaveśvara {5 akṣ. ille.} la(ñca)na ya(thā)krama mapañji {1 akṣ. ille.} (gu)ṇa B.

37. pañajyan ◇ B M&R, pajyen N.

38. śrī mahārāja mpuṅku naiyāyika-darśana-samṛddhi-kāraṇa ◇ śrī mahārāja {12 akṣ. ille.} kāraṇa B, śrī mahārāja mpuṅku naiyāyika-darśana-savṛddhi-kāraṇa N, śrī mahārāja mpuṅku neyāyika-darśana-samṛddhi-kāraṇa M&R.

39. yogīśvarādhikāra ◇ {4 akṣ. ille.} dhikāra B, yogīśvarāvikāra N, yogīśvarādhikāra M&R. There is damage on the stone after this word: a punctuation sign could have been engraved here.

40. mājar ◇ B N, Umajar M&R.

41. hana kmitanya praśāsti ◇ M&R, hana {3 akṣ. lost} praśāsti B, pānakmitanya praśāsti N.

42. rim ◇ ri B M&R, niṁ N.

43. garuḍamu(kha) ◇ B M&R, rarū ḍamuA N.

- (7)kasimā deśanya ri talan· de bhaṭāra guru, pramāṇā ri salbak·-vukhirnya tka riṃ gagā savah⁴⁴ tpi-tpi lvaḥ Ṛṇək· kuluvutan·⁴⁵ patapan· sa**(b)**prakāra, Atəhər· mamhyaṃ ri
- (8)Alihani praśāstinya Umuṅva⁴⁶ riṃ liṅgopala, maṅkana rasani haturnikaṃ varga⁴⁷ ri talan· ri lbūni pāduka śrī mahārāja, saṅkā ri gə:ṃ karu**(b)**ṇā śrī mahārāja ri panambaḥ-
- (9)nikaṃ⁴⁸ vargga ri talan·, Āpan· jātinim kadi sira Uttama-kṣatriya sāksāt· viṣṇv<avat>āra,⁴⁹ satata-sakala-jagat-pālaka, samasta-prajā-nanda**(b)**na-kāraṇa,⁵⁰ huniṇā ri sapra-
- (10)yojananim praṇata mamhyaṃ ri sira,⁵¹ māsiḥ riṃ śaraṇāgata, tan aṅgā kapihutaṇana kabhaktin· denim suṣṭubhakti⁵² ri sira,⁵³ ma**(b)**taṃnyan⁵⁴ inubhaya-sanmata⁵⁵ paṃhyaṃ-
- (11)nikaṃ vargga ri talan· de lbūni pādukanira, ri Alihani praśāstinya muṅva riṃ⁵⁶ liṅgopala, Atəhər ta ya Inimbuhan· Anu**(b)**graha de śrī mahārāja, ku-
- (12)naṃ⁵⁷ rasany anugraha bhaṭāra guru Irikaṃ colo, Ubheni,⁵⁸ Ṛntət·,⁵⁹ An ikaṃ i⁶⁰ talan· thāni vatək· panumbaṇan·, sapasuk· **(b)** thāni kabeh, Atagan· vanta-

44. tka riṃ gagā savah ◇ N, {4 akṣ. ille.} savah(nya) B, tka ri gagā savah M&R.

45. kuluvutan· ◇ M&R, {4 akṣ. ille.} B, kuluvukan· N.

46. Umuṅva ◇ N M&R, Umuṅgu B.

47. varga ◇ N, rarai B, vargga M&R.

48. mahārāja, saṅkā ri gə:ṃ karuṇā śrī mahārāja ri panambaḥnikaṃ ◇ N M&R, mahārājāsungā ri (om)kāranika vargga ri (talan) B.

49. viṣṇv<avat>āra, ◇ viṣṇvaṇṣa B M&R, viṣṇvāra N. Our emendation is based on the same expression observed in stanza 41.11 of the *Harivaṅśa* written in the Kadiri period (Teeuw 1950: 71) and two inscriptions, one from the Singasari period called Mula-Malurung (9v3, ed. Titi Surti Nastiti 2016: 421–436) and one from the Majapahit period called Adan-adan (7v3, ed. Machi Suhadi 1996). It is important to note that similar expressions are found within the corpus, namely *viṣṇvāṅśa* in Padlegan I (4) and *viṣṇvāṅśāvatāra* in Sirah Keting (b16–17). For discussion of the latter, see Stutterheim 1940: 352–354.

50. -prajā- ◇ M&R, {2 akṣ. ille.} B, -pravā- N.

51. ri sira, ◇ B M&R, riṃ sirah N.

52. denim suṣṭubhakti ◇ N M&R, (d)eni sṣṣṭabhakti B.

53. sira ◇ M&R, {2 akṣ. ille.} B, sirah N.

54. mataṃnyan ◇ {3 akṣ. ille.} B, mabaṃnyan N, mataṃyan M&R.

55. -sanmata ◇ M&R, {3 akṣ. ille.} B, -sasmara N.

56. muṅva riṃ ◇ N M&R, muṅgu ri B.

57. kunaṃ ◇ N M&R, {1 akṣ. ille.} ni B.

58. colo, Ubheni ◇ {2 akṣ. ille.} d(e)ni B, volo, dabheni, N, colo khabeni M&R.

59. Ṛntət·, ◇ N M&R, (Ṛntək·) B.

60. An ikaṃ i ◇ M&R, {4 akṣ. ille.} B, An ikad i N.

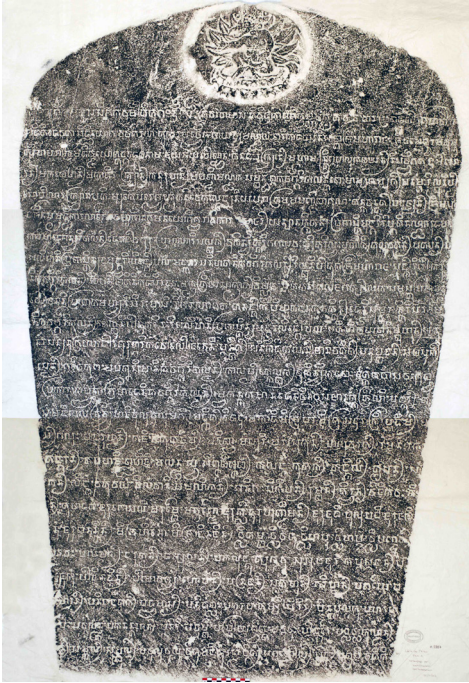


Fig. 5 – Talan, face A. Estampage EFEO n. 2287.



Fig. 6 – Talan, face b. Estampage EFEO n. 2288.

(13)yan·, gavai ku 1, mapakna⁶¹ sīmānikam vargga⁶² ri talan·, kālap· tkeṁ lbak·-vukhirnya⁶³ kabeh·, tkeṁ gagā⁶⁴ savaḥ kubva**(b)**n· tpi-tpi lvaḥ Ṛṇək· sa-
 (14)prakāra, kapva kāgraha⁶⁵ denikam⁶⁶ vargga⁶⁷ ri talan·, mvaṁ tan⁶⁸ katamāna denim vinava sam mānak katrīṇi,⁶⁹ paṅkur·, ta**(b)**vān·, tirip·, saprakāra
 (15) sam mañilala dravya haji vulu-vulu magə·m maḍmit· riṁ danū, makādi miśra paramiśra, pañuraṁ, kriṁ, paḍəm·,⁷⁰ ma**(b)**nimpiki,⁷¹ paranakan·, limu-
 (16)s· galuḥ, pañaruhan·, taji, vatu tajəm·, maṁriñca, maṁhūri, paraṁ, sukun·, halu varak·, ramanam, raka**(b)**sam, juru gəṇḍim, piniṁlai, ka-
 (17)taṅgaran·, tapa haji, Air haji, malandaṁ, lca, qəḶb-əḶb·, kalaṅkam, kutak·, taṅkil·, tṛpan·, sa**(b)**lvīt·, sinagiha, kyab·, sṛ-
 (18)kan·, liṅga(m),⁷² vatu valam, vilam thāni, pamaṅikan·, Aniga,⁷³ sikəpan·, rumban·,⁷⁴ tirvan·, vijji kavaḥ, ti**(b)**ṅkəs·, māvī, manambaṇi, taṁhira-
 (19)n·, tuha dagaṁ, juru gosali, maṁrumbai, maṁguñjai,⁷⁵ juru klim,⁷⁶ juru huñjəman·⟨,⟩ juru judi, puluṁ paḍi, juru jali**(b)**r·, pabisar·,⁷⁷ paguluṁ, pavuṁku-
 (20)nuṁ, juru banantən·,⁷⁸ miśra hino, miśraṇin-aṇin·⟨,⟩ vli tambaṁ, vli vaduṁ, vli hapū, vli haṚṁ, vli pañjut·**(b)**⟨⟨t⟩⟩,⁷⁹ suval·⟨,⟩ tambā, limbaṁ ⟨⟨k⟩⟩
 (21) kavaḥ,⁸⁰ palamak·, Urutan·, dampulan·, pakaluṅkuṁ, tpuṁ kavuṁ, suṁsuṁ pañuraṁ, kaṚṚṇan·⟨,⟩ pa**(b)**suk alas·, sipat· vilut·⟨,⟩

61. *mapakna* ◇ N M&R, *mapakora* B.

62. *vargga* ◇ N M&R, *rarai* B.

63. *-vukhirnya* ◇ N, *-vukirnya* B M&R.

64. *gagā* ◇ M&R, {2 *akṣ.* ille.} B, *dhavām* N.

65. *kapva kāgraha* ◇ N M&R, *bahva nugraha* B.

66. *denikam* ◇ M&R, *denika* B, *de rikam* N.

67. *vargga* ◇ N M&R, *rarai* B.

68. *mvaṁ tan* ◇ N M&R, *m(va ka)na* B.

69. *vinava sam mānak katrīṇi* ◇ M&R, {3 *akṣ.* ille.} *simāna* {3 *akṣ.* ille.} B, *vənam asa mānak katrīṇi* N.

70. *paḍəm* ◇ B, *padəm* N M&R.

71. *manimpiki* ◇ M&R, {4 *akṣ.* ille.} B, *marimpiki* N.

72. *sṛkan·, liṅga(m)* ◇ N M&R, *sakan· liṅga* B.

73. *Aniga* ◇ M&R, *maniga* B, *Anigaḥ* N.

74. *rumban·* ◇ B M&R, *sumban·* N.

75. *maṁguñjai*, ◇ M&R, *maṁguñje* B, *mavuñjai*, N.

76. *klim* ◇ N M&R, (*kdi*) B.

77. *pabisar·* ◇ M&R, {3 *akṣ.* ille.} B, *palimsar·* N.

78. *banantən·* ◇ B M&R, *banuntən·* N.

79. *pañjut·⟨⟨t⟩⟩* ◇ N, *pañjut·* B M&R.

80. *limbaṁ ⟨⟨k⟩⟩ kavaḥ*, ◇ {4 *akṣ.* ille.} B, *limbak· kavaḥ*, N M&R.

- (22) jukum̄, pānin-añin̄,⁸¹ pāmāvaśya, hopan̄,⁸² panrañan̄, skar tahun̄, garihan̄,⁸³ pabayai, pam̄**(b)**rāma,⁸⁴ Avur̄, panatak̄,⁸⁵ pan(·)(de)
 (23) mās̄,⁸⁶ panigañ-atak̄, pam̄dva-mās̄, panigam̄-blah̄, pakarapa,⁸⁷ tampə: sirir̄,⁸⁸ pinta-palaku, pam̄haram̄-ha**(b)**(ram̄,) tulum̄ hutam̄,⁸⁹ pobhaya, kipa-ki-
 (24)paḥ, pavalanda, pakanan tahun̄,⁹⁰ panirim̄,⁹¹ pacumbi, paprāyaścitta, pavuvuh̄, pāṅgarai,⁹² pavlam̄-vlam̄, tuṅḍan̄(,) **(b)** buñcam̄ haji,⁹³ kḍi,⁹⁴ hulun haji,⁹⁵ valya-
 (25)n̄(,) sambal̄, sumbul̄, mavulum̄-vulum̄,⁹⁶ vidu mañidum̄, Ariṅgit̄, Abañol̄, siṅgaḥ, pabṛsi, vatək i **(b)** jro Ityevamādi kabeh̄, tan ta-

Faces C and d (figs 7 and 8)

- (1)mātaḥ Iriken̄⁹⁷ śī[ma] ri talan̄ kevala Ikañ varga ri talan̄ pramāñā ri sadravya-hajinya⁹⁸ kabeh̄, mañkana Ika(m) sukha**(d)**duḥkha magə:ñ maḍmit̄, A-
 (2)siñ ata (sa)lviranya⁹⁹ kady aṅgānim̄ mayam̄ tan pavvaḥ, valū rumambat̄ rim̄

81. B reads up to this point.

82. *hopan̄* ◇ M&R, *patapan̄* N.

83. *garihan̄* ◇ N M&R. The first *akṣara* could also be read as *śa*. In Garaman (3r6) we have *śariyan̄* but the word *garihan̄* also occurs in Pabuharan (4r4, ed. Boechari 1985–1986: 13–14 where the relevant line is labelled Iia4).

84. *pam̄rāma* ◇ N, *vānāma* M&R.

85. *panatak̄* ◇ M&R, *panatat̄* N.

86. *pan(·)(de) mās̄* ◇ N, *panaji mas̄* M&R.

87. *pakarapa* ◇ M&R, *patarapa* N.

88. *tampə: sirir̄* ◇ *tampə: sisir̄* N, *tampə:m̄ sirir̄* M&R.

89. *pam̄haram̄-ha(ram̄) tulum̄ hutam̄* ◇ *pam̄haras̄. Atulum̄ hutam̄* N, *pahara-hara, hulu tukam̄* M&R. Our reading *pam̄haram̄-haram̄* is supported by the same word found in Sobhamerta (4r6, ed. Titi Surti Nastiti 2007). However, what we tentatively read *ram̄*, at the start of face d, could also be read as *ma* (without punctuation mark), while in Munggut (2.12) and Anjatan (3r1–3r2) we find occurrences of *pam̄rāma* followed by *tulum̄ hutam̄*. For this reason, we remain in doubt as to the correct reading of the word that precedes *tulum̄ hutam̄*.

90. *pakanan tahun̄* ◇ N, *sakanan tahun̄* M&R. The term is not found in other epigraphic records. A slightly different term, namely *pakan (t)ahun*, is observed in Anjatan (3v2).

91. *panirim̄* ◇ N, *pañirim̄* M&R.

92. *pāṅgarai* ◇ N, *pāṅgati* M&R.

93. *tuṅḍan̄(,) buñcam̄ haji* ◇ M&R, *duṅḍan̄ bu(k)va sāji* N.

94. *kḍi* ◇ N, *klim̄* M&R.

95. *haji* ◇ N, *pañi* M&R.

96. *mavulum̄-vulum̄* ◇ M&R, *pavulum̄-vulum̄* N.

97. *tan tamātaḥ Iriken̄* ◇ N, *tan tama Irikan* M&R.

98. *sadravya-* ◇ M&R, *sañ dravya* N.

99. *Asiñ ata (sa)lviranya* ◇ *A[ne]ñ {2 akṣ. ille.}viram̄nya* N, *kala ta lviranya* M&R.

natar·, vipati, vañkai kābunan·,¹⁰⁰ rāḥ kasavur i¹⁰¹ hava(d)n·, hidu kasirat·, (d)ū-
(3)hilatən·, sāhasa, vākcapala, hastacapala, mamijilakən· vuriniṃ kikir·,
 mamūk·, mamuṃpaṃ,¹⁰² lūdan·, **(d)** tūtan·, <<malaṃ mopi(h)>>¹⁰³
(4) Amśa pratyamśa,¹⁰⁴ ḍaṇḍa kuḍaṇḍa, maṇḍihalādi, kevala Ikaṃ vargga ri
 talan· pramāṇā Irikā kabeh·, ma(d)ṅkana rasani Anugraha bha-
(5)tāra guru Irikaṃ vargga I talan·, praśāsti muṅgu riṃ ripta tinaṇḍa garuḍamuka,¹⁰⁵
 pinagəhakən· śrī mahārāja, Atəhər i(d)nubhaya śrī mahārāja pra-
(6)tiṣṭā¹⁰⁶ riṃ liṅgopala, kunaṃ kālani Anugraha bhaṭāra guru Irikaṃ vargga
 ri talan·, Im śaka 941,¹⁰⁷ punaḥ-māgha-māsa **(d)** tiṭhi pratipāda,¹⁰⁸ kṛṣṇa-pa-
(7)kṣa, ha, U, bu, vāra, dukut·, kunaṃ rasani paṇimbuḥ śrī mahārāja Irikaṃ
 vargga ri talan· ri vnañanyāvarugā Inantun·, **(d)** Asakā Inaṣṭa, Anumpya-
(8)taka¹⁰⁹ natar·, Anusuna palaṅka, Apalaṅkā binubut·, Aprā<<ṃ>>sa¹¹⁰ nāgapuṣpa,
 Ajnva humalaṃ,¹¹¹ vnañājamahāni(d)(n)dikāṃguntiṇāmam̄lva(m̄)¹¹² rāhana
(9) raray inakvakən·, vnañāhuluna ḍayaṃ, Arabya ḍayaṃ kamambaṇan·,
 Amaṇana rājamāṃsa, Aḍulaṇa bvaḥ kama[(d)lai,¹¹³ Aguntiṇa riṃ saḷ, Ani-

100. *kābunan*· ◇ M&R, *kātunan*· N.

101. *i* ◇ N, *in* M&R.

102. *mamuṃpaṃ* ◇ N, *Amuṃpaṃ* M&R.

103. <<*malaṃ mopi(h)*>> ◇ *malaṃ mopi* N, {1 *akṣ. ille.*}*la mopi* M&R. These words do not yield an evident sense in this context. Comparing the parallel passages in the charters of Panumbangan Cd9 and Hantang Cd24, we do not expect anything between *tūtan* and *Amśa pratyamśa*. Therefore, we consider that the sequence *malaṃ mopi(h)* is the result of a scribal error and needs to be expunged from the text.

104. *pratyamśa* ◇ M&R, *prakṣaka* N.

105. *garuḍamuka* ◇ *garūḍamuka* N, *garuḍamukha* M&R.

106. *pratiṣṭā* ◇ N M&R. We find *pratiṣṭākna* in similar contexts in Pagiliran A5, Panumbangan Ab9, and Hantang Ab10, and so we have considered the possibility of supplying *kna* here. Nevertheless, the fact that *pratiṣṭ(h)ā* is also observed in the same context in Tamparang Ab9, Kemulan Ab8 and Palah Ab8 means that this reading must be accepted as a viable alternative, in the intransitive, to the passive construction with *pratiṣṭ(h)ākna*.

107. 941 ◇ *rñan ugaḥ* N, 961 M&R.

108. *-māgha-māsa tiṭhi pratipāda* ◇ M&R, *māla riṃ mā*{body ille.}*em̄kən· pratipāda* N.

109. *Anumpyataka* ◇ N, *Anumam̄hyam̄tikam̄* M&R.

110. *Aprā<<ṃ>>sa* ◇ *Aprāsa* N M&R.

111. *Ajnva humalaṃ* ◇ M&R, *Ajṭva humalaṃ* N. In Ğaraman 4r5 and Gandhakuti 5r1 we have occurrences of *Ajnva halaṃ*. Is the word *humalaṃ* here a mistake or a legitimate variant for *halaṃ*?

112. *vnañājamahāni(n)dikāṃguntiṇāmam̄lva(m̄)* ◇ *vnañājapahānindikāmbuntinām̄lvaṃ* N, *vananajapahānindikāguntinām̄lvaṃ* M&R.

113. *kama/lai* ◇ N M&R. A *taling* is engraved after *kama* at the end of the line on face C but we also find the *-ai* marker at the beginning of d.

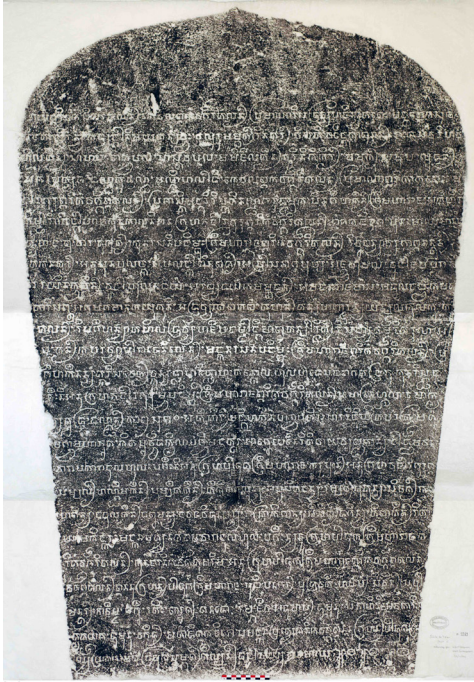


Fig. 7 – Talan, face C. Estampage EFEO n. 2289.



Fig. 8 – Talan, face d. Estampage EFEO n. 2290.

(10) tā riṃ sa¹¹⁴, Agam-agamāna kayu kunim, Adravyā tabarṃ-tabarṃ,¹¹⁴ tuhun· tan paṃhañjuranya¹¹⁵ yan paṃlaku-laku,¹¹⁶ ku(d)naṃ¹¹⁷ kadeyakəna rikam varga ri (11) talan·, ri pagəhanyātahila¹¹⁸ dravya haji paṃaṣṭāngī mā 2¹¹⁹ tan pārīk· ri sam hyam dharma riṃ dharuṇa,¹²⁰ A(d)ṅkən· pūrṇamaniṃ asuji-mā- (12)sa, tan· kaparavyāpārā denim len·, maṅkana rasani paṃimbuḥ śrī mahārāja Irikam vargga ri talan·, pra(d)tiṣṭa riṃ liṅgopala, kapa- (13)gəhakənanya¹²¹ tka ri savet·-vkanya¹²² dlāhaniṃ dlāha, tan kolah-ulaha de saṃ anāgataprabhu(,) kunaṃ¹²³ ri sḍaṇa(d)nyan· hanānulah-ulaha pa- (14)gəḥni(m)¹²⁴ Anugraha bhaṭāra guru, mvaṃ paṃimbuḥ śrī mahārāja Irikam vargga ri talan·, mo brāhmaṇa, mo kṣa(d)triya, ṇuniveḥ yan· ve- (15)(ś)ya śūdra, ḍaṇḍan· kā 2¹²⁵ su 10, Atəhər· maṅgihakənaṃ paṅcagati¹²⁶ saṃsāra riṃ ihatra paratra, mataṃ(d)nyat amṚṇə: ta kita¹²⁷ kamuṃ hyam¹²⁸ (16) paṅcamahābhūta, kita pūrva dakṣiṇa paścima Uttara, Āgneya nairiti vāyavya Aiśānya, Ūrdhamadhaḥ,¹²⁹ (d) tka riṃ maddhya, yan hana vvaṃ apa- (17)cārāpakārānulah-ulah¹³⁰ pagəḥni Anugraha pāduka śrī mahārāja, karuhun· Anugraha bhaṭāra guru I(d)rikam vargga I¹³¹ talan·, sikəp·

114. -tabarṃ ◇ N, -habarṃ M&R.

115. paṃhañjuranya ◇ N, paṃhanjuran M&R.

116. paṃlaku-laku ◇ N, paṃhaku-haku M&R.

117. kunaṃ ◇ M&R, tuna N.

118. -atahila ◇ N, -tahil M&R.

119. mā 2 ◇ M&R, mā bū N.

120. dharuṇa ◇ N, karuṇa M&R.

121. kapagəhakənanya ◇ N, kapagəhananyan M&R.

122. savet·-vkanya ◇ N M&R. The word order here is unusual. Normally, one finds *savka-vetnya* (cf. Horren 2r3 [eds. Stutterheim 1933: 104 and Machi Suhadi & Sukarto 1986: 112–115 where the relevant line is labelled Ib3], Pagiliran A5, Panumbangan Cd11 and 14, Sirah Keting C6 and Lawadan Ab26). Corr. *savka-vetnya*?

123. kunaṃ ◇ M&R, kuvam N.

124. pagəḥni(m) ◇ M&R, paṃsəḥnim N.

125. kā 2 ◇ M&R, kā {body ille.}u N.

126. maṅgihakənaṃ paṅcagati ◇ maṅgəhakən aṅcegaki N, maṅgəhakəna paṅcagati M&R.

127. mataṃnyat amṚṇə: ta kita ◇ mataṃnya kaṚṇə: taki ta N, mataṃyan ta Ṛṇə: ta kita M&R. The use of enclitic *-k* instead of *-n* implies a 2nd-person subject. The context imposes enclitic *-t* (instead of *-n* or *-k*) implying a 2nd-person subject.

128. hyam ◇ M&R, hvam N.

129. Ūrdhamadhaḥ ◇ M&R, Ūrdhamavaḥ N.

130. hana vvaṃ apacārā- ◇ pānavvaṇa pavārā N, hana vvaṃ apacara- M&R.

131. I ◇ N, ri M&R.

(18) sampal· haṇḍəmakən· sumpətakən·,¹³² təkək·¹³³ gulūnya, (A)pusi¹³⁴ tañanya, rampak·¹³⁵ sukunya, sivak· ka(d)pālanya, cavuk¹³⁶ utəknya, duḍuk· (19) hatinya,¹³⁷ Uḍulakən ḍaḷḷmanya, Uvad-avid ususnya, rakrāk igānya,¹³⁸ səsəb dagimnya, tibākən riṃ tā(d)mragomukha, klan· ri kavaḥ sarṃ (20) (ya)makiṅkara,¹³⁹ maṅkana paṭyanikaṃ¹⁴⁰ Upacārānulah-ulah pagəḥny anugraha pāduka śrī mahārāja ka(d)ruhun· Anugraha bhaṭāra guru I- (21)rikaṃ varga ri talan·, kunaṃ ṅaranikaṃ¹⁴¹ varga tumarima, Anugraha pāduka śrī mahārāja Irikaṃ vargga I talan· (d) gambhīra, viro,¹⁴² pratyekani ṅaranika(m)¹⁴³ (22) varga I talan· Inanugrahan· pāduka srī mahārāja, (s)ubi, panaśar·,¹⁴⁴ putravatī, haṚp·,¹⁴⁵ sicin·,¹⁴⁶ saprā(d)ṅa,¹⁴⁷ Abrom, palagān·,¹⁴⁸ sayo(,) tu- (23)mantar·,¹⁴⁹ kaviṣṭa, sagnəm,¹⁵⁰ ratiḥ, ṅaruk·,¹⁵¹ tan adoḥ,¹⁵² rambha,¹⁵³ jīva, Adumās·¹⁵⁴ dumunum, sa(m) bhani(,) riṃ (A)dhikā(n)ī¹⁵⁵ (d) nyū dantī, gambhīra,¹⁵⁶ Ahyəs·,¹⁵⁷ śrī (vidgī)¹⁵⁸

132. *sumpətakən* ◇ N, *pumpətakən*· M&R.

133. *təkək* ◇ M&R, *təkik*· N.

134. (A)*pusi* ◇ M&R, {body ille.}a{body ille.}upi N.

135. *rampak* ◇ N, *rampat i* M&R.

136. *cavuk* ◇ {2 aks. ille.}t N, *duḍuk* M&R.

137. *hatinya* ◇ M&R, *rahaginya* N.

138. *rakrāk igānya* ◇ *cakrākigāmnya* N, *rākṛāk iganya* M&R.

139. (ya)*makiṅkara* ◇ M&R, *soma kiṅkara* N.

140. *paṭyanikaṃ* ◇ N, *gaṭyanikaṃ* M&R.

141. *kunaṃ ṅaranikaṃ* ◇ M&R, *kunaṃ aranikaṃ* N.

142. *gambhīra, viro* ◇ *gambhīra, vigā* N, *gamgīra, viga* M&R.

143. *ṅaranika(m)* ◇ *ṅaran i* N, *ṅānikan* M&R.

144. (s)*ubi, panaśar* ◇ M&R, *suvi, panagar*· N.

145. *haṚp* ◇ N, *hapas*· M&R.

146. *sicin* ◇ M&R, *sicim*· N.

147. *saprāṅa* ◇ *sapāṅa* N M&R.

148. *Abrom, palagān* ◇ *sabrom, palaśān*· N, *Anabram, palagān*· M&R.

149. *tumantar*· ◇ *tumankar*· N, *dumantar*· M&R.

150. *sagnəm* ◇ N, *Agnī* M&R.

151. *ṅaruk* ◇ *tāruk*· N, *bāruk*· M&R.

152. *tan adoḥ* ◇ M&R, *kan adoḥ* N.

153. *rambha* ◇ N, *ramga* M&R.

154. *Adumās*· ◇ M&R, *Aduhas*· N.

155. (A)*dhikā(n)ī* ◇ *Avikāri* N M&R.

156. *gambhīra* ◇ N, *gamgīra* M&R.

157. *Ahyəs*· ◇ *Ahyus*· N, *Ahyīs*· M&R.

158. (vidgī) ◇ gə{body ille.}g{1 vowel ille.} N, *gita* M&R.

(24) *kṛtayaśa*,¹⁵⁹ *dumunuṃ*, *vagəd*·, *makādi Ikaṃ*¹⁶⁰ *viro*, *samaṅkana*¹⁶¹ *pratyekanikaṃ vargga Inanugrahan*·¹⁶² *pāduka śrī (d) mahārāja*, *likitapātra* *ḍaṅ ācā-*

(25) *ryya prakāśa*,¹⁶³ *makapramukha samgat*·¹⁶⁴ *kəlpvan*·¹⁶⁵ *ḍaṅ ācāryya Amogha*¹⁶⁶ //○//○//○ (d) *ni śrī*,¹⁶⁷

5. Translation

Faces A and b

(Ab1–4) Hail! Elapsed Śaka year 1058, month of Śravaṇa, eleventh *tithi*, waning fortnight, Tuṅlai, Vage, Monday, [the *vuku* being] Praṅbakat, the *grahacāra* being in the South, lunar mansion Punarvasu, the deity Aditi, the conjunction Siddhi, the *karana* Vava, the *parveśa* Kuvera, the *maṅḍala* being in the north-west. That was the time when the decree of the Great King — whose royal (*deva*) names were ‘Incarnation of Madhu’s destroyer, i.e. of Viṣṇu’ (*śrī-varmeśvara*, *madhusūdanāvātāra*), ‘Who brings joy to friends’ (*ānanditasuhr̥t*), ‘Lofty conqueror of the directions thanks to his lion’s power’ (*siṅhaparākrama-digjayottuṅga*), whose emblem was Jayabhaya — was received by the Lord Great Minister of Halu, the *kabayan* at Sarvagata.¹⁶⁸ It came down to all the high functionaries (*taṅḍa rakryān*) in the council, beginning with the Lord of Kanuruhan, with the byname Maṅḍaka.

(Ab4–8) The occasion: All of the inhabitants in Talan, rank upon rank, paid respect to the dust of the footprints of the Great King. They had as intermediary the *apatih* Lord [named] *mpu* Kesareśvara, ‘endowed with right judgment and of unstoppable valor’ (*kṛta-vivekālaṅghanīya-parākrama*), with the byname Bāguṇa. Not left behind was the teacher of the Great King,

159. *kṛtayaśa* ◇ M&R, {1 *akṣ. ille.*} *kayaśa* N.

160. *vagəd*·, *makādi Ikaṃ* ◇ N, *vabhəd*·, *matādi takam* M&R.

161. *samaṅkana* ◇ M&R, *sapaṅkaca* N.

162. *Inanugrahan*· ◇ N, *Anugrahan*· M&R.

163. *prakāśa* ◇ N, *prakhāsa* M&R.

164. *makapramukha samgat*· ◇ M&R, *marā pramukha samgat*· N.

165. *kəlpvan*· ◇ *kīl*{body ille.} *an*· N, *kəlpān*· M&R.

166. *Amogha* ◇ N, *Anumagha* M&R.

167. *ni śrī* ◇ M&R, *ki śrī* N. The meaning of the two unexpected syllables following the final punctuation marks is unclear.

168. The word *sarvagata* is rarely attested in epigraphic sources. In the two other inscriptions issued by the same king, namely the Hantang and the Tamparung charters, in the same position we find Mapaṅji Kambādaha. The word *sarvagata* is observed in two *kakavins* of this period: in stanza 42.2 of the *Harivaṅśa* (Teeuw 1950: 72) and in stanza 24.9 of the *Smaradahana* (Poerbatjaraka 1931: 34). From the Wanua Tengah III charter (2r20, ed. Boechari 2012d: 484–491, transl. Griffiths 2021–2022: 198–208) *kabayan· ri Ayam· tās· 2 mira·mirah pu rayum, halaran· pu dhanada*, we get the impression that Sarvagata in *kabayan· ri sarvagata* is supposed to be a toponym.

‘promoter of Nyāya doctrine, serving as a chief of Yogins following the path of Bhairava’ (*naiyāyikadarśana-samyddhi-kāraṇa bhairava-mārgānugamana-yogīśvarādhikāra*). They informed (the Great King) that they had in custody an edict (*praśasti*) recorded (*muṅgu*)¹⁶⁹ on palm leaves [and] marked with the Garuḍa-face [as] their guarantee that they were granted by Bhaṭāra Guru [the right] to hold their land (*deśa*) in Talan as a *sīma* [and] to have authority over all of its low land and elevated ground, including non-irrigated rice-fields, paddy fields, river edges, marshlands, *kuluvutans*¹⁷⁰ [and] *patapans* of all types. In addition, they begged for the transfer of their edict to be recorded on a stone stele. Such was the substance of the petition of the inhabitants of Talan to the dust of the footprints of the Great King.

(Ab8–11) Because of the greatness of His Majesty the Great King’s sympathy for the request of the inhabitants of Talan — for the nature of one like him is [that of] the highest *kṣatriya* manifested as the incarnation of Viṣṇu, constantly guarding the whole world, who brings joy to all subjects, attentive to all intentions of those who respectfully implore him, kind to those who seek for protection, [and] unwilling to be put in debt of service by those who are unwaveringly loyal to him — this is the reason why His Majesty (lit., ‘the dust of his footprints’) approved the request of the inhabitants of Talan for the transfer of their edict to be recorded on a stone stele. At the same time, their grant was added to (*inimbuhan*) by the Great King.¹⁷¹

(Ab12–Cd1) As for the substance of the grant of the Bhaṭāra Guru to Colo, Ubheni, [and] R̥ntət, [it was] that Talan, a village of the district Panumbānan including all its (constituent) villages [and] circumscription (*atagan*) of

¹⁶⁹. We choose ‘recorded’ as a contextually suitable free translation. Literally, *muṅgu* means ‘present, situated’.

¹⁷⁰. The word is rarely used in epigraphic sources. It is only attested in this charter (Ab7) and the unpublished Kukub charter (3v4, discussed in ROD 1923, no. 2250, p. 25–26, now kept in Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, inv. nos. 4801–2a and 4801–2b). OJED records only few other non-epigraphic occurrences, including one from the *Sumanasāntaka* (written in the Kadiri period) and *Navaruci* (ed. Prijohoetomo 1934: chapter 3, first paragraph, p. 34): *aglis maṅkat rahaden bhīma, kapuṅkur ing gajāhoya. aṅlakvani juran sənka aparān aparun, mārgātrəbis, irin-irin. akveh tikan vanādri bhaya kalintaṅan, muvah śəma, vatəs, pabajaṅan, peṅənan in avan; gunun pipitu kalintaṅan; mvaṅ kapuṅkur tekang taruk-tarukan, muvah kalagen, kaputravaṅsan, ḍusun, kuluvutan*. ‘Immediately Bhīma set out. He had left Gajāhoya behind. He marched through steep ravines with rocks and cliffs. The path was rocky terrain and slopes. On the road, he came by numerous dangerous forest mountains, cemeteries, boundary markers, children’s graveyards, demarcations. He came by seven mountains. And he left behind settlements, as well as religious establishments (*kalagen*), *kaputravaṅsan*, and *kuluvutans*’ (Griffiths 2020: 120–121).

¹⁷¹. We are not exactly sure of the grammatical function of *ya* in this sentence, but suppose it must refer to the *varga i talan*. So the literal meaning would be something like ‘At the same time they were grant-increased by ...’.

Vantayan, [whose] corvée is [equal to] 1 *kupañ*, would serve to become the *sīma* of the inhabitants of Talan. It is seized including its low land and elevated ground, including all kinds of non-irrigated rice-fields, paddy-fields, orchards, river edges, marshland. All of them are taken by the inhabitants of Talan. And they will not be entered by the subordinates of the three high dignitaries: the Pañkur, the Tavan and the Tirip, [i.e.] all those who previously had a claim on royal revenue [from] the occupational groups big or small, beginning with the various *Miśras*, the *pañurañ*, the *kriñ*, the *paḍəm*, the *manimpiki*, the *paranakan*, the *limus galuh*, the *pañaruhan*, the *taji*, the *vatu tajəm*, the *mañriñca*, the *mañhūri*, the *parañ*, the *sukun*, the *halu varak*, the *ramanan*, the *rakasañ*, the overseer of *gəñdiñ*, the *piniñlai*, the *katañgaran*, the *tapa haji*, the *air haji*, the *malandañ*, the *ləca*, the *ələb-ələb*, the *kalañkañ*, the *kutak*, the *tañkil*, the *trəpan*, the *salvīt*, the *sinagiha*, the *kyab*, the *srəkan*, the *liñgañ*, the *vatu valañ*, the *vilañ thāni*, the *pamañikan*, the *aniga*, the *sikəpan*, the *rumban*, the *tirvan*, the *viji kavah*, the *tiñkəs*, the *māvī*, the *manambañi*, the *tañhiran*, the overseer of merchants, the overseer of smiths, the *mañrumbai*, the *mañguñjai*, the overseer of *Kliñ*, the overseer of *Huñjəman*, the overseer of gambling, the *puluñ paḍi*, the overseer of harlots, the *pabisar*, the *paguluñ*, the *pavuñkunuñ*, the overseer of *Banantən*, the *miśra hino*, the *miśra añin-añin*, the *vli tambañ*, the *vli vaduñ*, the *vli hapū*, the *vli harəñ*, the *vli pañjut*, the *suval*, the *tambā*, the *limbañ*, the *kavah*, the *palamak*, the *urutan*, the *dampulan*, the *pakaluñkuñ*, the *təpuñ kavuñ*, the *suñsuñ pañurañ*, the *karərañan*, the *pasuk alas*, the *sipat vilut*, the *jukuñ*, the *pāñin-añin*, the *pāmāvaśya*, the *hopan*, the *panrañan*, the *skar tahun*, the *garihan*, the *pabayai*, the *pañrāma*, the *avur*, the *panatak*, the goldsmiths, the *panigañ-atak*, the *pañdva-mās*, the *panigañ-blah*, the *pakarapa*, the *tampə sirir*, the *pinta-palaku*, the *pañharəñ-harañ*, the *tuluñ hutañ*, the *pobhaya*, the *kipa-kipah*, the *pavalanda*, the *pakanan tahun*, the *paniriñ*, the *pacumbi*, the *paprāyaścitta*, the *pavuvuh*, the *pāñgarai*, the *pavlañ-vlañ*, the *tuñḍan*, the royal corvée, the eunuchs, the royal servants, the healers, the *sambal*, the *sumbul*, the *mavuluñ-vuluñ*, the singing actors, the wayang-performers, the comedians (*abañol*), the *siñgah*, the *pabrəsi*, all of the courtiers, and so forth — they shall not enter

Faces C and d

the *sīma* in Talan. It is only the inhabitants of Talan who shall have the authority over all of their royal revenue.

(Cd1-4) Likewise are all the [fines to be imposed for] ‘pain and relief’ (*sukha-duḥkha*), great or small, no matter what their types may be, such as ‘areca-blossom without betelnut’ (*mayañ tan pavvaḥ*), ‘gourd vines that grow in the courtyard’ (*valū rumambat in natar*), ‘disaster’ (*vipati*), ‘a corpse covered with dew’ (*vañkai kābunan*), ‘blood spattered on the road’ (*rāh kasavur i havan*), ‘spittle that is sprayed’ (*hidū kasirat*), ‘slander’ (*dūhilaṭən*), ‘violence’ (*sāhasa*),

‘rash speech’ (*vākcāpala*), ‘rash acts with the hand’ (*hastacāpala*), ‘producing the dust of a file’ (*mamijilakān vuriniṅ kikir*), ‘attacking in fury’ (*mamūk*), ‘rape’ (*mamuṅpañ*), ‘repeated attack’ (*lūdan*), ‘following’ (*tūtan*), ‘apportioning of shares’ (*añśa pratyañśa*), ‘punishment and wrongful punishment’ (*daṅḍa kuḍaṅḍa*), ‘poisons of all sort’ (*maṅḍihala*) and such like. It is only the inhabitants of Talan who shall have the authority over all of them.

(Cd4–7) Such was the substance of the grant of Bhaṭāra Guru to the inhabitants of Talan — an edict recorded on palm leaves [and] marked with the Garuḍa-face — which was confirmed by the Great King. Consequently, the Great King agreed that it would stand permanently on a stone stele. As for the time of the grant of Bhaṭāra Guru to the inhabitants of Talan, it was in Śaka 941, additional month of Māgha, first *tithi*, waning fortnight, Haryaṅ, Umanis, Wednesday, [the *vuku* being] Dukut.

(Cd7–15) As for the substance of the addition (*pañimbuh*)¹⁷² of the Great King to the inhabitants in Talan, it concerned their being entitled to have a longer platform (? *varuga inantun*), to have eight pillars (? *aśakā inaṣṭa*), to pave the courtyard (*anumpyatak*),¹⁷³ to build a palanquin in layers, to have a palanquin with turnery, to offer *nāgapuspa* (cloth), to use *jənu humalañ* (unguent); they would be entitled to have intercourse, pierce the ear-lobes, cut the hair, given in possession to ... (*amañlva*) [or] inflict wounds (*anrāhana*) on children; they would be entitled to take a prostitute as slave, to mate with a *kamambañan* prostitute, to eat royal meat, to serve *kamalai* fruit on a wooden tray, to cut hair on the seat, to play on the seat, to hold yellow wood, to have a *tabaṅ-tabaṅ* (drum). But there should not be a forerunner for them when they take a walk.

As for the course of action to be taken by the inhabitants of Talan, it concerns their reliability in delivering (*atahil*)¹⁷⁴ royal revenue [in the form

172. The word is derived from the base *imbuh* and its derivations such as *pañimbuh*, *inimbuh*, and *umimbuh* are observed in the inscriptions issued by King Sindok (Linggasuntan 851 Ś., A6; Kanuruhan 856 Ś., 8), Airlangga (Kusambyan 945 Ś., B36; Bimalasrama date lost, 4.5; Turun Hyang B 976 Ś., Cd19; Anjatan date lost, 4r7) and at least one other king of the Kadiri period (Panumbangan 1042 Ś., Ab7). The words *inimbuh* (A11) and *pañimbuh* are used here because the present charter was issued to grant additional privileges to the holders of the grant made by Bhaṭāra Guru. See also n. 180 below. Among the cited inscriptions, the following are absent from Nakada (1982): Kusambyan (ed. Titi Surti Nastiti, Eko Bastiawan & Griffiths 2022), Bimalasrama (ed. van Stein Callenfels 1924), Anjatan (ed. Rita Margaretha Setianingsih 1996).

173. The words (*m*)*atumpyatak* and (*m*)*anumpyatak* are observed only in inscriptions of the Kadiri period, namely, besides the present occurrence, in Geneng I Ab25; Ceker Ab9; Lawadan Ab10. Moreover, the form *tinumpyatak* is observed in stanzas 161.1 and 164.2 of *kakavin Sumanasāntaka* written in the same period (Worsley *et al.* 2013: 402, 406).

174. The base form *tahil* and its derivations such as *atahil*, *matahil*, *patahil*, and *satahil* are attested in many inscriptions issued by King Sindok up to the Majapahit period. OJED only registers the word *tahil* meaning “a part. weight, esp. of gold and silver; a part. kind of tax or tribute,” but lists hardly any of these derived forms. In our

of] *paṇaṣṭāṅgī* (tax) of 2 *māṣa* without *arīk* levy to the holy foundation in Dharuṇa every Full Moon of the month of Asuji. It should not be interfered with by others.

Such was the substance of the addition of the Great King (granted) to the inhabitants of Talan, to stand permanently on a stone stele [and] to be considered to be irrevocable by them including their descendants [into] the future's future. It is not to be disturbed by the future kings. But if there are ones who will disturb the stability of the grant of Bhaṭāra Guru along with the addition of the Great King to the inhabitants of Talan, be they *brāhmaṇas* or *kṣatriyas*, let alone if they are *vaiśyas* [or] *śūdras*, they should be fined 2 *kāṣī* and 10 *suvarṇa*. In addition, they will encounter the five forms of suffering in this world and hereafter.

(Cd15–21) For that reason, you (may please) pay heed, you gods of the five elements, you (gods of the directions) East, South, West, North, Southeast, Southwest, Northwest, Northeast, Zenith, Nadir, including the Center. If there are people who misbehave [or] offend by disturbing the stability of the grant of His Majesty the Great King, all the more so the grant of Bhaṭāra Guru to the inhabitants of Talan: catch them, cut them off, throw them down, turn them upside down, strangle their necks, bind together their hands, break up their feet, split their skulls, scoop up their brains, tear out their livers, rip open their entrails, pull out their intestines, break any of their ribs, cut off their flesh, drop [them] in the copper-cow-headed (cauldron), to be cooked in the cauldron of Yama's slaves. Such should be the future deaths of the miscreants who disturb the stability of the grant of His Majesty the Great King, all the more so the grant of Bhaṭāra Guru to the inhabitants of Talan.

(Cd21–25) As for the names of the inhabitants who received the grant of His Majesty the Great King to the inhabitants of Talan, [they were] Gambhīra and Viro. Enumeration of the names of the inhabitants of Talan who benefited from the grant by His Majesty the Great King: Sudhi, Panagar, Putravatī, Haṣap, Sicin, Saprāṇa, Abroṇ, Palagān, Sayo, Tumantar, Kaviṣṭa, Sagnān, Ratih, Ņaruk, Tan Adoh, Rambha, Jīva, Adumās, Dumunuṇ, Saṇ Bhaṇi. In Adhikānī [and] Nyū Dantī: Gambhīra, Ahyās, Śrī Vidgī, Kṛtayaśa, Dumunuṇ [and] Vagəd, the first being Viro. Such was the enumeration of the inhabitants who benefited from the grant by His Majesty the Great King. The document was written by master Prakāśa, whose chief was the official of Kəlpvan¹⁷⁵ (called) master Amogha.¹⁷⁶

context, *atahil* seems to indicate the action of delivering some kind of tax or tribute.

175. One wonders if this corresponds to *kulupvan* in line 9v4 of the Kancana charter (10th century CE, see Griffiths 2020: 133–135).

176. It is worth mentioning that these names of *ācāryas* sound very Buddhist and perhaps this fact can be linked to the fact that Talan is one of the *təpi siriṇs* (neighboring villages) of the Buddhist monastery mentioned in the Bimalasrama charter (10r6). In addition to that, Talan is also one of the four boundaries of the Buddhist foundation in Kancana observed in line 4r2 of the Kancana charter (see n. 175). On these occurrences of the toponym Talan in other inscriptions, see also §6

6. Historiographical Discussion

Dates

One of the remarkable features of the Talan stela is the fact that it is inscribed with two dates. The first date which fell in 1058 Śaka is engraved on the front face (Ab), line 1. All of the dating elements, with the exception of the *yoga*, point to the month of Bhādrapada instead of Śravaṇa mentioned in the text (see the HIC diagram in fig. 9a). We find no indication that Damais (1955: 71) was aware of the fact that the month appears to be off by one, while Eade & Gislén (2000: 85) signal the problem but do not comment on it further, although it must be connected with the intercalation system that was used.¹⁷⁷

The second date is observed on the back face (C) line 6. The presence of this date had been noticed by Krom who cited the year as 961 Śaka. He argued that the 12th-century inscription is a confirmation of a charter issued by Airlangga (1931: 294, see below), and that the year 961 is that of the original charter. Damais merely cited Krom for the second date (1955: 71, n. 3), but did not have the chance to check any estampage and hence could not determine whether it comprised only a year or also other dating parameters.¹⁷⁸

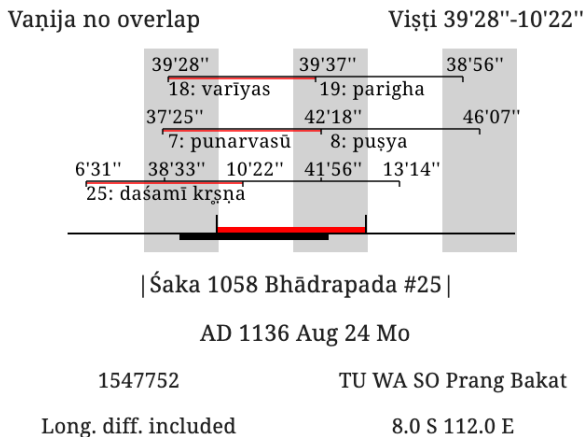


Fig. 9a – Diagram for the first date contained in the inscription, generated with HIC software.

below. Although the present passage can be translated as ‘the document was written by renowned (*prakāśa*) masters, chief of whom was the official of Kālpvan (called) master Amogha,’ the translation offered here is based on the observation that we do not normally get such phrases as ‘written by renowned masters’ and supported by a similar passage found in Panumbangan Cd21 *makapramuka mpu pañajyan- ri panumbaṇan- ḍaṅ ācāryyāntaraja*.

177. “The weekday combination, as we see, points to Bhādravāda, not to Śravaṇa.” See also p. 157 (A152 “a difficult case”). The topic of intercalation is a red thread in Eade & Gislén’s work: see their appendices I and II and the entry “intercalation” in their index.

178. “Krom fait remarquer dans HJG² : 294 que cette inscription est une confirmation

While Nakada evidently did not recognize the presence of a date and read the digits as the meaningless words *rñan ugaḥ*, Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma were able to read the year as 961 Śaka (1996: 27).

Upon inspecting the stone in person, we have found the reading 961 offered by Krom as well as Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma not to be accurate. The year has to be read 941 Śaka. The HIC diagram demonstrates that this reading fits well with the other dating elements (fig. 9b).¹⁷⁹ The HIC software also shows that there is no matching date in 961 Śaka. The charter thus bears one date falling in the reign of Jayabhaya (24 August 1136 CE) and another associated with a figure called Bhaṭāra Guru (13 January 1020 CE).

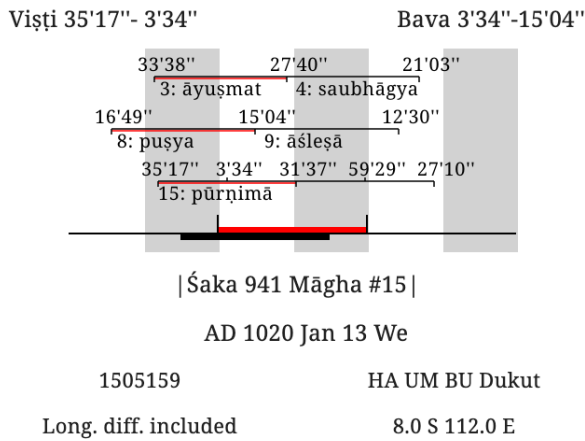


Fig. 9b – Diagram for the second date contained in the inscription, generated with HIC software.

Bhaṭāra Guru: the posthumous name of Airlangga

The charter of Talan is a confirmatory grant that incorporates a grant that was originally issued in 941 Śaka for the inhabitants of Talan by an authority referred to as Bhaṭāra Guru and authenticated with the Garuḍamukha (Garuḍa-face) emblem.¹⁸⁰ The name Bhaṭāra Guru figures for the first time

d'un édit de Airlangga de 961 śaka. Nous n'avons pas eu le temps en 1947 de consulter l'estampage pour vérifier dans le texte si cette dernière date est détaillée ou bien si seul le millésime est indiqué."

179. The fact that the HIC software indicates Māgha rather than *punaḥ*-Maghā found in the text must again be an issue of intercalation, whereas between Pūrṇimā and Pratipadā there is only the typical one-day difference (Eade & Gislén 2000: 3).

180. The Talan inscription demonstrates how a charter could be reproduced in a subsequent charter. An analogous case can be observed in the Wanua Tengah III inscription. Issued by King Balitung in 830 Śaka, it incorporates an earlier charter which was originally issued by King Garung in 751 Śaka (Griffiths 2021–2022: 158). A slightly different case is the Turun Hyang inscription which also contains two charters,



Fig. 10 – The emblem of Garudamukha in the Sumengka inscription.
Photograph Eko Bastiawan.

in the Sumengka charter (981 Śaka) that was issued by the king of Janggala called Samarotsaha ‘because of the way in which the channel created by the venerable Bhaṭāra Guru, who rests at Tīrtha, was taking from the river meandering by way of the land of Tīnkilikan.’¹⁸¹ The stone itself is engraved with the Garudamukha emblem on the top of the front face (fig. 10). Currently displayed in the Nasional Museum of Indonesia with the inventory number D.12, it originates from *desa* Sumengko, *kecamatan* Jatirejo, *kabupaten* Mojokerto.¹⁸² Besides the famous case of Ken Angrok who, in the *Pararaton*, receives the name Bhaṭāra Guru from the gods (Brandes 1920: 12, 56), the same name is also observed in two charters from Bali, that date respectively from 1126 Śaka and from 1246 Śaka (Goris 1967: 43, 45–46). Although the identity of the figures referred to in these Balinese charters is not yet clearly understood, it seems certain that neither one of the two figures called Bhaṭāra

the first dated to 948 or 958 Śaka and issued under Airlangga while the second is dated 976 Śaka and issued under Garasakan. The older charter (Turun Hyang A) is presented before the later one (Turun Hyang B), without being formally inserted into it. Such serialization is also seen in the Sima Anglayang (Titi Surti Nastiti, Eko Bastiawan & Griffiths 2022: §6.4, pp. 149, 152) and the Harinjing charters. The incorporation of old charters in new ones raises questions that deserve further investigation about the purposes of such incorporation as well as the reliability of the copying processes.

181. Faces AbCd, line 3: ... *sambandha, gatinikanam kantān yaśa pāduka mpūnku bhaṭāra guru sam lumāḥ ri tīrtha maṅalap· ri baṅavān· Aṅavir·avir· Ahnū ri lmaḥnikanam I tīnkilikan.*

182. NBG 14 (1876: III no. 6, VII no. 48); Groeneveldt (1887: 376, no. 12); Krom (1913: 596–597); Krom (1914: 191).

Guru there can be identified with the Bhaṭāra Guru mentioned in the Sumengka and Talan charters. By contrast, in the latter two the same figure may very well have been intended.

While the name Bhaṭāra Guru in the Sumengka charter is preceded by *pāduka mpuñku*, this expression is not seen in Talan. With reference to the former, Krom observed some similarities between Samarotsaha and Airlangga, namely their use of the *rake halu* title, of the ‘family name’ Dharmawangsa, and of the Garuḍamukha emblem. In relation to the name *pāduka mpuñku bhaṭāra guru*, he was of the opinion that *pāduka* refers to a princely figure, while *mpuñku* suggests a religious title and *bhaṭāra guru* is the name of a god. Thus, he argued, the name may denote the deity with which a deceased prince was identified after death, according to a tradition of posthumous naming which is also observed in the Majapahit period.¹⁸³

The similar expression *pāduka mpuñku bhaṭāra tripuruṣa* appears in another inscription, the Kedung Wangi stone from Lamongan.¹⁸⁴ Boechari associated this expression with what is often called the ‘priestly title’ of Airlangga in scholarly literature (1990: 130). However, our recent research¹⁸⁵ suggests that *pāduka mpuñku bhaṭāra tripuruṣa* is more likely to refer to the first ruler of Majapahit, namely Kertarajasa alias Raden Wijaya.¹⁸⁶ And we are somewhat skeptical of the whole notion of Javanese rulers bearing ‘priestly titles,’ which is essentially a modern scholarly construct devised to address the problems that arise from a single Majapahit-period reissue (the Gandhakuti charter) that records a grant

183. For instance King Wijaya Rajasa who is designated by the posthumous name *pāduka bhaṭāra śrī parameśvara* in Biluluk II (1315 Śaka) r1–2 *amagāhaken andikanira talampakanira pāduka bhaṭāra śrī parameśvara sira sam mokta riñ viṣṇubhavana*. See also Brandes 1920: 34, lines 27–31.

184. Ed. Brandes 1913: 247, OJO CXIII. Face B, lines 6–9: ... *Astu vacana śrī pādu(ka) mpuñku Amandi saka riñ viṣā, Apan· śrī pāduka mpuñku sāksāt· bhaṭāra (bra)(hma viṣṇ)u maheśvara, sira ḍuməṇḍa salvirmi(m) mañulah-ulah panug(r)aha śrī pāduka mpuñku bhaṭāra t(r?)ipuruṣa ḍuməṇḍa Irikām, ...* ‘May the edict of His Late Majesty be more powerful than poison. For His Late Majesty is a manifestation of the Lords (*bhaṭāra*) Brahmā, Viṣṇu [and] Maheśvara. [When] they punish all those who disturb the grant of His Late Majesty, it is [none other than] the Lords Tripuruṣa who punish them ...’.

185. See Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023.

186. The identification with Kertarajasa is based on the phrases *śrī pāduka mpuñku sāksāt bhaṭāra (bra)(hma viṣṇ)u maheśvara* which seems reminiscent of the following passage in the Sukhamerta charter (1218 Śaka, 10r2–3) referring to Kertarajasa: *śrī mahārāja, Apan sira prabhu devamūrtti, viriñjinārāyanaśaṅkarātmā, sāksāt paśārīran· bhaṭāra tripuruṣa sira*. Whether or not the words *pāduka mpuñku bhaṭāra tripuruṣa* in Kedung Wangi refer back to Kertarajasa, the stone of Kedung Wangi was certainly issued during the Majapahit period and there is no concrete reason to link it with Airlangga in any way.

made by a certain *aji pāduka mpuñku* on a date falling within Airlangga's reign without mentioning the king by any of his usual titles.¹⁸⁷

Based on the observed connections between Samarotsaha and Airlangga, plus the fact that the contents of the Sumengka charter brings to mind the Kamalagyan inscription (959 Śaka) issued by Airlangga, which is found 34 km downstream along the Brantas river from Sumengko and also deals with waterworks, Krom inferred that the name Bhaṭāra Guru in the Sumengka charter refers to none other than Airlangga (1913: 596–598). The same scholar interpreted the data as indicating that Airlangga, after retreating from worldly affairs towards the end of his life, was interred at Tīrtha, a site which Krom identified as the Belahan bathing place located on the slope of Mount Penanggungan in *kabupaten* Pasuruan. He further endorsed the double theory that a large sculpture of a Viṣṇu mounted on Garuḍa originated from the same site and was a representation of Airlangga himself.¹⁸⁸ Concerning the 'family name' Dharmawangsa, he suggested that Samarotsaha was the immediate successor of Airlangga. Most importantly for us, in the present context, he concluded that the figure of Bhaṭāra Guru observed a few decades later in the Talan charter must be the same figure as the one alluded to in the Sumengka charter, namely Airlangga (1931: 270–271, 283, 294).¹⁸⁹

Krom's proposal was later challenged by Resink who argued that the *tīrthas* mentioned in both the Sumengka and Talan charters (*sic!*) have to be found in close proximity to where these two stones are situated. Further, he claimed that the Belahan bathing place is the site where Sindok's predecessor, namely King Wawa, was entombed so that the Viṣṇu sculpture may not be associated with Airlangga, nor with any other historical figure in his view (1968: 27, 32–37). Coming to the defense of Krom's proposals, Jordaan found that there is no reason not to associate the word *tīrtha* occurring in the Sumengka and Talan charters (*sic!*) with Belahan. He was of the opinion that the absence of the specific name of the *tīrtha* is primarily because the charters are intended as administrative records. Emphasizing the fact that the

187. This construct is still prevalent in Javanese historiography, even though its tenability was already challenged nearly seventy years ago by Damais (1955: 185, footnote continued from the previous page): "We must therefore, I believe, suppose either that *Aji Pāduka Mpuñku Sang Pinakacatra ning Bhuvana* was not Airlangga but an unknown royal character, or else that the copyist will have replaced the original title of the inscription by the hermit name of Airlangga, the reissue being certainly posterior to 964 śaka." See also Krom 1913: 596–598 and Boechari 1962: 72–73 / 2012a: 98–99.

188. Observing the stylistic features of the sculpture, Lunsingh Scheurleer (2009) has refuted the idea that it originates from Belahan, arguing instead that the sculpture was manufactured during the Singosari period and came from Candi Kidal.

189. See also Boechari 1968: 3–4, n. 10; 2012a: 97–100; 2012b: 138–139 n. 10, 140–141, 143.

one who was interred at Tīrtha, interpreted as Belahan, had the Garuḍamukha emblem, he agreed with Krom's hypothesis that the figure is none other than Airlangga and that the sculpture of Viṣṇu is his representation. He concluded that the other two goddesses still observed at Belahan, namely Sri and Laksmi, correspond to Airlangga's consorts (2007: 338, 342–343). It is crucial to point out that Resink's argument assumes that the word *tīrtha* is observed in both the Sumengka and the Talan charters, whereas in reality this word is only found in the above-quoted passage of the Sumengka charter but is absent altogether from the Talan charter. This fundamental error was taken over uncritically by Jordaan. As a matter of fact, the Talan charter had not been fully deciphered when Resink was writing, and Jordaan evidently failed to consult the readings that had been published in the 1990s by Nakada, on the one hand, and by Machi Suhadi & Richadiana Kartakusuma, on the other. Their erroneous assumption must derive from a misinterpretation of the way in which Krom had previously presented the data.

Despite the fact that the inscriptions of Sumengka and Talan are issued by different kings from different territories, they have two things in common. First, the presence of the Garuḍamukha emblem. Second, the appearance of this figure called Bhaṭāra Guru. Although unfortunately we still lack clinching evidence to prove Krom's proposal identifying Bhaṭāra Guru as a posthumous name for Airlangga, we do see some facts that may be interpreted as supporting it while there seems to be no strong reason to reject it.¹⁹⁰ Since the grant of Bhaṭāra Guru to the inhabitants of Talan, incorporated in the Talan charter, took place in 941 Śaka, this then becomes the earliest hard date for a charter issued by Airlangga.

The Garuḍamukha emblem

The majority of the stone inscriptions issued by the Kadiri kings are engraved with emblems placed on the top of the front face.¹⁹¹ These emblems are different from one king to another. Generally, each king has one specific emblem which is consistently depicted on each inscription he issued such as the Candrakapāla emblem for issues of Bameswara,¹⁹² Gaṇamūrti for those of Aryeswara,¹⁹³ and

190. The issue of Airlangga's names will be discussed in a separate paper, where the possible supporting evidence for the identification of Bhaṭāra Guru as Airlangga will be presented (Griffiths, in preparation).

191. The depiction of emblems on the stone inscription is however not unique to the Kadiri kings. For a discussion on emblems which include some inscriptions issued by the Kadiri kings, see Vernika Hapri Witasari 2011.

192. The inscriptions of Padlegan I (1038 Śaka), Pagiliran (1042 Śaka), Panumbangan (1042 Śaka), Bameswara (1048 Śaka), Geneng I (1050 Śaka), Candi Tuban (1051 Śaka), and Tangkilan (1058 Śaka).

193. The inscriptions of Mleri I (1091 Śaka) and Angin (1093 Śaka).

the Śṛṅga for those of Kertajaya.¹⁹⁴ Curiously enough, by contrast, each of the three inscriptions issued by Jayabhaya has a different emblem.

The inscription of Hantang (1057 Śaka) bears the emblem of Narasiṅha (a man with lion head) while the Talan charter (1058 Śaka) bears the Garuḍamukha. The emblem of the Tamparang inscription (1066 Śaka) has not been satisfactorily identified but is different from that of the other two (fig. 11). The Narasiṅha emblem mentioned in the Hantang and Tamparang charters and depicted on the former can be identified with certainty as Jayabhaya's own emblem.¹⁹⁵ As we make further progress with deciphering the Tamparang charter, we hope that an explanation will emerge for the fact that the emblem depicted on this charter seems not to match with the one mentioned in the part of the text deciphered so far. In the case of the Talan charter, the use of the Garuḍamukha emblem is clearly due to the fact that the charter incorporates an earlier grant which bore the same emblem.¹⁹⁶

The Garuḍamukha is indeed found depicted on some stone inscriptions issued by kings before the Kadiri period. The earliest depiction of Garuḍamukha as an emblem is found in at least two inscriptions issued by Airlangga, namely Baru (952 Śaka) and Silet (975 Śaka).¹⁹⁷ The same emblem is also engraved

194. Kertajaya issued at least 10 inscriptions. The emblems engraved are still visible in some inscriptions while others are worn out or even totally lost. Although not exactly alike, the emblems on the inscriptions issued by him share similarity, namely the presence of a horn (*śṛṅga*) of an animal such as observed in the inscriptions of Sapu Angin (1112 Śaka), Ceker (1107/1115 Śaka), Kemulan (1116 Śaka), Galunggung (1122 Śaka), Sumbingin Kidul (1126 Śaka), Kertajaya (1138 Śaka) and Cemandi (unpublished, date not yet established).

195. Hantang, faces Ab, lines 14–15: ... *kāraṇanyan inubhayaanmata pamhyamnya de śrī mahārajā, mata(m)nyan vinanun sam hyaṅ ājñā haji praśāsti muṅgu riṃ liṅgopala tinanḍa narasiṅha* ... and Tamparang, faces Ab, line 9: ... *padamlakna sam hyaṅ ājñā haji praśāsti pratiṣṭhā ri liṅgopala tinanḍa (nara)siṅha* ...

196. Faces Cd, lines 4–5: *maṅkana rasani Anugraha bhaṭāra guru Irikam vargga I talan, praśāsti muṅgu riṃ ripta tinanḍa garuḍamuka, pinagəhakəṅ śrī mahārāja.*

197. The inscription of Silet was only recently identified by a team from BRIN & EFEO during our field work in November 2022 (see n. 185). The stone in discussion has long been regarded as a different one and given the awkward label 'Garudamukha' for the reason that it bears the emblem on the top of the main face (Ninny Susanti Tejowasono, 2003: 373–374 no. 6; Bintang Megakusuma 2013; Andi Muhammad Said *et al.*, 2018: 11, no. 8). However, during on-site reading, the team came across the toponym Silet in several areas of the stone and was able to match the text with Damais' reading of the first three lines of the Silet inscription (1955: 233–234). On that basis, the team concluded that the stone is none other than the Silet inscription. As for the Garuḍamukha emblem, there are several inscriptions issued by Airlangga which contain the word *tinanḍa garuḍamukha* without being adorned with the emblem, namely Cane (943 Śaka) faces Ab, lines 24 and 29; Munggut (944 Śaka) 1.18, 1.21–2.1; Terep I & II (954 Śaka) 2r1–2r2; 2r1, 8v2–8v3; Turun Hyang A (948 / 958 Śaka) faces Ab, line 5; Bularut (964 Śaka) Main part, line 11. Observing the text layout of the fragmented Bularut charter (ed. Titi Surti Nastiti, Eko Bastiawan & Griffiths 2022: 143–149), it cannot be excluded that an emblem might have been engraved and now lost, as the first line starts rather low,



Fig. 11 – Left to right: the emblem of Narasiṅha, Garuḍamukha, and the unidentified one of the Tamparang charter.
Photographs Eko Bastiawan.

in two inscriptions issued by kings of Janggala, namely Kambang Putih (958 Śaka) of Garasakan and Sumengka (981 Śaka) of Samarotsaha.¹⁹⁸ The last inscription known so far which indicates the use of the Garuḍamukha emblem is the (still unpublished) Patitiḥan charter of the Singasari period.¹⁹⁹ But the charter is incompletely preserved and we cannot exclude that the relevant passage too refers to a grant from a previous king who bore the Garuḍamukha emblem.

As mentioned in the previous section, the use of the Garuḍamukha as an emblem by kings from Janggala seems to indicate a tie of kinship between Airlangga and the kings who ruled Janggala in the decades after Airlangga's reign. The likelihood that the Talan charter incorporates an Airlangga charter

leaving much space for a hypothetical emblem.

198. There are two other charters from the Janggala kings which mention the word *garuḍamukha*, namely Malenga (974 Śaka) 3v2 of Garasakan and Banjaran (975 Śaka) 4v1 of Alandung Ahyes.

199. This incompletely available charter is in the possession of a private collector. A substantial portion of it was included in an article previously published in this journal (Griffiths 2020: 131–132). In another portion, the charter contains the expression *khageśvaranārāyaṇamukha* which seems to be synonymous with Garuḍamukha. We quote here again from the still unpublished edition and translation by Griffiths (9r5–9v1): *mata(ṅya)n sam hyaṃ rājaprasāsti tināṇḍa kageśvaranārāyaṇamuka, sampun umiṅv i (r)ipta hinlapan p(īta)vastra, pināṅkvakn irikaṃ baṅigrāma ri patitiḥan samāmaṅku kaṅar-, ri san(m)uka para taṅḍa rakryan samudāya, kunəm (p)ratyekanikaṃ baṅigr(ā)ma manarima (saṃ) hyaṃ rājaprasāsti, makapramuka sangət aniga, pu pralīna, dinulur denikaṃ samāmaṅku kaṅar samudāya, riṃ bhūmi kaḍiri* 'That was the reason why the holy royal charter, sealed with the Face of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa (*khageśvaranārāyaṇamukha*), already committed to manuscript and decorated with yellow cloth, was taken in hands by the guild at Patitiḥan, all of them holding a *kaṅar*, in the presence of all the ranking officers. And each individual member of the guild accepted the holy royal charter, to begin with the officiant Aniga [called] *pu Pralīna*, accompanied by all the ones who hold a *kaṅar* in the land of Kaḍiri: ...'.

while it is engraved with the Garuḍamukha emblem establishes a connection between Jayabhaya and Airlangga, in a way that finds no parallels in any other inscription of a Kadiri king. However, the nature of the connection remains undetermined, and was not necessarily one of kinship in Jayabhaya's case, by contrast with the kings of Janggala.

The toponyms Talan and Panumbangan

Talan as a toponym is found in two inscriptions from the Airlangga period, namely Bimalasrama (date lost) and Kamalagyan (959 Śaka) as well as in a 10th-century charter called Kancana.²⁰⁰ In the Bimalasrama charter, Talan is mentioned as one of the neighboring villages (*tāpi siriñ*) of the place concerned by the grant;²⁰¹ in the Kamalagyan charter, Talan is listed as one of the downstream villages;²⁰² and in the Kancana charter, Talan is said to border with the *sīma* land of Kancana.²⁰³ All of these three inscriptions originate from the area of Sidoarjo.²⁰⁴

If we accept the hypothesis that the figure of Bhaṭāra Guru refers to Airlangga, the fact that the toponym Talan is also found in two of his inscriptions gives reason to consider whether the Talan intended in our inscription was also situated in the vicinity of Sidoarjo. The inscription details that the inhabitants of Talan were granted by Bhaṭāra Guru the right to hold their land (*deśa*) in Talan as a *sīma* and to have authority over all of its 'low land and elevated ground, including non-irrigated rice-fields, paddy fields, river edges, marshlands, *kuluvutans* [and] *patapans* of all types'. These landscape features are stereotypical expressions most of which are also observed in several other

200. On the dating of the Kancana charter, not long before Airlangga's reign, see Griffiths 2020: 133–135.

201. 10r6–10r7: ... *I talan*·, *sañ mariga*, *sañ ibuḥ*, *sañ abuñ*, *sa(ñ) lilā*, *Askār Rja*, *vineḥ pasək pagəḥ ku 2 vḍihan*· ga yu 1.

202. Line 8: ... *kahayvaknanim thāni sapasuk*· *hilir*· *lasun paliñjvan*·, *sijana-tyəsan*·, *pañjim*(,) *gantim*, ***tālan***·, *daśapañkaḥ*, *pañkaja*, *tka riñ sīma para-sīma*,

203. 4r1–2: ... *pañaturdeśanim lmaḥ sañ hyaṃ dharmmasīma Im kañcana*, *mvaṃ kañḍəṃ səñkəṛnya*, *pañidul-nya vetan*· *sañkem Aisānya*, *lāmban*· *lor*· *Asiḍaktan*· *lāvan*· *lmaḥ talan*·. Again in 4v1–4: *pañalornya sañkem nairiti*, *Asiḍaktan*· *lāvan*· *jəlag*·, *kāli sañḥəḥ sovam bāyabya*, *Asiḍaktan*· *lāvan*· *lmaḥ talan*·, *muvaḥ hīṇanya lor maṇavetan*·, *sañkem bāyabya*, *Asiḍaktan*· *lāvan*· *lmaḥ maṇḍala talan*·, *Aṇavetan*· *Aniku lalavā Apiñgir*· *lmaḥ Anuju vatəs*· *bacucum*, *Aisānya*, *Asiḍaktan*· *lāvan*· *lmaḥ talan*·

204. The inscription of Kamalagyan stands in *dusun* Klagen, *desa* Tropodo, *kecamatan* Krian, *kabupaten* Sidoarjo. The Kancana charter was discovered in *desa* Gedangan, *kecamatan* Gedangan, *kabupaten* Sidoarjo. Although the provenance of the Bimalasrama charter is not clearly established, from the toponyms mentioned in the text, it is evident that the charter refers to what is today *kabupaten* Sidoarjo (Griffiths 2021–2022: 180–182).

inscriptions.²⁰⁵ They do not necessarily portray the actual characteristics of the landscape mentioned in the inscriptions, and do not stand in the way of assuming that the Talan in question was situated in the flat delta of the Brantas, rather than in the mountainous Wlingi area.²⁰⁶

Nevertheless, another piece of information mentioned in the Talan charter proves that such an assumption would be untenable. For the charter states that the village Talan formed part of the district (*vatək*) of Panumbangan. This second toponym, likewise, is observed in several inscriptions. The earliest attestation is in the Sima Anglayang charter issued by Airlangga at some time in or after 968 Śaka and found near Malang.²⁰⁷ Although the exact

205. Tija & Haru-Haru (date lost, ed. Boechari 2012d: 494–499) 2r3–2r4 *kevala buyut amabaki juga pramāna ri salbak-vukirnya, savahnya, kəbvanya, sapaniskāranya kabeh*; Kamalagyan (959 Śaka) A3–4 *len drabya-hajiniṃ gagā, kbvan pasəṚhan*·, *tka riṃ lvah, Ṛṇək*·, *tpi-tpi, valu-vulu prakāra kabeh*; Terep (954 Śaka) 3r2–3r3 *ri svatantranikaṃ patapān*· *sthāna bhaṭāri, tke lvahnya, kubvannya, savahnya, saprakāra*; Bularut (964 Śaka) 11–12 *maka[rasa An prasiddha rāma]nta I bularu[t]· sapa[su] k thāni para dūvān· sumīma thani rāmanta pramā[ṇa I] sal(ba)k-vukirni(m) thāni rāman[ta] (k)a{1 aks. ille.}yakan makādi savah gagā, kbvan mvaḥ Alas*·, *Ṛṇək*·, *drab[ya ha]ji, tpi-tpi saprakā[ra]*; Anjatan (date lost) 4r4 *kevalā sam hyam kuṭi ri amṭamaṅgalātaḥ pramāna Iriḱā kabaiḥ, tka ri salbak-vukirnya kabeh makādi savah prakāra*; Panumbangan (1042 Śaka) Cd13–14 *kapramāna denikaṃ kabayān kidulniṃ pasar maṅaran anurida, tka ri gagā savahnya, lvah Ṛṇeknya lbak-vukirnya kabeh*; Kudadu (1216 Śaka) 3r4–3r5 *An sampun sinusuk sīmādəg riṅgit*·, *de śrī mahārāja, tkeṃ gagā-Ṛṇəknya salbak-vukirnya kabeh*; Tuhanyaru (1245 Śaka) 4v4 *im tuhaṅaru muAm sama sānak im /ku\sambyan Atah pramāna ri saḶbak-vukirnya, tkeṃ gaga Ṛṇəknya*; Padlegan III (1252 Śaka) 14 *makādi dṛvya haji, katka ri gagā Ṛṇək salbak-vukirnya*. Timothy Lubin has pointed out to us (email, Oct. 2023) that such clauses are likely the Old Javanese renderings of very similar and equally stereotypical clauses found in Indian Sanskrit inscriptions of the Pāla domain, notably that *salbak-vukirnya* would express in Old Javanese what *satala-soddeśa* ‘with low land (*tala*), with raised ground (*uddeśa*)’ means in Sanskrit. See Sanyal & Ghosh 2019: 112.

206. Among the charters cited in the previous footnote, two undoubtedly originate from lowland areas in East Java. They are the Bularut charter, now kept in Museum Nasional (D.170), which originates from *desa* Selorejo, *kecamatan* Sambeng, *kabupaten* Lamongan, and the Tuhanyaru charter, also kept in Museum Nasional (E.25), which is from *desa* Sidoteko, *kecamatan* Dawarblandong, *kabupaten* Mojokerto (Hadi Sidomulyo 2018: 234). In personal communication with Hadi Sidomulyo, he detailed that the name Sidoteko has since the late 1990s been replaced by Madureso. He added that the name of the *dusun* is Gogor.

207. 13v7–14r1 *k(i)na(b)e(ha){n·} banigrāma riṃ [pagiliṅa]{na}n· ri sapinasukniṃ yavadvīpa kabeh, lasun*·, *paḍa, paṅkaja, kanuruhan*·, *lamajaṃ, panumbaṅan*·, *pavuyahan*·, *deśa luvuk*·, *vuravan*·, *kaḍaṅayan ka[b]e[h] ...* ‘It is collectively that the members of the merchant guild of carters in all parts of the island of Java, namely Lasun, Paḍa, Paṅkaja, Kanuruhan, Lamajaṅ, Panumbaṅan, Pavuyahan, the region of Luvuk, Vuravan, Kaḍaṅayan, all of them ...’; 16v1–16v3 *kumonakan Ikanam pinhai Akurug anak thāni ri deśa-Aṣṭataṅḍa kasaṅa thāni jumpuṭ*·, *svasva, lucam*·, *pavuyahan*·, *panumbaṅan*·, *vaharū, tagaran*·, *hujum, kanurūhan*·, *kasaṅa thāni*

location of Panumbangan is not clearly stated, it appears to be among places or territories lying outside of Janggala such as Waharu, Tagaran, Hujung, and Kanuruhan. The Sukun charter (1083 Śaka), also found near Malang, lists a *rakryan* Panumbangan among those who receive gifts during a *sīma* ceremony (6r1).²⁰⁸ The aforementioned Patitihan charter of the Singasari period includes Panumbangan in the list of ‘all the ones who hold a *kañar* in the land of Kadiri’ (*samāmañku kañar samudāya, riñ bhūmi kaḍiri*).²⁰⁹

The name Panumbangan as a *vatāk* is mentioned in the stone of Pagiliran (1042 Śaka),²¹⁰ issued by King Bameswara, which is located around 3 kilometers to the west of the Talan stone. The same name is frequently mentioned in the Panumbangan inscription (1042 Śaka), also issued by King Bameswara, which is located around 2 kilometers to the east of the Talan stone. The expression *Ikañ rāma lima dūvān i panumbañan i daḷm thāni* is found in the text several times. Although this expression is only partly understood, given that the charter was installed in the same year and by the same king as the one of the Pagiliran stone, not far from both the Pagiliran and the Talan stones, the place called Panumbangan with which the eponymous charter deals must have been the same *vatāk* as that in the Pagiliran and Talan charters. The name Panumbangan itself survives in the name Plumbangan of the *dusun* and *desa* where the Panumbangan stele is still to be found in the present day.

A place called Panumbangan is also included as one of the regions on the bank of the river (*nadītīrapradeśa*), namely the Brantas, in the Cangu charter of the Majapahit period (1280 Śaka).²¹¹ Another Majapahit inscription which mentions the name Panumbangan is the Waringin Pitu charter (1369 Śaka), where Panumbangan figures as one of the borders of the holy foundation at Waringin Pitu.²¹² Although the charter was discovered in *kabupaten* Trenggalek, the fact that it mentions toponyms of Kamalagen (8r1) and Kalagen (8r5) reminds us of an inscription issued by Airlangga, namely the Kamalagyan

jumpuṭ. ‘It ordered, with regard to the Piñhai, the Akurug, the villagers in the eight quarters of space with as ninth the *jumpuṭ* community — namely Svasva, Lucām, Pavuyahan, Panumbañan, Vaharū, Tagaran, Hujun, Kanuruhan, with as ninth the *jumpuṭ* community.’ Text and translation from Titi Surti Nastiti, Eko Bastiawan & Griffiths 2022.

208. Ed. Boechari 2012d: 517–522.

209. See n. 200. The meaning of the word *kañar* is unknown.

210. A4 *kumonakān*. *Ikañ karāmān i pagiliran*. *sapaññim thāni kabeḥ, makādi* {10 akṣ. ille.}, *vatāk*. *panumbañan*·].

211. 5r3 *I sarba, I variñin* · *pitu, I lagada, I pamotan* ·, *I tulañan* ·, ***I panumbañan*** ·, *I jruk* ·, *I trum*, *I kambañ śrī, I ṭḍa, I gyañ*.

212. 10r1–10r2 *tumañ muvaḥ, sapakliran lavan panumbañan* ·, *ḍpa, 110, mēntas im bañavan añidul amñar* · *tka riñ pūrvva muvaḥ, ḍpa, 583, samañkana parimāñani bhūpradeśani sañ hyañ dharmma riñ variñin pitu*.

charter (959 Śaka) situated in *dusun* Klagen, *desa* Tropodo, *kecamatan* Krian, *kabupaten* Sidoarjo. The name Waringin Pitu is synonymous with the name Waringin Sapta in the Kamalagyan charter. Hence, it is probable that the Panumbangan of the Canggū and Waringin Pitu charters was located in the area of Mojokerto and Sidoarjo.

Observing the occurrences of Panumbangan in the charters mentioned above, it is evident that a *vatak* called Panumbangan existed in the historical territory of Kadiri, possibly already from Airlangga's time and certainly from the Kadiri period onward. The data also indicate, however, that there was a (probably less significant) place of the same name in the northern part of East Java (Janggala) a few centuries later, and that place is likely to have existed already at Airlangga's time too.

Bringing together all the data presented in this section, one can then imagine at least three scenarios regarding the community called Talan. First, that the community had moved from Sidoarjo to Wlingi between Airlangga's and Jayabhaya's time. Second, that the Talan charter, despite being found in Wlingi, actually concerns a village in Sidoarjo and as a consequence Jayabhaya's territory extended into Sidoarjo. Third, that the Talan in Sidoarjo at Airlangga's time and the one in Wlingi at Airlangga's and at Jayabhaya's time are two different villages sharing the same name.

Named individuals

Besides issues related to chronology, toponymy and territory, another major challenge for the historiography of early Java is to establish connections between the plethora of individuals who find mention in the inscriptions. The Old Javanese inscriptions often contain lists of those who receive the gifts (*pasak-pasak*) at the occasion of a *sīma* foundation. Generally, such a list is structured in descending order of social status, with function terms followed by named individuals holding those functions, with the exception of the king and other high dignitaries as their names have normally already been mentioned at the beginning of the inscription. Each of those listed will receive a combination of cash in the form of gold (*mās*) or silver (*pirak*) and cloth (*vəḍihan* or *kain*) as gifts. In some inscriptions, not in the context of gift presentation, lists of names consisting of individuals from the village level are also observed such as those found in the charter of Cane (943 Śaka) issued by King Airlangga and in the charter that we are studying here. Regrettably the data set is generally not large enough to yield appearances of the same figure in more than a single record, thus impeding proper prosopographic research.

One notable feature of the inscriptions issued by the kings of the Kadiri is the use of the expression *makasopāna* meaning 'by intermediary of' in describing the process of transmission of a petition to the sovereign. The earliest epigraphic record of this expression is found in the Waharu II charter

(851 Śaka)²¹³ issued by King Sindok, but its authenticity is questionable.²¹⁴ The same expression is observed in the Mataji inscription (973 Śaka)²¹⁵ and then becomes a standard element of grants issued by the Kadiri kings,²¹⁶ but is rarely observed in inscriptions after the Kadiri period.²¹⁷ Outside of Java, the same expression is also found in at least ten charters from Bali.

These intermediaries hold various positions such as official (*paməgat*), lord (*rakryān*), or teacher (*pañajyan*). Although they do not always appear in every inscription issued by the kings of Kadiri, their role seems to be vital as it is through them that petitioners addressed the Great King. The presence of these intermediaries in the Kadiri period deserves comprehensive investigation. Limiting ourselves here to the case of our inscription, we find in it two intermediaries: the *apatih* Lord (a kind of chief minister?) named *mpu* Kesareśvara, ‘endowed with right judgment and of unstoppable valor’ (*kṛta-vivekālaṅghanīya-parākrama*), with the byname Bāguṇa, and the teacher of the Great King, ‘promoter of Nyāya doctrine, serving as a chief of Yogins following the path of Bhairava’ (*naiyāyikadarśana-saṃyaddhikāraṇa bhairava-mārgānugamana-yogīśvarādhikāra*). The second person also figures as intermediary in the Hantang inscription (1057 Śaka), likewise issued by Jayabhaya. His name suggests that the cult of Bhairava played an important role during Jayabhaya’s reign. The Hantang inscription is indeed perhaps the earliest attestation of the Bhairava cult in eastern Java (Robson & Hadi Sidomulyo 2021: 150–151).

213. 2v: ... **makasopana** I rakryan mahāmantri I hino humatur i pāduka śrī mahārāja

214. Brandes considers that this charter is a reissue on the basis of the writing which is ‘much younger compared to the Sindok type of the stone inscriptions’ (1913: 73–76, OJO XLII).

215. Ed. Shalihah Sri Prabarani 2009: 35. Face A, line 6: (*rakrya*)n rim pakira-kiran mākabehan karuhun I Ibu paduka śrī māharaja **makassopana** sañ hadyan

216. We limit ourselves to three examples. Panumbangan I (1042 Śaka) Ab4–6 *sambandha, Ikañ rāma lima dīvān· I panumbañan i daḷm thāni samāgəgə: galar i pasamayan·, humatur māmpak-ampak· manambah I lbūni pāduka śrī mahārāja, makasopāna samgat· tirvan· mpu Avāryyāntareśvara*; Geneng I (1050 Śaka) Ab6 ... *māmpak-ampak· manambah I lbūni pāduka śrī mahārāja, makasopāna (I) rakryān· kanuruhan· mapañji ...*; Jaring (1103 Śaka) Ab5–6 *ma(ka)mpak-ampak manambah i lbuni pāduka śrī mahārājā, makasopāna senapati sarvvajala*.

217. There are three inscriptions from the Majapahit period using the same expression, namely Padlegan III (1252 Śaka) 11 *sa(m)mbandha gati sañ rājamantri, manambah ri pāduka śrī mahārāja, makasopāna sañ āryya rājādhikāra, pu tadah*; Trailokyapuri III (1408 Śaka, ed. Brandes 1913: 218–226, OJO XCIV– XCV) A14–15 *sira sañ dvijendra śrī madhavācāryya, mvañ rakryan apatih mahavirottama, pu vahan makasopāna humatur, yathā śrī rañavijaya mratisubaddhakəñ kirttyānugrahanira sira harananira*; Watukura II (no date, ed. van Naerssen 1941: 106–112, no. IX and 1977: 61–63) 1v3–1v4 *An· humatur anəmbahi pāduka śrī mahārāja, makasopāna Ika mapañji kālajaya*.

Among the two fully deciphered inscriptions issued by Jayabhaya, namely the Hantang and the Talan charters, it is only in the latter that the name of the calligrapher is mentioned. It ends with the information that ‘the document was written by master Prakāśa, whose chief was the official of Kālpvan (called) master Amogha.’²¹⁸ As already stated in n. 176, the names of the masters sound Buddhist. If indeed their bearers were Buddhists, it implies that both (Bhairava) Śaivism and Buddhism coexisted during the reign of Jayabhaya. The presence of Buddhism in the 10th–11th century is perhaps also attested through an inscribed sculpture of Akṣobhya found in *desa* Sukodono (formerly Gondang Lor), *kecamatan* Karangrejo, *kabupaten* Tulungagung, now displayed in Museum Wajakensis, Tulungagung.²¹⁹

7. Conclusion

We are aware that there are many other topics that could and should be elucidated in this single inscription, but this can be done better once the first author’s study of the Janggala-Kadiri corpus as a whole will have advanced further. The present study has showcased how much new light a critical edition of even a single charter, if accompanied by a reliable translation, may shed on historical events, the persons involved, as well as the social and geographic contexts. Once this approach will have been applied to a larger corpus of inscriptions of the same period, it may be expected that a significant number of new facts will emerge for revising the historiography of early Java.

We have shown that the Talan charter yields substantial information not just on the reign of Jayabhaya but also on that of Bhaṭāra Guru. We have reevaluated the hypothesis proposed by previous scholars regarding the identification of Bhaṭāra Guru as King Airlangga and are indeed inclined to accept it. This identification means that the Talan charter, by incorporating a charter of Bhaṭāra Guru dated to 941 Śaka, will have an impact on the issue of the duration of Airlangga’s reign, which has occupied Indonesian historiography for decades.²²⁰

218. Cd24–25 *likhitapātra daṅ ācāryya prakāśa, makapramukha samgat kālpvan daṅ ācāryya Amogha*.

219. Bosch 1919–1921: 500, 505; Boechari 1990: 126; 2012c: 438. Stutterheim associated the name Dharmawangsa figuring in the text with Airlangga and Samarotsaha in the Sumengka charter. He further detailed that the lettering of the inscription from Tulungagung is comparable to that of the Sumengka charter (1929: 498–499).

220. See Damais 1955: 233–234; Boechari 1968: 10/2012: 151–152; Ninie Susanti 2003: 332–333 and 2010: 27–28, 30–31; Bambang Sumadio & Endang Sri Hardiati 2008: 282. It is pertinent to point out that the Talan date in 941 fell in an intercalary month of Māgha (*punah-māgha-māsa*), while Airlangga was consecrated as king in 941 in the month of Māgha (Pucangan, stanza XV), meaning that he issued the grant a month after he took power. As for the Silet charter, thus far assumed by most scholars to date to 941 but certainly datable to a later year, see our discussion of the Silet charter in Titi Surti Nastiti, Eko Bastiawan & Griffiths 2022: 98, n. 15.

Perhaps more importantly, the Talan charter raises questions about the territorial limits of Airlangga's kingdom. In particular, the Talan charter challenges the notion — which we ourselves had until recently — that Airlangga's territory was exclusively situated in the northern part of East Java and opens up the possibility that more southerly territories, where no stone inscriptions issued by Airlangga have so far been found, may also have been part of his territory.²²¹

As for the community called Talan, out of three possibilities that we have offered above, it is the third scenario that seems most plausible to us, namely that two different village communities called Talan are intended in the historical sources: one in Sidoarjo that existed at Airlangga's time and another Talan that also existed at Airlangga's and Jayabhaya's time, despite the absence in Wlingi or even the larger Kediri-Blitar-Tulungagung area of any stone inscriptions directly preserved from Airlangga's time to corroborate the hypothesis that his territory extended so far beyond the area of Lamongan where most of his inscriptions have been found. The fact that Panumbangan figures already as an important territory in the Sima Anglayang charter implies that the Panumbangan where Talan was situated possibly existed already in Airlangga's time. More generally, our study gives reason to reconsider the territorial organization of polities in early Java and the extent to which the distribution pattern of stone inscriptions reflects the extent of the issuers' political control.

As regards the history of Jayabhaya's reign, while we still need to revisit the relatively well-known Hantang charter, we have to give special attention to the Tamparang charter which has not been fully read, let alone translated. Alas its state of preservation is considerably worse than that of the other two charters issued by Jayabhaya. The stone which was for decades kept unprotected outside of the Penataran Museum in Blitar has recently been moved just behind the entrance gate of the area of the museum and placed under a small *cungkup*, and we have begun but not yet finished our decipherment of this record.

8. Acknowledgements

This publication is a result of the project DHARMA 'The Domestication of "Hindu" Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and Southeast Asia'. The project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 809994). We are grateful to Timothy Lubin, Hadi Sidomulyo and Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan for their comments on pre-publication drafts.

²²¹. See Titi Surti Nastiti, Eko Bastiawan & Griffiths 2022 and Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 2023.

9. Journal Abbreviations

NBG	Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
ROD	Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië

10. Bibliography

- Andi Muhammad Said, Ahmad Kholif, Enik Yumastutik, Eva Nurma Setiya Damayanti, Yanti Muda Oktaviana, Afrita Endryanti, Didik Hermawan, Yudik Sukarno, Hadi Sidomulyo, and Adhi Hendrana Jayawardhana. 2018. *Katalog prasasti (benda bertulis) koleksi pengelolaan informasi Majapahit*. Trowulan: Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya Jawa Timur.
- Balogh, Dániel, and Arlo Griffiths. 2020. "DHARMA Transliteration Guide." Project documentation. Paris; Berlin: Centre d'Études de l'Inde et de l'Asie du Sud; École française d'Extrême-Orient; Humboldt-Universität. <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-02272407>.
- Bambang Sumadio and Endang Sri Hardiati, eds. 2008. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia, jilid II: Zaman Kuno*. Edisi pemutakhiran. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Bintang Megakusuma. 2013. "Prasasti 'Garudamukha' 945 Śaka." Skripsi, Depok: Program Studi Arkeologi, Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia.
- Boechari. 1962. "Rakryan Mahamantri i Hino Cri Sanggramawijaya Dharmmaprasadottungadewi." *Laporan Kongres Ilmu Pengetahuan Nasional* 2 (6): 53–84.
- . 1968. "Sri Maharaja Mapanji Garasakan: A New Evidence on the Problem of Airlangga's Partition of His Kingdom." *Majalah Ilmu-Ilmu Sastra Indonesia* 4 (1–2): 1–26.
- . 1985. *Prasasti koleksi Museum Nasional, Jilid I*. Jakarta: Proyek Pengembangan Museum Nasional, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- . 1990. "The Inscription of Garamān, Dated 975 Çaka: A New Evidence on Airlangga's Partition of His Kingdom." In *Monumen: Karya Persembahan Untuk Prof. Dr. R. Soekmono*, edited by Edi Sedyawati, Ingrid Harriet Eileen Pojoh, and Supratikno Rahardjo, 125–42. Seri Penerbitan Ilmiah, 11 (Edisi Khusus). Depok: Lembaran Sastra, Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia.
- . 2012a. "Rakryān Mahāmantri i Hino Śrī Saṃgrāmawijayā Dharmaprasadottungadewī." In *Melacak sejarah kuno Indonesia lewat prasasti / Tracing ancient Indonesian history through inscriptions*, 71–101. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia (KPG); Departemen Arkeologi, Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia; École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- . 2012b. "Śrī Mahārāja Mapaṅji Garasakan: New Evidence on the Problem of Airlangga's Partition of His Kingdom." In *Melacak Sejarah Kuno Indonesia Lewat Prasasti / Tracing Ancient Indonesian History through Inscriptions*, 135–54. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia (KPG); Departemen Arkeologi, Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia; École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- . 2012c. "The Inscription of Garamān Dated 975 Śaka: New Evidence on Airlangga's Partition of His Kingdom." In *Melacak Sejarah Kuno Indonesia Lewat Prasasti / Tracing Ancient Indonesian History through Inscriptions*, 437–51. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia (KPG); Departemen Arkeologi, Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia; École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- . 2012d. "Transkripsi (dan terjemahan) aneka prasasti." In *Melacak sejarah kuno Indonesia lewat prasasti / Tracing ancient Indonesian history through inscriptions*, 473–528.

- Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia (KPG); Departemen Arkeologi, Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia; École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Bosch, F. D. K. 1919. "De inscriptie op het Aksobhya-beeld van Gondang Lor." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 59: 498–528.
- Brandes, Jan Laurens Andries. 1904. "Enkele oude stukken, betrekking hebbende op Oud-Javaansche opschriften, en bewaard in de Rijks-Universiteits-boekerij te Leiden." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 47: 448–60.
- . 1913. *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden: Nagelaten transcripties*. Edited by Nicolaas Johannes Krom. Batavia; 's-Hage: Albrecht; Nijhoff. <https://archive.org/details/verhandelingenv601913bata>.
- . 1920. *Pararaton (Ken Arok) of het boek der koningen van Tumapël en van Majapahit*. Edited by Nicolaas Johannes Krom. Tweede druk bewerkt door Dr. N. J. Krom met medewerking van †Prof. Mr. Dr. J. C. G. Jonker, H. Kraemer en R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka. 's-Gravenhage; Batavia: Nijhoff; Albrecht.
- Carey, Peter. 2007. *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Dipanegara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785–1855*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Damais, Louis-Charles. 1952. "Études d'épigraphie indonésienne, III: Liste des principales inscriptions datées de l'Indonesie." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 46 (1): 1–105. <https://doi.org/10.3406/befeo.1952.5158>.
- . 1955. "Études d'épigraphie indonésienne, IV: Discussion de la date des inscriptions." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 47 (1): 7–290. <https://doi.org/10.3406/befeo.1955.5406>.
- Drewes, Gerardus Willebrordus Joannes. 1925. "Drie Javaansche Goeroe'shun leven onderricht en messiasprediking." Proefschrift, Leiden: Universiteit Leiden. <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB02:000119394>.
- Dwi Sardjuningsih Setyawardhani. 1980. "Prasasti Hantang." Undergraduate thesis. Depok: Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Indonesia.
- Eade, J. C., and Lars Gislén. 2000. *Early Javanese Inscriptions: A New Dating Method*. Leiden: Brill.
- Goris, Roelof. 1967. *Ancient History of Bali*. Denpasar: Fakultas sastra, Universitas Udayana.
- Griffiths, Arlo. 2020. "Rediscovering an Old Javanese Inscription: Mpu Mano's Donation in Favor of a Buddhist Dignitary in 888 Śaka." *Archipel* 99: 107–41. <https://doi.org/10.4000/archipel.1976>.
- . 2021. "The Terms *Kuṭi* and *Vihāra* in Old Javanese Epigraphy and the Modes of Buddhist Monasticism in Early Java." Edited by Ryosuke Furui, Arlo Griffiths, and Annette Schmiedchen. *Buddhism, Law & Society* 7 (Special volume on Epigraphic Evidence on Patronage and Social Contexts of Buddhist Monasteries in Medieval South and Southeast Asia): 143–229.
- . in preparation. "The Names of Airlangga."
- Groeneveldt, Willem Pieter. 1887. *Catalogus der archaeologische verzameling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*. Batavia: Albrecht & Co.
- Hadi Sidomulyo. 2011. "Kṛtanagara and the Resurrection of Mpu Bharāda." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 39 (113): 123–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2010.513882>.
- . 2018. "Notes on the Topography of Ancient Java: Identifying Four *Sīma* Territories from the Majapahit Period." In *Writing for Eternity: A Survey of Epigraphy in Southeast Asia*, edited by Daniel Perret, 223–41. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient.

- Hasan Djafar, Ninie Susanti Tedjowasono, Andriyati Rahayu, Trigangga, Sri Ambarwati, Chaidir Ashari, Fifi Wardhani, and Ken Bimo Ramadhana. 2019. *Prasasti Batu: pembacaan ulang dan alih aksara II*. Edited by Hasan Djafar and Trigangga. Jakarta: Museum Nasional Indonesia.
- Hoepermans, N. W. 1913. "Hindoe-oudheden van Java (1864–1867)." *Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 73–372.
- Jordaan, Roy E. 2007. "Bĕlahan and the Division of Airlangga's Realm." *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 163 (2–3): 326–55. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003688>.
- Juynboll, Hendrik Herman. 1909. *Catalogus van 's Rijks ethnographisch Museum, deel V: Javaansche oudheden*. Leiden: Brill.
- Knebel, J. 1910. "Beschrijving van de Hindoe-oudheden in de afdeeling Blitar (Residentie Kediri) 1908." *Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera*, Bijlage 42: 29–177.
- Krom, Nicolaas Johannes. 1911a. "Gedateerde inscripties van Java." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 53: 229–68.
- . 1911b. "Lijst der abklatschen, bewaard op het Oudheidkundig Bureau." *Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera*, Bijlage 57: 48–61.
- . 1913. "Epigraphische aantekeningen, I: Erlangga's oorkonde van 963; II: De dateering van de platen van Kendal en van de steen Museum Batavia D. 21; III: De vorst, die te Tirtha is bijgezet." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 55: 585–98.
- . 1914. "Gedateerde inscripties van Nederlandsch-Indië (eerste aanvulling)." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 56: 188–93.
- . 1931. *Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis*. Tweede, Herziene druk. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff. <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB18:007078000>.
- Laporan kegiatan penelitian arkeologi selama Pelita II*. 1985. Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian Purbakala Jakarta, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. <http://repository.kemdikbud.go.id/id/eprint/3956>.
- Lunsingh Scheurleer, Pauline. 2009. "The Javanese Statue of Garuḍa Carrying Wiṣṇu and Candi Kiḍal." *Artibus Asiae* 69 (1): 189–218.
- Machi Suhadi. 1981. "Status tanah/desa perdikan di Jawa: Suatu catatan dari sumber prasasti kuno" 2 (1): 137–43.
- . 1983. "Prasasti Rumwiga." *Berkala Arkeologi (Yogyakarta)* 4 (1): 37–47.
- . 1996. "Prasasti Adan-Adan dari masa Majapahit." In *Jejak-Jejak Budaya II: Persembahan untuk Prof. Dr. R. P. Soejono*, edited by Sumijati Atmosudiro, Anggraeni, Tular Sudarmadi, and J. Susetyo Edy Yuwono, 306–22. Yogyakarta: Asosiasi Prehistorisi Indonesia Rayon II.
- Machi Suhadi, and M. M. Sukarto K. Atmodjo. 1986. *Laporan penelitian epigrafi Jawa Tengah*. Berita penelitian arkeologi 37. Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian Purbakala Jakarta, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Machi Suhadi and Richadiana Kartakusuma. 1996. *Laporan penelitian epigrafi di wilayah Provinsi Jawa Timur*. Berita penelitian arkeologi 47. Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian Arkeologi Jakarta, Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Nakada, Kōzō. 1982. *An Inventory of the Dated Inscriptions in Java*. Tokyo: Toyo Bunko.
- . 1994. "Talan sekichū kokubun no shinshutsu kabu no ichi kōsatsu [A study of a newly uncovered lower portion of the Talan stone inscription]." *Kagoshima daigaku shigakuka hokoku [Historical Science Reports of Kagoshima University]* 41: 1–7.

- Naerssen, Frits Herman van. 1941. "Oudjavaansche oorkonden in Deutsche en Deensche verzamelingen." PhD thesis, Leiden.
- . 1977. "Old Javanese Charters Re-Edited and Translated." In *Catalogue of Indonesian Manuscripts: Old Javanese Charters, Javanese, Malay and Lampung Manuscripts, Mads Lange's Balinese Letters, and Official Letters in Indonesian Languages*, by Frits Herman van Naerssen, Theodoor Pigeaud, and Petrus Voorhoeve, 51–64. Copenhagen: Royal Library.
- Ninie Susanti (alias Ninny Susanti Tejawasono). 2003. "Airlangga: raja pembaharu di Jawa pada abad ke-11 Masehi." Disertasi S3, Depok: Program Pasca Sarjana Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya Universitas Indonesia.
- . 2010. *Airlangga: Biografi raja terbaru Jawa abad XI*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu.
- Nurhadi Magetsari, Abu Sidik Wibowo, Hasan Djafar, I Gusti Agung Ayu Ratnadi, Ayu Ratnadi, Siti Kuspariyanti Budhiono, Sumarti Nurhadi, and Ayatrohaedi. 1979. *Kamus Arkeologi Indonesia 2*. Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Poerbatjaraka. 1931. *Smaradahana*. Bandoeng: A.C. Nix & Co.
- Prijoetomo. 1934. *Nawaruci: inleiding, Middel-javaansche prozatekst, vertaling vergeleken met de Bimasoetji in Oud-javaansch metrum*. Groningen: Wolters. <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB05:000034071:pdf>.
- Resink, Th. A. 1968. "Bēlahan or a Myth Dispelled." *Indonesia* 6: 2–37. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3350709>.
- Rita Margaretha Setianingsih. 1996. "Bencana alam dan kerja bakti masa Jawa Kuna, serta catatan lain tentang Prasasti Ngañjatan." *Berkala Arkeologi (Yogyakarta)* 16 (2): 42–49. <https://doi.org/10.30883/jba.v16i2.752>.
- Robson, Stuart Owen. 2016. *The Kakawin Ghaṭotkacāśraya by Mpu Panuluh*. Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
- Robson, Stuart Owen and Hadi Sidomulyo. 2021. *Threads of the Unfolding Web: The Old Javanese Tantu Panggĕlaran*. Singapore: ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute.
- Sanyal, Rajat, and Suchandra Ghosh. 2019. "Boundary Clauses in Bengal Inscriptions: Revisiting Sources." In *Copper, Parchment, and Stone: Studies in the Sources for Landholding and Lordship in Early Medieval Bengal and Medieval Scotland*, edited by John Davies and Swapna Bhattacharya, 99–150. Glasgow: Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies.
- Shalihah Sri Prabarani. 2009. "Prasasti Mātaji: sebuah kajian data sejarah." Undergraduate thesis, Depok: Universitas Indonesia.
- Stein Callenfels, Pieter Vincent van. 1924. "Stukken betrekking hebbend op oud-javaansche opschriften in de Bibliothĕque Nationale te Parijs." *Oudheidkundig verslag*, Bijlage B: 23–27.
- Stutterheim, Willem Frederik. 1929. "Oudheidkundige aantekeningen, I: Gĕmpĕng; II: De dateering van het Rāmāyaṇa kakawin; III: Het hoofdbeeld van tjaṇḍi Sewoe; IV: De ouderdom van tjaṇḍi Sewoe; V: De ouderdom van den Akṣobhya van Goṅḍang Lor; VI: De Goewa Tritis; VII: Het zuidelijk nevenbeeld van tjaṇḍi Mĕndoet; VIII: Sporen van het aśvamedha op Bali en Java?" *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indiĕ* 85: 479–510. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90001488>.
- . 1933. "Een beschreven koperplaat uit Zuid-Kediri." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 73: 102–4.
- . 1940. "Koning Tĕguh op een oorkonde." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 80: 345–66.
- Supomo Suryohudoyo. 1993. *Bhāratayuddha: An Old Javanese Poem and Its Indian Sources*.

- New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan.
- Teeuw, A. 1950. *Hariwaṅśa: Vertaling en aantekeningen*. 's-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.
- Titi Surti Nastiti. 2007. *Prasasti Sobhāmṛta*. Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Arkeologi Nasional, Badan Pengembangan Sumberdaya Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, Departemen Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata.
- . 2016. *Perempuan Jawa: Kedudukan dan peranannya dalam masyarakat abad VIII-XV*. Bandung: Pustaka Jaya.
- Titi Surti Nastiti, Eko Bastiawan, and Arlo Griffiths. (2023) 2022. "Towards a Corpus of Inscriptions Issued during Airlangga's Reign in Eastern Java: A Provisional Inventory and Four New Inscriptions." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 108: 91–244.
- Titi Surti Nastiti, Hedwi Prihatmoko, Lisdia Meyanti, Arlo Griffiths, Adeline Levivier, and Eko Bastiawan. 2023. *Laporan survei prasasti klasik provinsi Jawa Timur di kabupaten Lamongan, Tuban, Jombang, Mojokerto dan Sidoarjo, tahun 2022*. Jakarta: École française d'Extrême-Orient; Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional. <https://hal.science/hal-04091765>.
- Verbeek, Rogier Diederik Marius. 1891. *Oudheden van Java: Lijst der voornaamste overblijfselen uit den Hindoetijd op Java, met eene oudheidkundige kaart*. Batavia; 's-Hage: Landsdrukkerij; Nijhoff. <https://archive.org/details/verhandelingenv461891bata>.
- Vernika Hapri Witasari. 2011. "Lambang raja pada kerajaan kuna di kawasan Indonesia abad XI-XV Masehi: Sebuah rekonstruksi makna." Master thesis, Depok: Universitas Indonesia. <https://lib.ui.ac.id/detail?id=20289790&lokasi=lokal>.
- Veth, Pieter Johannes, and H. van Alphen, eds. 1869. *Aardrijkskundig en statistisch woordenboek van Nederlandsch Indie: Bewerkt naar de jongste en beste berigten*. 3 vols. Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen.
- Worsley, Peter, Supomo Suryohudoyo, and Thomas M. Hunter. 2013. *Mpu Monaguna's Sumanasāntaka: An Old Javanese Epic Poem, Its Indian Source and Balinese Illustrations*. Leiden: Brill.
- Zoetmulder, P. J. 1983. *Kalangwan: Sastra Jawa Kuno selayang pandang*. Jakarta: Djambatan.
- Zoetmulder, Petrus Josephus. 1974. *Kalangwan: A Survey of Old Javanese Literature*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

