Barahasrama (837 Śaka, 915-12-14)

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Edition

Blank〈1v1〉 [svasti śaka-varṣātīta 837 poṣa-māsa, tithi pañcami śukla-pakṣa,] ha, ka, vr̥, vāra, pūrbvabhadravāda-nakṣatra, Ajapāda-devatā, varīyān·-yoga, Irikā divasani Ājñā śrī mahārāja rakai hino, śrī dakṣottama-bāhubajra-prati〈1v2〉[pakṣa-kṣaya śrī mahottuṅgavijaya tumurun· I rakai mapatiḥ I halu] (pu) ketuvijaya, rake sirikan· pu suparṇna, rakai vka pu hanu[mā]n·, rakai bavaṁ pūttara, kumonnakan· Ikanaṁ vanuA I poḥ galuḥ, muAṁ ri Er ku_viṁ, kapuA vatak· layaṁ〈1v3〉 [ca. 15+] [paṅguhannikanaṁ va]nuA I poḥ galuḥ pirak· kā 1 Iṁ satahun·-satahun·, hop· (A)vur· skar tahun· pjaḥ lek·, Arik-arik· prakāra, paṅguhannikanaṁ vanuA ri Er kuviṁ pirak· kā 1 Iṁ sata〈1v4〉[hun·-satahun·] [ca. 16+] [Ala]s·nya, tgal·nya, luAḥnya, riṁ lbak· riṁ hunur·, sapinasuk·ni lmaḥnikanaṁ vanuA I poḥ galuḥ mvaṁ ri Er kuviṁ, kasaṁsiptā tumamā ri bhaṭāra riṁ barāhāśrama Iṁ sārayū I〈1v5〉 [ca. 23+] haji, muAṁ tan· katamāna de saṁ mānak· ka-trīṇi, paṅkur·, tavān·, tiri[p](·,) kriṁ, paḍamm apuy·, maniga, lva, malandaṁ, maṁhūri, makalaṅkaṁ, pamaṇikan·, tapa ha〈1v6〉[ji Air haji maṁrumvai tuha gośāli tuha nambi tuhān· hañjaman·] (U)ṇḍahagi, manimpiki, paṇḍai mas·, paṇḍai tambaga, paṇḍai vsi, kḍi,

valyan·, paraṇakan·, vidu, maṁiduṁ, tuha paḍahi, samba_l·, sumvul·, vatak· I dalam·, siṅgaḥ〈1v7〉 [pamṛṣi, hulun· haji mahaliman· Ḷbə-Ḷb· Ityaivam]ādi, tan· tumamā rikanaṁ vanuA ri poḥ galuḥ muAṁ ri Er kuviṁ, samaṁkana saprakārani sukha-duḥkhanya kabaiḥ, mayaṁ tan· mavuAḥ, daṇḍa kuḍaṇḍa bhaṇḍihāla Ityaiva-〈1v8〉[mādi [ca. 20+] vka] tūn· tamolaha Ikana I pratītinya muhun və:ṅi, tan· 〈〈kna〉〉 deni saprakāraniṁ sukha-duḥkha yatan· gavayakan· Ikanaṁ kukarmma, yāpuAn· gavayakan· Ikanaṁ〈1v9〉 [sukarmma] [ca. 20+](ti kambaṁ ḍulaṁ, tali ke)t·, tan· luptā Ikana kabaiḥ denikanaṁ vka tūn·, I bhaṭārī, paknānikanaṁ vanuA I poḥ galuḥ muAṁ ri Er kuviṁ, dmaka pun·punana〈1v10〉 [ca. 24+]ṅatərakna mareṁ galuḥ, magavaya raga vlū 6 raga pasagi 6 mesya kambaṁ tan alayu, muAṁ nīlotpalasari, pavuAta I grī mahārāja pisan· Iṁ satahun·-〈1v11〉[satahun·] [ca. 23+] bhaṭāra Iṁ barāhāśrama, muAṁ mamava ron· smat·, sarbvaphalapha_li, vras· caturvvarṇna kukusan· 1 Iṁ savulu-savulu, piṇḍa kukusan· 4 vavānya matə〈1v12〉[hər·] [ca. 16+] [sarbvaphalapha]li bras· caturvvarṇna vavānya InaṅsəAn· rakryān mapatiḥ I halu pu ketuvijaya, rakryān· sirikan· pu suparṇna, rakryān· vka pu hānumān· rakryān· bavaṁ pūttara〈1v13〉 [ca. 23+][vi]n(e)han· pasak-pasak· mas· mā 8 vḍihan· kalyāga yu 1 sovaṁ-sovaṁ, maṁhūri pūdara, halaran· pu mañā, pular hyaṁ pu khaṭvāṅga, dalinan· pu taṅgəlan·, pa〈1v14〉[ca. 23+] yu 1 sovaṁ-sovaṁ, muAṁ sakvaiḥ saṁ mamuAt ujar·, kaṇḍamuhi ḍapunta vidyānidhi, vatu varaṇi pu maṁhalaṅi, visāga pu vīryya, hujuṁ galuḥ pu kacat·,〈1v15〉 [ca. 22+] [saṁ] [mā](n)ak· katrīṇi, I paṅkur· dədəlan·, I tavān· tluk·, I tirip· likuAn·, vineḥ pasak-pasak· mas· mā 4 vḍihan· raṅga yu 1 sovaṁ-sovaṁ, rakryān· layaṁ pu〈1v16〉 [ca. 22+] k(e)n· kalyāga vlaḥ 1 saṁ tuhān· I layaṁ mas· su 1 mā 4 kinabaihannira, vḍihan· raṅga yu 1 sovaṁ-sovaṁ, va_dihati pu ḍapit· mas· mā 4 vḍihan· raṅga yu 1〈1v17〉 [ca. 23+] matgal·, tuhān· I makudur· saṁ vavaha, maṁraṅkappi pu gurun·, kapuA vineḥ mas· mā 4 vḍihan· raṅga yu 1 sovaṁ-sovaṁ, patiḥ I layaṁ vuluṁ katak· si hu〈1v18〉[ca. 23+] si caca, vahuta pasar aṇak· si lucira, tətəbantin· si kəvə kapuA vineḥ mas· mā 4 vḍihan· raṅga yu 1 sovaṁ-sovaṁ, tuṅgū duruṁniṁ patiḥ vuluṁ katak·〈1v19〉 [ca. 23+] vahuta tətəbantən· si giva, vineḥ mas· mā 2 vḍihan· raṅga yu 1 sovaṁ-sovaṁ, parujar·niṁ patiḥ vuluṁ katak· si Aja, paruja_r·niṁ patiḥ kayu vaṅi si tə:〈1v20〉[ca. 23+] [pilu]ṅgaḥniṁ vahuta pasar aṇak· si śivā, I pagər· sinurat·, piluṅgaḥniṁ vahuta tətəbantən· I rāṅu si basanta, I tutuṁ kris· si pavana, vineḥ mas· mā 1 vḍihan· hlai 1〈1v21〉 [ca. 21+] mapkan· I tarijān· si kini, vineḥ mas· mā 2 vḍihan· yu 1 sovaṁ-sovaṁ, piluṅgaḥniṁ vahuta I hino si mahendra, si jambaḥ, si bhoga, vineḥ mas· mā 1 so〈1v22〉[vaṁ-sovaṁ] [ca. 18+] [r](ā)ma tpi siriṁ I kapuhunan· si Ajitā, I vatu varak· si śreṣṭi, I bavu Āra si basitā, I pahiṅer· si maṅi, I parampuyan· si butəṁ, I limo susu si surupuḥ,〈1v23〉 [ca. 20+], rāma I maṅulihi si dadhi, talahantan· I layaṁ ḍapunta kesarī, rāma I layaṁ pu raṇyā, juru si baladeva, rāma I poḥ galuḥ kaki lukī, juru kaki luA,〈1v24〉 [ca. 21+](tu)An·, si ḍatar·, si yoni, parujar· si ruṇḍu, si Alya, variga si dhana, si busut·, rāma ri Er kuviṁ kaki klo, juru kaki kataṅ-

garan·, gusti kaki ridhī, tuha〈1v25〉 [ca. 21+]la, variga si tinuAn· si gala, vineḥ vḍihan· yu 1 sovaṁ-sovaṁ, reṇanta prāṇa 6 vineḥ ken· vlaḥ 1 sovaṁ-sovaṁ, Anuṁ kinon· śrī mahārāja su-〈1v26〉[musuk·] [ca. 15+] [sovaṁ-so]vaṁ samgat· tiruAn· saṁ vruAn·, saṁ mavaju haji lumaku manusuk· sīma, I vadihati saṁ ra banər·, pu guvindī, I makudur· saṁ pataḶəsan·, pu nala, vineḥ ma〈1v27〉[s· mā] [ca. 20+] (sī)ma, matəhər· Ikanaṁ patiḥ I layaṁ muAṁ vahuta, juru katrīṇi, tamblaṁ pañjaṁ, tuha tahil·, paṅuraṁ, muAṁ soĀranikanaṁ rāma tpi siriṁ kabaiḥ matuha

Apparatus

〈1v1〉 [svasti śaka-varṣātīta 837 poṣa-māsa, tithi pañcami śukla-pakṣa,] • CS did not read this. This restitution is based on Vogel's date conversion, except for the lunar day as explained above, and by the restitution made for 1v7, which allows us to estimate quite accurately how many *akṣara*s are missing at the start of the every line — about 20 *akṣara*s. Therefore, we have to choose one model of dating formula which fits up to that space. In this corpus,at least three models of dating formula can be deducted, i.e. model of Wuru Tunggal (1r1–2) which requires space for about 16 a*kṣara*s, model of Tihang (1r1–2) which takes up space for about 35 *akṣara*s and model of Sugih Manek (A3–4) which requires space for about 24 *akṣara*s From those three models, the one from Sugih Manek furnishes the template with the expected number of *akṣara*s, and the gap of about 3 *akṣara*s might be compensated by the size of the *akṣara* or other arbitrary elements produced by the scribe. 〈1v1〉 Ajapāda CS • Note 8 Sarkar (1972: 189): Better: *ajaikapāda*. 〈1v1〉 devatā ◇ *devata* CS. 〈1v2〉 [pakṣakṣaya śrī mahottuṅgavijaya tumurun i rakai mapatiḥ I halu] ◇ *paksa.....* CS • The restoration based on the complete title of Dakṣa found in other inscriptions in this corpus. Cf. Tihang and Tulang Er. The reconstruction of the tumurun phrase is based on Timbanan Wungkal A6, Tulang Er 1v3, Wintang Mas 1v7, and line 1v12 below, where we read: *tumurun i rakryān mapatiḥ I halu*. But, in the light of the titles that follow in this line, we rather opt for *tumurun I rake halu*. 〈1v2〉 ketuvijaya CS • The *ulu* is almost unrecognizable. Its shape is unusual. 〈1v3〉 [ca. 15+] [paṅguhannikanaṁ va]nuA I poḥ galuḥ ◇ *..... [van]ua I poḥ galuḥ* CS • Our (still incomplete) reconstruction is based on the analogy with the next phrase: *paṅguhannikanaṁ vanuA ri Er kuviṁ.* 〈1v3〉 hop· CS • CS was unsure about the reading, as he added "(°hopā?)". 〈1v4〉 satahun·-satahun· ◇ *..... hun·* CS • The same expression is found at the beginning of line 1v3, *pirak· kā 1 Iṁ satahun·-satahun·.* 〈1v4〉 [Ala]snya ◇ *.....s·nya* CS • The restitution is supported by the fact that the next words mention other elements of the landscape: *tgal* (non irrigated field)and *luAḥ* (river). Damais (1970: 124, s.v. *alas*) commented: "*restitution très probable mais non absolument certaine*." 〈1v6〉 tapa ha[ji Air haji maṁrumvai tuha gośāli tuha nambi tuhān· hañjaman·] (U)ṇḍahagi ◇ *[ji]...*

(U)ṇḍahagi CS • The reconstruction is based on parallel passages in the Dalinan and Hujung Galuh inscriptions. 〈1v7〉 bhaṇḍihāla Ityaivamādi • This expression is unique, since in other inscriptions it is often found as *bhaṇḍihālādi*. It seems that here the scribe applied the formula in a more extensive equivalent version. 〈1v8〉 [mādi [ca. 20+] vka]tūn • [mādi ....]tūn. Terms ending in *tūn* are quite rare in OJ epigraphy, which means that the fact that the term *vka tūn* is attested here in the next line, gives strong reason to envisage that *vka* was the last syllable of the gap. 〈1v9〉 Ikanaṁ [sukarmma] [ca. 20+](ti kambaṁ ḍulaṁ, talike)t· • Ikanaṁ .... (ti kambaṁ ḍulaṁ, talike)t· CS. Right before this lost part, we have a word *kukarmma*, meaning "good deed", which suggests that its antonym *kukarmma* may have followed and hence be use to supply part of the gap. 〈1v10〉 grí ◇ *śrī* CS • corr. śrī. Note 14 Sarkar (1971–72, vol. II: 189): In the facsimile, it reads like: *grī*. 〈1v11〉 Iṁ satahun·-[satahun·] [ca. 23+] bhaṭāra ◇ *Iṁ satahun·.... bhaṭāra* CS • The word *satahun* is often repeated to denote the meaning of 'per year', just like the common expression *sovaṁ-sovaṁ* that denotes 'per person'. Its occurrence outside this plate, that we can find at 1v3, is also found in the Sugih Manek inscription (A7), so it must have been a common expression at that time. 〈1v12〉 caturvvarṇna ◇ *caturvarṇna* CS. 〈1v12〉 [hər·] [ca. 16+] [sarbvaphalapha]li bras· ◇ *[hər·]..... li bras·* CS • The snippet of this phrase is not common and so far can not be found elsewhere in other corpora. Hence we are inclined to look up to the next sentence where the same structure is well written. 〈1v13〉 pular hyaṁ ◇ *pu larhyaṁ* CS • corr. palar hyaṁ. Damais (1970: 796) records *palar hyaṁ*. 〈1v18〉 tətəbantin· CS • corr. tətəbantən. Cf. 1v19. CS also leaves a note *tən* after his reading of tətəbantin. Damais records it as *tətəbantən* (1970: 575). 〈1v17〉 matgal· ◇ *ma tgal·* CS • The space is omitted because it should be understood as a single word denoting a toponym. Our reference comes from Pasanggrahan inscription (line 6) *pu nandaka Anak vanuA I matgal·*. 〈1v19〉 tətəbantən· ◇ *təbəbantən* CS. 〈1v21〉 mapkan· CS • CS left an alternative reading in parentheses for the *ka* to be read *ta* and thus become *maptan*. 〈1v25〉 śrī • CS, śrə S. Note 24 Sarkar (1971–72, vol. II:190): So this appears in the facsimile. C. Stuart's reading of Śrī is not correct, though the above has to be corrected as such. However, when looking back on the plate, the *ulu* which Sarkar thought as *pəpət* has the same shape with the *ulu* found in the word *śrī* in the first line. 〈1v26〉 [musuk·]..... [sovaṁ-so]vaṁ • (.....)vaṁ CS. 〈1v26〉 tiruAn· ◇ *tinuAn·* CS. 〈1v27〉 vineḥ ma[s· mā] [ca. 20+] (sī)ma • vineḥ ma[s·?] ... (sī)ma CS.Since this text is now descending in the hierarchy of function holders who receive the gifts, it is implausible that the *suvarṇa* unit, that usually goes to holders of high function, would again be mentioned. Beside, the last unit mentioned is *mā* (1v21), and again it won't make sense if we put *su* here instead of *mā*.

Translation

(1v1–2) Hail! Elapsed Śaka year 837, month of Posya, the fifth tithi of the waxing moon, Hariyaṅ, Kalivuan, Thursday, lunar mansion Pūrvabhadrapada, deity Ajapāda, conjunction Variyān. That was the time of the decree of the Great King, *rakarayān* of Hino, (called) Śrī Dakṣottama-bāhubajra-pratipakṣa-kṣaya Śrī Mahottuṅgavijaya descended to the *rakarayān* of Halu, *pu* Ketuvijaya, the *rakarayān* of Sirikan, *pu* Suparṇa, the *rakarayān* of Vka, *pu* Hanumān, the *rakarayān* of Bavaṅ, *pu* Uttara, ordering with regard to the villages of Poh Galuh and of Er Kuviṅ, both [falling in] the district of Layaṅ

(1v3–4) ..... the revenue of the village of Poh Galuh is 1 *kāṭi* of silver for each year, and additionally (*hop*) *avur*, *səkar tahun, pjah lek* [and] various *arik-arik*. The revenue of the village of Er Kuviṅ is 1 *kāṭi* of silver for each year ..... its forests, its non irrigated fields, its rivers, [whether] in the valley [or] on the hill, all that belongs to the land of the villages of Poh Galuh and of Er Kuviṅ, in short, it will enter [the resources of the] deity of the Varāha hermitage on (the bank of) the Sārayū in ...

(1v5–7)..... *haji*, and may not be entered by the three dignitaries Paṅkur, Tavān [and] Tirip, the *kriṅ*, the *paḍam apuy*, the *maniga*, the *lva*, the *malandaṅ*, the *maṅhūri*, the *makalaṅkaṅ*, the *pamaṇikan*, the *tapa haji*, the *air haji*, the *maṅrumvai*, the head of smiths, the head of Nambis, the overseer of Hañjamans, the carpenters, the *manimpiki*, the goldsmiths, the coppersmiths, the ironsmiths, the eunuchs, the healers the *paraṇakan*, the singing actors, the head drummer, the *sambal*, the *sumvul*, the courtiers, the *siṅgah,* the *pamṛṣi*, the king's servants, the mahouts, the *ləbləb*, and so forth — [they] should not enter the village of Poh Galuh and of Er Kuviṅ. Likewise all sorts of 'pain and relief' — the areca flower that doesn't bear fruit, beating, *bhaṇḍihāla*, and so on.

(1v8-9)..... the adopted children, should not change their income at the former times (*muhun vəṅi*), unaffected by all kinds of [payments for] 'pain and relief'. If the evil deed will not be imposed, (it's) when the good deed is done..... the flower that feeds, the rope that intertwines. None of them all should be omitted by the adopted children (*vka tūn*) to the goddess. The function of the village of Poh Galuh and Er Kuviṅ, [they] will be an endowment that belongs to ...

(1v10-13)..... (they) should bring (it) to Galuh; should make six round woven baskets [and] six square woven baskets; should fill (them) with unwithered flowers and the water lily flower; should present (all of this) to the Great King once in a year. ..... the deity of the Varāha hermitage and bring pinned leaves, all different kinds of fruit, uncooked rice in four colors, 1 steaming basket, per color (*vulu*):in total there are four steaming baskets to be brought by them. and also..... all different kinds of fruit, uncooked rice

in four colors should be brought by them to be offered to the Lordminister of Halu, *pu* Ketuvijaya, the *rakryān* of Sirikan (called) *pu* Suparṇa, the *rakryān* of Vka (called) *pu* Hānumān, the *rakryān* of Bavaṅ (called) *pu* Uttara ..... were given as gifts 8 *māṣa* of gold, 1 pairof *kalyāga* cloth, per person.

(1v13-14) The *maṅhūri* (called) *pu* Udara, the *halaran* (called) *pu* Maññā, the *palar hyaṅ* (called) *pu* Khaṭvāṅga, the *dalinan* (called) *pu* Taṅgəlan, *pa-* ..... 1 pairof ... cloth, per person. And all of the *mamuat ujar*, the *kaṇḍamuhi* (called) *ḍapunta* Vidyānidhi, the *vatu varaṇi* (called) *pu* Maṅhalaṅi, the *visāga* (called) *pu* Vīrya, the *hujuṅ galuh* (called) *pu* Kacat,

As for its meaning, Zoetmulder (1982: 1242) tentatively glosses it as "a (religious?) official (nomen loci?)"

(1v15-16)..... the three dignitaries: of Paṅkur,Dədəlan; of Tavān,Tluk; of Tirip, Likuan, they were given as gift 4 *māṣa* of gold, 1 pairof *raṅga* cloth, per person. The *rakryān* of Layaṅ (called) *pu* ..... 1 pieceof *kalyāga* garment.

The overseers of Layaṅ (were given) collectively 1 *suvarṇa* [and] 4 *māṣa* of gold, (as well as) 1 pairof *raṅga* cloth, per person. The *vadihati* (called) *pu* Ḍapit (was given) 4 *māṣa* of gold, 1 pairof *raṅga* cloth.

(1v17-18)..... The overseer of *makudur* (called) *saṅ* Vavaha, who joined *pu* Gurun, all were given 4 *māṣa* of gold, 1 pairof *raṅga* cloth, per person.

The *patih* of Layaṅ, [district of] Vuluṅ Katak (called) *si* Hu..... (called) *si* Caca, the *vahuta* of Pasar Anak (called) *si* Lucira, [the *vahuta* of] *tətəbantən* (called) *si* Kəvə, all were given 4 *māṣa* of gold, 1 pairof *raṅga* cloth, per person.

(1v18-19) The *tuṅgū duruṅ* of the *patih* of Vuluṅ Katak ..... the *vahuta* of *tətəbantən* (called) *si* Giva, were given 2 *māṣa* of gold, 1 pairof *raṅga* cloth, per person.

(1v19-20) The herald of the *patih* of Vuluṅ Katak (called) *si* Aja, the herald of the *patih* of Kayu Vaṅi (called) *si* Tə....., the assistant of the *vahuta* of Pasar Anak (called) *si* Śivā, at Pagər Sinurat, the assistant of the *vahuta* of *tətəbantən* at Rāṅu (called) *si* basanta, [the herald of the one] at Tutuṅ Kris (called) *si* Pavana, were given 1 *māṣa* of gold, 1 sheet of cloth

(1v21)..... The *mapkan* at Tarijān (called) *si* Kini, were given 2 *māṣa* of gold [and] 1 pairof cloth, per person. The assistants (*piluṅgah*)of the *vahuta* of Hino (called) *si* Mahendra, *si* Jambah [and] *si* Bhoga were given 1 *māṣa* of gold, per person.

(1v22-25)..... The headmen of the surrounding villages — of Kapuhunan, *si* Ajitā[of Vatu Varak, *si* Śreṣṭhi; of Bavu Ara, *si* Basitā; of Pahiṅer, *si* Maṅi; of Parampuyan, *si*

Butĕṅ; of Limo Susu, *si* Surupuh,..... The headman of Maṅulihi (called) *si* Dadhi, the *talahantan* of Layaṅ (called) *ḍapunta* Kesarī, the headman of Layaṅ (called) *pu* Raṇyā, the chief (called) *si* Baladeva, the headman of Poh Galuh (called) *kaki* Lukī, the chief (called) *kaki* Lua, ... *si* Datar, *si* Yoni; the heralds (called) *si* Ruṇḍu, *si* Alya; the *varigas*(called) *si* Dhana, *si* Busut; the headman of Er Kuviṅ (called) *kaki* Klo, the chief (called) *kaki* Kataṅgaran, the Master (called) *kaki* Ridhī, the overseer ..... the *varigas*(called) *si* Tinuan, (and) *si* Gala were given 1 pairof cloth, per person. The wives of the headmen, 6 in number, were given 1 pieceof garment, per person.

Those ordered by the Great King to demarcate ....

(1v26)....., per person. The official of Tiruan (called) *saṅ* Vruan [and] *saṅ* Mavaju Haji proceeding to demarcate the *sīma*; the (officials) of Vadihati (called) *saṅ* Ra Banər [and] *pu* Guvindī; the Makudurs (called) *saṅ* Pataləsan [and] *pu* Nala, were given ... gold

(1v27)..... *sīma*. Thereupon, the *patih* of Layaṅ and the *vahutas*, the three chiefs — the *tamblaṅ pañjaṅ,* the *tuha tahil,* the *paṅuraṅ* — and all of the headmen of the surrounding villages, senior [and junior]

Commentary

1v2. This name, *pu* Ketuvijaya, appears also in the Wintang Mas Inscription (841 Saka), where his title is already *rakryān mapatih I hino,* while in this inscription, he still bears the title *rakryān mapatih I halu.* In another inscription which was issued in the same year (Lintakan), the one bearing the title *rakryān mapatih I hino* was *pu* Ketudhara. Van der Meulen assumed that *pu* Ketuvijaya and *pu* Ketudhara were two names for the same person. Another interesting fact, this figure presumably has two versions of appellation. In Tihang inscription 836 Saka (1v13), we have *pu* Kituh who bears the same *rakryān I halu* title and sounds like the indigenous version of *ketu* in Ketuvijaya or even Ketudhara. Different opinion is proposed by Poerbatjaraka and Krom, as summarized in Barrett Jones. Both scholars consider this figure as Wawa, Sindok's successor. Poerbatjaraka highlights the fact that *va* is often interchangeable with *ba*, thus *vava* could also mean *bava*, meaning "carry". Given that *dhara* in the name Ketudhara also mean the same thing, Poerbatjaraka then establishes his conjecture that Rakryan Wawa is equal to Ketudhara. While for Krom, he gives more emphasize on the regularity and sequence of the high dignitaries mentioned in the charter. Because Sindok figures as a *hino* in Wawa's charter, and that under Tulodhong's reign he was a *halu,* the same succession is applied by Krom to understand Wawa's position, hence Ketudhara, who appears as a

hino in Tulodhong period — as well as in the end of Daksa period—, will be the principal personage after it, meaning he is the same figure as Wawa.

van der Meulen 1979: 49.

Poerbatjaraka 1930: 182, Krom 1931: 199.

Barrett Jones 1984: 3.

1v2 In Daksa corpus, *pu* Uttara as the Lord of Bavaṅ figures exclusively in this inscription. In Tihang (1v14) and Sugih Manek (A30), he was the Lord of Gurun Vaṅi.

1v2 *vanua* Poh Galuh is attested in Bhatari (1v17), while Er Kuwing is not attested elsewhere.

1v3. Stutterheim suggests that *skar tahun* is an annual tribute which possibly consists of anything that is considered to be a good crop.

Stutterheim 1925: 262–63.

1v3 For *Avur*, please see in Tihang's commentary section (1v3)

1v3 For *arik-arik*, cross reference with Kiringan (1r3).

1v3 The *pjah lek* could be considered as any kind of tax or payment. Though in this passage, the meanings of the other terms are not yet understood, and we can only guess that *skar tahun, avur* and *arik-arik* are types of taxes. However, it seems promising and we can at least rely on the context given in the Tihang inscription (1v4), where the term *hurip lek* is attested in the context of something payable. The occurrences of these opposite words indeed gives us the impression of payments that have to be made in different circumstances. This observation also lends support to the assumption for the rest of the terms in this sentence that they designate kinds of taxes or other types of payment.

1v4 *barāhāśrama* does not figure elsewhere. Yet, it might have a connection with the deity Vishnu, as *varāha* is one of Vishnu's avatars in the form of a boar.

1v4. The toponym *sārayū* quite probably refers to the river still called Serayu today, which passes through five districts located in the southern part of Central Java province: Wonosobo, Banjarnegara, Purbalingga, Banyumas and Cilacap. So far, there is no other occurence of this river in other Old Javanese epigraphic corpora.

1v4 The passive form *kasaṁsiptā* is not recorded in OJED as a variant which belongs to the base word *saṅsipta* – it only lists *sinaṅsipta* – or to *saṅkṣipta* which is a variant of the aforementioned base word. For these base words, OJED records a variety of meanings,

the most common being 'in short'. Elsewhere in this corpus, *sańsipta* also figures. Cf. Sugih Manek B15 and Lintakan (3r10), both of them use the expression *tlas sańsipta.*

1v8 The presence of the expression *muhun vāṅi* draws a particular attention since in the later period of Old Javanese epigraphic record (12tth–13th century) exists such expression that quite resembles with our concerned expression here, namely *riṅ muhun malama.* Cf. Mula Malurung (5v5), Adulengen (3r1), Sima Anglayang (4r6). Titi Surti Nastiti, Eko Bastiawan and Arlo Griffiths (forthcoming) consider the expression *muhun vāṅi* as the early equivalent of *riṅ muhun malama* figuring in Airlangga corpus. The word *malama* sounds connected to the Malay word *malam*, meaning *night*, while in the former expression, it has the word *vāṅi* instead. Here we seem to encounter a stage of expression development, from *muhun vāṅi* to *muhun malama*, where some linguistic phenomena intervene on its process. Its meaning revolves around the idea of 'the former times' as indicated by the word *muhun* (earlier, before, preceding). However, the idea of "night" being applied to this expression, even until being substituted in later times by other language, is still not yet clear. Possibly due to its long-term use among the community which slowly puts an end to the initial understanding of this expression.

1v8 Here we have made a long observation on the word *pratīti* which has some meanings adhered to it. According to the standard Sanskrit Online dictionary, Monier-Williams dictionary, *pratīti* can mean: going towards, approaching; the following from anything (as a necessary result), being clear or intelligible by itself, Vedântas; clear apprehension or insight into anything, complete understanding or ascertainment, conviction. On the other hand, we also notice the similarity between *pratīti* and *pratyaya* which happen to have been derived from the same verb so that both of these words are apparently synonymous. One of the technical meanings of *pratyaya* is "income" and might as well be applied here.

1v8 Here, the unrecorded word *tūn* was initially attempted to be understood as the passive irrealis form of "*tū*", meaning "to bind". The word *vka* which precedes *tūn* might be one of proverbial expressions appearing in this charter. The meaning revolves around the idea of "bounded by the children". However, that structure irritates us a bit, because *tūn* should stand before *vka*. Later, a passage from Jaring charter from Kediri period mentioning *vka temvan* (A18), which might mean "adopted children" somewhat reiminds us of the expression *vka tūn* figuring here, hence we apply that understanding into the translation.

1v9 The preserved phrase on the plate reads *kambaṁ ḍulaṁ, tali ket*, which is hard to understand since we barely have any other epigraphic records of this expression. The

word *ḍulaṅ*, meaning "to feed (child, sick person), to put (something) into one's mouth", figures in some inscriptions from East Java in the context of *rājāmāṅśa* privileges. Cf. Waharu II (4r2) *tutuñjuṁ, sāriniṁ tuñjuṁ, ḍulaṁ paṇḍarahan·, caṁvriṁ miraḥ, Ajnu halaṁ, vija kuniṁ*, Sobhamerta (2r3) *manaṇḍaṅa valī, ḍularaṇḍarahan·, tuñjuṁ hijo, hurip anak·, navagraha*, Gandhakuti (1v5–2r1) *mavijākuniṁ, Anṇḍaṅa vali, *ḍulaṁ paṁṇḍarahan·,*Adodota tuñjuṁ Ijo, kuñit sadaṅan·, navagraha, pasiliḥ galuḥ,* Hantang (Cd5) *malsuṅa naṅka, Apalaṅkālpar·, vnaṅāḍulaṅa bvaḥ kamalai vnaṅāpaluṅana tutup· banantən·*, Talan (Cd9–Cd10) *vnaṅā huluna ḍayaṁ, Arabya ḍayaṁ kamambaṅan·, Amaṅa rājamāṁsa, Aḍulaṅa bvaḥ kamalai, Aguntiṅa riṁ saḶ, Anitā riṁ saḶ, Agama-gamāna kayu kuniṁ*. All those examples associate *ḍulaṅ* either with fruit (in the last two passages) or with flowers (*tuñjuṅ*). The same pattern occurs in this inscription, where *kambaṅ*, signifying either flower or nipple, stands close to *ḍulaṅ*. Here, we seems to encounter another expression that covers up the preceding proverbial list of good works starting from *Ikanaṁ kukarmma* in 1v8. Therefore we tentatively translate this last part as: "nipple that feeds, rope that intertwines".

1v11 Our tentative translation of *ron smat* is "pinned leaves". This might raise a problem, since OJED records *smat* as pin (noun) and not in the passive meaning "pinned". However, since this phrase occurs in the context of offerings, and in view of the fact that in offerings nowadays' pinned leaves are commonly observed, we opt to understand the word as such.

1v11 *vulu* in OJED apparently is not only recorded as 'hair on the body' or something related to it. Looking down on the lists, we found *pamulu*, meaning complexion, color of the skin (color of the hair on the skin?) and *apamulu,* meaning having the complexion (color) of. Thus we can now consider safely that *vulu* here might carry the meaning of "color". Speaking of color, we also have the phrase *vras caturvvarṇna* in 1v11 and 1v12 which is translated as "uncooked rice in four colors". The phrase continues, saying that there should be one steaming basket per color (*vulu*), so that in total it would be four steaming baskets (*vras· caturvvarṇna kukusan· 1 Iṁ savulu-savulu, piṇḍa kukusan· 4 vavānya*). This whole string demonstrates a good instance of *vulu* and *varṇna* being used together while sharing the same meaning, namely "color". However, *varṇna* (in OJED is recorded as *varṇa*), can also mean "caste", as it is widely known in India indeed to denote social class, in which the color of the people can also plays a role in determining it. This connection between color and social class hence still shows in the meaning of the word *varṇna*. Does the same scene also apply in the word *vulu*? Well, it might be the case since one can also find another meaning for it in OJED (see *vulu* II), which is "person of an inferior social status (having an occupation which is considered inferior)". *vulu* thus can be regarded as an Old Javanese concept of Indian *varṇna*, but possibly is more

related to one's occupational status. Titi Surti Nastiti Eko Bastiawan and Arlo Griffiths (forthcoming) provide a plethora of discussion in this enigmatic word appearing in Airlangga corpus. Cf. Munggut (2.2–3) and Garaman (4r1–4v2). He also indicates that, the meaning of "color" and "social class" in the word *vulu* still can fit in some contexts, hence further examination is always needed.

Chandrasekhar 1946: 152.

1v13. The specific function of this official, *palar hyaṅ*, is not really clear. Zoetmulder associates it with a religious official, but a question mark remains in the entry. Besides, he put a synonymous expression for this: *paṅgil hyaṅ.*

1v14 *ḍapunta* Vidyānidhi appears in Tlu Ron (line 25) *likhita śilalekha saṁ hadyan· sumuḍan· ḍapunta vidyānidhi*,and in Lintakan (1r13) *parujar· I halu visāga saṁ vidyāni_dhi, Anak banuA I hilyan· vatak· padlagan*. So, he was a scribe in Balitung's reign, then during Daksa's reign he became a *kaṇḍamuhi*, and later during Tulodhong's reign was assigned as a *visāga*.

1v14 The function *vatu varaṇi* is attested in:

Ramwi 804 (1r12–13) *parujar I hino 2 kaṇḍamuhi saṁ caṭā, vatu varaṇi saṁ vidyāṅga*; Samalagi (1v14–15) *parujar· I hino kaṇḍamuhi si t(uṅga)ṁ vanuA I gunuṅan· vatak ta_ṅkilan· (ci)tralekha vuṅkal· varaṇi si manəsər· vanuA I tamaliṅgaṁ vatak· sirikan·*;

Panggumulan (1v16–2v1) *parujarr i hino saṁ kaṇḍamuhi si tuṅgaṁ Anak vanuA I gunuṅan· vatak taṅkil· citralekha saṁ vatu varani si manəsər· Anak vanuA I tamaliṅgaṁ vatak· sirikan·*, (3v8) *manurat· praśasti vatu varani*;

Dalnan (2r6–7) *saṁ mamu(At)· (par)ujar· I hi(no) saṁ kaṇḍamuhi si haṅgə ci[tra]lekha saṁ vatu varaṇi si manəsər·*

Poh (1v14) *parujar· I hino saṁ kaṇḍamuhi pu tuṅgaṁ Anak vanuA I gunuṅan· vatak· taṅkilan·, citralaikhā saṁ vatu varani pu manəsə:r· Anak vanuA I tutuganniṁ taṇḍa I taṅkilan·.*

Rukam (1v11) *parujar· I hino saṁ kaṇḍamuhi saṁ brahmīśāna Anak banuA I gunuṁṅan· vatak· taṁkilan· citralekha vatu varaṇi pu manisar· Anak banuA I tamaliṅgaṁ vatak· sirikan·*

Jeru-jeru (B1) *vatu varaṇ(ī) saṁ nītī*

Its synonymous term, *vuṅkal varani*, figures in:

Kubu-kubu (5v3) *saṁ mamvatt ujār· I hino, kaṇḍamuhi pu tuṅgaṁ, citralekha vuṅkal· varaṇi, pu manəsər·*;

Wanua Tengah III (2r12) *saṁ parujar· Iṁ kabalān· I hino kaṇḍamuhi pu tuṁṅgaṁ, citralekha vuṅkal· varaṇi pu manəsər·*

Lintakan (1r13–14) *Anurat· I hino Iṁ pañujaran· (v)uṅkal· varaṇi saṁ śuddha*.

Two remarks:

(1) The post for *vatu varaṇi* during Kayuwangi's reign was assigned to *saṅ* Vidyāṅga, fast forward to Balitung's reign, it was *pu* Manəsər who held the position. Coming to Daksa's reign, it was *pu* Maṅhalaṅi, and during Tulodhong's reign, *saṅ* Śuddha appeared. This function ismentioned more rarely during Sindok's reign. So far, it only figures in Gulung-Gulung (B11) and Jeru-jeru (B1), held by *saṅ* Nītī, which is written as *saṅ* Nidhi in the first inscription.

(2) this function always follows the *kaṇḍamuhi* and seems to engage in writing activities, as shown with the word *citralekha* and *anurat* in Panggumulan, Poh, Kubu-kubu and Lintakan. Interesting to note, although perhaps has no connection at all, in modern Malay and Indonesian, a term called *batu berani* exists and is nearly perceived as a *magnet*.

vatu varani also figures as a toponym in Sindok corpus. Cf. Anjuk Ladang (A68, A70).

1v14 *pu* Vīrya as a *visāga* also figures in Samalagi (1v16) p*arujar· I halu viṣaga si viryya Anak vanuA I pakalaṁkyaṅan vatak· pagər vsi*, Panggumulan A (2v1) *parujar ri halu saṁ viṣaga si vīryya Anak vanuA I pakalaṁkyaṅan· vatak· pagar vsi*. On this function, which does not appear in OJED, not much can be known. In the Balitung corpus, it always appears after *kaṇḍamuhi* and *vatu varaṇi*. Cf. Samalagi (1v15), Panggumulan A (2v1), Dalinan (2r7), Poh (1v14), Rukam (1v12), Wanua Tengah III (2r12), while in Sindok corpus, it follows *kaṇḍamuhi* and *citralekha*. Cf. Paradah II (A38), Muncang (B15), Alasantan (2r14).

1v14 *hujuṅ galuḥ* as a function appears in Kayuwangi corpus and lasts until Sindok's reign. Cf. Humanding (2r5), Jurungan (4r6), Taragal (2r2), Samalagi (1v6), Panggumulan A (2v1–2), Dalinan (2r7), Poh (1v15), Kubu-kubu (5v4), Rukam (1v12), Wanua Tengah III (2r13–14), Lintakan (1r14), Sangguran (B4–5), Linggasuntan (A37), Gulung-gulung (B11), Jeru-jeru (B2), Hering (d32–33), Anjuk Ladang (A38–39). An instance of *hujuṅ galuḥ* as a toponym occurs as early as in Balitung's reign and then reoccurs in one of Airlangga's inscriptions. Cf. Hujung Galuh (1r5) and Kamalagyan (line 12). However, little is known about its exact occupation.

1v17 *vuluṅ katak* figures in Talaga Tanjung (B6 and B11). Both is expressed with the term *svāmi*, hence *svāmi vuluṅ katak*. In Balitung corpus, *vuluṅ katak* occurs in Bhatari (1v17). Interesting to note, Talaga Tanjung is also found in Wonosobo area, while the provenance of Bhatari needs to be rechecked. However, some toponym that are attested in Bhatari can be found in either Talaga Tanjung or Barahasrama.

The edition of Talaga Tanjung can be found in Brandes 1913: 8–10 (no. VII) and Sarkar

1971–72, vol. I: 165–70 (no. XXIV). For other details, including date, see Damais 1952: 32–33 (no. A. 25), Damais 1955: 27, Nakada 1982: 80–81 (no. I. 29).

1v22 *limo susu* figures in Talaga Tanjung (B15)

1v27 *tamblaṅ pañjaṅ* figures in Talaga Tanjung (B14) with a slight different spelling: *tamvalaṅ pañjaṅ.*

Bibliography

The sigla Br and Na refer to Brandes' and Nakada's editions, respectively. In view of the fact that the fifth section was read by Kern and Nakada, both of them yielding rather different readings, for this part I use the siglum K, which stands for Kern.

Primary

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