

BERITA DINAS PURBAKALA

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SHORT INSCRIPTIONS FROM TJANDI PLAOSAN-LOR

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The large complex of Tjaṅḍi Plaosan near Prambanan, Central Java, has yielded not only a lengthy, but badly preserved, inscription in Prae-Nāgari script¹⁾ and a small gold plate inscribed with a Buddhist **dhāraṇī** ²⁾, but also a great number of small inscriptions. A small stone fragment bearing the inscription **anumoda sang** is reported to have been deposited in the collection of inscribed stones in the Djakarta Museum (No. D 76) but disappeared afterwards ³⁾. In 1925, a second inscription was discovered in the neighbourhood of the southern fence of the temple compounds ⁴⁾. In 1940, when systematical excavations of some of the small buildings surrounding the main temples were undertaken, two more inscriptions were discovered ⁵⁾. During the period from 1941 to 1947 and the following years these excavations were continued and an amazing number of small inscriptions was brought to light ⁶⁾. A report on these inscriptions with provisional transcripts was prepared by Soehamir and placed at the present writer's disposal ⁷⁾. As a few more inscriptions have since been discovered and partial reconstructions were performed on the small buildings, it was necessary to revise the results. The present author had the opportunity to visit the Plaosan complex

1) *Viz. Mus. Djak.*, No. D. 82. Up to 1915 the stone was considered to be of unknown origin (cf. Verbeek, *Oudheden van Java*, 1891, p. 164), but Bosch made it clear that it originates from Plaosan (*De stichtingsoorkonde van Tjandi Plaosan teruggevonden?* in *Oudh. Versl.*, 1915, Bijlage N, pp. 89-91). The text is published in *Pras. Indon.*, II, No. VII; as a matter of fact, the Prae-Nāgari inscription, presumably to be dated back to the first half of the 9th century A.D., does not appear to be the original foundation act of Tjandi Plaosan, but relates to the extension of an older foundation.

2) This text is dealt with in *Pras. Indon.*, II, No. V.

3) For the details, the reader is referred to the article by Bosch mentioned in note 1 above. Very probably this stone, which was brought to Djakarta by Groneman in 1889, was transported to Plaosan some years afterwards; a stone bearing exactly the same text **anumoda sang** and of exactly the same measurements as those mentioned of D. 76 (cf. Bosch, *art. cit.*, p. 89) is at present on the Plaosan site. Although this point is mentioned nowhere, it is likely that the stone was returned to Plaosan, presumably with the intention to ascertain whether the fragmentary text could be combined with other, likewise fragmentary, inscriptions.

4) *Oudh. Versl.*, 1925, p. 72 and p. 88, reproduced *ibid.*, Plate 22 a. Owing to the rather vague determination of the site of discovery, it does not appear whether the inscription belongs to the northern or to the southern complex.

5) *Oudh. Versl.*, 1940, p. 22, reproduced *ibid.*, Plate 15. The text of both inscriptions (*infra*, I, 15 and 16) is identical.

6) Cf. *Oudh. Versl.*, 1941-1947, pp. 40 sq. and p. 50, and, especially, *Oudh. Versl.*, 1948, pp. 27-32; cf. also *Laporau Tahun* 1950, p. 17.

7) This belongs to the material briefly referred to in *Oudh. Versl.*, 1941-1947, p. 50.

in July 1952 and August 1953, where, assisted by those in charge of the excavations, further material could be collected. Although the final results are by no means definite (the activities are still going on), the importance of the finds, amounting to more than fifty inscriptions, makes a further delay in publication undesirable. In an earlier publication I have pointed out the significance of some of these inscriptions with regard to the political history of Java in the 9th century A.D. ⁸⁾; this is, of course, only a small aspect of their importance.

A brief introduction about various details will be followed by the transcription, after which a few points about the meaning of the epigraphs will be noted down.

The position of the numerous buildings of the Plaosan complex clearly appears from the sketch published in the Annual Report of the year 1948 ⁹⁾. Almost all inscriptions hitherto discovered belong to the northern complex (Tjaṅḍi Plaosan Lor). Those of the southern complex will be discussed later, when more data will be available. The present writer has limited himself to a small remark about the relation between the inscriptions of the southern and the northern complex.

The type of script used for the inscription published in 1925 is very different from that of the inscriptions of the Plaosan Lor complex in general. This point clearly appears from the photograph published in **Oudh. Versl.** 1925, Plate 22 a. The virāma, occurring twice in the epigraph, is expressed by a curve over the akṣara, whereas in all the other Plaosan inscriptions the virāma begins at about the same place (i.e. at the left hand side above the akṣara), but is drawn down to below the right hand foot of the akṣara. The virāma over the aksara is a typical feature of the script of the inscriptions of, for instance, Dinaya (vulgo Dinojo, dated 760 A.D.). Kuburan Tjaṅḍi (821) ¹⁰⁾, Karangteṅah (824), Gandasuli (832 ?) — examples which are all unambiguously dated ¹¹⁾. On the other hand, the two inscriptions of Tjandi Perot (850), the Ratubaka inscriptions (856), and all the later texts show the virāma extending to the right of the akṣara. Finally, it is noteworthy that in an inscription dated 842 A.D. ¹²⁾ either virāma form occurs as well as some intermediate forms ¹³⁾. As to the undated examples of the virāma placed over the akṣara attention is drawn to some short inscriptions

⁸⁾ **Pras. Indon.**, I (1950), pp. 116 sq.

⁹⁾ **Oudh. Versl.**, 1948, p. 28.

¹⁰⁾ Edition by Goris in **T.B.G.**, 70 (1930), pp. 157-170. For the date, cf. **Pras. Indon.**, I (1950), p. 126, where Goris' reading 753 (Çaka) is corrected into 743, a reading which is confirmed by Damais, **B.E.F.E.O.**, XLVI, Fasc. 1 (1952), pp. 26 sq.

¹¹⁾ With the exception of the Gandasuli inscription, where the date is presumably expressed by the words **sahānālas partapān** which may have the cipher values of 4, 5 and 7 respectively (cf. **Pras. Indon.**, I, pp. 55-57). Damais (**art. cit.**, p. 28) does not consider it likely that the three words have cipher values, but arrives at about the same date by different arguments. — To the above texts may be added the Naṅgulan inscription dated 822/823 A.D. (**Pras. Indon.**, I, pp. 128-130; Damais, **art. cit.**, pp. 26 sq.).

¹²⁾ **Pras. Indon.**, I, No. VI, pp. 79-95.

¹³⁾ **Ibid.**, p. 80.

from the Tjañdi Sewu complex ¹⁴⁾ with which the Plaosan inscription published in 1925 has another point in common, **viz.** the expression of the guttural nasal at the end of a word by the akṣara **ña** with a virāma instead of by the anusvāra mark as is usual in Old Javanese inscriptions.

The two respects in which the inscription published in 1925 differs from the other Plaosan inscriptions, **viz.** the form of the virāma and its use with the akṣara **ña** to express the guttural nasal at the end of a word, may be connected with a lack of practice in writing Old Javanese by a type of script originally used for other languages. In Sanskrit and in Indian Prākritis the virāma could be used almost exclusively at the end of a sentence, so that a clear expression in script was hardly essential. In Old Javanese, however, words very frequently end in consonants and each word constitutes a clearly defined phonetical unity so that the combination of the final consonant into a ligature with the initial consonant(s) of the next word is something not quite natural ¹⁵⁾. Consequently, a very frequent use of the virāma is noticeable in Old Javanese and this necessitated a more distinct indication of this detail. It is therefore likely that the more elaborated form of the virāma represents the later development, whereas the virāma written as a small curve over the akṣara belongs to an older period when there was not yet any established practice of writing Old Javanese.

The second peculiarity of the inscription published in 1925 is the use of the akṣara **ña** with a virāma instead of the anusvara mark to indicate the velar nasal at the end of a word, a very frequent case in Old Javanese. Although the **ña** with a virāma may occur in Sanskrit texts (if words such as **pratyāñ** occur **in pausa**), the case is not a frequent one. In Indonesian languages, the frequency of the velar nasal in that position necessitated an easier rendering of this phoneme. Already in early times the anusvāra mark, a simple point over the akṣara, was used to that purpose. The cases in which we find **ña** with a virāma mark are clearly archaic and belong to a period in which the spelling rules of Old Javanese had not yet fully developed. It may therefore be concluded that the inscription **anumoda sang hamēas pu jumēndañ** is considerably earlier than the other Plaosan inscriptions. There is some reason to assume that it belongs to the southern Plaosan complex which appears to date from the same period as Tjañdi Sewu ¹⁶⁾

¹⁴⁾ **Ibid.**, pp. 113-116.

¹⁵⁾ As a matter of fact, the words are separated in Old Javanese inscriptions as a rule. The cases in which we find two phonemes belonging to different words combined into a ligature are not at all rare, but they are nevertheless exceptional if compared with the number of cases in which the words are separated.

¹⁶⁾ **Oudh. Versl.**, 1948, pp. 31 sq. For the inscriptions from Tjañdi Sewu, cf. Krom, **Inleiding I**, (1923) p. 283; Stutterheim, **Oudheidkundige Aanteekeningen, IV De ouderdom van Tjañdi Sewoe**, in **Bijdr. K.I.**, 85 (1929), pp. 491-496; **Pras. Indon.**, I (1950), pp. 113-116. I accept Krom's conclusion that the Sewu type of script belongs to the first half of the ninth century. The little hook at the left hand top of the aksaras **ha**, **sa** and **pa** is an archaism and not a modernism as Stutterheim presumed (**art. cit.**, p. 494); We find it back in the Karangtēnah inscription (824 A.D.) and in the oldest Dieng inscription

As to the inscription **anumoda sang** (cf. note 3 above), there is no indication whether it belongs to the northern or to the southern complex. On account of the uncertainty about this point, the inscription will be left out of the account which follows and in which the present author has restricted himself to the northern complex in the hope of being able to deal with the hitherto very few inscriptions belonging to the southern complex as soon as further data are available.

All the other short inscriptions clearly represent one and the same type of script. Some of its main characteristics are :

(a) the **u** following a consonant (called **suku**, "foot", in modern Javanese) is always expressed by a vertical stroke at the foot of the aksaras ; the vertical stroke is, however, not completely straight but ends below in a small, but distinct curve to the right. Examples may be found in most of the inscriptions ;

(b) the virāma mark is expressed in the same way as in most Old Javanese inscriptions, viz. to the right of the aksara. It has already been noted above (p. 4) that this detail makes it unlikely that the Plaosan inscriptions should anticipate the middle of the 9th century A.D. by more than one or two decades ¹⁷⁾ ;

(c) when the **suku** is attached to the aksara **ka**, it is attached to its middle vertical (**kutī**, I 49) ¹⁸⁾ ;

(d) the lower horizontal stroke of the **da** is not straight as in the Karang-těnah inscription (824 A.D.) and all the earlier records, but shows the upward curve which will remain characteristic of the **da** in Old Javanese script, at least from the middle of the 9th century on ¹⁹⁾.

All the details here mentioned are found together in the two inscriptions of Tjañdi Perot dated 850 A.D. In connection with the paucity of dated inscriptions in this period, only a limited importance could be attached to these pa-

(809 A.D. ? Transcription by Brandes-Krom in **O.J.O.**, II). Stutterheim's opinion is partly based on the fact that some centuries afterwards, in the full Eastern Javanese period, the left hand vertical of most aksaras is written in an ornamental way, which is, however, rather different from what is observed in the Sewu inscriptions. Other details such as the **ña** with patèn are obviously in favour of the date assigned to the Sewu inscriptions by Krom.

¹⁷⁾ As has been pointed out above (p. 5), the only example of a virāma written over the aksara occurs in the inscription **anumoda sang hamēas pu juměndañ**, which has every chance to belong to the southern complex.

¹⁸⁾ This place of the suku is an archaism which dates back from the times in which only the middle part of the **ka** was a full-sized vertical (as in the older Pallawa script). Not too much weight should, however, be attached to this detail. Although the inscriptions of the Kayuwani-Balitung period regularly have the suku attached to the right hand vertical of the **ka**, exceptions are all but rare. Balitung's Kědu inscription dated 907 A.D. gives numerous examples of sukes written in the archaic way ; as a matter of fact, the script, composition and language of the latter document are archaic — which is hardly surprising in a document in which the preceding kings from Sañjaya on are invoked as divine witnesses to the foundation.

¹⁹⁾ The upward curve in the lower horizontal stroke of the **da** is probably a means to prevent the **da** from being confounded with the **ña**, a means which became necessary when the **ña** had lost its curve in its vertical portion.

laeographic details ²⁰). With this restriction, they appear to point to the period from about 840 to 860 as the most likely time in which the inscriptions were written. This provisional conclusion is fully confirmed by some of the titles and names mentioned in the texts of the inscriptions which will be dealt with in the Additional Notes.

Finally, attention should be paid to a curious mistake of the stone-cutter in inscription I 34 where it is clearly visible that the stone-cutter, wanting to put down *rā*, inverted the order of the aksara and the *daṇḍa*, putting down the latter first. A mistake of a different kind, but not completely certain, is the name *kufi* (I 49), which one would like to correct into *kuṭi* — especially as the spelling of a long *-i* suggests a Sanskrit word. We may not, of course, conclude from this example that the lingual and the dental tenues were confused in this period; a more likely explanation is that the draftsman presumed wrongly that the word should be written as a dental; the word obviously was not in common use.

In the transcription which follows, the texts are numbered according to the principles already adopted in a previous publication ²¹): the three rows of small buildings surrounding the central sanctuaries are indicated by the roman ciphers I to III beginning at the inner row. The monuments themselves, starting at the south-west corner, are numbered by Arabic ciphers. From row I, consisting of fifty buildings, forty-two inscriptions were recovered, *i.e.* from 84 % of the buildings. The high number makes it probable that the eight remaining buildings also had inscriptions. This surmise is more or less confirmed by the fact that from all those buildings from which no inscriptions have been recovered considerable portions of the basements are still missing. From the second and third rows a relatively very small number of inscriptions were found again. Probably only the eight square corner buildings and a few *stūpas*, *viz.* those at the *gopura* B 4 and II 21 and III 24, were inscribed. Finally, an inscription in red paint ²²) was discovered on one of the tower-like corners of the innermost complex (E 3).

²⁰) In all palaeographic discussions it should be considered that even in the most favourable case a marge of at least twenty years is necessary; since, as a rule, people retain the writing habits adopted in youth, much depends on the age of those who write. The case is not unfavourable for the Plaosan inscriptions in as far as they exhibit a transitional phase between the older variety of Central Javanese script (*e.g.* in the Karangtengah inscription dated 824 A.D.) and the more evolved type in the inscriptions of the Kayuwani-Balitung period.

²¹) *Pras. Indon.*, I (1950), p. 116. For the following description, the reader is referred to the groundplan prepared by the Seksi Bangunan of the Dinas Purbakala at Prambanan, Central Java, which is reproduced on Plate I. There, the form and the orientation of the buildings as well as the area where the inscriptions are to be found are clearly indicated.

²²) This is the only inscription in paint discovered in the northern complex of Plaosan. It is well-known that a considerable number of short inscriptions written in red, black and white paint are found in the Lara Djonggrang complex of Prambanan, but most of these are very difficult to be read. Inscriptions in red and black paint have been noticed on Tjandi Sadjawan and on the Ratubaka plateau, too. They will be dealt with in a future publication.

35. anumoda sang wurutuŋgal pu/ bāsa huwus
36. anumoda sang pa/ŋgumulan pu mandēha
37. —
38. —
39. gawai sang waḍinin pu pañca
40. anumoda sang tilimpik/pu pagěr
41. anumoda sang hagu/lawan sang pu raliŋgang pu // dharmma
çrī mahārāja // habat kina<pata>nnira lawan = sang mañasö
42. dharmma çrī mahārāja
43. —
44. anumoda sang antulan pu awat ³⁸⁾
45. anumoda sang ratira pu mandēha ³⁹⁾
46. anumoda sang ra<w>uga pu sarwwa ⁴⁰⁾
47. —
48. dharmma çrī mahārāja
49. anumoda sang patapān pu kutī ⁴⁴⁾
50. anumoda sang tīruraṇu pu lañkā

II (second row)

1. anumoda ⁴²⁾
13. pu mahota ⁴³⁾
19. anumoda sang ḍa/wruluk pu nadī pu candra mañā/lihi
21. anumoda çrī kahulunnan ⁴⁴⁾
22. anumoda çrī kahulunnan ⁴⁴⁾

³⁸⁾ The final aksara is not quite certain ; it may be a **ka**, but this seems less likely although **awak** is more satisfactory as a name than **awat**.

³⁹⁾ According to Suhamir's list : I did not succeed in finding the inscription again. The title **ratira**, unknown from other sources, seems somewhat questionable. Two titles frequently found in Old Javanese inscriptions are **tīruan** and **tīru**, but the latter term is almost always followed by **raṇu**, i.e. in the form **tīruraṇu** ; the oldest reference is one of the Tjaṇḍi Sewu inscriptions (cf. **Pras. Indon.**, I, p. 115). In connection with the above, one might consider the possibility that the reading should be corrected to **ratīru** (i.e. **tīru** preceded by the prefix **ra-**). This suggestion cannot, however, be checked unless the inscription is found back again.

⁴⁰⁾ This inscription, which was still **in loco** during my visit in 1952, could not be found again in 1953, so that no photograph is available. The completion to **rawuga** necessarily remains conjectural, although this is the only title, satisfying the given conditions, which is known from elsewhere, too. A Pamēgēt Wuga is the principal person in the inscription of Kuburan Tjaṇḍi dated 821 A.D. (cf. note 7 above) ; for the prefix **ra-**, cf. the inscriptions I 4, I 7 and 8 (if **ramraman** is to be analyzed as **ra-mraman**, not as **ram-ram-an**), I 41, I 45 and the Additional Notes below.

⁴¹⁾ As already noted in the Introduction, this might be an error for **kuṭī**.

⁴²⁾ According to Suhamir's list. The fragmentary inscription (the word **anumoda** is always followed by a title and a name) could not be found again in 1952 nor in 1953.

⁴³⁾ According to Suhamir's list. The beginning of the text (presumably consisting of **anumoda** and **sang** followed by a title) has never been known.

⁴⁴⁾ Both inscriptions were present in July 1952, but could not be retraced in August 1953 ; consequently no photograph is available.

29. anumoda sang kalangwatu/pu muṅgu

49. rakai ⁴⁵⁾

III (third row)

1. anumoda ⁴⁶⁾

14. (a) anumoda rakai gurunwaṅi dyaḥ salaḍū

(b) asthupa ⁴⁷⁾ ḥrī mahārāja rakai pikatan

15. (a) astupa ⁴⁷⁾ ḥrī mahārāja rakai pikatan

(b) anumoda rakai gurunwaṅi dyaḥ salaḍū

21. anumoda sang ḥikhanandi pu hujung huwus

24. dharmma ḥrī mahārāja

35. aṅumo<da> ⁴⁸⁾

55. anumoda sang pagarwsi pu gunung ⁴⁹⁾

56. anumoda sang tumungtung pu baruṅa ⁴⁹⁾

Loose stones or stone fragments with inscriptions ⁵⁰⁾:

(a) // dharmma ḥrī mahārāja // ⁵⁰⁾

(b) dharmma ḥrī ma..... ⁵²⁾

⁴⁵⁾ According to Suhamir's list. In connection with the very few Rakai titles mentioned in the Plaosan inscriptions (cf. the Additional Notes), the loss of the rest of the inscription is to be regretted.

⁴⁶⁾ According to Suhamir's list.

⁴⁷⁾ Should from the three spelling mistakes in the single word **stūpa** (two in inscription III 15 a), a striking thing in itself, be concluded that the word was less known to Old Javanese clerks and architects than it is to modern archaeologists? There is another explanation possible: rather because the word was very well-known, clerks may have bothered little about writing it correctly. A slight point in favour of the latter explanation is the fact that the word spells differently on two buildings very close to one another.

⁴⁸⁾ The rest of this text has not been found; the fragment here gives undoubtedly the beginning of the word **anumoda**.

⁴⁹⁾ The inscriptions were at III 55 and 56 in 1952, but could not be traced back in August 1953. As III 56 seems an unusual place for an inscription, but the corner building II 49 could be expected to bear one, there is good reason to suppose that the stone with the inscription **anumoda sang tumungtung pu baruṅa** does not belong to III 56, but to II 49.

⁵⁰⁾ These five inscriptions were found on the grounds of Tjaṅḍi Plaosan (northern or southern complex), but without any exact data about the places where they once belonged. Further reconstruction activities will perhaps furnish precise data; some of the previously mentioned inscriptions of which the original place was uncertain at first could be replaced where they exactly fitted in with other stones of a building, (cf. also the **addenda**.)

⁵¹⁾ At present in the office of the Dinas Purbakala at Prambanan. Comparing this inscription with the numerous inscriptions from Plaosan Lor bearing the same text, an important difference is noticeable **viz.** the use of a double **daṅḍa** before and after the text. Now, it is striking that one of the very few inscriptions hitherto discovered on one of the buildings of Plaosan Kidul also reads **dharmma ḥrī mahārāja** with a double **daṅḍa** before and after these words. The inscription may, therefore, be considered to belong to the southern complex, as is probably also the case with inscription (c).

⁵²⁾ The text was probably identical with that of inscription (a), but without the double **daṅḍas**. Nothing is known about its original place.

(c) // anumoda sang hamčas pu jumendañ // ⁵³⁾

(d) anumoda sang ⁵⁴⁾

(e)la 1 tumuli ⁵⁵⁾

Inscription in red paint on the tower E 3 ⁵⁶⁾ :

palaryang ⁵⁷⁾

Additional notes about the meaning of the inscriptions.

In the Introduction, we briefly pointed out the unique interest of the Plaosan inscriptions. As a matter of fact, there are quite a few other Javanese monuments that bear some, or even numerous, small inscriptions. There are, for instance, those engraved above reliefs of the lowest series of the Barabuður — inscriptions valuable not only for the relation with the Mahākarmavibhaṅga text ⁵⁸⁾, but also for the approximate dating of the great monument ⁵⁹⁾. The inscriptions above a relief series of Tjaṅḍi Panataran in East Java ⁶⁰⁾ might at one time show the way to the interpretation of the scenes. A considerable number of short inscrip-

⁵³⁾ As was noted in the Introduction, there is good reason to suppose that this inscription belongs to Plaosan Kidul. At present, the stone is in the office of the Dinas Purbakala at Prambanan.

⁵⁴⁾ This may be the inscription which was once reported to have been brought to Djakarta ; cf. the Introduction.

⁵⁵⁾ At present the stone fragment is in the working shed at Plaosan. No data about the exact place of discovery are as yet available. The reading of the fragment presents no real difficulty. I have no doubt that the symbol following **la** is not an akṣara, but the cipher 1 ; it is slightly lower than the akṣaras and has exactly the same form as the cipher 1 in the Kayuwañi records (an earlier ; in the later inscription it is undistinguishable from the akṣara **ga**). The form of the first **suku** (in **tu**) is curious and differs considerably from the second one (in **mu**) ; in the other Plaosan inscriptions, for instance in I 24, the syllable **tu** is written in the normal way. Not only the script, but also the text itself is unusual. If the reading is correct, this inscription would be the only one from Plaosan in which a cipher occurs. The **la** could be the end of a term indicating a measure or a weight (such as **pala**). **Tumuli** is an Old Javanese word meaning "after that". The stone gives the impression of being only a fragment of a longer text which presumably consisted of an enumeration of some kind.

⁵⁶⁾ This is the only inscription in red paint found in the complex of Tjaṅḍi Plaosan up to now.

⁵⁷⁾ This inscription is very well preserved ; it only contains the well-known title ; no traces of the name could be discovered.

⁵⁸⁾ The inscriptions were published by Krom in **Barabuður, Archaeologische Beschrijving** (1920), pp. 50-52. Cf. also Sylvain Lévi, **Mahākarmavibhaṅga** (1932), where the Barabuður inscriptions are discussed in the notes to the Sanskrit text, and the discussion of the latter publication by Bosch in **T.B.G.**, 73 (1933), pp. 374-379.

⁵⁹⁾ Krom, **op. cit.**, pp. 20 sq. Krom there bases his dating mainly on the form of the virāma written as a small curve over the akṣara. Krom's statement that the Diēng inscription dated 731 Čaka (809 A.D.) would have the virāma expressed to the right of the akṣara is wrong ; the four virāma marks occurring at the back of the stone have the virāma as a small curve over the akṣaras (**viz**, in **lamwit**, line ; in **wantil**, line 2 ; and in **panuliñan** and **pikatan**, line 3). The same virāma form occurs in inscriptions dated 821 (**Pras. Indon.**, I, pp. 126 sqq.), 822 (**op. cit.**, p. 128), 824 (**op. cit.**, p. 30) and, occasionally, in later inscriptions (in 842 ; cf. **op. cit.**, p. 80). The Barabuður script agrees as closely as possible with that of the Karangtēnah inscription dated 824 A.D. (cf. **op. cit.**, pp. 111 sq.).

⁶⁰⁾ Cf. Krom, **Inleiding**², II (1923), pp. 277 sq.

tions were discovered in the Loro Djonggrang complex at Prambanan ⁶¹); the provisional results are promising, but these inscriptions are obliterated and partly illegible owing to the fact that they have all been done in red, black and white paint ⁶²). Small numbers of short inscriptions are associated with the Tjaṅḍi Sewu complex ⁶³), Tjaṅḍi Mēndut ⁶⁴), the Ratubaka plateau ⁶⁵), Tjaṅḍi Sadjiwan ⁶⁶), and a few others ⁶⁷); nowhere, however, the harvest is comparable with that of Tjaṅḍi Plaosan with its more than sixty inscriptions, most of which are complete and easy to read. In the notes which follow, a few points concerning the short texts will be discussed, viz. (a) the language, in particular the technical terms, (b) titles and names, and, finally (c) the conclusions which may be based on these texts concerning the time and the way in which the Plaosan temples were built.

(a) **Language and technical terms.** Most of the short inscriptions are of a stereotyped form consisting of a term, usually the word **anumoda** (46 times), but sometimes other terms such as **dharma** (13 times), **gawai** (twice) and **stūpa** (twice in different but likewise incorrect spellings), followed first by a title preceded by **sang** and after that by a name preceded by **pu**. Instead of titles preceded by **sang**, there are sometimes, but far less frequently, other titles preceded by **rakai**; instead of names preceded by **pu**, names preceded by **dyah** occur a few times. The inscriptions in which either **çrī mahārāja** or **çrī kahulunnan** occurs are of a different and shorter type; they usually consist only of **dharma** and **stūpa** in the case of the **çrī mahārāja** inscriptions and **anumoda** in those of **çrī kahulunnan** followed, of course, by either of these indications; only in III 14 and 15, the formulation is a little more precise owing to the addition of the king's Rakai title. The obvious conclusion is that the two titles were sufficient by themselves, so that there was no need to give further details. Fortunately, this method was not

⁶¹) Cf. Krom, *Inleiding*², II (1923), p. 477 and pp. 487 sq.; *Oudh. Versl.*, 1940, p. 29 and Plate 11; Stutterheim, *Oudh. Aantek.*, No. XXIX, *Tjandi Lara Djonggrang en Oost-Java*, in *Bijdr. K.I.*, 90 (1933), pp. 267-2.

⁶²) The number of inscriptions is far greater than it would appear from the publications mentioned in note 61. These texts will be dealt with in a special publication about Loro Djonggrang.

⁶³) Krom, *Inleiding*², I, p. 283; Stutterheim, *Bijdr. K.I.*, 85 pp. 491 sqq.; *Pras. Indon.*, I, pp. 113-116.

⁶⁴) Krom, *Inleiding*², I, p. 317; *Pras. Indon.*, I, pp. 112 sq.

⁶⁵) Only very recently an inscription in red paint was discovered on a miniature tjaṅḍi near the so-called **pēndapa** terrace. In July 1953, two small fragments of a longer stone inscription, presumably in Sanskrit, were discovered near the southern border of the same terrace. A small gold plate with **ye te svāhā** (i.e. an abbreviation of the well-known Buddhist formula **ye dharmā hetuprabhavā** etc.) was found near the southern border of the terrace. Three lengthy inscriptions in Sanskrit strophes (one of which is briefly mentioned by Stutterheim, *T.B.G.*, 75 (1935), note 3 to p. 443 and by Damais, *Epigr. Aantek.*, I, in *T.B.G.*, 83, 1949, p. 3, and *B.E.F.E.O.*, XLVI, Fasc. 1 (1952), pp. 30 sq.) are published in the second volume of *Pras. Indon.*

⁶⁶) J. van Blom, *Tjaṅḍi Sadjiwan* (1935), pp. 12 sq.; Stutterheim, *Djawa*, XV (1935), pp. 89 sq.; *Pras. Indon.*, I, p. 118.

⁶⁷) For some short inscriptions written in black paint on the walls of Tjaṅḍi Sari, cf. Stutterheim, *Oudh. Versl.*, 1925, pp. 16 sq. and Plate 12.

followed everywhere ; the more elaborate mention of the king in III 14 and 15 makes his identification possible.

Sometimes, various details are added in the texts. In a number of cases (I, 2, 7, 8 and 35 ; III, 21) the word **huwus** is added to texts of the above types. Other, more interesting formulations are found in those cases where more than one dignitary had merits with a view to some little buildings. Thus, two names with the addition of the word **mañālihi** are found in II 19 ; the word, a derivative of **kālih (kalih)**, "two", means "to do (make) something with two men together" ⁶⁸) ; probably, the two persons mentioned had co-operated in having the building erected. In quite a similar way occurs the expression **kina-patannira**, "done (made) by four (persons together)" in I 41, where four names are, in fact, mentioned ⁶⁹). In another case the building I 5 is determined as the **anumoda** of the dignitary bearing the title Rakai Wanwa Galuh, but it was brought to an end (**tinulusakan**) by (**dai**) a Rakai Gurunwani named Dyah Rāṇu. Presumably, the former was prevented (by death ?) from executing his good intentions, so that his efforts were continued by another dignitary. From this it may be concluded that there must have been a close relation between these two Rakais, possibly that of father and son, older and younger brother or some other relationship.

There is a similar case in I 32, where, however, other terms are used. It reads : **minulān sang tawān pu piñul, gawai sang tawān pu kais-sawa**. In spite of its spelling by a short **u**, there is no doubt that the first word is a derivative of **mūla**, "root, fundament, beginning", by means of the infix **-in-** which denotes the passive and the suffix **-an**. It is well-known that the latter, in passive forms, corresponds to the suffix **-i** in active forms. **Minulān** should therefore be considered the passive of a term meaning "to lay the fundaments of, to begin with". In this case, where the term refers to a definite building, the former, more literal, would be preferable ; **gawai**, a term meaning "work, activities" in general, would, then, denote the remaining activities in behalf of the building, **viz.** those which had to take place after the basement had been constructed. Here, the two persons bear the same title of **sang tawān** ; they are either colleagues or, more probably, the latter is the successor of the former ⁷⁰) ; probably, the Tawān named Pu Piñul

⁶⁸) Cf. the meaning of **ñalihi** in modern Javanese (Gericke and Roorda, **Handwoordenboek**, s.v. **ro**, I, p. 316, first column).

⁶⁹) **I.e.** four including the king. The inscription will be discussed in detail.

⁷⁰) As a matter of fact, there are no example of more than one dignitary with the title **sang tawān** being mentioned in the same edict. In this case it is striking that the same name Pu Kaisawa occurs in the immediately preceding inscription I 31, where it is, however, the name of a dignitary denoted as **sang datirip**. Since the titles **tawān** and **tirip** are usually mentioned together in inscriptions (the third dignitary usually mentioned in the same connection, **viz.** the title **pañkur**, is also found in the immediate neighbourhood in I 33), both Pu Kaisawas would probably be one and the same man ; bearing the title **datirip**, he had the building I 31 erected, but when the Tawān Pu Piñul had died, Pu Kaisawa succeeded to his rank and title and was obliged to finish the task which his predecessor had not been able to perform to the end, **viz.** the erection of I 32.

intended to have the little temple constructed, but succeeded only as far as the basement was concerned; he probably died and his successor Pu Keçawa ⁷¹⁾ brought the work to an end.

The above examples might perhaps suggest a plausible interpretation for **huwus**, "finished, already" ⁷²⁾, which occurs at the end of a number of short inscriptions as noted above. It is undoubtedly an abbreviated expression, probably for **huwus umati**, "no more in life". If this is correct, the conclusion is that the authorities to whose names **huwus** is added fully accomplished their task in having the buildings erected, but died before the time when the short inscriptions were added to indicate the merits of all those who co-operated in the foundation ⁷³⁾. The use of **huwus** could then be compared with our custom of adding a cross behind the author's name on the title page in posthumous publications. If this interpretation of **huwus** is correct, the Plaosan inscriptions distinguish three different cases: (a) the dignitary fully accomplished his task in having the building erected and inaugurated, (b) the dignitary fully accomplished his task as far as the erection of the building was concerned, but died before its inauguration, and (c) the dignitary died during the construction of the building. In the second case the addition of the term **huwus** is sufficient, but in the case of the dignitary's death during the construction it is necessary to add who brought the building to an end.

The most common term met with in all these inscriptions is **anumoda**. Most buildings are stated to be the **anumoda** of a certain dignitary. The term may be translated by "gift" or something similar ⁷⁴⁾, but this does not explain why one of the common words of that meaning, e.g. Sanskrit **dānam** ⁷⁵⁾ or Old Javanese **pawaih**, **sěmbah** ⁷⁶⁾ was not used. **Anumoda**, though evidently applied to some kinds of pious gifts, has its own associations, especially in Buddhism. The form **anumodayati** is sometimes used in the final formula of Buddhist texts instead of the more usual term **abhinandati** to express "la satisfaction, mais dans le sens de

⁷¹⁾ This is probably the correct spelling of the name given as **kaisawa** and **kaissawa** in the text, Keçava is one of Viṣṇu's names.

⁷²⁾ With many secondary meanings. Thus, **huwus** (**wis** in modern Javanese), placed before a term of a verbal meaning, indicates that an action is fully accomplished at the moment considered. For further details, the reader is referred to the discussion by Berg, **Bijdrage tot de kennis der Javaansche werkwoordsvormen**, in **Bijdr. K.I.**, 95 (1937), pp. 54 sq.

⁷³⁾ This point will be discussed in detail in the last part of these additional Notes.

⁷⁴⁾ Cf. Krom, **Inleiding**², I (1923), p. 283; Bosch, **Oudh. Versl.**, 1925, p. 88; **Pras. Indon.**, I (1950), p. 114. As we noted (*loc. cit.*), there is no reason to complete **anumoda** in the Tjañdi Sewu inscription, to **anumodana**; the frequent occurrence of **anumoda** in the Plaosan inscriptions makes such a correction unlikely. The Buddhist texts give the terms **anumoda** and **anumodana** (and even a third form, *viz.* **anumodana**; cf. the Mahāvastu quoted in note 77 below) in the same meaning.

⁷⁵⁾ This is the word which, for instance, occurs in the Barhut inscriptions; cf. Barua and Sinha, **Barhut Inscriptions** (1926), pp. 3 sqq.

⁷⁶⁾ The choice between these (and other) terms in Old Javanese depends upon the relation (in rank or in age) between the giver and the receiver.

l'approbation, de l'adhésion et de la foi" 77). It is the joy felt by the audience of the Bhagavat after having listened to the correct exposition of the Law. It is joy derived from the revelation of the Good Doctrine which is a means of escape from the miseries of Phenomenal Existence. It may be compared with the term **pramuditā (viz. bhūmi)**, used to denote the first stage of the Bodhisattva's career when the latter "becomes possessed by a joyous felicitous feeling, as he sees that he draws near to the attainment of Supreme Enlightenment and can further the weal of other living beings" 78). In the latter case **pramuditā** expresses the joy at something yet to come, **viz.** the possibility of devoting oneself to the weal of all other beings after the attainment of Supreme Enlightenment. In contrast to the prefix **pra-**, **anu-** could be used only to denote joy at something past 79), such as the good words of the Law (technically **dharmānumodana**) 80) or the accomplishment of pious deeds 81). The contrast between **pramoda** and **anumoda** clearly appears from Bodhicaryāvatāra, III, strophe 1 82):

Apāyaduḥkhaviçramam sarvasattvaiḥ kṛtam çubham /
anumode pramodena sukham tiṣṭhantu duḥkhitāḥ //

In spite of Prajñākaramati's commentary 83), there is, in my opinion, no doubt that **anumode** expresses the Bodhisattva's joy on account of the merits acquired by all living beings, whereas **pramodena** is his joy on account of the future bliss which will be enjoyed by those now suffering. The exact meaning of **anumoda** clearly appears from the compound **puṇyānumodana**, a technical term used to denote the third aspect of **anuttarapūjā**, the supreme form of wor-

77) Cf. the note by Senart to **dharmānumodanā** in **Mahāvastu**, I (1882), p. 298, line 19 (the note itself on p. 594).

78) Quoted from Obermiller's résumé of the **Abhisamayālaṃkāra** by Haribhadra in **Acta Orient.**, XI (1932), p. 53. Cf. also the explanation given in the **Daçabhumikasutra**, edition by Rahder (1926), p. 12, § W, especially the words **sarvatathāgatajānanapraveçaprayogam anusmaran bhūyaḥ pramodyavān bhavati**, 'considering (that the Marga is) the training which may lead to the wisdom of all the Tathāgatas, he becomes still more filled with joy'.

79) The learnt texts of Buddhism often attach a pregnant meaning to such prefixes. For **pra-** and **anu-**, cf. the difference established between **pravṛtti** and **anuvṛtti** in the **Abhidharmakoça**, translation by De la Vallée Poussin, IV, p. 27.

80) Cf. note 77 above.

81) **Puṇyānumodana**; cf. note 88 below.

82) Edition by De la Vallée Poussin (together with Prajñākaramati's **Pañjikā**) in **Bibl. Ind.** (1901-14), p. 74.

83) The **Pañjikā** is based on a different reading, **viz. anumode prasādena** in the third pāda (**anumode prasādeneti samprahaṣayāmi prasannacittāḥ**, "anumode prasādena means: 'I make them happy by being in a placid state of mind'"), which is rather commonplace and less satisfactory than **pramodena**, as De la Vallée Poussin adds in a note to this passage. I translate the strophe as a whole: "I rejoice at the good acts done by all living beings, (acts) which will bring about the cessation of suffering due to annihilation; (I rejoice) with the gladdening certainty that all those suffering will be in a happy state".

ship ⁸⁴). **Anumoda** sometimes denotes the "feeling of delight with regard to one's own achievements" ⁸⁵); thus, it is stated that the Buddha looks back to his achievements as a Bodhisattva while abiding on the austere Path of Concentration and now considers it characterized by the feeling of delight ⁸⁶). Usually, however, **anumoda** is the feeling of delight in regard of other people's achievements, which is the meaning required in most of the above quotations. This use of the term is not limited to Mahāyāna ⁸⁷), not even to Buddhism ⁸⁸).

⁸⁴) Cf. **Dharmasaṃgraha**, XIV. to which De la Vallée Poussin refers the reader in note 1 to p. 44 of his *Bodhicaryāvatāra* edition; there, a list of the different forms of **anuttarapuṣā** is given. Cf. also the quotation from the *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhasūtra* in *Āṅgīrasaśāstram*, p. 13, lines 10-15 (Bendall's edition in *Bibl. Buddh.*, I, (1902), giving **vandanapūjanapādeṣana-puṇyānumodana-buddhādhyeṣaṇa-yācana - bodhiparināmanam**. Another important passage, quoted from one of the *Prajñāpāramitā* recensions in *Āṅgīrasaśāstram*, p. 313, line 18, to p. 314, line 17, gives a detailed analysis by specifying different kinds of **anumodana**, such as rejoicing at the Bodhisattvas who made the first step on the Path towards Buddha-hood by **bodhicittotpāda**, those who continue on that Path, etc. This **anumodana** over the good acts by other people, especially over the roots of virtue planted by them, is one of the aspects of the Bodhisattva's efforts in liberating all the creatures from the *Samsāra*.

⁸⁵) Obermiller, **The Doctrine of Prajñā-pāramitā**, etc., in *Acta Orient.*, XI (1932), p. 43.
⁸⁶) In the *Abhiśamayālaṃkāra* (II, 24), **anumoda** is considered the ninth element of the Buddha's omniscience in regard of the Path (Obermiller, *art. cit.*, p. 75). It is hardly necessary to add that **anumoda** (in contrast to **pramoda**) always refers either to past action (by oneself or by other people) or to present action; in the latter case it always denotes the feeling of delight with regard to other people's good deeds.

⁸⁷) Outside Mahāyāna, the only clear references to the concept of **anumoda** in Buddhism are found in the Mahāsāṃghika School from where it could possibly have been introduced into Mahāyāna. Cf. the expression **dharmānumodana** quoted in note 77 above from the Mahāvastu. Another passage in the Mahāvastu, occurring in the history of the Kinnari (II, pp. 94-115 of Senart's edition), may be interesting on account of the associations connected with **anumoda**. There, the king Subāhu orders his son Sudhanakumāra to assist at the great sacrifice of king Sucandrima at Simphapura. Subāhu addresses his son by the words: **gaccha simphapuraṃ rājā sucandrimo yajñaṃ yajīṣyati taṃ anumodāhi**. The meaning is that the prince should assist at the ceremonies as a token of sympathy which could be an important factor for a successful sacrifice. The continuation of this Jātaka (in which Sudhana shows his sympathy by preaching about **ahiṃsā** and thus preventing the king from executing the cruel sacrifice — rather out of love for the Kinnari than for more properly Buddhist reasons) is not relevant to our purpose. The main point is that it seems to follow from the above passage that the typically Buddhist use of **anumoda** is based upon a more general meaning of a mark of sympathy in regard of other people's actions; usually, as in the Mahāvastu quotation, it is sympathy associated with respect due to a person distinguished by worldly power or superior wisdom. **Anumoda** is not only opposed to **pramoda**, but also, in a different way, to **karuṇā** which implies sympathy with the poor and wretched. This note may account for the Old Javanese use of **anumoda** to be mentioned in the following note.

⁸⁸) The term **anumoda** rather often occurs in Old Javanese, where Juynboll, *Oudjavaansch-Nederlandsche Woordenlijst*, s.v., translates it by "approval" (Dutch: "goedkeuring"), the meaning required, for instance, in the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, strophe 55. Juynboll's translation does not, however, sufficiently take the special shade of meaning of **anumoda** into account. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* strophe, the term is applied with reference to the wish of a **maharsi**: king Daçaratha approves of Viçvāmītra's request in spite of his initial objections because he does not dare to refuse. To obey the words of a sage is, of course a joy, though sometimes a forced one. We may also ask whether the joy expressed by the dignitaries in having little temples constructed round the king's foundation would not have been an equally forced one. It is about the same joy which the members of the royal family and other dignitaries felt when each of them had to build a small part of the walls of the **kraton** of Plèrèd on the order of Sultan Agung. The comparison might be less out of place than would seem at first.

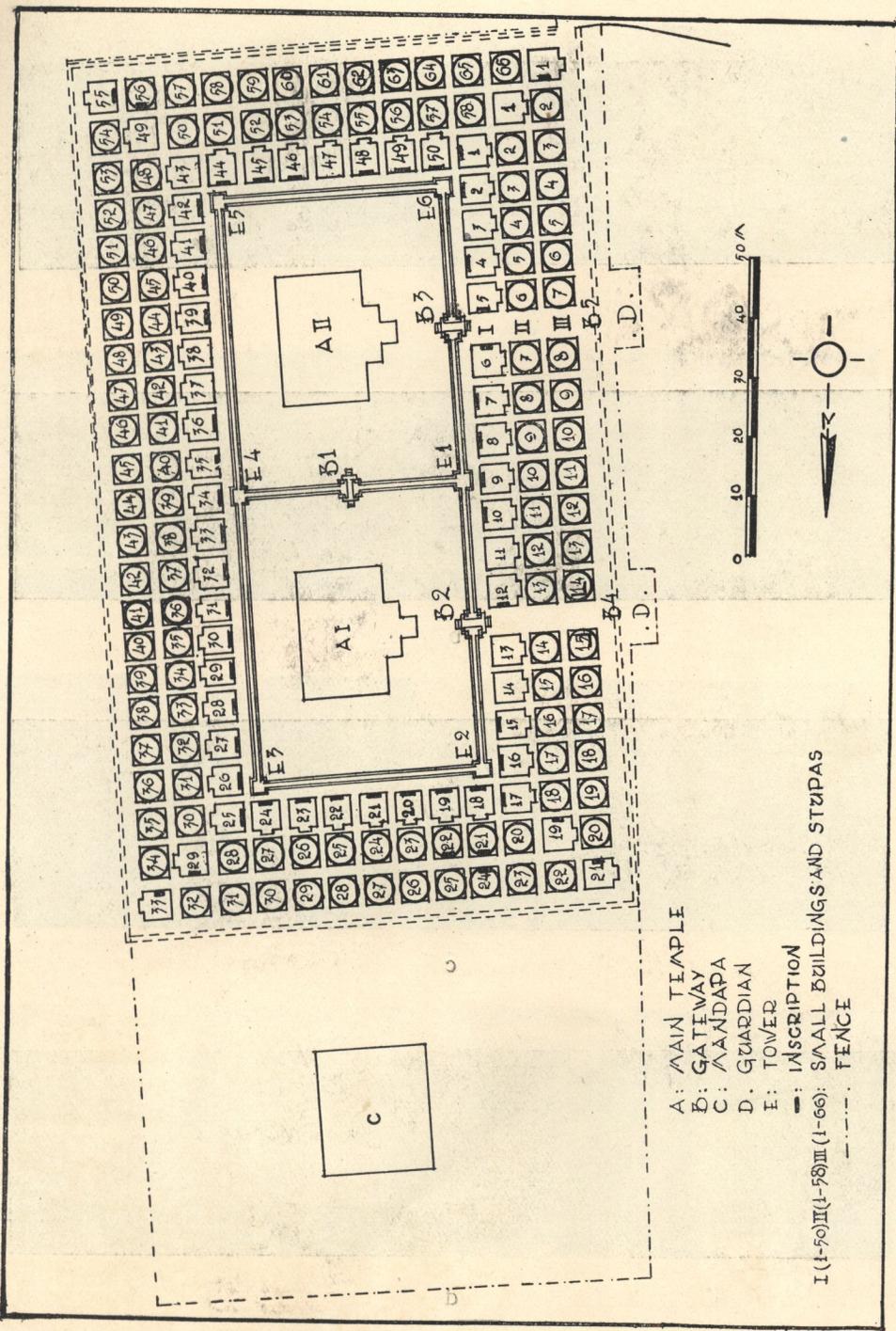
The above references leave no doubt about the meaning of **anumoda** required in the Plaosan inscriptions. A great number of dignitaries express their feelings of joy at the pious foundation as a whole by having each one or more small buildings erected round the central foundation. Since the word **anumoda** never occurs when mention is made of foundations by the king himself (the terms **dharmā** and **stūpa** are used in that case), the obvious conclusion is that the king took care of the main temples in the centre of the complex and of some of the small buildings especially denoted as the king's foundations, whereas court dignitaries, local vassal princes and, perhaps, individual persons showed not only their devotion to the Buddhas, but also their obedience to the king by having one or more little buildings erected each.

Two other terms, **dharmā** and **gawai**, are used to denote buildings of exactly the same kind as those with the **anumoda** inscription; it is obvious that the use of different terms applies not to the form of the structures themselves, but to the relations between the buildings and those who erected them. The term **dharmā** is reserved for foundations by the king himself. **Dharmā** may, of course, not be concluded to always denote a royal foundation⁸⁹⁾; the essential difference with the other little buildings is, it seems, that the buildings denoted by **dharmā** are 'independent' foundations, whereas the kind denoted by **anumoda** are due to the collaboration by those dependent on the king who is the founder of the complex as a whole. It is, however, not clear why in I 32 and in I 39 **gawai** is used instead of **anumoda**. In the case of I 32 it might be supposed that the **tawān Pu Keṣawa** could not use **anumoda** because he only finished the building started by another, but this explanation does not hold in the case of I 39. It can be supposed that the dignitary there mentioned did not collaborate with the joy displayed by the others, in other words, that his contribution was not a voluntary one; there is, however, no real argument to support this interpretation. On the other hand, there is nothing that would suggest a lower rank of the authority mentioned in I 39: his title and name are of exactly the same type as most of the other ones⁹⁰⁾.

It appears from I 41 that the same building may be a foundation (**dharmā**) by the king and, at the same time, the 'joy' (**anumoda**) of three other persons. Unfortunately, the text of I 41 is not complete. Possibly, the three other persons were direct servants of the king who could not afford to have an entire temple constructed on their own account. They would, therefore, have asked the king

⁸⁹⁾ Such a supposition would be in direct conflict with other inscriptions; to give one example out of many, a foundation by **sang pangat hino pu apus** is stated to belong to the latter's **dharmā (dharmmanira)** at Saliññān (**O.J.O.**, XI lines 3 and 4). Neither is it proved that **dharmā** would always denote a sanctuary used for royal cremation ceremonies: as far as we know, none of the temples in the Plaosan complex was used for that purpose.

⁹⁰⁾ The conjecture that **anumoda** and **gawai** would be only synonyms is not likely; in the Tjandi Sewu complex, too, inscriptions beginning with both **anumoda** and **gawai** were found (cf. **Pras. Indon.**-I, pp. 114 sq.).





a



b



c



d



a



b

၈



c



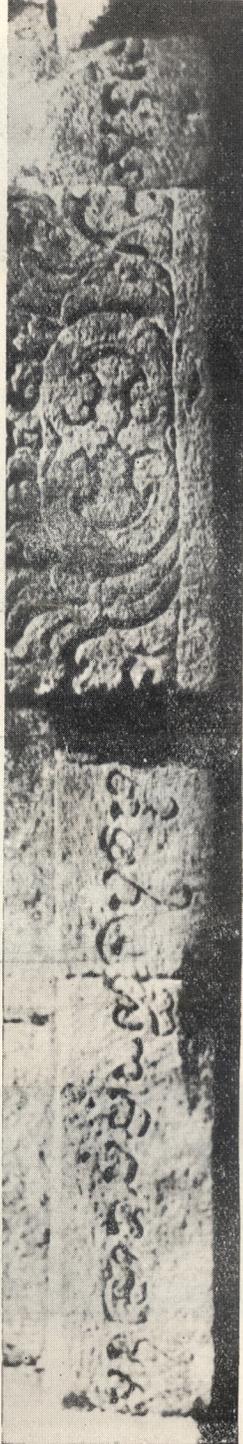
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d



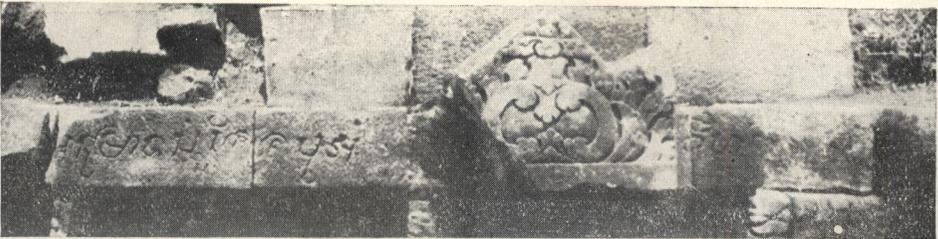
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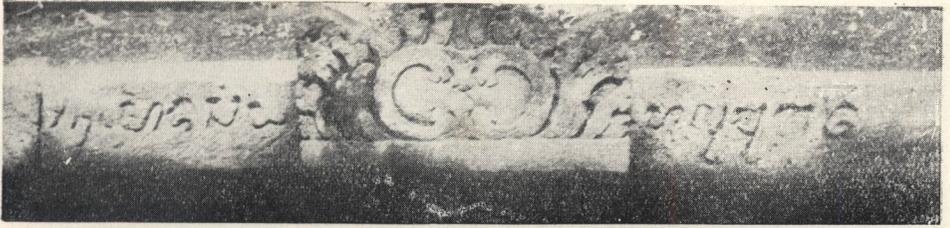


c



d

Plate VI.



a



b



c



d



a



b



c

to allow them to contribute something each to the building so as to prove their good will. The way in which the inscription as a whole was placed is not in conflict with such a supposition. As a matter of fact, the **çrī mahārāja** inscription was cut in the middle of the wall between two antefixae, the rest of the inscription having been added afterwards in front of and behind the king's inscription, a fact which also seems to follow from the wording of the text itself; for it is stated that three persons express their joy at collaborating with the founder (**sang mañasö**), a term undoubtedly referring to the central inscription ⁹¹). It might even be suggested that the defective form of this epigraph, in which names have been left out, has to be ascribed to the fact that the drafter, well-trained in the subtle laws of court hierarchy and painfully scrupulous in writing the titles and names of the dignitaries correctly, did not think it worthwhile to enquire about the exact names of the lower servants and just left them out.

This case is different from that in II 19 where two dignitaries have had a building constructed between them (**mañālihi**); it is different, too, from the inscriptions III 14 and 15, where each **stūpa** has two different inscriptions. The latter case, which is particularly important, will be dealt with in the last paragraph.

(b) **Names and titles.** The highest authority, mentioned no less than fifteen times ⁹²), is the king (**çrī mahārāja**). The inscriptions III 14 b and 15 a have the words **Rakai Pikatan** added. A **Çrī Mahārāja Rakai Pikatan** is well-known from the famous list of kings occurring in Balitung's Keḍu inscription, dated 907 A.D. ⁹³), where he precedes king **Rakai Kayuwani**. The same king, but referred to as **ratu** instead of **çrī mahārāja**, is mentioned in two inscriptions from Tjañdi Perot dated 850 A.D. ⁹⁴). I expect to prove elsewhere that this king still reigned in 856 A.D., the year in which he was succeeded by king **Rakai Kayuwani** ⁹⁵).

⁹¹) The meaning of some derivatives of **asö** (or : **ansö**) in Old Javanese charters is sometimes difficult to be settled. The fundamental meaning of the word seems to be "to go forward", "to go into"; the most common meaning of **masö** (**umasö mañasö, umañasö**) is "to attack"; the derivatives with **-akan** (**akën**) always mean "to give (to a person of high rank)". **Mañasö** means "to exert right upon" (a territory). For the simile, cf. **tan tama** (or : **tumama**) i, literally: "do not enter into", i.e. "have no rights upon, an expression used for collectors of taxes etc. with reference to the grounds of a sanctuary. **Sang mañasö** might be translated by "the proprietor; he who exerts the full rights". As the building is denoted as the king's **dharma**, it seems certain that **sang mañasö** refers to the king. "Founder" might be a satisfactory, though not literal, rendering of the term. The words **kinapatannira lawan sang mañasö** may then be rendered by [constructed by the three persons] in co-operation with the founder as the fourth man".

⁹²) Twice on the same building I 27. In this total I included one of the inscriptions (b) the exact place of which has not yet been ascertained, but excluded inscription (a) where the use of the double **daṅḍa** makes it probable that the text belongs to the southern, not to the northern complex.

⁹³) Published by Stutterheim with an elaborate introduction in **T.B.G.**, 67 (1927), pp. 172-215.

⁹⁴) The exact date of the Perot inscription and the identity of **Rakai Pikatan**, concerning which there has been some misunderstanding (cf. Krom, **Geschiedenis**², p. 156), have been settled by Damais, **T.B.G.**, 83 (1949), pp. 18 sq. and **B.E.F.E.O.**, XLVI, Fasc. 1 (1952), pp. 30 sq. sub Nos. 17 and 18.

⁹⁵) The arguments are discussed in detail in **Pras. Indon.**, II, the introductions to Nos. X and XI.

Previously, it has been pointed out that there are strong arguments in favour of the surmise that Rakai Pikatan was the first king in the dynasty which begins with Sañjaya who, after the period of Çailendra hegemony, reigned as a completely independent ruler in Central Java; he probably owed this position to his marriage with the daughter of the last known Çailendra king Samaratuṅga ⁹⁶). It was probably this lady who, after her marriage with king Rakai Pikatan, had two important inscriptions made in 842 A.D. under the title of Çrī Kahulunnan ⁹⁷). The reign of Rakai Pikatan may then be fixed between 842 (or a few years earlier) and 856 A.D. Since it is unlikely that the Çrī Mahārāja title would have been used after the king's resignation or death ⁹⁸), it has to be concluded that the inscriptions were cut between 842 (or some years earlier) ⁹⁹) and 856 A.D. As the inscriptions of the northern complex clearly demonstrate the same type of script ¹⁰⁰), it may also be concluded that the inscriptions were cut within a short period and those bearing **dharmma çrī mahārāja** only refer to the same king Rakai Pikatan. Besides, considering that cutting in the inscriptions would have been one of the last things to be done, the complex of Plaosan Lor may be taken to exist as it stands from about the middle of the 9th century A.D., i.e. almost three quarters of a century earlier than is usually accepted ¹⁰¹). The

⁹⁶) *Pras. Indon.*, I, pp. 116 sq.

⁹⁷) *Op. cit.*, pp. 73-95.

⁹⁸) In the first case he would have been denoted by some spiritual title (as may have been the case with Airlanga; cf. Krom, *Geschiedenis*², pp. 270 sqq. The authenticity of the Kēboan Pasar plates is very doubtful, but the spiritual title is confirmed by other sources. According to calculations by Damais, published in *B.E.F.E.O.*, XLVI, Fasc. 1 1952, pp. 64 sq., the Kēboan Pasar plates would be dated almost a month earlier than the Pamotan stone, which gives the usual royal title of Airlanga), in the second by a post-humous name.

⁹⁹) If the date of the Gaṅḍasuli inscription fixed at 832 (a date conjecturally proposed in *Pras. Indon.*, I, pp. 55-57) is right, this year would be an absolutely certain **terminus post quem**.

¹⁰⁰) Cf. the discussion on the type of script preceding the transcription. Inscriptions from the southern complex are, of course, irrelevant in this respect; the difference in script and style would rather suggest another undoubtedly earlier, Çrī Mahārāja.

¹⁰¹) Cf. Krom, *Inleiding*², II (1923), pp. 3 sq.; *Geschiedenis*², p. 171. The main argument to date Plaosan (and also Sadjiwan and Loro Djonggrang) in the last part of the Central Javanese period (i.e. in the first quarter of the 10th century) is based on the use of marl for these buildings, presumably from the Ratubaka plateau. It is obvious that the quarries on the plateau could not have been exploited during the time that a royal residency was situated there. Krom concluded that the construction of the above monuments should be assigned to a period when the Ratubaka residency was no longer in use. Though well-reasoned, the argument had better not be used as long as there are no data available concerning the time that the Ratubaka plateau served as a royal residency. As to that, Krom notes at another place (*Geschiedenis*², p. 149) that the Ratubaka plateau, if it were indeed a royal residency, could only have been the seat of the Çailendra kings and thus before, perhaps considerably before, the middle of the 9th century. Besides, it is doubtful whether the whole marl argument holds good. Marl is a very soft substance which is cut off without the noise that Krom considered incompatible with the neighbourhood of a royal residency (cf. Stutterheim, *Djawa*, 6, 1926, pp. 129-137). The other arguments given by Krom in favour of his date for Plaosan need not be considered here: they are extremely vague (such as presumed influences from Eastern Java in a period that gives no data about Eastern Javanese art). The lines sketched by Krom as far as relative chronology is concerned may remain essentially

importance of this inference for our knowledge of the history of plastic art and architecture in Java is evident.

The inscriptions on the **stūpas** III 14 and 15 makes some further important deductions possible. Either building bears a second inscription, to wit **anumoda rakai gurunwañi dyah salaḍū**. This inscription presents a case rather different from that occurring on I 41, which has been discussed above. In the latter case, the **dharmma cṛi mahārāja** inscription to which the text mentioning the collaboration of three other people was added, is clearly the primary one. As far as the **stūpas** III 14 and 15 are concerned, the two inscriptions they bear are more or less equivalent. Rakai Gurunwañi, although in rank the king's inferior, as seems to follow from the use of the term **anumoda**, must undoubtedly have been closely associated to the king; this conclusion is, moreover confirmed by the use of such high titles as **rakai** and, especially, **dyah**, a title which seems to be limited to members of the royal family ¹⁰²). It is a well-known fact that the title Rakai Gurunwañi is borne by a king in an Old Javanese copper-plate inscription dated 886 A.D. Since the last known inscription by king Rakai Kayuwañi is dated 882 A.D., i.e. only four years earlier, Krom concluded in 1932 that a new king had, in the meantime, come to the throne ¹⁰³). A few years later, however, Krom changed his opinion: considering that in the elements **kayuwañi** and **gurunwañi** the second compositional parts are identical, whereas the meanings of **kayu** and **gurun** are closely related, he concluded that the titles **kayuwañi** and **gurunwañi** are mere synonyms, consequently the same king was still ruling in 886 A.D. ¹⁰⁴). Damais, examining the list of kings in Balitung's Kedu inscription,

intact, but they still suffer from a lack of chronological precision due to the paucity and the difficult interpretation of our written sources. A few fixed points, even if their value is far from being absolute, can yet force us to set back an entire line of development by half a century or more, to squeeze it into a smaller lapse of time or, finally, to extend it over a longer period. One of the main points of interest of the Plaosan inscriptions is that they supply us with a point of time fixed, at least, between a few decades — at least as far as the final activities on the complex are concerned.

¹⁰²) In later times, the use of **dyah** is limited to princesses. This cannot, of course, be the case with the title in the Central Javanese period as it would mean that Balitung and Wawa were princesses. On the other hand, this very fact proves that **dyah** may be used before names of kings, too. The reasons why Balitung and Wawa used **dyah** while their successors Dakṣa and Siṅḍok had **pu** put before their names are obscure. Without going into details, **dyah** may be stated to be far more exclusive than **pu**; in the Plaosan inscriptions, for instance, the former is used before three names only (always together with a Rakai title), the latter before all the other names. Similar relations of frequency prevail throughout Old Javanese epigraphy. The surmise implying that **dyah** belongs to some of the members of the royal family in its strictest sense, **pu** being characteristic of the nobility in general (but not excluding the king and the royal family), seems to be the most satisfactory conclusion in the present state of research. As to the question which members of the royal family used **dyah** and further, why a few kings used it too, only conjectures could be made. The dynastic position of Dyah Balitung and Dyah Wawa with reference to their successors Pu Daksa and Pu Sindok was indeed a very particular one: in either case, we find the successors as Rakai Hino, with names and titles not less impressive than those of the kings, in the edicts gone forth by their predecessors — something exceptional in Old Javanese documents.

¹⁰³) *Geschiedenis*², p. 181.

¹⁰⁴) In Stapel's *Geschiedenis*, I (1938), p. 168.

considered Krom's last conclusion unlikely or, at least, doubtful ¹⁰⁵). It cannot, however, be denied that Krom's identification, though not absolutely beyond doubt (which, unfortunately, is rarely the case with our difficult inscriptions), is based on strong arguments. This is clearly apparent when considering the objections which the only other alternative would raise. The necessity of inserting king Rakai Gurunwani into Balitung's list would meet serious objections ¹⁰⁶); it seems even more strange that this king would have adopted the Rakai title of his predecessor with only a slight modification ¹⁰⁷). On the other hand, it is undeniable that there is a certain freedom about names and titles in Old Javanese even in such official documents as the stone and copper-plate inscriptions. As far as titles are concerned, I remind of the conclusion by Bosch on the identity of the titles (Rakai) Halu and Watu-tihang ¹⁰⁸). A detailed comparison between almost contemporary records reveals a number of equivalent terms in which a title or, more frequently, a part of a title is replaced by synonyms. Anticipating a more detailed treatment, Palarhyang and Paṅgilhyang ¹⁰⁹), Wadihati and Ayamtēas ¹¹⁰), Kalangwatu and Kalangwunkal ¹¹¹) are added here. If Kayuwani and Gurunwani are taken for a similar case, all the difficulties arising with the acceptance of the other alternative are avoided.

The inscriptions III 14 and 15 nearly confirm the identity of the two titles. It has been concluded that both texts suggest a very close relation between king Rakai Pikatan and Rakai Gurunwani. If then, the latter is indeed future king Kayuwani, the place of the inscriptions is exactly where it may be expected for a heir apparent. After all, he would have been the dignitary who was closest associated with the king. It might even be suggested that the very striking place where the inscriptions happen to be — the *stūpas* III 14 and 15 are placed at either side of one of the two main passages leading to the northern temple (A I)

¹⁰⁵) **T.B.G.**, 83 (1949), note 1 to p. 22, and **B.E.F.E.O.**, XLVI, Fasc. 1 (1952), pp. 42 sq.

¹⁰⁶) The other examples given by Damais to stress the possibility that the list in the Kedu inscription would not be complete are not convincing. The *Çri Mahārāja Rakai Limus Dyah Dewendra* could hardly be considered a good example (Damais, **T.B.G.**, 83, 1949, p. 22). Krom (**Not. B.G.**, 49, 1911, p. 59) has established that the text is not authentic in its present form; in addition, Damais's fixation of the date (**B.E.F.E.O.**, XLVI, Fasc. 1, note 4 to p. 43), which leads to the conclusion that it contains a mistake, confirms Krom's views on the record. Until there is proof to the contrary, the inscription should be considered unauthentic; the possibility of its having some historical background cannot be denied, but does not lead far unless this background can be determined.

¹⁰⁷) This argument has the more weight because the Rakai title seems to be the most characteristic element of the king's names and titles. In Balitung's list, most of the kings are denoted by the Rakai titles only.

¹⁰⁸) **Oudh. Versl.**, 1925, pp. 46 sq. Even a third synonym, *viz.* Wuṅkal-tihang, occurs.

¹⁰⁹) The identity of these two titles can be easily proved by comparing the lists of dignitaries in a number of Central Javanese inscriptions: the title mentioned after Rakai Halaran is sometimes called Palarhyang, sometimes Paṅgilhyang. The meanings of *palar*, "to seek, to wish", and *paṅgil*, "to call", are closely related.

¹¹⁰) Here, the identity of these two Pamēgēt titles follows from a similar comparison. In addition, *hati* and *tēas* (spelt *twas* in later Old Javanese) both mean "heart".

¹¹¹) Also in a number of other names *watu* and *wuṅkal*, both meaning "stone", are interchangeable.

and immediately behind the **gopura B 4** ¹¹²⁾ — was chosen to lay particular stress on this relation between the king and the heir apparent. It may not be too far-fetched to suspect a political motive behind this intent : the sacred grounds of a large temple complex would have been the ideal place to confirm the position of the heir-apparent and thus ensure his future succession. The necessity of making unambiguous arrangements is almost obvious considering that the dynastic position of Rakai Pikatan will evidently have been weak after the Çailendra interregnum ¹¹³⁾.

The personal name given to Rakai Gurunwañi in the inscriptions on III 14 and 15 is unknown from other sources. Presumably, Dyaḥ Salaḍū is the name of the later king before his accession to the throne ¹¹⁴⁾. In the Argapura inscriptions dated 863 A.D. king Kayuwañi has a personal name not preceded by Dyah but by Pu, **viz. Pu Lokapāla** ¹¹⁵⁾. At present, no acceptable explanation of the change can be given ¹¹⁶⁾.

It is curious that the Plaosan inscriptions do not mention one but two dignitaries bearing the title of Rakai Gurunwañi. The second Rakai Gurunwañi, with the personal name Dyaḥ Rāṇu, is mentioned on two other buildings, **viz. I 5 and 6**. Here too, the place of the buildings is striking, **viz.** at either side just in front of **gopura B 3** which leads to the southern main temple A II. Who could this second Rakai Gurunwañi have been ?

Considering the different explanations that suggest themselves, there is only one that proves to be completely satisfactory ¹¹⁷⁾. In most countries the same title of nobility is borne by husband and wife ¹¹⁸⁾, and Old Javanese society is

¹¹²⁾ For the indications, cf. Plate I.

¹¹³⁾ I accept the term introduced by Van Naerssen in **India Antiqua** (1947), pp. 249-253.

¹¹⁴⁾ The name itself is rather strange : unlike most other names, it does not appear to mean anything ; the reading, however, is beyond doubt.

¹¹⁵⁾ Cf. Damais, **T.B.G.**, 83 (1949), pp. 1-6. In an inscription dated 856 A.D. (published in the second volume of **Prasasti Indonesia** as No. XI ; some details are given by Brandes in the **Catalogus Groeneveldt**, p. 382, and by Damais in **B.E.F.E.O.**, XLVI, Fasc. 1, 1952, pp. 30 sq), the name is found as Dyah Lokapāla in strophe 9, pāda c (**dyah lokapāla ranujāmata lokapāla**, "Prince Lokapāla, considered a younger brother of the Lokapāla gods" ; **ranujāmata** is interpreted as **rānujamata**, i.e. **anujamata** with the honorific prefix **ra-** ; the text of this inscription gives numerous examples of the lengthening and shortening of vowels with a view to metrical exigencies, in this case, the *Vasantatilakā*).

¹¹⁶⁾ It might be suggested that the change of the prince's name reflects a change in the position of the dynasty. Whatever Salaḍū means, it is hardly doubtful that Lokapāla is a more impressive name for a king.

¹¹⁷⁾ The possibility that one of the two Rakais Gurunwañi had died and was succeeded by the other may be excluded : it has been shown above that it is very likely that all inscriptions were made at the same time ; if one of the two Rakais Gurunwañi was no more in life at that time, such an essential point would not have been omitted in the text (cf. the explanation of **huwus** suggested above). On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that two different dignitaries bore the same Rakai title unless they were husband and wife.

¹¹⁸⁾ In the languages with grammatical sex distinctions, the wife's title is usually derived from the husband's title by means of a suffix. It is true that sex distinctions exist in later Javanese titles where, for instance, **ratu** and **dyah** are used for women only. That this distinction is a later one, not valid in the older phase, appears, e.g., from the Kēḍu inscription dated 907, where Balitung is **dyah** Balitung and Sañjaya **sang ratu** Sañjaya.

no exception to this rule. If necessary, it is specified whether the husband or the wife is meant. Thus, the Gaṅḍasuli inscription (line 2) distinguishes the two Ḍang Karayān Partapān by **ḍang karayān laki** and **ḍang karayān wini** ¹¹⁹). In the Old Javanese portion of the Karangteṅnah inscription, the two Rakarayān Patapān, who happen to have the same name, are distinguished by the terms **sang laki-laki** and **anakbi** respectively ¹²⁰). In the Kudjonmanis inscription, to take a later example, the wife of the Samgat Margaṅung pu Danghil is referred to by **sangāt anakbi** ¹²¹). The addition of terms such as **laki-laki** or **anakbi** is, on the whole, exceptional since, as a rule, either the context or the names themselves leave no doubt whether the husband or the wife is meant ¹²²). On account of the explanation above, the most likely solution of the dilemma about the two dignitaries Rakai Gurunwaṅi is that Dyah Salaḍū is the crown prince and Dyah Rāṅu his wife ¹²³).

A similar case concerns the two dignitaries **sang sirikan**, viz. Pu Sūrya (I 15 and 16) and Pu Aṅḡehan (I 26); here again, it might be suggested that Pu Aṅḡehan is the wife of Pu Sūrya ¹²⁴).

The dignitary Rakai Gurunwaṅi Dyah Rāṅu is mentioned in two inscriptions, viz. I 5 and I 6. In I 5, she only continued and finished a foundation by Rakai Wanwa Galuh. Presumably, Rakai Wanwa Galuh was prevented (by death?) from finishing the building. It may be concluded that there was a close relationship between Rakai Wanwa Galuh and Rakai Gurunwaṅi Dyah Rāṅu, perhaps that of mother and daughter ¹²⁵). In Wanwa Galuh, the word **wanwa** constitutes an essential part of the title. In a similar way a Rake Wanua Poh named Dyah Mala (undoubtedly, therefore, a high personage) is mentioned in the Borotēnah

¹¹⁹) *Pras. Indon.*, I, p. 61, line 2.

¹²⁰) *Op. cit.*, p. 40, lines 25 sq.

¹²¹) *O.J.O.*, XLVII, front part, lines 24 sq. and elsewhere.

¹²²) Thus, in the lists of witnesses it is usually clear from the presents whether male or female persons are meant (men receive **wḍihan**, women **kain**). List of village authorities are introduced by **rāma maṅagam-kon**, "the village — elders holding functions", or by **anakbi ning maṅagam-kon**, the wives of those occupying function". In addition, words such as **rama (bapa) ni** or **reṅa (ibu) ni** after the names of witnesses etc. make it clear whether they are men or women. Sometimes the names themselves are a clear indication of the sex: Pu Daḡṡa, Pu Singha, Si Teguh and Si Čiwa are undoubtedly men, whereas Si Dewi, Si Ayu, Si Turuk and Si Tanmerang would rather have been women.

¹²³) The name could not be traced in other documents. The Raṅḍusari inscription No. I (vide Stutterheim, *Inscr. Ned.-Indië*, I, 1940, pp. 3-28) mentions a **nini haji**, "king's grandmother", named Rakai Wwatan Pu Tammēr. One of Balitung's grandmothers could be Kayuwaṅi's spouse. The disagreement of the names is hardly an argument against the identification suggested in the text, especially when considering the possibility that Balitung acceded to the throne as a consequence of a marriage (Stutterheim, *T.B.G.* 67, 1927, p. 179; further references are given by Kröm, *Geschiedenis*², note 8 to p. 187).

¹²⁴) It is not likely that **sang sirikan** means Rakai Sirikan, the title of one of the highest dignitaries, but rather a representative of the latter. Cf. note 133 below.

¹²⁵) There are, of course, a few other possibilities such as father and daughter, elder and younger sister etc., but they seem less likely. Only new materials could furnish greater precision.

inscription dated 901 A.D. ¹²⁶). Both Poh and Galuh are associated with **kraton** names in Java ¹²⁷).

One more Rakai title occurs in the Plaosan inscriptions, *viz.* Rakai Layuwatang Dyah Mahārṇnawa (I 23). The combination of the Rakai title with **dyah** leaves no doubt that he belonged to the higher court officials. A **sang layuwatang pu mananggung**, mentioned in the Kadiluwih inscription dated 845/6 A.D. ¹²⁸), is undoubtedly a different person, although there might be some relation between the two ¹²⁹).

One of the most interesting titles in the Plaosan inscriptions is Çrī Kahulunnan (I 18 and 19 ; II 21 and 22). As has been noted above, there is a striking analogy between the titles Çrī Mahārāja and Çrī Kahulunnan ¹³⁰): not only are these the only two titles in which the royal predicate Çrī occurs, but, in the Plaosan inscriptions they are not followed by a name introduced by **pu** or **dyah** ¹³¹). It may be concluded that the title Çrī Kahulunnan was perfectly sufficient and unambiguous by itself, just as Çrī Mahārāja ¹³²). Finally, it is noted that the inscription **anumoda çrī kahulunnan** is by far the most frequent one after the king's inscriptions ¹³³).

¹²⁶) O.J.O., No. XXII, line 2. Cf. also Damais, B.E.F.E.O., XLVI, Fasc. 1 (1952), pp. 44 sq., No. 69. Damais assumes two founders, *viz.* **Rake Wanua Poh Dyah Mala** and **Rake Wka Sang Ratubajra**. The text gives, however, **tatkāla rake wanua poḥ dyah mala wka sang ratu bajra**. Since there is no punctuation mark after **mala** and no repetition of **rake**, I prefer to take **wka** (i.e. **wēka**) in the meaning "son" (or: "daughter"?) and to consider the words **wka sang ratu bajra** an apposition to **rake wanua poḥ dyah mala**. Sang Ratu Bajra presumably denotes a former king (queen) with a posthumous name.

¹²⁷) For instance, the preceding kings reigning in Mēdang, in Poh Pitu ("The Seven Mangos"), according to the Kēdu inscription.

¹²⁸) This is the correct reading of the date as has been pointed out by Damais in *Études d'Épigraphie Indonésienne*, I, B.E.F.E.O., XLV, Fasc. 1 (1951), p. 31.

¹²⁹) Since the two names date of, approximately, the same period, it would not be impossible that Pu Mananggung is the representative of Dyah Mahārṇnawa; the meaning of **mananggung**, "he who guarantees warrants", would not be opposed to such an interpretation. Presumably, the relation between Rakai Layuwatang and Sang Layuwatang corresponds to that between Rakai Sirikan and Sang Sirikan (cf. *supra*, note 128 and *infra*, note 153).

¹³⁰) Cf. the beginning of section (a) of these Additional Notes.

¹³¹) The inscriptions III 14 b and III 15 a, in which the Rakai title is added, could hardly be considered exceptions — at least not as far as the statement in the text is concerned. The more elaborate mention of the king on these two buildings, unlike the thirteen other inscriptions in which the king is mentioned, may have served the definite purpose of demonstrating the close relation between the king and the heir apparent (cf. p. 22 above).

¹³²) As a consequence there is much arbitrariness in the wording of royal titles in Central Javanese documents before the beginning of the 10th century. Thus, of all the Kayuwani inscriptions only a single one (K.O., No. XV) adds the king's **abhiseka** name; on the other hand, the two Argapura inscriptions are the only documents in which the personal name of the king, *viz.* Pu Lokapāla, is mentioned (cf. Damais, *Epigraphische Aante keningen*, I, in T.B.G., 83, 1949, p. 5).

¹³³) Only a few inscriptions occur more than once (I 7 and 8; I 15 and 16); only the Çrī Mahārāja and the Çrī Kahulunnan inscriptions occur more than twice. As not all inscriptions have been found, no absolute value should be attached to these ciphers; the percentage (*viz.* 84% of the buildings in the outer row) is, however, sufficiently high to attach some importance to the relatively high frequency of the Çrī Kahulunnan inscriptions.

Not only the form of the titles but also the place of the buildings on which the Çrī Kahulunnan inscriptions are found suggests a close relation between the king and Çrī Kahulunnan. In I 18 and 19 the Çrī Kahulunnan inscriptions follow a Çrī Mahārāja inscription, a fact which has not necessarily a particular meaning, but the two other Çrī Kahulunnan inscriptions (II 21 and 22) are very peculiar since they constitute a third of the cases, six times in all ¹³⁴), in which texts were inscribed in the **stūpa** buildings. The most curious point is, however, the place on II 21 where the inscription is found. Whereas all other inscriptions face the centre of the complex ¹³⁵), the text on II 21 is found at the opposite side, and the obvious explanation is that this has been done with a view to having the Çrī Kahulunnan inscription face the Çrī Mahārāja on III 24 in order to suggest a close relation between the two ¹³⁶). In a previous publication ¹³⁷) the identification of Çrī Kahulunnan has been dealt with in detail and it was concluded that it is the title of the queen who was the daughter of the last Çailendra king, **viz.** Samaratuṅga, and from whom two inscriptions had gone forth in 842 A.D. Presumably, this queen had a considerable part in the extension of the Plaosan complex: the king himself, belonging to a Çaiva line of rulers beginning with Sañjaya according to the Kēdu inscription of 907 A.D. ¹³⁸), could hardly have been very enthusiastic about this Buddhist foundation, except for political considerations ¹³⁹).

Almost all other dignitaries in the Plaosan inscriptions are characterized by a title preceded by **sang** and a name preceded by **pu** ¹⁴⁰). It is known from

¹³⁴) The four remaining cases are: (1) the Çrī Mahārāja inscription on III 24 (connected with the two Çrī Kahulunnan inscriptions as will appear below), (2) the inscriptions on III 14 and 15 (the place of which undoubtedly has a particular meaning as has been concluded above), and (4) the inscription considered to belong to III 56. The fourth case is very doubtful: the inscription probably belongs to II 49, not to III 56 (cf. note 49 above).

¹³⁵) Excepting again, the **stūpas** III 14 and 15, where it has undoubtedly been the intention to call particular attention to the association of the two dignitaries just as is supposed for II 21 and III 24. Other exceptions are the inscriptions on I, 5, 6, and 12, turned towards the two entrance paths. These cases need no comment. Neither do the twelve corner buildings where there is always a choice between two sides. From the places where the inscriptions are found, it may be concluded that the corner buildings were reckoned to belong to the shorter sides.

¹³⁶) Cf. the similar interpretation which was suggested for the buildings III 14 and 15 (p. 22 above).

¹³⁷) **Pras. Indon.**, I (1950), pp. 83-86, pp. 107-109 and pp. 116 sq.

¹³⁸) Cf. note 97 above.

¹³⁹) For these presumed political considerations, almost selfevident in a period in which Buddhist domination belonged to an only recent past, the reader is referred to **Pras. Indon.**, 2nd Volume, Nos. X and XI.

¹⁴⁰) The usual type is **sang sirikan pu sūryya** (I 15 and 16); the combination may be expressed by the formula **sang A pu B**. A variant is **sang ċa-A pu B** (e.g. in I 28: **sang ċa-halu pu rāja**). Both **Sirikan** and **Halu** are well-known **Rakai** titles. Some of the highest dignitaries are denoted by the formula **rakai A dyah B** (e.g. in I 23: **rakai layuwatang dyah mahārānawa**). From a comparison between these two modes of expression it may be concluded that (a) **sang A** cannot mean **rakai A** and (b) **sang A** is a title, not a name. In all these cases, the term 'title' seems preferable to 'functionary': many titles may have implied definite functions, but there is not a shadow of proof that this was

other inscriptions that this type of name is characteristic of representatives of higher authorities, especially of those with Rakai and Pamëgët titles, i.e. the representatives denoted by **parujar** or **parwuwus** in the charters. Examples may be found in most of the elaborated Central Javanese inscriptions. The reader may be referred to, e.g., the inscription of Rañdusari I, dated 905 A.D., where from Plate 1b, lines 13 sqq. on, a long list of such representatives is given. All of them are indicated by a title preceded by **sang** followed by a name introduced by **pu**. The beginning of the list in the transcription by Stutterheim ¹⁴¹⁾ reads: **sang tuhān mamuat wuwus kabaiḥ parujar i hino sang kaṇḍamuhi pu tuṅgang**. We know from other sources that **sang kaṇḍamuhi** is a title ¹⁴²⁾. The type of name of **sang kaṇḍamuhi pu tuṅgang** corresponds exactly with the numerous names in the Plaosan inscriptions. It appears from the same list that this kind of name is not limited to representatives ¹⁴³⁾ only, but includes such dignitaries as those denoted by **citralekha** ¹⁴⁴⁾ and **jurū** ¹⁴⁵⁾. It might be supposed that the persons thus indicated were (more or less) learned Brahmanas who, being able to write and dress up official documents, were the obvious persons to represent the more worldly authorities. No wonder then that the great majority of the Plaosan inscriptions give the titles and names of such representatives.

Most titles preceded by **sang** are known as Rakai and Pamëgët titles, too. This is the case with Kalungwarak (I 2) ¹⁴⁶⁾, Watuhumalang ¹⁴⁷⁾, Maḍaṇ-

always the case. On the contrary, the main executor of the king's will (**patiḥ**, **sang mapatiḥ**, **rakryān mapatiḥ** or **mahāmantri** in the edicts) may bear different titles (Rakai Wēka in the Perot and Argapura inscriptions) Rakai Hino in the inscriptions of Balitung; Rakai Halu in those of Dakṣa, etc.).

¹⁴¹⁾ *Inscr. Ned.-Indië*, I (1940), p. 4. Similar elaborate lists occur in other inscriptions from approximately the same period; cf. the Kembang Arum inscription, published by Bosch in *Oudh. Versl.* 1925, Bijl. B, pp. 42-49, from Plate I, line 16 to Plate II, line 7; the Kedu inscription, published by Stutterheim in *T.B.G.*, 67 (1927), pp. 172-215, A, lines 12-17 (less elaborate); *K.O.* I, Plate A, line 13 to Plate B, line 3, etc.

¹⁴²⁾ This follows from the fact that the first representative (**parujar**, **parwuwus**, **tuhān mamuat wuwus**) of Hino has regularly the title of **sang kaṇḍamuhi**; cf., for instance, *K.O.*, I, Plate A, line 13: **Parujar i hino kaṇḍamuhi sang bhāsura**.

¹⁴³⁾ The literal meaning of **parujar** (**parwuwus** etc.) is: "speaker" (in the name of a higher dignitary).

¹⁴⁴⁾ In most inscriptions issued by Balitung, Tulodong, Wawa and Siḍok, the highest authorities have both a speaker (**parujar**) and a writer (**citralekha**); cf., for instance, the inscription of Rañdusari I, Plate 1b, line 14, where the **rakryān mapatiḥ i hino** has not only the **parujar** quoted above, but also the **citrалаikhā** (read: **citralekha**) **sang watuwarani pu manēsōr**. As far as may be concluded from the titles, **parujar** and **citralekha** had the same rank; presumably the former represented the **rakryān mapatiḥ** at official occasions, whereas the latter dressed up official documents. It is, however, likely that the **parujar** of the dignitaries who had no special **citralekha** had the latter's function too.

¹⁴⁵⁾ Some of the lower dignitaries (e.g., the Pamëgëts Wadihati and Makudur) were represented by **jurū**; cf. again the Rañdusari inscription, Plate 1b, line 12.

¹⁴⁶⁾ The title is found written with red paint on a stone from the Lara Djonggrang complex at Prambanan, where it is spelt **kaluḥ** (**ḥa** with **virāma**) **warak**. The latter spelling is clearly more archaic than that found in Plaosan; cf., however, the spelling **jumēndaḥ** in an inscription presumably from Plaosan Kidul (*supra*, p. 5).

¹⁴⁷⁾ The title of Rakai Watuhumalang is that of a king reigning after Kayuwani (Krom, *Geschiedenis*², p. 181).

dar ¹⁴⁸), Sirikan ¹⁴⁹), Tañunan ¹⁵⁰), Puluwatu ¹⁵¹), Dalinan ¹⁵²), Tawān ¹⁵³), Wurutuñgal ¹⁵⁴), Pañgumulan ¹⁵⁵), Tilimpik ¹⁵⁶), Patapān ¹⁵⁷), Tiruranu ¹⁵⁸), Kalangwatu ¹⁵⁹) and Pagarwsi ¹⁶⁰).

A few other authorities have **sang** titles to which the element **ḍa** or **ra** is

- ¹⁴⁸) The title of Maḍaḍḍēr (Maḍaḍḍar is only a more archaic spelling) occurs in almost all the inscriptions of Wawa and Siñḍok as the first of the two **sangāt momahumaḥ** who are, as a rule, the first authorities mentioned after the king. The king's command is sometimes stated to descend upon (**umingsor**) these two dignitaries (e.g. in **O.J.O.**, No. XXXIX, front part, lines 3 sq.) before going down further. Some conjectural explanations of the title are given by Stutterheim, **T.B.G.**, 65 (1925), note 59 to p. 241.
- ¹⁴⁹) I, 15 and 16 and I 26; the two names Pu Sūrya and Pu Añgēhan may again belong to the husband and the wife respectively (cf. **supra**, p. 24).
- ¹⁵⁰) **Tañunan**, without further indication, is written in red paint on a stone found in the Lara Djonggrang compounds. The stone had been placed before the office of the Dinas Purbakala at Prambanan until recently, when it was pointed out that the inscribed stone was part of the **gopura** at the northern entrance to the central temple group.
- ¹⁵¹) Puluwatu is a Pamēgēt's title; cf., for instance the Kēmbang Arum inscription (published by Bosch in **Oudh. Versl.**, 1925, Bijl. B, pp. 41-49), Plate I, line 9: **sang pamagat puluwatu pu kunir sang winīta**.
- ¹⁵²) A Rakai Dalinan is mentioned in almost all the Central Javanese inscriptions which give lists of dignitaries. Dalinan is also the name of a village (mentioned, e.g., in a copper-plate inscription of Balitung; cf. Van Naerssen, **Bijdr. K.I.**, 95, 1937, p. 444, line A 4 of inscription II) and of a place where there was a Buddhist foundation in the Majapahit times (**Nāgarakṛtāgama**, 77, 3; cf. Stutterheim, **T.B.G.**, 67, 1927, p. 182).
- ¹⁵³) The Old Javanese title **tawān** occurs already in the Sanskrit inscription of Kalasan (cf. Krom, **Geschiedenis**², p. 135).
- ¹⁵⁴) Wurutuñgal is both the name of a village (cf., e.g., the inscription of Rañḍusari II, **Inscr. Ned.-Indië**, I, 1940, pp. 29 sqq., line 12 of the text) and of an administrative 'group' (**watēk**); cf. the same text, line 2. Wurusiki, undoubtedly the same name (**siki** and **tuñgal** are synonyms, both meaning "one"), occurs elsewhere (e.g., in the inscription of Rañḍusari I, Plate 1b, line 19) as the name of an administrative group. It is well-known that the names of such groups almost always correspond to titles of Rakais and Pamēgēts, although we have no reference to the use of Wurutuñgal as a Rakai or Pamēgēt title in any Central Javanese inscription. It is, however, found as a Pamēgēt title in inscriptions of Siñḍok (e.g., in **O.J.O.**, XLVII, left side, line 32).
- ¹⁵⁵) Pañgumulan occurs as the name of a village in the Kēmbang Arum inscription (Plate I, line 2/3; Plate II, line 12, etc.) and as one of the copper-smith's villages in **K.O.**, X, Plate 1a, line 5.
- ¹⁵⁶) Tilimpik is well-known as a title; cf., for instance, **K.O.**, I; Plate 1, line 7. It is often associated with Mamrati.
- ¹⁵⁷) Numerous references are given in **Pras. Indon.**, I, p. 153.
- ¹⁵⁸) An inscription Tiruranu was found in the Tjañḍi Sewu complex; cf. **op. cit.**, p. 115, No. 5. A Pamēgēt Tiruranu is the main person associated with a temple at Saliñsiñan in an inscription on a **liṅga** from Krapjak (published by Stutterheim in **T.B.G.**, 74 (1934), pp. 85-93).
- ¹⁵⁹) A **sangāt kalangwungkal pu layang** is the principal person in an inscription of Balitung, published by Van Naerssen in **Bijdr. K.I.**, 95 (1937), pp. 444 sq. Van Naerssen suggests that this may be the same person as a **sangāt lamwa pu layang** mentioned in a contemporary record (**ibid.**, p. 450). Should a change in the title be thought of, as Van Naerssen suggests, or is this a case to be compared with those mentioned on p. 22 above? A Rakryan Kalangwūkal, named pu Manukū, is the principal person in an inscription on a copper-plate in the Sriwēdari Museum at Surakarta (No. A 15); cf. its transcription by Poerbatjaraka in **Oudh. Versl.**, 1922, Bijl. L, p. 85. There is no reasonable doubt about the identity of Kalangwūkal and Kalangwatu.
- ¹⁶⁰) A Rakai (or Rakarayān) Pagarwsi is mentioned in most of the Central Javanese inscriptions which give detailed lists of dignitaries; cf., e.g., the Kēmbang Arum inscription, Plate I, line 8 (**Oudh. Versl.**, 1925, p. 41).

prefixed, viz. Rasbang ¹⁶¹), Ramraman ¹⁶¹), **Da-wka** ¹⁶²), **Ḍāṅgul** ¹⁶¹), **Ḍa-halu** ¹⁶³), **Ḍa-tirip**, **Ḍa-pañkur**, **Ra-tira**, **Ra-wuga** (?) ¹⁶⁴) an **Ḍa-wruluk** ¹⁶¹). The titles **Da-halu**, **Ḍa-wka**, **Ḍa-tirip** and **Ḍa-pañkur** stand in an obvious relation to the titles without this prefix; they are probably the representatives of **Rakai Halu**, **Rakai Wka** and the **Tirip** and **Pañkur** respectively. As far as the last two representatives are concerned, **sang ḍatirip** and **sang ḍapañkur** occur already in the Sanskrit inscription of Kalasan (778 A.D.) where, however, the terms are hard to recognize owing to the use of sandhi rules ¹⁶⁵).

What do these 'representatives' represent, higher dignitaries or certain territories? This question implies a definite choice, but one that can hardly be relevant in Old Javanese society. It is a well-known fact that most titles following **Rakai** or **Pamēgēt** occur as administrative units (denoted by **watēk**, "group") in the Old Javanese records. It is not certain whether these administrative 'groups' were territorial units at the same time. Dispersed small territories and villages which formed a 'group' only in so far as they all belonged to the apange of one nobleman or more clearly defined districts? In the present state of research there are strong arguments in favour dispersed small territories and villages, but this should not, however, be made a matter of principle ¹⁶⁶). In spite of the uncertainty about the latter point, the fact that there exists a close relation between the titles

¹⁶¹) There are no other references to these names.

¹⁶²) Probably connected with the common title of **Rakai Wka**. In the inscriptions of Perot (850) and Argapura (863) the function of a **rakarayān mapatiḥ**, undoubtedly the second person after the king, is occupied by a **Rakai Wka**. The person here denoted by **sang ḍa-wka** might have been one of the latter's representatives.

¹⁶³) Probably in a similar relation to the dignitary **Rakai Halu** as **sang ḍa-wka** is to the **Rakai Wka**.

¹⁶⁴) The reading is not certain: cf. note 44 above.

¹⁶⁵) Cf. **Pras. Indon.**, I, note 4 to p. 136, and Damais, **B.E.F.E.O.**, XLVI, Fasc. 1, pp. 24 sq. The final consonant of **sang** is assimilated to a lingual before the **ḍa** according to the rule formulated by Wackernagel, **Altindische Grammatik**, I (1896), pp. 184 sq. § 163 a). Instead of **saṅ-ḍaṭavānādibhiḥ**, the Kalasan inscription gives **saṅ-tavānakādibhiḥ** out of metrical considerations; may it be concluded that the Sanskrit suffix **-ka** was considered more or less the equivalent of the Indonesian prefix **ḍa**? One has the impression that those mentioned in strophe 9 of the Kalasan inscription are the representatives or the subordinates of the **Pañkur** etc. mentioned in strophes 4 and 7.

¹⁶⁶) It appears that a great number of different **watēk** names is found in a restricted area. Thus, the 52 villages, which are all or almost all situated in the Klatèn region, belong to 27 **watēks** in the **Randusari** inscription (cf. the alphabetical lists given by Stutterheim, **Inscr. Ned.-Indië**, I, 1940, Bijl. 2 and 3, pp. 27 sq.). On the other hand, there are 12 villages in the total of 52 which belong to the **watēk** **Kiniwang**, a fact from which it might be concluded that the **Kiniwang** group, i.e. the vilages belonging to the apange of the **Pamēgēt** **Kiniwang** (cf. **samagat kiniwang**, Pl. 1b, line 10), was relatively well represented in the Klatèn region. Similar concentrations of villages belonging to a same apange are found in other regions too. In the present state of research it appears that at least the most frequently occurring **watēk** names are found throughout the kingdom (e.g. **Hino**, **Halu**, **Wēka** and a few others), whereas most of the other names are mainly restricted to certain areas, — mainly, not exclusively, it seems. Before further data and more detailed studies about the already existing data are available, a Middle Path between the extremes of completely scattered villages and territorial units appears to be the most acceptable solution. Cf. Stutterheim, **T.B.G.**, 67 (1927), pp. 196-200, and the survey by Krom, **Geschiedenis**, p. 159, and Van Naerssen, **Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden in Duitsche en Deensche verzamelingen** (1941), Introduction, where further references are given.

and the domains of the kingdom as a whole is well-established. In the more elaborate documents, all the villages excluded from the so-called free territories (*simā*)¹⁶⁷⁾ belong to a certain 'group'. If, in addition, the names by which the groups are denoted usually, if not always, agree with names found behind Rakai and Paměgět, it must be concluded that the total of these names corresponds to the domains of the kingdom as a whole, — excluding, of course, the free territories. Consequently, it may be said that a representation of all the *watėk* units in the kingdom is, at the same time, a representation of all the dignitaries (Rakais and Paměgėts) and of the kingdom as a whole. In discussing the composition of the complex of Lara Djonggrang at Prambanan, Krom suggested that the arrangement of the numerous buildings round the sanctuaries in the central complex might correspond to as many parts of the empire, so that the temple group as a whole should be considered a royal mausoleum and a state sanctuary at the same time¹⁶⁸⁾.

With regard to Plaosan too, the question whether there is some relation between the titles of the representatives and the parts of the empire with which they are associated is very important for a correct understanding of the whole. Unfortunately, our knowledge of ancient topography of Central Java is still very vague and many preliminary studies will be required before this point can be dealt with adequately. It may be imagined, for instance, that the dignitaries associated with the western territories of the kingdom had their *anumodas* erected at the western side of the complex, whereas those associated with northern territories were ordered to do so at the northern side etc. Apparently there is nothing in conflict with such a surmise which on account of general considerations seems not unlikely¹⁶⁹⁾; in a few cases the situation is confirmed. Thus, it is

¹⁶⁷⁾ The usual Old Javanese spelling is *simā*, but also *simā* and several wrong spellings (especially *çima*) occur. A curious combination is *manusuk-çema* in one of the two Perot and one of the two Argapura inscriptions (cf. Damais, *T.B.G.*, 83, 1949, p. 19 and p. 5). The same form is found in the Naᅅgulan inscription dated 822/23 A.D., where I did not recognize it and transcribed *kçema* (*Pras. Indon.*, I, p. 129) as was rightly noted by Damais (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XLVI, Fasc. 1, 1952, note 4 to pp. 26 sq.). Although the *e* might be a mere orthographic mistake, it is not impossible, that the Sanskrit word *kçema* meaning "abode, enjoyment" etc. and *kçetra*, "field", are partly responsible for the wrong spelling. Sanskrit *simā* always means "boundary", whereas in Old Javanese the word has become the usual term to denote grounds (with villages etc.) which belong to religious foundations and are excluded from civil administration. The term is translated by "free territory". As to the spelling, it may be added that two forms occur in Sanskrit, viz. *simā* and *siman* (nominative *simā*) of similar but not identical meanings. Both *simā* and *siman* are mentioned in the Mahāvīyutpatti as very high numbers (10¹⁴, it seems); cf. the edition by Minaiev and Mironov in *Bibl. Buddh.*, XIII, (1911), 246, No. 13, (p. 96) and 287, No. 15.

¹⁶⁸⁾ Krom, *Inleiding*², I (1923), pp. 452 sqq.; cf. also *Geschiedenis*², pp. 172 sq.

¹⁶⁹⁾ The orientation to the four quarters is of a paramount importance in most of the older South-East Asian empires; it plays an essential role in such ceremonies as the *rājasīya*. Cf. the excellent discussion of its symbolism by Paul Mus, *Barabudur*, Cinquième Partie, Ch. VII, in *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXIII (1933), pp. 699 sqq. For the importance of orientation in recent ceremonies in the courts of the Malay Peninsula, cf. Winstedt, *Kingship and Enthronement in Malaya*, in the *J. Mal. Br. R.A.S.*, XX (1947), Pt. 1, pp. 128-139; a short bibliography is added to the latter article.

curious that wherever the same titles occur in Plaosan and Lara Djonggrang ¹⁷⁰) they happen to be at the same sides. The argument is not as strong as it would seem to be since the number of corresponding titles hitherto discovered is very small. A striking example is the title **tañuman** inscribed on the northern **gopura** at Lara Djonggrang ¹⁷¹); the same title occurs in the northern row of Plaosan on I 22. On the other hand, some of the representatives' titles, known as the names of villages, appear to agree with centres located in the respective points of the compass ¹⁷²). Some examples, apparently certain, are Wurutuṅgal (I 35) which may be identified with a centre known to have been situated in the Klaten region, *i.e.* to the east of the foundation ¹⁷³) and Paṅgumulan (I 36), probably to be indentified with a well-known village inhabited by copper-smiths according to an Old Javanese inscription ¹⁷⁴). A few more examples could be given, but it is obvious that more exact data on ancient topography must be found out before the above suggestion can be accepted as a conclusion.

A few other curious points about the dislocation of the inscriptions may briefly be noted here. The **dharmma çrī mahārāja** inscriptions are found on the four sides as might have been expected since the king's dominions are not, of course, limited to any particular quarter of the sky, at least theoretically. It is only natural that the king's inscriptions are to be found at the most essential points, *viz.* at the corners. As a matter of fact, they occur on three of the four corners (I, 1, 17 and 25) ¹⁷⁵). The king's inscriptions are found on other important spots too, *e.g.* on I 21 and 34, right in the middle of the northern and eastern sides respectively. The inscription in the middle of the southern side has not yet been recovered (I 47), but at the corresponding point on the western side (I 9) there is a different text. For the rest, the king's inscriptions are found at more or less regular distances, often separated by four other texts, *e.g.* in the first row on the numbers 17, 21, 25 and 29. That this regularity is far from definite appears, for instance, from the fact that the king's inscription following I 29 is not No. 33, but No. 34. That the interval of four could not have been regular is due to the simple fact that fifty is not divisible by four ¹⁷⁶).

¹⁷⁰) As to the Lara Djonggrang inscriptions, cf. note 22 above.

¹⁷¹) The stone in which this title (spelt **tañunnan**) is written with red paint was in the office of the Dinas Purbakala at Prambanan until recently when it appeared that it belongs to the northern **gopura**. Both the type of script (the form of the **ña** with undulating vertical) and the spelling (the double **nn** in Lara Djonggrang and the single consonant in Plaosan) seem archaic.

¹⁷²) Cf. note 169 above. It is hardly necessary to add that the most frequent **watĕk** names (Hino, Halu, Wĕka, Sirikan and Tiruan) are not limited to a certain area, although even these may have a centre in a particular quarter of the sky.

¹⁷³) For Wurutuṅgal, *alias* Wurusiki, cf. note 154 above.

¹⁷⁴) **K.O.**, No. X, Plate I a, line 5.

¹⁷⁵) On the south-eastern corner building, *viz.* I 43, no inscription has been discovered up to this moment.

¹⁷⁶) In the western row, *viz.* the buildings I 1-17, the **çrī mahārāja** inscriptions occur only on the two corner buildings. It is obvious that no conclusions could be based as long as there are still four temples on which no inscriptions have been found (I 3, 11, 13

The north-western corner shows a *Çrī Mahārāja* building in the angle, flanked by two identical inscriptions **anumoda sang sirikan pu sūryya** on the western, and two other identical inscriptions **anumoda çrī kahulunnan** on the northern side. Observing that the two **stūpas** behind the latter two (II 21 and 22) also has the same text **anumoda çrī kahulunnan**, whereas the building immediately to the north of II 21, *viz.* III 24, has again a **dharmma çrī mahārāja** inscription, it becomes obvious that the north-western corner had a particular significance. In addition, it may be noted that the only gold plate hitherto discovered in the Plaosan complex was found in the same corner, *viz.* between the **stūpas** II 21 and 22¹⁷⁷). One is inclined to associate this striking concentration of inscriptions, especially the *Çrī Kahulunnan* 'square' (I 18 and 19 and II 21 and 22) flanked by two *Çrī Mahārāja* inscriptions, with the orientation towards the holy spots of Buddhism situated in the north-western direction of Central Java¹⁷⁸). In addition, it may be noted that the four *Çrī Kahulunnan* buildings at this significant spot stress the undoubtedly important role played by this Buddhist queen in the construction of Tjañdi Plaosan Lor¹⁷⁹).

(c) **Final Conclusions.** Having arrived at the end of my analysis, it might be interesting to formulate some of the results hitherto gained. Compared to the richness of the materials, the results might seem disappointing. Only a small minority of the titles and names could be identified with a considerable degree of probability, but among these occur the names of king Rakai Pikatan, Queen *Çrī Kahulunnan*, the crown-prince Rakai Gurunwañi (who will become king after or in 856 A.D.), the latter's consort Dyaḥ Rāñu, and his mother-in-law (?) Rakai Wanwa Galuh. Another prince, Rakai Layuwatang Dyaḥ Mahārñawa, could not further be identified. This makes the total of three male and three female members of the royal family¹⁸⁰).

Very little could be concluded about the numerous other dignitaries. Most of them seem to be representatives (Brahmins?) of higher dignitaries all over the

and 14). But even if some of the latter buildings prove to have **çrī mahārāja** inscriptions, it is obvious that there cannot be any regularity on this side.

¹⁷⁷) Cf. note 2 above. A detailed account of the discovery is given in *Oudh. Versl.*, 1948, pp. 30 sq.; also an inscribed silver plate, a bronze pot filled with a bronze chain, burned grains, earth etc., were found at the same place.

¹⁷⁸) Also two other Buddhist sanctuaries, *viz.* Tjañdi Mëndut and Tjañdi Pawon, are orientated approximately to the North-West (with, however, no negligible deviation towards the West, especially for Tjañdi Mëndut; cf. the exact figures given by Van Erp in *T.B.G.*, 53, 1911, pp. 582 sqq. and in *Barabudur, Bouwkundige Beschrijving*, 1931, pp. 8 sq.). Van Erp deals with the orientation of a number of other Buddhist monuments in note 1 to p. 9 of the latter publication.

¹⁷⁹) One of the most typical aspects of Tjañdi Plaosan is the importance attached to women, as appears from the relief work in the interior of the two main temples: whereas the northern one (A I) has only male figures, the southern temple (A II) has only female figures represented (cf. Krom, *Inleiding*², II, pp. 7 sqq.).

¹⁸⁰) It might be wondered whether there could be any connection between these personages and those sculptured in relief in the six chambers of the two main temples (cf. their description by Krom, *Inleiding*², II, pp. 11 sqq.).

kingdom, so that the temple complex as a whole would more or less reflect the relations within the kingdom. It is not clear on what considerations the order in which the authorities are mentioned is based; there may however, be some indications that the place in the complex occupied by their buildings corresponds to the situation of the territories with which they are associated. If this surmise proves correct, a further study of the titles might perhaps give an idea of the extent of the kingdom of Rakai Pikatan and the relations between its different parts¹⁸¹). At present, some reliable conclusions may be drawn with regard to the way in which the complex arose: the use of the term **anumoda** explains itself by Buddhism and allows a peep into the forms of collaboration that led to the construction of the complex.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the inscriptions is the material which they provide for an approximate dating of the monument. Both the type of script and the mention of king Rakai Pikatan make it very probable that the texts should not be dated much later than about 850 A.D., perhaps some ten to twenty years earlier¹⁸²). If some weight may be attached to the **argumentum ex silentio** that none of the names of representatives could be found again in inscriptions dated 850 and 863 A.D.¹⁸³), the last decades before the middle of the century, i.e. the period between about 825 and 850 A.D., could be accepted as the time in which the complex got its present extent¹⁸⁴). Further excavations, perhaps not so much at Plaosan Lor as in the neighbouring southern complex and, of course, in other temple groups in the Prambanan region such as Tjandi Sewu (where the few inscriptions hitherto found suggest the possibility that numerous other inscribed stones are still hidden in the soil), might supply us with badly wanted material for comparison.

¹⁸¹) It might be suggested that the shape of the complex as a whole, its North-South axis being about twice as long as the West-East axis, schematically corresponds to the empire of Rakai Pikatan. Java's geological shape results in there being far more territories situated in the East and West than in the two other regions.

¹⁸²) As has been pointed out, 832 A.D. or, at least, 824 A.D. would be an almost certain **terminus post quem** for the termination of the complex as a whole.

¹⁸³) The inscriptions of Perot (850 A.D.), Pereng and Argapura (the last two dated 863 A.D.) mention the names of numerous authorities including representatives, but none of the names agree with those of Plaosan as far as could be ascertained. For the period before 850 the material at our disposal is scarce; the not very numerous edicts which we still possess from that period do not give regular lists of dignitaries as the Perot and Argapura inscriptions do.

¹⁸⁴) The Prae-Nāgarī inscription of Plaosan (cf. note 1 above) appears to deal with the erection of a Buddha or Bodhisattva statue in a temple which existed earlier. From the portion which is still legible (published in **Pras. Indon.**, II, No. VII), it may be concluded that the buildings have been subject to considerable changes; the history of the construction of the Plaosan complex may be a lengthy one. Since the inscriptions on the smaller buildings could only have been written after the achievement of the complex as a whole, they could only supply us with data about the time in which the complex was finished. Smaller changes could have been made even when the inscriptions had been placed, but this seems less likely.

ADDENDA

After the above was already finished, we noticed that two more inscription fragments from the Plaosan complex have been known, but were lost afterwards. In the collection of estampages of the Dinas Purbakala at Djakarta I found two samples (Nos. 2881 and 2882) of very fragmentary inscriptions stated to have been prepared in 1941. Further details are unknown¹⁸⁵). Considering the type and size of the aksaras there is no reasonable doubt that they belong to Tjañdi Plaosan Lor. The two texts should be added to the list of "Loose stones or stone fragments with inscriptions" mentioned on p. 11 above.

The first estampage (No. 2881), to be denoted by **f** gives after a mutilated akṣara **numoda sañu**, followed by the left hand portion of another akṣara. The mutilated akṣara is undoubtedly an initial **a**, which we expect on account of the context. The identification of the last fragmentary akṣara gives greater difficulties; by comparing the left hand part of a number of akṣaras the most likely identification seems **la**. The transcription therefore is:

(f) <a>numoda sañ ul¹⁸⁷).

The text on the second estampage (No. 2882) is longer, but its state of preservation is worse. In addition, a mistake in preparing the estampage was made. The inscription occupying two stones, the order was inverted. By re-establishing the correct order one arrives at the following transcription:

(g) <an>u <mo>da sang huwusan pu¹⁸⁷).

The name Huwusan, unknown from other sources, should be added to the names mentioned on pp. 27 sqq.

¹⁸⁵) The data are based on the list of estampages of the Dinas Purbakala at Djakarta.

¹⁸⁶) The title cannot be identified.

¹⁸⁷) Of the syllable **mo** only the **daṅḍa** has remained.

LIST OF PLATES

Plate I.

Groundplan of Caṇḍi Plaosan — Lor.

Plate II.

- a. Inscription I, 2 : anumoda sang kalungwarak pu/dakṣa huwus (photo D.P. 18960).
- b. Inscription I, 4 : anumoda sa<ng> rasbang pu mañju (photo D.P. 18961).
- c. Inscription I, 5 : anumoda ra<kai> wanwa galuḥ/tinulusakan-dai rakai gurunwa<ṇi dyaḥ rā>ṇu (photo D.P. 18962).
- d. Inscription I, 6 : anumoda rakai guru<nwa>ṇi/dyaḥ rāṇu (photo D.P. 18965).

Plate III.

- a. Inscription I, 5 : anumoda ra<kai> wanwa galuḥ/ti... (photo D.P. 18963).
- b. Inscription I, 5 : tinulusakan-dai rakai gurunwa<ṇi dyaḥ rā>ṇu (photo D.P. 18964).
- c. Inscription I, 8 : anumoda sang ramraman pu singha/huwus (photo D.P. 18966).
- d. Inscription I, 9 : anumoda sang watuhumalang pu tguḥ (photo D.P. 18968)

Plate IV.

- a. Inscription I, 16 : anumoda sang sirikan pu <s>ūryya (photo D.P. 18972)
- b. Inscription I, 34 : dha<r>mma ḥr<i> mahārāja (photo D.P. 18990).
- c. Inscription I, 10 : anumoda sang maḍaṇḍar pu tahun/anumo (photo D.P. 18969).
- d. Inscription I, 27 : dharmma ḥrī mahārāja/dharmma <ḥrī ma>hārāja (photo D.P. 18983).

Plate V.

- a. Inscription I, 19 : anumoda ḥrī kahulu/nnan (photo D.P. 18975).
- b. Inscription I, 21 : dharmma ḥrī mahārāja (photo D.P. 18977).
- c. Inscription I, 22 : anumoda sang taṇunan pu dwāra (photo D.P. 18978).
- d. Inscription I, 26 : anumoda sang sirikan pu ang/gēhan (photo D.P. 18982).

Plate VI.

- a. Inscription I, 28 : anumoda sang ḍa/halu pu rāja (photo D.P. 18984).
- b. Inscription I, 30 : <anumo>da sang dalinan pu bala (photo D.P. 18986)
- c. Inscription I, 44 : anumoda sang antulan pu awat (photo D.P. 18998).
- d. Inscription I, 49 : anumoda sang patapān pu kutī (photo D.P. 18999).

Plate VII.

- a. Inscription I, 31 : anumoda sang ḍa/tirip pu kaisawa (photo D.P. 18987).
- b. Inscription I, 32 : minulān sang tawān pu piñul gawai ang ta/wān pu kaisawa (photo D.P. 18988).
- c. Inscription I, 33 : anu/moda sang ḍapañkur pu agam (photo D.P. 18989).

Plate VIII.

- a. Inscription I, 41 : anumoda sang hagu (photo D.P. 18993).
- b. Inscription I, 41 : lawān sang pu ralingang pu/ (photo D.P. 18994).
- c. Inscription I, 41 : dharmma ḥrī ma<hārāja> (photo D.P. 18995).
- d. Inscription I, 41 : habat kina<pata>nnira lawan-sang ma/ (ñasö) (photo D.P. 18996).

Plate IX.

- a. Inscription III, 14 (a) : anumoda rakai gurunwani dyaḥ salaḍū (photo D.P. 19004).
 - b. Inscription III, 14 (b) : asthupa ḥrī mahārāja rakai pikatan (photo D.P. 19006).
 - c. Inscription III, 15 (a) : astupa ḥrī mahārāja rakai pikatan (photo D.P. 19005).
 - d. Inscription III, 15 (b) : anumoda rakai gurunwani dyaḥ salaḍū (photo D.P. 19007).
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