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THE TERM ĀCĀRYA IN OLD JAVANESE INSCRIPTIONS

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Abstract: Old Javanese vocabulary remains understudied as many Old Javanese texts, primarily stone and copperplate inscriptions, have not been published or their contents were not considered in Petrus Josephus Zoetmulder's *Old-Javanese-English Dictionary* (1982). Numerous Old Javanese titles also need closer examination as there is no scholarly convention about their interpretation. The paper investigates the term *ācārya* in Old Javanese inscriptions in its various contexts through centuries. There are hundreds or even thousands Old Javanese inscriptions while printed and online catalogues contain a few hundred texts. There are 35 Old Javanese, two Sanskrit and two Old Malay inscriptions dated from the 9th to the 15th centuries CE which contain the term *ācārya*. The article gives relevant quotes in Old Javanese, Sanskrit and Old Malay and examines ways of interpreting them. The term *ācārya* was not a personal name in Old Javanese epigraphy. The title *ḍaṇ ācāryya*, or “revered teacher, master”, was its usual form in Old Javanese inscriptions but their Sanskrit parts as well as pure Sanskrit and Old Malay inscriptions give the word without particles, like Javanese *ḍaṇ*. Since the early 10th century onwards, especially in East Java kingdoms, *ḍaṇ ācāryya* often were officials *samgat/saṃ pamgāt*. They served as judges and teachers of religious law. The date of the Air Asih and Parablyan inscriptions should be corrected to the 1190s Śaka/1268–1278 CE because of their similarities with the Mula Malurung and Sarvadharmas inscriptions. *Saṃ pamgāt* of Tirvan, Kaṇḍamuhi and Manhuri probably formed a triad and acted together in the 13th century.

Keywords: Old Javanese, *ācārya*, epigraphy, history, inscriptions, Sanskrit, Mataram, Singhasari, Majapahit

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Old Javanese inscriptions still hold many data on the early history of Java despite a long history of their studies since Abraham Benjamin Cohen Stuart had published their first catalogue [Cohen Stuart, 1875]. The inscriptions in Old Javanese, Sanskrit, Old Malay and Old Sundanese are the main sources for reconstructing political history of Java from the middle 1st millennium CE to the early modern times. Despite many seminal philological studies [Gonda, 1952; Zoetmulder, 1982; Damais, 1970], there are still gaps in scholarly knowledge of the Old Javanese vocabulary, its loanwords, titles and place-names. Nowadays online catalogues give new clues to the inscriptions previously unpublished or accessible in printed catalogues [Cohen Stuart, 1875; Brandes, 1913; Naerssen, 1941; 1977; Casparis, 1950; 1956; Sarkar, 1971–1972; Nakada, 1982; Boechari, 1985–1986; 2012]. Online catalogues are still in progress but contain many new inscriptions and translations. The first catalogue is the *Inventaris Daring Epigrafi Nusantara Kuno*, or IDENK, or *Online Inventory of Ancient Nusantara Epigraphy*¹ which aims to create a

¹ IDENK: *Inventaris Daring Epigrafi Nusantara Kuno (Online Inventory of Ancient Nusantara Epigraphy)*. <http://idenk.net/> (accessed: 19.09.2024).

comprehensive catalogue and inventory of all inscriptions found in Insular Southeast Asia. The second is the project *Domestication of 'Hindu' Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and Southeast Asia*, or DHARMA, which includes a section on Nusantara, or maritime Southeast Asia, inscriptions.²

This article aims to examine the Sanskrit loanword *ācārya* which means “knowing (teaching) the ācāra or rules, spiritual guide (esp. who invests the student with the sacrificial thread), teacher” [Zoetmulder, 1982, p. 9] in Old Javanese inscriptions. One may hypothesize that the term *ācārya* also may be a name or a title. Arlo Griffiths once translated it as ‘Professor’ in his translation of the Wanua Tengah III inscription of 908 CE which contains an outline of Old Javanese political history [Boechari, 2012, p. 473–528]. The duplication of the sonant *y* in the Sanskrit loans is a commonplace in Southeast Asian epigraphy so the usual spelling is *ācāryya* instead of a literary *ācārya*. In the study, we follow Andrea Acri’s and Griffiths’ Romanization of Indic scripts of early and medieval Nusantara [Acri, Griffiths, 2014].

The article brings together contexts of the term *ācārya* in the inscriptions in Old Javanese, Old Malay and Sanskrit though there are probably other relevant inscriptions still remaining unpublished. While Antoinette Barrett Jones proposed the existence of a word *ḍaṇācārya*/*Dangācārya* [Barrett Jones, 1984, p. 194] (see below), one should remember that *ḍaṇ* is a separate word as it occurs in several phrases: *ḍaṇ puhavaṇ*, *ḍaṇ hyaṇ*, *ḍaṇ karayān* and *ḍaṇ ācārya* [Damais, 1970, p. 930]. So, the phrase *ḍaṇ ācārya* should be treated as two words.

THE TERM *ĀCĀRYA* IN THE 9th AND EARLY 10th CENTURIES’ INSCRIPTIONS IN CENTRAL AND EAST JAVA

Perhaps, the earliest reference to the term *ācārya* in Nusantara epigraphy occurs in the Old Malay Sang Hyang Wintang/Gandasuli inscription of 832 CE (A.9) which says: *tathāpi āḍa ācāryya ṇḍa dhalawa nama ṇḍa* translated by Johannes Gijssbertus De Casparis as “Besides, there is the Venerable Teacher called Dhalawa, a perfect master builder” [Casparis, 1950, p. 61, 65; *BPCB Jateng*, 2024]. Inscriptions in Old Javanese mentioning the term *ācārya* appeared in the 2nd half of the 9th century CE and usually include it in the phrase *ḍaṇ ācāryya*.

A damaged Ra Kidan I inscription of 838–878 CE (I.7) mentions a certain (p)[i] tā[maha] bhagavanta ḍaṇ (ā)[cārya] whose name is illegible [Brandes, 1913, p. 229, no. XCIX; Damais, 1970, p. 47, no. 69]. While the Sanskrit loanword *pitāmaha* means “paternal grandfather” in Old Javanese [Zoetmulder, 1982, p. 1371], Griffiths supposes it may be a technical term meaning “a venerable one” [Griffiths, 2012, p. 482–483, n. 18]. It occurs in several inscriptions from the Dieng plateau and in the Wungkud inscription (pitāma[ha i] vāṃkud, I.5–6) [Griffiths, 2012, p. 482].

The Kurungan/Randusari II inscription of 885 CE (Iv1, 10) says a *ḍaṇ ācāryya* Munīndra bought a wet rice field at Parhyaṇan, in the area of Vuru Tuṅgal (tatkāla ḍaṇ ācāryya munīndra mamli savah karamān i parhyaṇan vatak vuru tuṅgal) [Damais, 1970, p. 151]. The Iv9 of the inscription mentions the wet rice of the *ḍaṇ ācāryya* Munīndra (nikām savah śīma ḍaṇ ācāryya munīndra) [Damais, 1970, p. 521, 858]. There was a certain *ḍaṇ ācāryya* Gandhara from the village of Galuh (Iv12: ḍaṇ ācāryya gandhara saṅke vanva galuḥ) who was a witness of the transaction [Damais, 1970, p. 231]. Griffiths understands the word *ḍaṇ ācāryya* as ‘master’ whereas Stutterheim translates it as ‘Esteemed Teacher’ (Eerwaarde Leeraar) [Stutterheim, 1940, p. 29–32; Machi Suhadi, Sukarto, 1986, p. 29–33]. Jan Wisseman Christie leaves the term *ācāryya* untranslated [Wisseman Christie, 2009, p. 178–179].

² *Dharma Database*. <https://dharmalekha.info/> (accessed: 19.09.2024). All inscriptions below are cited according to the Dharma edition unless otherwise noted.

The Charter of Rukam of 907 CE mentions *ḍaṇ ācāryya uttamāṅga anak banua i mataram-im parhyaṇan-haji*: “the revered teacher Uttamāṅga – a commoner of Mataram in the sanctuary of the king”. The word *Mataram* in the text refers to a village (*banua*) and not the kingdom of Early Mataram.

The Wanua Tengah III inscription of 908 CE (1v9) says that in 751 Śaka/829 CE a revered teacher Devendra witnessed a restoration of a freehold at Wanua Tengah for the monastery in Pikatan by the king Garung (vruḥ ḍaṇ ācāryya devendra) [Boechari, 2012, p. 473–528]. Griffiths offers a literal translation: “Daṇ Ācārya Devendra had knowledge (of the matter)” [*Wanua Tengah III*, 2024]. The same inscription (1v11) says: *ḍaṇ ācāryya paṇajyan i pikatan-bhadracandra* that Griffiths reads as “Daṇ Ācārya for scriptural study at Pikatan, Bhadracandra”. But there is another option: “revered teacher who teaches scriptures at Pikatan, Bhadracandra”. Ācārya are also mentioned in the Sanskrit verses of the Wanua Tengah III inscription (1v12–13): II. Ācāryye candrābhadrākhye,| bhadrāsūryye ca partatau,| Ā{cā}ryye vihāra-pāle (1v13) ca,| mandane pañcavāra || III. tathāpi paramācāryye,| devendre vandyavandite,| dhyānādi-guṇa-sampūrṇe,| subhage rāja-satkṛte ||. Griffiths reads “with the one named Candrabhadra as Professor, with Bhadrāsūrya as Partati (?), with Ārya as owner of the monastery and with Mandana as Pañcavāra; III. but with Devendra, praised by the praiseworthy, perfect in virtues such as meditation, blessed, honored by the king, as Rector”. Thus, Devendra was mentioned twice and was a Rector (paramācārya, lit. “chief, highest teacher”). The Sanskrit part omits Old Javanese article *ḍaṇ* which seems necessary in Old Javanese texts. The Wanua Tengah III inscription enlists several *ḍaṇ ācāryya* whom Griffiths calls “masters (of recitation)”: Sudānta, Bhadrāsena, Tatha, Padmasena, Paṇḍara; they all received a few *māṣa* of silver for another establishment of a freehold at Wanua Tengah.

The Watu Ridang inscription of 910 CE (1v13–14) was written by a revered teacher [*ḍaṇ ācāryya* Gavaiya of Kuṇidīda (likhita pātra [*ḍaṇ ācāryya* gavaiya im kuṇi dīda). The undated Central Javanese Jamwi/Sinaguha inscription of the early 10th century [*Prasasti Sinaguha*] mentions *ḍaṇ ācāryya manobhava anak vanua i samalagi vatak hasam* (l. 6): “a revered teacher Manobhava, a commoner of Samalagi in the area of Hasam”. The Tulang Er/Air III inscription of 914 CE (1r12) tells about gifts to the official (*samgat*) of Baleṇ named *ḍaṇ ācāryya* Praṇidhānasupāta – “revered teacher Praṇidhānasupāta” [Santosa, 1994, p. 190] – who seemingly was a Buddhist due to his name. The Old Javanese-Sanskrit Sugih Manek Charter of 915 CE (B18–19) mentions a group of *ācāryya* – *kācāryyan* – among the beneficiaries of the rice fields who obtain “12 *māṣa* of *tapak*”, i.e. a kind of tax from a land unit in gold [Brandes, 1913, p. 40, No. XXX – *wāryyān*; Sarkar, 1972, p. 148].

The Wintang Mas II inscription of 919 CE calls two officials/*samgat*-of Maṇulihi *ḍaṇ ācāryya* Bhūti and *ḍaṇ ācāryya* Bāmadeva [Cohen Stuart, 1875, p. 30–31, item XX; Sarkar, 1972, p. 193–194]; all editors leave the words *ḍaṇ ācāryya* untranslated. The Wintang Mas II describes a royal offering of silver from the village of Maṇulihi to a monastery (*dharma*) at Vintaṇ Mas. *ḍaṇ ācāryya* may mean “revered teacher” in that context.

A damaged and undated Dieng IV stone inscription (D. 15 of the National Museum, l.12–13) says: *tatkāla ḍaṇ ācāryya* | ... *ḍapunta Śivanetra* “At that time *ḍaṇ ācāryya*... *ḍapunta* Śivanetra” [Sarkar, 1972, p. 264; Brandes, 1913, p. 228, No. XCVII; Damais, 1970, p. 503]. The term *ḍapunta* may mean “lord, master, a distinguished person” and occurs in the enigmatic Old Malay Sojometro inscription in the phrase *ḍapunta selendra* which is often rendered as *ḍapunta Śailendra* [Boechari, 1966, p. 243–246] but this identification seems problematic [Zakharov, 2012, p. 24–25].

The Wurudu Kidul inscription of 922 CE (E.63 of the National Museum; 1v16, 19) mentions two *ḍaṇ ācāryya*: *makalaṅkaṇ samgat-dhusan ḍaṇ ācāryya beṣṇa* “makalaṅkaṇ (namely) the officiant

of Dhusan, master Beṣṇa” and *likhita-tāmvra arthahetoḥ ḍaṇ ācāryya i griḥ prāmodyajā(ṭa)* “the copper was engraved by the master of Grih, [whose name mentioned here only] for practical necessity [is] Prāmodyajāta” [Sarkar, 1972, p. 201, 203–204; Boechari, 1985–1986, p. 122]. The word *makalaṇkaṇ* occurs “among the watēk i jro (maṇilala drwya haji)” [Zoetmulder, 1982, p. 773], i.e. “collectors of royal duties” [Barrett Jones, 1984, p. 137–141] but in most cases beneficiaries of royal donations and/or gifts [Kullanda, 1992, p. 142]. Sarkar reads *makalaṇkaṇ* separately from *samgat dhusan*, gives them in a semicolon and leaves *ḍaṇ ācāryya* untranslated as he believes the latter was an ecclesiastical title among others [Sarkar, 1971, p. 123, n. 119].

The Sangguran Charter of 928 CE, or Minto Stone (A6–7), mentions a certain *ḍaṇ ācāryya (ḍa)|...li(ci)khyā* rendered as ‘Master Ḍa...licikhyā’ by Griffiths and his colleagues [Griffiths et al., 2024, p. 153, 158].

THE TERM *ĀCĀRYA* IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF 929–1292 CE

Since 929 CE onwards all Old Javanese inscriptions have come from East Java where the capital of the Mataram kingdom had been moved. In the early 11th century, there was a kingdom of Kahuripan divided by Airlangga into Janggala and Kediri/Pañjalu between his two sons in 1045 CE. In 1222 CE, the kingdom of Singhasari was founded by Ken Angrok who took the name Rajasa. The Singhasari state came to an end in 1292 CE when Prince Jayakatwang restored Kediri for a short time. He was overthrown by Raden Wijaya who established the kingdom of Majapahit.

We will give an overview of the inscriptions issued between the shift of Mataram and the fall of Singhasari. However, we should start with a late Majapahit copper plate copy of an original Kaladi inscription of 909 CE (E.71 of the National Museum) because it was found in East Java and its discussion deals with many other records from that area. The Kaladi inscription mentions *ācāryya* Netra twice as a beneficiary of a donation (4r4, 9r4) [Boechari, 1985–1986, p. 150, 152; Barrett Jones, 1984, p. 178, 184–185, 190–191]. Barrett Jones treats *Dañācārya* (*Dangacarya* in her text) as a title [Barrett Jones, 1984, p. 194] referring to De Casparis’ citation [Casparis, 1956, p. 259] of other stone inscriptions which mention the word(s): the Glagahan of 929 CE [Brandes, 1913, p. 71, No. XL, 1r3] and Candi Lor (Berk) of 935 CE [Brandes, 1913, p. 87, No. XLVI, 1r38–39]. The Candi Lor inscription (D. 59 of the National Museum) speaks of *ḍāṇ ācāryya* Netra of Kanuruhan and enumerates *ḍāṇ ācāryya* Jale of Vka, *ḍāṇ ācāryya* Nanaya of Sirikan, *ḍāṇ ācāryya* Pṛḍu of Bavaṇ. Netra of Kaladi and Netra of Candi Lor were perhaps two different people as there is no indication in the Kaladi that Netra was from Kanuruhan, moreover, the originals of both inscriptions are separated by a 26 year gap.

Barrett Jones omits other inscriptions in Brandes’ *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden* which include the spelling *dañācārya*: the Kejon of 937 CE (right side, l. 29, 31, 33–35: *Dañācārya* Basu of Vka, *Dañācārya* Niścāya of Sirikan, *Dañācārya* Patha of Bavaṇ, *Dañācārya* Naka of Kanu) [Brandes, 1913, p. 94, No. XLVII]; the Paradah/Siman inscription of 943 CE (7.3: *Dañācārya* sa... kanuruhan; 7v14: *Dañācārya* Dhātrī) [Brandes, 1913, p. 98–99, No. XLVIII]; the Muncang inscription of 944 CE (l. 11: *samgat ḍa na* *Dañācārya* Hitam) [Brandes, 1913, p. 108, No. LX]; the Wulig inscription of 935 CE (right side, l. 5: scribe-*likhita* *Dañācārya* Ambritta (?)) [Brandes, 1913, p. 82, No. XLIV] and the undated Pabuharan copper plate inscription (E.1.II of the National Museum). The latter inscription has two parts which seem loosely connected by a certain *ḍaṇ ācāryya* Ugra who made a record of the establishment of a freehold (*sīma*) in the village of Pabuharan (1r5–6: *sampun katamra praśastyapagaḥ de ḍaṇ ācāryya ugra*). He also had children and offered gifts to many officials (1v1. *savāka ḍaṇ ācā[r]yya ugra*; 1v4: *irikaṇ kāla maṇṇsəan ta ḍaṇ ācāryya ugra pasək pasək*) [Boechari, 1985–1986, p. 13–14; Brandes, 1913, p. 250–251, No. CXV]. Noteworthy, Barrett Jones once defines *ḍaṇ ācāryya* as an article like *si*, *pu* or *dyaḥ*

before a personal name [Barrett Jones, 1984, p. 91]. So, there is a question when and how she distinguishes between the title and the article and why she adopts different spellings – in one word or two – in various inscriptions. We suppose it is a better option to read *ḍaṇ ācāryya* following the independent functioning of its first word *ḍaṇ* in Old Javanese (see above).

The Alasantan inscription of 939 CE (2r14) mentions *kaṇḍamuhi ḍaṇ ācāryya nārāyaṇa* which Griffiths renders as “the Kaṇḍamuhi, master Nārāyaṇa”. Zoetmulder gives the meaning “title or category of scholarly persons (alongside maṇuri, etc.)” [Zoetmulder, 1982, p. 789].

The Charter of Hering of 958 CE (d29–36) mentions *ḍaṇ ācāryya Basu of Vka*, *ḍaṇ ācāryya Nīścaya of Sirikan* and *Hujuṇ Galuḥ*, *ḍaṇ ācāryya Pṛthu of Bava*, *ḍaṇ ācāryya Netra of Kanuruhan*. The text says (d.28–30) *parujar-i | hino kaṇḍamuhi ḍaṇ ācāryya basu i vka* which may be read as “herald of Hino (named) Kaṇḍamuhi, revered teacher Basu of Vka” or “herald of Hino, the kaṇḍamuhi, revered teacher Basu of Vka”. The former reading implies two persons, the latter – a single one. If the latter is correct, it would mean Basu served as herald of Hino but came from Vka. Be that as it may, the term *kaṇḍamuhi* occurs in the Panggumulan Charter of 902 CE in the phrase *parujar ri hino saṇ kaṇḍamuhi si tuṅgaṇ anak vanua i gunuṇan vatak taṅkil* [Bosch, 1926, p. 42] – “herald of Hino, revered kaṇḍamuhi Si Tuṅgaṇ, a commoner of Gunuṇan from the area of Taṅkil”. Perhaps, it implies a connection between Hino and *kaṇḍamuhi* while it needs further investigation. In any case, we will see another meaning of the term later.

The Sima Anglayang charter of 1036 CE or later (16r3) mentions *samgat-kaṇḍamuhi ḍaṇ ācāryya Arccya* – “an official of Kaṇḍamuhi, revered teacher Arccya” – and, perhaps, another [*ḍaṇ ācāryya*] Cittānanda who was a Brahmin/priest of a sanctuary (*dharmma parhyāṇan*) in Kaṇḍayuga [Titi Surti Nastiti et al., 2022, p. 165]. Titi Surti Nastiti and her colleagues translate the sentence as follows: “the master (mpu) of the temple foundation (dharma parhyāṇan) at Kaṇḍayuga, (namely) the master (ḍaṇ ācāryya) Cittānanda, the official of Kaṇḍamuhi (namely) the master Arccya” [Titi Surti Nastiti et al., 2022, p. 177; Titi Surti Nastiti, 2016, p. 414–420]. If their interpretation is correct, the term *kaṇḍamuhi* also means a community and/or settlement, at least in the 11th century CE. One can suggest that earlier references to *kaṇḍamuhi*, e.g. in the Alasantan inscription, should be read as “[samgat] of *kaṇḍamuhi*”. However, it is merely a hypothesis.

The Charter of Talan of 1136 CE (Cd24–25) mentions *likitapātra ḍaṇ ācāryya prakāśa, makapramukha samgat-kālpvan ḍaṇ ācāryya amogha* that Eko Bastiawan and Arlo Griffiths translate as “The document was written by master Prakāśa, whose chief was the official of Kālpvan (called) master Amogha” [Bastiawan et al., 2023, p. 35, 39]. Bastiawan and Griffiths note that names of these *ḍaṇ ācāryya* “sound very Buddhist” [Bastiawan et al., 2023, p. 39, n. 176].

The Air Asih inscription (between 1177 and 1208 Śaka/1255–1284 CE; 2r1–2) names three *ḍaṇ ācāryya* or spiritual teachers: Dharmmadeva, Smaradahana, Smaradeva all of whom were officials (saṇ pamgāt) of various communities, including Kaṇḍamuhi (saṇ pamgāt i tirvan, ḍaṇ ācāryya dharmmadeva, saṇ pamgāt iṇ kaṇḍamuhi, ḍaṇ ācāryya smaradahana, saṇ pamgāt iṇ maṇhūri, ḍaṇ ācāryya smaradeva) [Air Asih, 2024].

The Mula Malurung Charter of 1255 CE (E. 90 of the National Museum, 2r5) mentions three *ḍaṇ ācāryya*: Jayaṅga, Marmmananda and Agraja who were *saṇ pamgat* officials (saṇ pamgat i tirvan, puspapāta ḍaṇ ācāryya jayaṅga, saṇ pamgat iṇ kaṇḍamuhi, puspapāta ḍaṇ ācāryya marmmananda, saṇ pamgat i maṇhūri, puspapāta ḍaṇ ācāryyagraja) [Boechari 1985–1986, p. 184; Hadi Sidomulyo, 2010, p. 106; Titi Surti Nastiti, 2016, p. 421–436]. Once again, like in the Air Asih inscription, there is a strict order of *saṇ pamgat*: of Tirvan/Tiruan, of Kaṇḍamuhi and of Maṇhūri. The Mula Malurung Charter adds a title *puspapāta* (<*puspapāta*) which Zoetmulder treats as a name but it is obviously not the case. Perhaps, the title *puspapāta* literally means “adorned with flowers”.

The Parablyan inscription (between 1177 and 1208 Śaka, 2r1) says: *mañhuri, ḍaṇ ācāryya smaradeva, i piṃsorny ājñā śrī mahārāja, kumonakān-saṃ pam(g)at iṃ parablyan*: “[The official saṃ pamgāt of] Mañhuri, a revered teacher Smaradeva sent an order of the great king to the saṃ pamgāt of Parablyan...” [Parablyan, 2024].

The Sarvadharmā inscription of 1269 CE (2r2–7) mentions *ḍaṇ ācāryya Śivanātha* who was *rakryan-dmuñ van*, and several *ḍaṇ ācāryya* who were *saṃ pamgāt* officials and whom we have met earlier: Dharmmadeva, Smaradahana, Smaradeva, Agraja. Moreover, *mpuñku dharmmadhyakṣa riṃ kaṣeḷvan ḍaṇ ācāryya*, i.e. “Brahmin, administrator of religious law in Kaṣevan, revered teacher” Śivanātha is mentioned (saṃ pamgāt i tirvan ḍaṇ ācāryya dharmmadeva, saṃ pamgāt iṃ kaṇḍamuhi, ḍaṇ ācāryya smaradahana, saṃ pamgāt i mañhuri ḍaṇ ācāryya smaradeva, saṃ pamgāt iṃ jamba ḍaṇ ācāryya śivanātha, saṃ pamgāt iṃ pañjam jīva ḍaṇ ācāryyāgraja). Agraja, thus, was an official of Mañhuri in 1255 and of Pañjam Jīva in 1269. The coincidence between the names and offices of three *ḍaṇ ācāryya* in the Sarvadharmā and Air Asih inscriptions seems striking. We suppose that the date of the Air Asih and Parablyan inscriptions should be corrected to the 1190s Śaka/1268–1278 CE. While some names can at times repeat, it is unlikely that the same line of names and offices was used with a gap of one hundred years.

The undated and unpublished Patitiḥan copper plate inscription of the Singhasari era (2v2–4) lists several *saṃ pamgāt*, or officials, who were *ḍaṇ ācāryya*: Dharmmadeva, Smaradahana, Smaradeva, Harideva Dagdharāga (saṃ pamgāt i tirvan, ḍaṇ ācāryya dharmmadeva | mapañji parama, saṃ pamgāt iṃ kaṇḍamuhi, ḍaṇ ācāryya smaradahana, mapañji nirdeśa, saṃ pamgāt i mañhuri, ḍaṇ ācāryya smaradeva, mapañji salah smu, saṃ pamgāt i jamba, ḍaṇ ācāryya harideva, (saṃ) pamgāt i pamvatan, ḍaṇ ācāryya dagdharāga) [Griffiths, 2020, p. 131–132; Bastiawan et al., 2023, p. 47, n. 199]. Once again, there is a list of three *ḍaṇ ācāryya*: Dharmmadeva, Smaradahana, Smaradeva, but they all also bear the title *mapañji* which probably reflects their noble origin and is absent in the texts cited above. The term parama in the title of Dharmmadeva means “the highest/first mapañji”. Mapañji *nirdeśa* may mean “next or middle mapañji” according to the meanings of *nirdeśa* in Old Javanese – “order, command” [Zoetmulder, 1982, p. 1184] – and Sanskrit – “vicinity, proximity” [Monier-Williams, 1899, p. 555]. *Mapañji salah smu* means “the lowest mapañji” as salah sōmu denotes “wrong (improper, uncommon, unexpected) attitude or condition” [Zoetmulder, 1982, p. 1610]. Seemingly, the communities of Tirvan, Kaṇḍamuhi and Mañhuri formed a triad of some sort. Local officials were treated as a group and acted together in the Singhasari times.

The term *siddhācāryyo* “perfect teacher” occurs in the Sanskrit Wurare inscription of 1289 CE (B4) which praises the commemoration of the Mahākṣobhya statue [Kern, 1910, p. 99–108; 1917(1), p. 187–197; Poerbatjaraka, 1922, p. 427, 433 – “een toovermachtig leeraar”, “a magical teacher”].

The Sanskrit Amoghapāśa plaque of the Singhasari era, now kept in the Tropenmuseum, mentions the great king of kings Śrī Kṛtanagara and “teachers and preceptors, fathers and mothers and ancestors” (ācāryyo|pādhyāya-mātā-pitṛ-pūrvvaṃ, l.9–10). Śrī Kṛtanagara was the last king of the kingdom of Singhasari who ruled in 1268–1292 CE. Thus, the Sarvadharmā inscription dates back to his reign. Again, there is no analogue of the Javanese article *ḍaṇ* in the Singhasari Sanskrit inscriptions.

THE TERM *ĀCĀRYA* IN THE MAJAPAHIT INSCRIPTIONS

The Old Javanese-Sanskrit Sukhamerta inscription of the 1296 CE (E. 70 of the National Museum) issued by the king Śrī Kṛtarājasa Jayavārddhana, titled *Ācāryyāstrarāja* – “the king of arrows and teachers” (*mapuṣpapāta ḍaṇ ācāryyāstrarāja*, 4r5) – mentions several *saṃ pamgāt*

officials who were *ḍaṇ ācāryya*: Kusumāyudharipu, Aṅgarakṣa, Rudra, Rāgavijaya, Manmatha, Mahānātha, all proficient in various disciplines like *sāṁkhyā* and/or *nyāya* (4v1–5) [Boechari 1985–1986, p. 141–142; Naerssen, 1941, p. 46–57, № III]. Śrī Kṛtarājasa Jayavārddhana also known as Raden Vijaya was the founder of the Majapahit Empire who reigned in 1293–1309 CE.

The Tuhanyaru inscription of 1323 CE (2r6/2v1–5) mentions several *saṁ pamgāt* officials who were *ḍaṇ ācāryya*: Rāgavijaya, Viśvanātha, Mahānātha, Dharmmarāja, Śivanātha, Smaranātha [Brandes, 1913, p. 199–200, No. LXXXIII]. Another *ḍaṇ ācāryya* named Kanakamuni was a (*m*) *puṇku* of Padāṅgan [Brandes, 1913, p. 200], i.e. a Brahmin, local master or priest. Once again, there are *saṁ pamgāt* of Tirvan, Kaṇḍamuhi and Maṇhūri. All *ḍaṇ ācāryya* bear additional and pompous titles which are a characteristic sign of the Majapahit literary style: *mapaṇji sāhasa, nyāya-vyākaraṇa-parisamāpta* – “uncontrolled/fierce *mapaṇji*, expert in logic (*nyāya*) and grammar”; *mapaṇji paragata, sāṁkhyā-śāstra-parisamāpta* – “holy *mapaṇji*, expert in *sāṁkhyā* doctrines”.

The Manah i Manuk Charter of 1350–1356 CE (E. 35 of the National Museum; 3r4–5, 3v2–4r2) mentions many *ḍaṇ ācāryya*: Dharmmarāja, Kanakamuni, Śivanātha, Marmmanātha, Smaranātha, Jayasmara, Agreśvara and Munīndra [Brandes, 1913, p. 207–210, No. LXXXV; Boechari, 1985–1986, p. 98]. Marine Schoettel and Griffiths synonymously translate the term *ḍaṇ ācāryya* as “master” or “revered master” in their edition of the Charter. These *ḍaṇ ācāryya* were officials with many titles: *saṇ āryya rājaparākrama* “the honorable royal brave”, *saṇ āryyādhirāja* “the honorable emperor/king of kings”, *boddha-śāstra-vyākaraṇa-parisamāpta* “expert in Buddhist doctrine and grammar”, *nyāya-vyākaraṇa-śāstra-parisamāpta* “expert in logic (*nyāya*) and grammar”, *sāṁkhyā-śāstra-parisamāpta* “expert in *sāṁkhyā* doctrines”, *mapaṇji āmśuman* “radiant *mapaṇji*”. There are two Śaiva Orders: *bhairavapakṣa* “Bhairava Order” and *sorapakṣa* “Saura Order”. Śivanātha, Marmmanātha and Smaranātha were *saṁgāt* of Tirvan, Kaṇḍamuhi and Maṇhūri respectively. They are called *saṁ dharmmapravaktā vyavahāra-vicchedaka* – “the speakers/teachers of religious law, who settle litigations”, according to Schoettel and Griffiths.

The Old Malay-Sanskrit Stela from Bukit Gombak (N. 96) of 1356 CE (l. 11) issued by the king Śrī Ādityavarman of Pagarruyung in West Sumatra [Kern, 1917(2), p. 265–275; Brandes, 1913, p. 258, No. CXXII] mentions *brāhmaṇācāryyopādhyāya*: “brāhmaṇas, teachers and preceptors” as translated by Griffiths. Ādityavarman was born in an East Javanese city of Trowulan, the capital of Majapahit, and was the cousin of the king of Majapahit, Jayanegara, who ruled in 1309–1328 CE. It places the epigraphic tradition of Pagarruyung in the sphere of the Old Javanese and Sanskrit literacy of the Majapahit court.

The undated Batur inscription of the mid-14th century [*Prasasti Batur*] (E.50 in the National Museum in Jakarta; Ar6–Av6) mentions several *ḍaṇ ācāryya*: Śi[vanātha], Marmmanātha, Smaranātha, Mahā[nātha], Agreśvara and [Kanakamuni] [Boechari, 1985–1986, p. 113]. These *ācāryya* were *saṁ pamgāt/saṁgāt* officials or administrators of religious law (*dharmm(ā) dhyakṣa*). Most *ācāryya* were called *nyāya-vyākaraṇa-śāstra-parisamāpta*, or experts in logic, grammar and scriptures; *ḍaṇ ācāryya* Mahā[nātha] was an expert in Buddhist logic and grammar – *boddha-ta(rkka)-vyākara(ṇa)-śāstra-parisamāpta*. Śivanātha, Marmmanātha and Smaranātha were *saṁ pamgāt/saṁgāt* of Tirvan, Kaṇḍamohi and Maṇhūri, therefore, they have been in office for at least several years in the 1350s.

The Canggal inscription of 1358 CE (3r1–3v2) mentions many *ḍaṇ ācāryyas*: Śivanātha, Agreśvara, Jayasmara, Vidyānātha, Śivādhipa, Śrīghana, Samatājñāna, Nāendra, Dharmmarāja. The text says (3r1–3r5):

mahārāja, tan kavuntat saṁ dharmmapravaktā vyavahāravicchedaka, saṁgāt i tirvan, ḍaṇ ācāryya śivanātha, makapadasthan, saṇ āryya vaḥśādhipati, nyāyavyakaraṇaśāstraparisamāpta,

samgət i mañhuri, ḍaṇ ācāryyāgreśvara, nyāyavyākaraṇaśāstraparisamāpta, samgət i | kaṇḍamuhi, ḍaṇ ācāryya jayasmara, saṃkyaśāstraparisamāpta, samgət i pamvatan, ḍaṇ ācāryya vidyānātha, nyāyavyākaraṇaśāstrapaḥrisamāpta, samgət i jambi, ḍaṇ ācāryya śivādhipa, nyāyavyākaraṇaśāstr aparisaṃmāpta, samgət i kaṇḍaṇan atuha, ḍaṇ ācāryya śrīghana,| boddhatarkkaparisamāpta, samgət i kaṇḍaṇan rare, ḍaṇ ācāryya samatājñāna, boddhatarkkaparisamāpta

“The great king left behind (him) those who are speakers/teachers of religious law and litigation settlers:

the official of Tirvan, the revered teacher Śivanātha, steadfast in office (makapadasthan), the honorable lord, the king of a lineage, an expert in logic, grammar and scriptures;

the official of Mañhuri, the revered teacher Agreśvara, an expert in logic, grammar and scriptures;

the official of Kaṇḍamuhi, the revered teacher Jayasmara, an expert in saṃkya doctrines;

the official of Pamvatan, the revered teacher Vidyānātha, an expert in logic, grammar and scriptures;

the official of Jambi, the revered teacher Śivādhipa, an expert in logic, grammar and scriptures;

the official of Old (atuha) Kaṇḍaṇan, the revered teacher Śrīghana, an expert in Buddhist logic;

the official of New (rare) Kaṇḍaṇan, the revered teacher Samatājñāna, an expert in Buddhist logic”.

The Canggu inscription, thus, shows the change among the officials of Tirvan, Kaṇḍamohi and Mañhuri: Śivanātha was still holding the office but Marmmanātha and Smaranātha were replaced by Jayasmara and Agreśvara respectively, and Mañhuri was then promoted and placed before Kaṇḍamohi, contrary to their hierarchy in the previous centuries.

The Patapan I inscription (1r1) mentions *ḍaṇ ācāryya* Viśvanātha, the author of the letter to the commoners of Patapan along with *saṇ āryya*/honorable Rājaparākrama. The text of the letter contains an abridged date of *tithī, jyeṣṭha, śirah, 7* (1v2) which Muhamad Yamin interprets as a reference to the [130]7 Śaka/1395 CE, i.e. to the Majapahit era [Prasasti Patapan, 2016].

The Waringin Pitu inscription of 1447 CE (E. 67 of the National Museum) issued during the reign of Dyaḥ Kṛtavijaya (6v5–7r1) mentions four *samgət* officials, all called *ḍaṇ ācāryya*: Naradhara, Taranātha, Arkkanātha and Jinendra [Boechari, 1985–1986, p. 130]. Naradhara and Jinendra were experts in the Buddhist logic (boddhatarkkaparisamāpta) whereas Taranātha was an expert in the Vaiśeṣika doctrine and Arkkanātha specialized in logic and grammar (nyāyavyākaraṇa). The order of *samgət* is as follows: of Old Kandaṇan, of Mañhuri, of Pamvatan, and of New Kandaṇan. Thus, Tirvan and Kaṇḍamuhi were omitted or had disappeared by the date of the Waringin Pitu inscription. The inscription (7r1–2) also mentions two *dharmmadhyakṣa*, or administrators of religious law – *ḍaṇ ācāryya* [I]śvara and *ḍaṇ ācāryya* Śāstrarāja.

DISCUSSION

The term *ācārya* occurs in the phrase *ḍaṇ ācāryya* in all 35 Old Javanese inscriptions mentioned above, except the cases of Sanskrit and Old Malay texts where the word *ḍaṇ* is omitted. There are many ways to translate the term *ācārya*. It may denote “teacher, master, professor” or may be left untranslated if one understands it as an independent title. The choice of appropriate translations seems somewhat subjective and depends on a scholar’s view of Javanese society. If one aims to emphasize the complexity of the title system in early and medieval Java, it may be better to write *ḍaṇ ācāryya* in all known cases, although there is no obvious objection towards the usual meaning “teacher” in a broad sense of the word. At the same time, this interpretation seems the most fitting in the earliest contexts before 919 CE when *ḍaṇ ācāryya* had functioned as buyers or witnesses,

but their connection with official posts remains unclear outside religious and/or educational institutions (see Devendra as *paramācārya* “Rector” in the Wanua Tengah III inscription of 908 CE). However, since 919 CE onwards, *ḍaṇ ācāryya* have frequently been *samgat/saṃ pamgāt* officials of various communities. At the same time, the tie between communities and *ḍaṇ ācāryya* may be more ancient as the Wanua Tengah III inscription connects *ḍaṇ ācāryya* with communities, though giving no specific title, except *ḍaṇ ācāryya* itself: “The 2 who recited/performed *śānti*: the master of Kavun Manek (named) Sudānta and the master of Tiḍa Luan (named) Bhadrasena” (translation by Griffiths; 2v12–14: *maṇaji santi 2 ḍaṇ ācāryya | i kavun manek·sudanta, muam ḍaṇ ācāryya i tiḍa luan bhadraśena*).

Therefore, Griffiths’ reading as “master” grasps the connection between a community/place and the *ḍaṇ ācāryya* phrase. However, when *ḍaṇ ācāryya* started to denote *samgat/saṃ pamgāt* officials, the meaning “master” may have become of lesser value as the exact meaning of *samgat/saṃ pamgāt* is yet not established, it may also mean “master of (a community)”. An obvious connection of *ḍaṇ ācāryya* and *samgat/saṃ pamgāt* with “speaking/teaching religious law and settling litigations” (*saṃ dharmmapravaktā vyavahāra-vicchedaka*) is observed in Majapahit, which may testify that *ḍaṇ ācāryya* meant “teacher” and *samgat/saṃ pamgāt* – “judge”. However, both functions may have been aspects of *samgat/saṃ pamgāt* office whereas *ḍaṇ ācāryya* was simply a title and/or meant “revered teacher” without any particular function, like honorary doctors in modern universities.

CONCLUSIONS

The study revealed 35 Old Javanese, two Sanskrit and two Old Malay inscriptions which include the term *ācāryya*, published in online and printed catalogues. Some of these Old Javanese texts are bilingual, i.e. they have a Sanskrit part too. In some cases, they mention the word *ācāryya* in both Old Javanese and Sanskrit parts, like the Wanua Tengah III inscription.

Old Javanese inscriptions give no evidence that *ācāryya* was a personal name. It has frequently occurred in the phrase *ḍaṇ ācāryya* which seems to be a title with the meaning “revered teacher, master, professor”. Sanskrit and Old Malay inscriptions or Sanskrit parts of bilingual epigraphic records from Java and Sumatra contain no analogue of Old Javanese honorific article *ḍaṇ*: they give *ācāryya* only. This reminds of the Medieval Latin word *comes* “companion” transformed into the French *le comte* “count, earl”.

Juxtaposition of the Air Asih, Parablyan, Mula Malurung and Sarvadharmas inscriptions reveals that the date of the first two texts should be corrected to the 1190s Śaka/1268–1278 CE. The communities of Tirvan, Kaṇḍamuhi and Maṇhuri probably formed a triad in the Singhasari era, i.e. in the 13th century.

The word *kaṇḍamuhi* in the Alasantan inscription of 939 CE may also be a toponym, and the original text may imply a *samgat* official of Kaṇḍamuhi named *ḍaṇ ācāryya* Nārāyaṇa but it needs further examination.

These conclusions are preliminary as publication of new inscriptions and/or new readings of well-known texts may change or specify them. In any case, an important role of *ḍaṇ ācāryya* in early and medieval Java is obvious. The bearers of the title were among the ruling class though not its uppermost group. Many of them were officials and settled litigations. In the Majapahit era, they had knowledge of logic, grammar, laws/scriptures, various philosophical and/or religious disciplines, like Buddhism, *sāṃkhya* or, perhaps, *nyāya* if the latter did not refer to logic in general. The Wulig Charter of 935 CE implies that *ḍaṇ ācāryya* could have worked as scribes. Their literacy is evident in the available texts. It seems likely that they taught many students, some of whom served as scribes and wrote the texts of inscriptions which remain the main source of information about the early history of Java.

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