Ancient History of Bali

Faculty of Letters
Udayana University
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PENGANTAR KATA

Untuk penerbitan kitab "Ancient History of Li" dari bush tangan almarhum Dr. R. Goris, kiranya perlu diberikan sekeras pendjelasan. Nila2 karangan ini dipergunakan untuk kuliah2 Sedjarah Bali Kuna pada djurusan Ilmu Purbakala dan Sedjarah Kebudayaan Indonesia ditahun 1962, seperti yang ketara dalam tjara penjusunan karangan ini.

Oleh karena kami menganggap bahwa karangan tersebut amat penting maka pada permulaan tahan 1965 kami meminta kepada Dr. R. Goris untuk menperluasnya sehingga penggunaannya tidak terbatas untuk kuliah dalam lingkungannya sendiri. Domikianlah karangan itu dikit demi dikit dikerdjakan4a sehingga karangan yang telah diperluas itu dapat ditik dan dipriksa kembali oleh Dr. R. Goris. Tapi sajag sebelum karangan yang telah diperaks kembali itu selesai ditik dan disusun kembali dalam bentuk yang lebih sempurna lagi Dr. R. Goris djaruh sakit dan sehirnya pada permulaan bulan Oktober 1965 beliau wafat.

Setelah itu maka karangan ini belum dapat diterbitkan berhubung dengan pemeriksaannya belum dapat dilakukan dengan teliti. Beruntunglah berkat portolongan Prof. Dr. C. Hooykaas ditahun 1967 karangan itu dapat disusun se-balikannya.

Untuk itu kami utjakan banyak2 terima kaesih atas segala djeri2 paja dan bantuan2nya.

Denpasar, 25 Djuli 1967
Dekan Fakultas Sastra
Universitas Udayana.

(I Gusty Ngurah Bagus, S.S.)
**INTRODUCTION** (PENDAHULUAN)

The lectures about the history of old Bali (Sedjarah Bali Kuna) will be divided into four parts. Each part will have an indefinite number of chapters. These four Parts are:

A. **General history of Bali.**

But I will deal with this history up to Gadja Mada's Expedition and Conquest in 1265 (1343 T.M.). In this part I the chronology and the historical geography (Ilmu Rumi menurut sedjarah) and the toponymy (science about the names of places) will be dealt with.

Note: *topos = tempat, onymos = nama*: in general: words ending in -logur (Jun. -logia) mean knowledge, science; and words ending in -nomy (Jun. -nemia) mean knowledge about the names of the phenomena, the laws of the events ("mutu kademian").

B. **The languages** used in the inscriptions.

In the Balinese inscriptions there are used three languages: in chronological order: Sanskrit, Old-Balinese, Old Javanese. Sanskrit and Old-Javanese will not be treated here in a linguistic or grammatical way. They are supposed to be known already. But I will deal especially with the Old-Balinese (*linguistics; formatives; grammar — as far as we know or understand; vocabulary = copia verborum (Stk. vilaya-kosa)."

C. **Special topics** (perihal chumas).

D. **Documents** (Wartcat).

The science of the used characters is called epigraphy or palaeography. (epi = atas; graphy = writing; tulisan; pa-
lases = old, ancient.
Before we begin, some General prefatory informations must be given about these topics.
1. About our knowledge of the sources.
2. About the numbers of the inscriptions, as used here.
3. About the literature on Balinese (and Javane - se) history.

General prefatory information.

1. About our knowledge of the sources = informations and antiquities. The sources of our knowledge of Old Balinese history are the inscriptions and the material antiquities (remainder of temples and other buildings, statues, etc.).

1a. The inscriptions about the material antiquities, i.e. "material cultural anthropology of Bali" will be given by other documents.

1b. About the inscriptions of Bali.
In general we may say that they are sometimes carved in stone, especially on the back of statues, but mostly engraved on bronze plates. These bronze plates are nearly always preserved in special shrines in the temples. They were found, examined and partly published (edited) by various scholars. I may give here only the following names: Bendas, Van Stein Calletens, Sutterstein, see Goris, Prasasti Bali I, p.4, par. 6.

2. About the numbering.
I use the numbers of Prasasti Bali I, 1954.

In this book the inscriptions are classified into 10 groups and have the following numbers:

001 - 007 (no kings mentioned); from Caka 804 - 836.
101 - 110 (reign of Ugrasana), from Caka 877 - 898 (864).
201 - 210 (different kings mentioned); from Caka 873 - 905.
301 - 307 (edicts of the Royal Spouses); from Caka 911 - 925 (+ Caka 933).
351 - 357 (different kings mentioned); from Caka 938 - 947
401 - 411
431 - 449 (both are edicts of Anak Wungsi); from Caka 971 - 989; and Caka 911 - 999.
461 - 169 (short stone inscriptions, partly in Quadrato characters).
501 - 509 (dedication, Sasakanda, Negarihipa) Caka 1010 - 1041.
551 - 559 (period of Jayapati); from Caka 1055 - 1072.
601 - 605
621 - 549 (phases of original Jayapangis edicts); only one from Caka 1099, the other ones from Caka 1103.
661 - 666 ("copies tardives") 1.

1. The term "copies tardives" is from Demais, Liste, p. 9, no. 26.
701 - 706 (inscriptions between 1116 - 1182)
801 - 814 (inscriptions between 1218 - 1259 or 1264)
901 - 909 (inscriptions after Gajah Mada's conquest) Caka 1306 - 1393.
1001 - 1016 (uncertain documents).

2. Since 1954 many new inscriptions have been found and some numbers have been changed. These will be discussed in the special chapters.

In BEFD 46.1, 1952, L.C. Demais has published a: "Liste des principales inscriptions datées de l'Indonésie" = Daftar inskripsi tertinggi yang melewati tanggal (ta hun) dari Indonesia.

In this "Liste" the Balinese dated inscriptions are enlisted as D1 - D 67. As a rule I will use both numbers (nine and Demais') e.g. (Goris) 003 = (Demais) D 2, or shortened 003 = D 2.
N.B. Please take notice that in the Museum at Djakarta,
the letter d is used for stone inscriptions, in these
cases we will use: Mus D, .......
And for bronze (copper) plates: Mus E, .......
(Mus always being added).

In *Prang* i Bali, the inscriptions are named ac-
cor ding to the site or place, where they are preser-
ved or where they were found: Trunjan B, Rawahan E.

In *Demai* Lists the inscriptions are named ac-
cor ding to the village or hamlet that is dealt with:
Trunjan B = 004 = Dem D 3 = Turunan II.
Rawahan E = 002 = Dem D 54 = Buhshah V.

3) *About the literature: see: Bibliography of the His-
tory of Bali* (Goris, F.B.II.p. 205-206).

*CHAPTER I.*

*Edicts from the Paracelus* in *Singha-Mandawa*.
(Names of kings are not mentioned).

We have seven edicts: $\Sigma_{..804-836}$.

001 = D 0 bis; $\xi$aka 804 (pura desa Sukwana)
002 = D 1; $\xi$aka 818 (Babat Al)
003 = D 2; $\xi$aka 833 (Trunjan Al)
004 = D 3; $\xi$aka 833 (Trunjan B)
005 = D 4; $\xi$aka 7 (Bangli, p. Kosen A).
006 = D 5; $\xi$aka 836 (Gobleg, p. Beni I).
007 = D 6; $\xi$aka 836 (Angsari A).

001 = D 0 bis : $\xi$aka 804 :
About "(ulan) di bukit Cintamanvi 1) mmal" 2)
Mentioned : bhiksa 3) Civekangita, Civekarama, C1 -
aprapita and "partapana 4) satra di Katuhun puru" 5)
Also mentioned : Hyang Ap, Hyang Tanda 6)
The Satra is called: "nyunyamangka" 7) (26.4).

002 = D 1 : $\xi$aka 818.
About : "sata 8) di Bawac Bawu"

003 = D 2; 004 = D 3; $\xi$aka 833 11)
About "bhatara 9) da Tanta, di Turunan"

003, 1b - 2a4 = 004, 1b = 2a4.
Then both edicts differ.
In 003: about Sanghyang 10) di Turunan.
In 004: about the obligations of "bawac di Air Rawang"

1) Reg. 233; 2) Reg. 277 (mmal); 3) Reg. 225; 4) Reg. 319
5) Reg. 314 (tchan); 6) Reg. 317; 7) Reg. 293; 8) Reg. 264;
9) Reg. 223; 10) 303; 11) In Java we find an edict of $\xi$aka
827: Kuku-kuku (Dem A. 77).
It is very important that these obligations contain also the sacramental ceremonies (upakārā, upacāra) for Bhikaṭa da Tonta.

005a = D - t Čaka

006 = n 5 : Čaka 836.
About: Hyung di Balit Tunggal 12) Indrapura 13).
(and the bami di Air Tabar.) 14)

007 = D - t Čaka
About partapān i Sukhimpta i thānl i Lalengan.
(see 506 = D51).

12) Reg. 228 13) Reg 251; 14) Reg. 212.

General notes:

1) Karāmba, sampi, besara, kanding, colān, sukāt, barī, nisakāna, maru, asa (001; 2a1 - 2; etc 1)
1) Reg 253 (Karāmba); Reg 225 (besara); opp. Goris = St. Vesara = mule. Schmeil, Zoologie, p. 157. About this animal see especially OL. 305 : 3a. 5.

2) hantia, lahuung, parau. 2)
2) Reg. 221;

3) mungkati, mungkaudara, mungkāt, mungkāna. 3)
3) Reg. 279;

4) in 002: 2a1: kapaa (cotan), bānang, kapir (an - po), karutak ("karungidadin"), bra, balit kāra
goni nas me halus (heartwood), lumak (tamarind), sa malaq (also a tamarind).

5) in 002: banyaga (merchant), in other edicts: banigrama. 4)
4) Reg. 222 (banyaga) + Reg. 221 (banigrama).

6) caru propaṇa: stithi, 5)
5) Reg. 217; brādi as offerings.

7) About: astra as tank of hermitages. 6)
6) Reg. 306 (astra); + Reg. 269 (laung).

8) About: Sanghgya agr, see also: Moens, de Jonghorn van Scanda: in TES 82, 1942, p.347 - 361, see. 360-361 : mungkali.

9) About "court": see Webster, p.103: Of. court, cort, from Latin: cohors, cohors and cor, cortis: en - closure, court, crowd.
a) an open space for playing; a residence or palace for a king or prince.
b) The place where justice is administered; the person assembled to administer justice (council).
This "court" and "council" are translations of oB pancalapuan (Reg. 267 = laup).

Literature:

001 : Goris, PB I, 53 - 54 (Text); PB II 119 - 120 (Dutch translation); II 183 (Ringkasan), II 193 (Summary). Dong, Trivara 153; ibid. p. 158, note 3: "on remarque que le Pamaloupan Singa - maia - ma n'appartient que des plus vieilles chartes sans nom royal et dans celles de Ugrasana, mauf une".

002 : Goris PB I, 54 - 55 (Text); PB II 120 - 122 (Dutch translation); II 183 (Ringkasan), II 193 (Summary). Dom IV, Date 219.

003 - 004 : Van Stein Callenfels, BB VII, p.20; VIII p. 24. Goris PB I, 56 - 59 (Text); PB II : 122 - 126 (Dutch translation) II 183 (Ringkasan); II 193 - 194 (Summary) Dom IV Date 219 - 220.

005a: Van Stein Callenfels, BB XVIII, p. 53.
Goris, PB I, 59 - 61 (Text), PB II 126 - 127 (Dutch translation); II 184 (Ringkasan); II 194 (Summary).
II. Sri Kesari Warmanawa

1) "The sources of our knowledge about Sri Kesari Warmanawa are the well-known double inscription (in Sanskrit and old Balinese) of the stone pillar at Belohanjong (Blandjong) near Samur and a second inscription on stone in the mura puseh at Pemenggah near Tampakstaring. 2) 3). Both inscriptions were discovered and first read by Stutterheim, afterwards again by Damais. In Stutterheim's article (Acta Orientalia XII, 1934) Stan Konoy reads the chronogram as sake Kusaro-vahini-serti-sane = the saka Year counted by planets, fire and bodies of Siva = saka 935 (o.c. p. 125 pt. 1).

Damais reads: saka' bde guru vahni-serti gepte (Damais, Samur) 1951, p.124 - 125) and he reads the figures: 9-3-5 (ibidem, p. 125 - 126). So there is double proof that the date is saka 935.

Still very important is a Balinese tradition: "After the fall of Maya Dapaga, there was Mau Kusara. After him there was Sri Wisnu Dalem Kesari who built the Saka Bhayangan. His son was Jaya Kesara. The dynasty was called Sribadung. This tradition brings us back to the Iron Age of Bali.

2) See the paper by N. Soekarto who found a third inscription on stone in the village: Malat gade. Also this inscription bears the date, saka 935. And the text is parallel to the Pemenggah inscription, but much more clear!

3) It is important to mention that the name Kesari also occurs in GS, KD 17 : lina 23."
Another interesting feature about the Samur inscription is that the A-side contains a Sanskrit and an Old-Balinese inscription in a similar character, while the B-side contains a third text, read in Sanskrit but with Old-Javanese characters ("écriture paléo-Javanaise du IXe siècle a.C." Denzis, o.c., p.121 note 1).

From what is readable in the Old-Balinese inscription it turns out that the king has defeated his enemies at Guran and at Suwol: "...... di guran di suwal ahaman-lahang musuhana....."

The name of the king is in the Old Balinese text, "Cri Kasari" (A4-5) and also in the Sanskrit text: adhipa tih cri Kasari Naradana (813).

The name of this same king written as "Kasari" occurs also on the above mentioned stone inscription of Panampihan (Goris no. C05c). Dasm. gives a transcription of what he could read in "Critique" p. 694 note 8.

He reads again: "(whulan phalgupa kr [spa] ......."). He added: "On peut donc dater d’environ 835 Saka et aller un peu plus, en tout cas, antérieure à 837 Saka."

So the inscriptions of Kasari are before the era of Ugruesa (since 937).

Kasari's palace was Singhadwara (A3); Das oc 129 st,1 reads Singharocana?

Note what about Guran and Suwol?

**Literature:**

Stutterheim: A newly discovered Pre Magarī Inscription on Bali in Acta Orientalia XII, 1934, p.126-182

Stutterheim: Enkele oudheden van Bali, in Djawa XVI, 1936, p.76-77.


Photos:

IF 10822 - 10825 (Panampihan)
Estampage, OD no. 2741 (Samur)

Plates:

Stutt., in Djawa, 1936, p.63; Goris, Bali Album, pl. 303.
102: 1b1. "Tatkahan sang ratu Sri Ugrasena tuj. Imanu ka Bagwana ............"

Herewith we may compare: Brandes 0.0, 104, p. 255
"Antara akalha ta maharaja dyah Swas, Sri JayaKirti -War-
hana mara i Kupang, sampah siru ring Br Hangat, ka-
panggah sang hadyan Ranwana".

And also in both cases the king is asked a fa-
vor. The edict 104 = D 8 is the first edict in a long
series about Julah. (See here Chapter VI, p. 9).

Juhah is mentioned as a Kuta.

In this inscription the question of the maru is men-
tioned (pl. III. 3). Licences are given to erect special build-
ing (maru) in the temple. The passages reads as follows:
"ara a sahara habana maru punya me amasamphong punya
patpat lalima sumera (2a. 2-3)".

The word "punya" has the same meaning as Malay
punja. But there exists another word punya (Skt) with the
meaning meritorious, foundation (Indon. kerti, kirta).

Edict no. 106 = D 10 mentions again a satra (hos-
pitum) in combination with "Hwang Api". And so does no.
107 = D 10 bis.

For our knowledge of temples and other sacred
places the fact is important that 102 mentions :
"hyang wihrna, cina, cina, siliungkang, lukhuungan, pang-
lumbiyang, pandes, prutju ........."

Edict 108 = D 10 ter treats the "anak sabut tho-
ji di Beru". Beru is not a name of a village or a heri-
tage but a region: "the hunting grounds" - which gen-
ernally are also the forests. These hunting grounds are
special royal domains. For the same situation in Medi-
val England, see D.M. Stanton, English society in the early
Middle Ages, Ch. III.

General notes:

1. About the title ratu see Damius, Epigraphische Aante-
keningen in TSG 83, 1949 no. VI (p. 18) Sang Ratu -
Cri Mahārāja, 1) no. VII (p. 21) Sang Ratu i Malu
Dancis : Garmg Kawi, p. 139 - 141 (Ratu, PZaka haji
Cri Mahārāja).
Goris : PB. II Register s.v.v. : datu ; ratu ; haji ;
pūhaka ; mahārāja.
2. The title pitāmaha in 102 is also an ancient Javanese
title. Especially in inscriptions from Pı-hyung (Di-
eng-platanu). See Brands OJO VII (p.9) = Dam. A 25;
Brands OJO XCVII (p.222); XCIX (p.229; mahāpita).
3. About huluḥan = forrestor, see our note about baru
(hunting grounds) and the already mentioned book of
D.M.Sterton, Chapter IV, esp. "The Forests" (p. 97 -
119). For Balinese material see: no. 355 = D 29 (Chap-
ter IX B).

Literature.
Ad 101 - 110:
Goris, PB I Text: p.63 - 72; Dutch translation: II p.129
- 140; Ringer para: p. 184 - 186; Summary, p. 195 -
197.
Ad 101 : Dam IV Date 220.
102 : Dam IV Date 221.
104 : Dam IV Date 221. Brands in TBC 33, 1889, p. 16
sqq.
105 : Dam IV Date 222.
106 : Dam IV Date 222.

Photos.
ad. 101 : CA 104, 132.
ad. 102 : CD : 5722. Damais IV Date 221 gives : estampas
ge 2824.

1) See ch. VII; Cri Wijayumahādevī (p. 905 = no 210 -
Photos:
of 202: CA 35, 44; of 203: CA 36, 38; of 204: CA 34.
For no. 206: 02, 10767 d.

202 - 204 = D 13 - D 15; Gaka 877.
206 - 207 = D 16 bis; Gaka 899.
Language: Old Balinese. Type: I Gaka.
Complete transcriptions by Goris, PB I p. 74 - 75 and p. 76 - 77. Partial transcription by Damias IV Date: 223 - 224. The full name of the married couple is: "Sang ratu pri aji Tabanendra Wramadeva (me) sang ratu luhur pri Subadrika Bharmadevi.

No. 202 - 204 have the same contents. They deal with the "juru mangjihit kajang, turut anak ya banda jang, murah di Palaan, me rumah di Talun".

No. 206 - 207 deals with the hospital (hospital at Air Min. This Air Min still exists as a small village south of Kalinganjar, Kintamani. In this edict "sang ratu sang sidha dewata sang rumah di Air Medatu" is mentioned. Comparison with other edicts points out that this deified king was Ugrasena (Text, p. 76: pl. 1a2).

Literature.
Translation and summaries:
Goris, PB.II p. 141-143 (Dutch); p. 186-7 (Indonesian);
p. 197-198 (English). Damias, Triwana: 155 (about 206-207)
Damias, "Critique": 668-9 nt. 6 (about 206)
Damias IV: Date 223 nt. 4. agrees with me in reading the king's name as "Wramadeva" and the queen's name as Bharmadevi."

Note: edict 201 a = Julah II = D ++ (Date IV, 222) from 673 does not mention a king.
205 = D 16.
Only one inscription on stone, very much damaged. Stutterheim has given a transcription of both sides. This transcription I have published again in PB I No. 205 with some corrections. Afterwards Dumas has given a new publication of the first 6 lines of the A-side (Dan IV Date 224 - 5). He has given some new corrections. The most important ones are about the date and the name of the king. The date is not Çaka 884, but Çaka 882. Also the name of the king is not Candrabhaga-singha, but - w(e)nâra Jayasingha (Waramadewa). Important about this inscription are the following data:

In the first place: the stone is still preserved in the pura Sakeh in the village Mamioka, mentioned in the inscription as Maksi maha (85), and each year up to the present day it is brought down to the Tirtha Kampil, in the inscription Tirtha di Air Kampil (A3). So in the year 1960 AD it was exactly a millennial anniversary.

In the second place: the inscription specifies about the double pond that is dug by order of the king. This pond still exists. And it is a sacred place for all the barong-club of Geyâr that are going there, especially in the Calungun season.

In the third place: I will invite your attention to the fact that the date, Çaka 882, falls in the reign of Râhorândra (Çaka 877 and 889).

All these dates are also accepted by Dumas as being "calendar-ly" precise and correct.

Literature:
Stutterheim, OB, p. 68 - 69 (his sign: "n").
209 = D 17.

From this king we have only one edict: it is the second of the first Sembiran series. About (Sembiran) we have the following edict:

Sembiran A I from Caka 844 = Goris no. 104, Dom D 9.
Sembiran A II from Caka 897 = Goris no. 209, Dom D 17.
Sembiran A III from Caka 938 = idem no. 351, Dom D 25.
Sembiran A IV from Caka 987 = idem no. 409, Dom D 27.

Further Sembiran B from 873 = Goris no. 201a, Dom D 14.

And Sembiran C from Caka 1103, a Jayagangga edict = Goris 621 (Not in Danais, Listes). Danais calls these 4 edicts "Julah" according to the name of the village, used in the decrees.

In pl. 4a,3 a king: "song ratu lumah di Bawah Rang gu" is mentioned. We don't know which king that was. It was not ratu Ugrasaena, who proselytized the edict Sembiran II (no. 104), because we know that Ugrasaena was "Ratu di Air Nadihiu".

Literature:

Goris, in FDI p. 13; Text, p. 77-78; Dutch translation, II 144-146; Ringkesian II, 187, Summary II, 198.
Danais, IV, Date 226, and about the word minumah (minumah): IV 95, note 3.

Photos:
OD, 5439, 5484, 5529, 5530. Dom. mentions also an "estam page 295". (estampage = rubbing).

1) In April 1965 Poeger has visited the village Julah and he has found out that at present many plates are preserved in that village. To be more exact: from the total number of 20 plates, 10 plates are brought back to Julah and 10 plates still remain in Sembiran.


From this queen only one edict is preserved. The year Caka 905 falls between the edicts of the Warmadua dynasty (Wijaya Jaya Senandhu in Caka 897) and the first edict of Gunapriya and Udayana (C. 911).

The language is still Old Balinese. And the type is "Punch." Von Stein Callenfels had thought of Crik-Wijaya (Sumatra) influence and formerly I have followed him. More recently Danais has supposed that this queen was the daughter of Sipdjok: Crik Isi, dina tungga wijaya. Conform Neens, Stasboon, p. 138 pl. 1.

A later queen, Saka Senandhu, also uses the names Wijaya and Isi.

Literature:

Von Stein Callenfels, ED I, p. 2 (text). The edict is a confirmation of a former one from Caka 836, also about Intarpura, Bukit Ranggaal and the village Air Tobar (see chapter I).

Von Stein Callenfels in OV 1924, p. 30 (about Crik Wijaya and Sumatra influence).

Goris, PB I, p. 79-80 (text); PB II, p. 146-147 (Dutch Translation) II p. 187 (Ringkesian), II p. 198 (Summary).

Danais, Listes, p. 85 note 5. (Correction of List:V.St. 6, in OV 1924 p. 26).

Danais, about Goris, SHK, p. 64: about the name of the queen.

Danais, Gunung Kawi says: "La fille de Pu Sipdjok qui, si nous croyons bien la charte balinaise de 905 âgée, règne sur Bali sans y résider, a le plus haut titre possible à l'époque: Sri Wijaya-
raja (p. 140).

Damas is IV Dato p. 226-227 (complete transcription). In note 2 he remarks that Wadikati, Molukar and Pandeka are typically Javanese. And indeed they never occur in any other Balinese inscription.

Photos.

09 3971, 3972.-

* VIII. GUPIPRIYA-DEVARMAPATI AND DEVARMA-UDAYANA-WARYANADEWA

\[ \gamma \ 911-923; \ \gamma \oka \ 923; \ \gamma \ 933. \]

\[ 391 - 304 = D 19 - 21. \]

\[ 305a = D - \text{(original of no. 907)} \]

\[ 305b - 305c = D 22 - 23 (305b = 357 old) * \]

The question about Guippriya and Udayana is very difficult. I agree with Moens, about the two Udayana. See his "De stamboom van Airlanega", in TBA 84, 1950. After p. 158.

Mahendradatta = Guippriya, married twice
1. with Tasyah, and the child was Airlanega.
2. with Udayana II, and the children were: Devarmayawara = Murtkata, and "Anak Wanggu".

Udayana II was a son of Udayana I. For this question, see: Moens, Stamboom. Before Moens's article there were many discussions about Airlanega's parents and children.

One of the more recent articles was: Bosch, De lastate der Pandawa's, in EKI 104, 1948. But Moens disagrees with Bosch.

Anak Wanggu begins to reign in 971 and continues until 999. Still now, we do not know the influence of Ku tutum "party" in Bali. About Rama Tjulu's second mission to Bali, see also: Poebotjarko's edition of the Colom Arung in EKI 82, 1926, esp. Ch. XI - XII, and we possess the onomatopoeic inscription "Mpu Breekh" from puro Pata Mades; Reichel (no. 908) which mention the year 9-2-9: "looweng opit anga". The same date is also mentioned in the edict, called "Batara Ratu Putra" at Sêlat, from Coka 1393 (no. 907).
We had better discuss the existing edicts singularly.

1. The edict 301 = D 19, from Gaka 911. Its deals again (see no. 002) with the question of "Bum wa Manu". It is a "Punj" edict in Old Balinese. It reads: takalim sang ratu ratri Cunapriya-dharma-patni sang ratu maruhani ratri Dharma-Udayana Wramadewa.

2. The edict 302 = D 19 bis, from Gaka 915 deals with the Bumu question: in the village Bagung, Bumuh, etc. It is also of the Punj type. Old Balinese (Dوس. IV Date 93 ut.3). It reads: "mangakhi di sang ratu babini maruhani sang ratu manu piri Cunapriya-dharma-patni, sang ratu maruhani ratri Udayana-Wramadewa, with Udayana's name without: Dharma.

3. The edict 303 = D 20 from Gaka 916 deals with the problem of the village Bukan which asks to be separated from the village Redisan. It is first edict in Old Javanese and reads: mangakhi i haji sa-jala-str, ratri Cunapriya-dharma-patni, sirc jala ratri Dharma-Udayana-Wramadewa.

4. The edict 304a = D 21, from Gaka 923 deals with the question of Buntaran and is again in Old Balinese. It reads: takalim sang ratu ratri Cunapriya-dharma-patni, i- da maruhani ratri Dharma-Udayana Wramadewa.

This is the last edict that mentions Cunapriya.

5. The edict 305c = D 23 from Gaka 933 deal with the question of Air Bwhung. It reads: "mangakhi i pihake haji ratri Dharma-Udayana Wramadewa." But at Gaka 933, ratri Cunapriya was already dead. 1).

6. But before this edict from Gaka 933 there are two other edicts, both of them in an irregular form. In the first place there had existed the original of the present edict from Gaka 1293.

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1) Acc. to Balinese tradition (Nona) died in Gaka 929.

About this original we have already spoken: it was from Gaka 929 (no. 305a). And there is also a Balinese tradition told by Serting that the sumi of Bumuh (Kutri) was built in that same year (Krom, Geschiedenis, p. 234 note 5).

So Cunapriya must have died in or before Gaka 929. And the Besakih-Selat edicts may also be a reminiscence of Npi Mariri's first journey to Bali after and in the relation with her death.

The other edict before Gaka 933 is about the village Wujuang Wramadewa (no. 305b, former no. 357 = D 22). We read the year as Gaka 952, but Besakih has corrected it in Gaka 932.

The Wujuang hyang grant speaks about Bhatara Bokaka = Bhatara (1) Baka wa, Udayana's name after his death. This grant deals with the present village Udjun in Kengkau and mentions also Tenggaman (Tranginan). Among these edicts perhaps no. 305c is most important. It deals very elaborately with the breeding of horses (tampakik kuda) and of millets (besara) 2).

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2) See especially: pl. 3a, 4; mangakha yan kaha Whus mang sapi, besara amar ing kuda timalalkik.

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For 305a, the original of the present no. 907, see chapter XII: 3, Besakih group.

For 305b formerly 357 = D 22 full text in Goris PB I, 105-106. Dutch translation: II, p. 177-179; Rinjauam II, p. 190; Summary: II, 201.

See further: Besakih.
Dom. about Goris, SK p. 643-644 (very important).  
Dom. IV Date 228.  
Dom. IV Date 88, note 2; says that from 995 until 1020 (supposedly) Bali was "vassal" to Java. But Wilschut is also styled "machirija" - see chapter XI.

302: Dom. Liste 19 bis; see: Dom. Trivara, p. 155 (date)


304: Dom. IV, Date 88 nt. 2 (about the royal titles).

305a: Not treated by Domus.

305b: Dom. Liste D 22.

305c: Dom. Critique, p. 696 (date).

306: Dom. IV Date 124.

305c: Dom. Liste D 23.

306c: Dom IV, Date 165.

As for the royal titles see also Dom. Gunung Kawi, p. 135-140.

Photos.

301: OD 6589.

302: no photos.

303: OD 5536 - 5538; 5547.

304: OD 5890 - 5892.

305a: no photos.

305b: OD, Serie A 1050; 1063.

305c: OD 5597 - 5591; CA 53-71.

Plates (pictures):

303: Von Stein Cullenfels, EB, pl. XIII; Bali Album, pl. 306; Goris, PB II, pl. IV.

304: Goris PB II, pl. V.

305: Goris PB II, pl. VI.

* IX.A. CAT SANG KUNADIWA.  
Čaka 9478.

No. 351 = D 25.

This queen still uses the title "Sang Rutu" (pl. 6a, 3). But she uses no other names: not "⌫ dreaming as the ruler before her. Neither: "Huwungga as her successor;  

Munakata (see chapter IX B)."

According to her name she does not belong to one of these two dynasties. She forms an exception just as in Čaka 905 "ahlia" 9478 čri Wijayamahādevi (see chapter VII).

Her only edict deals with again the village of ḐI  

Ijak (Sembrunan A.I.11 = Dom. Julah IO).

The language is again Old Balinese. This is the  

last edict in this language, except the edict of Kung  

Wungga, Kungang C of Čaka 9474 (no. 438 = D 44) that  

will be discussed later on chapter X.

The edict is the type: punch. In pl. 8b, 2 seni  

pati Kuturan the third Ŝatpati. 1)

The year (Čaka 938) is the disastrous year for  

East Java: Domus, Liste p. 44 Note 2 says: "Le desastre de Čaka 938 et non 928, cesse Kerm le voilait".

Literature.

Brandes in TBU 33, 1889, transcription: p. 43-44.  

Dom. IV; 229 gives 5b, 5-6a, 6 according to photos OD and a rubbing.

Photos.

OD 5484; 5533; 5534. estampe (rubbing) 295 h.

1) In 356 d he was the first Ŝatpati (pl.E.4). About Ku-  

turani as senipati see Reg. 265. Later on he was named  

Mpu. The role of the family (gotra) of Kuturan in Old
Balinese history is very important. Kuturan must have been situated near Tjeluk Padang = Padang-bani.

IX B. MARAKATA.

Dharmanangga-wardhane "marakata-pangkaja
Sthana-uttunggadewa.
352 = D 26; Qaka 944 355 = D 29; Qaka 947
353a = D 27; Qaka 945 356d = D - ; Qaka -
353b = D - ; Qaka 945

During the reign of Marakata there are four inscriptions on statues (Pura Sibi I-IV). They will be treated later on; see Chapter XXII; These are the short stone inscription, no. 3-6 = Go, no. 354,356a -356c. And Dam D 28, 30, 31.

No. 352: Karāman i Baturan. 1)

Baturan (at present Batuan), Sakar (Sakah) and Su-khawati are treated. Other edicts about these villages are 435, 632, 661.

No. 353a: Karāman i Bila.

No. 353b (Tengkulak A, Qaka 945) is not published. It deals with a patapān Amarama at the river Pakrisan. About this important edict see provisionally: Goris, Dynasty Warmadewa dan Dharmananga dipulau Bali in Bahasa dan Budaya V, No. 3, 1957, p. 18-31 and, Pemais "Note Additionelle", Gumun Kawi, p. 159-160. 2)

No. 355 treats the selling by the king of part of his hunting grounds to the village Buwahan. Van Stein Callens has published the text in BS XI, p. 31-32 (with a plate: XIV) and he has given a discussion of the contents (with Dutch translation) in Archivstudien XXII, p. 413.

Afterwards he has discussed this edict again in: Rechten der vorsten op Bali, in Indonesie I, 1948, p. 193 (no. 3).

No. 356d. Incomplete, only a final plate. Perhaps about Karāman i Bangli or Karāman i Cempaka, because the copperplate is preserved in pure Kehen at Bangli. (Senepati Kuturan is no. 1)
Published by Van Stein Callenfels; EB XIX, p.55 with plate (picture of XXII).

Note: the reign of Airlangga in Java: 943-964

Literature:
Van Stein Callenfels, already mentioned.
Goris PBI p. 95-105 (Text); II p. 165-177 (Dutch translation); II p. 189-190 (Ringkasan), II p. 200-200 (Summary).

About:
351 Dam. IV Date 229
352 Dam. IV Date 89, with the important note 1 (Er Wko) (my Text 96-97).
353a Dam. IV Date 162, with note 2 (about old weights)
353b Dam. Gunung Kawi Note additionelle (already mentioned).
353 Dam. IV Date 163.

Photos.
OD 5483, 5484, 5533, 5534.
352: 5726 - 5730.
353: 6585 - 6586.
355: 5537 - 5547.
356d: 3878a.

Plates (Pictures).
Van Stein Callenfels already mentioned.
352: PB II no. VIII
355: PB II no. X
356d: PB II no. IX.

1) pl. 465, Waranaedi; pl. 565 Air Gajah.
2) See also Ginaras in BB.

* X. ANAK WUNGGU.

401 = D 33,* 971
402 = D 32,* 971
403 = D 34,* 972
404 = D 34,* 975
404a = D 35,* 975
405 = D 35,* 977
406 = D 36,* 980
407 = D 36,* 983
408 = D 36,* 987
409 = D 37,* 987
410 = D 37,* 989
411 = D 38,* 991
412 = D 38,* 991
433 = D 39,* 993
434 = D 40,* 993
435 = D 40,* 994
436 = D 40,* 994
437 = D 40,* 994
438 = D 40,* 994
439 = D 40,* 994
440 = D 40,* 994
441 = D 40,* 994
442 = D 40,* 994
443 = D 40,* 994
444 = D 40,* 994
445 = D 40,* 994
446 = D 40,* 994
447 = D 40,* 994
448 = D 40,* 994
449 = D 40,* 994
450 = D 40,* 994
451 = D 40,* 994
452 = D 40,* 994
453 = D 40,* 994

The full name of this king is: Páduka Bají Anak Wunggu nira Kélih bhatúr lumañ Í Burwan bhatéra lumañ Í Bajú wak.

The name wording is also used in the only edict of A.W. in Old-Balinese (no. 438 = D 44). About his family relation to Udayana, see Chapter VIII. Among the many edicts of Anak Wunggu no. 404a (10 plates) 431; 432; 444 are complete. Explicit re-edicts are: 402, 403, 404b, 405, 407, 431, 433, 434, 441.

The edicts of A.W., cover the whole isle of Bali. They treat Túraman (re-edict), Sanwa Bhumí (re-edict; Lutungan (Dawan, Klé, Cintaramí, Bautan (no. 449)), Blaschke; Sukanapura; Purandragyör (re-edict), Sukanapura (re-edict), Julap—Sembiran (re-edict); Buri: Bakyung (re-edict), Sililah—Kundugan (re-edict); Bajau, Bajau—Tarayungan (re-edict); Sukhawati (re-edict); Djema Nérajang and dharmá Antakurnjarapádh; Air Hara (no. 448-440-1008); Bila (re-edict); Bajau and Air Kanka-kantara-Blaya (no. 446). The last edict of Kandjaya is from Gáka 947, the first inscription of Anak Wunggu is from Gáka 971. A vacuum of 24 years. And then we have edicts during 25 years (971-999).

About the Gunung Kawi and the year 1001 see

**Literature**:

406 in TBG 30, 1885, p.605; 607-613.
408 in TBG 30, 1885, p.613-615.
409 in TBG 33, 1889, p.49-53.

**Van Stein Callenfels**:

401 = EB IX, p.26
402 = EB VII, p. 22-23
436 = EB V, p. 14-18
490 = EB. XXI-XXIII, p. 60-65.

**Goris**:

PBI. P. 17-24.

**Damais**: Liste no. D 32-47

Important notes p. 89 nt. 5 (compare p. 13 nt 2); version tres scorrée.


No.405, 431, 436: p.186. No.401 (Turuflan III important), 403; p.231: no. 438 (Klungung o = Air Rara III, in Old Balinese, important).

**Damais**: Critique p. 686 about Bhatara Mandul (no.407)

See ch.XXI, no. 10.

**Plates (pictures)**.

401 = EB plate IX-XII
436 = EB pl. XXVI
439 = EB pl. XXIV
440 = EB pl. XXV.

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**XI. CRI MAHARJA CRI WALAPRABHU**

Q 1001 - 1010

501a - 501c = D

From this king, the successor of Anak Wunggu we have three edit. None of them is mentioned in Damais' Liste, because they have no date. But according to intrinsic 'date', especially the list of ministers, they must be dated after Q 999 (end) of Anak Wunggu's known editcs and before Q 1010, the date of the first edit of Sakalenda (no. 502). They fall between Dam. D 47 and D 48.

In my numbering they are: no. 501a (formerly no. 447); 501b (formerly no. 448) and 501c (formerly no. 501). Only this last edit mentions the name of the king as "cri Maharaja cri Walaprabhu". It is important to notice that this is the first king using the title maharaja, with exception of the queen: Wiljaya madswi (Chapter VII).

**Literature**.

For no. 501b: Brandes, transcription in TBG 30,1885, p. 619-624. See also Liefholtz, Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het eiland Bali, in TBG 33, 1890, p.385 quoted by Lekkerkerker, B.EnL., no.5 172, p.1051 "Indische (Dorje Pakti) sich van het dorp Klandis afsechede als gevolg eener wedding bij het hemnvechten".

For all three, see Goris, PBI, p. 25-27.

Damais, about Goris, PBI (in 1955), p. 645 (about the name of the king).

Damais, about Goris, PBI (in 1959), p. 687-688: "St notre da
tation de la tombe de Gunung Kawi est exacte, il faut
drait placer Walaprabhu entre 1001 et 1010 Sakas".

**Photos**.

* XII. SAKALENDU-KIRANA.

Č 1010-1023.
no. 502,506; no. 505 = D 49 1)

The full name of this queen is: Pāduka Āra Mahāraja Āra Čakalendu-kirana Īçāna Garadhama Lekṣupādha-ra Wijaye-uttungagawal. There exist a double edict, preserved in a temple at Pengotan and still called: "Ratu Pingit" (by the villagers). In reality Ratu Pingit B (no.502), dated in Čaka 1010 is a kind of changed copy of Ratu Pingit A (no.506), dated in Čaka 1023. But the relation is not very close. Both edicts have 4 lines on each side of the bronze plates. That is an exception. Both treat about Pāmuṭeran; cf. no. 901. The other edict from this queen is no. 505 = Dam D 49, from Č 1020.

Literature.

No. 505 is published by Brandes in TBG 30, 1885; translation p. 619-625.
Gorria, FRI p. 27-28.
Damais about Gorria, SBK (in 1955) p. 645. According to Damais Īçāna and "Wijaya" (or Wijaya) may be an allusion to the daughter of Śīndok: Īçāna. See also Ch. VII.

Damais, Critique (1959) p. 688: "Nous supposons qu'il pourrait s'agir d'une façon abrégée d'écrire ces millesimes" (We suppose that it might be a way of abbreviated writing of the dates; namely by suppressing the zero: 110 (1010), 123 (1023) and 172 (1072). A fact which I had already mentioned in FB, I p.27.

Photos.
502 : Ča 146-156B
505 : no photos

1) no 503 and 504 are statues, see Ch.XXII no.18 and 19.

* XIII. ORI MAHĀRAJA ORI GURĀDHIPA.

Č 1037 - 1041
no. 507 - 508 = D 50-51; perhaps
no. 509 and 510.

The edict no.507 = D 50 deals with again the "Dharma Air Tabar", the "karṇāman Indrapura" and "Bhatāra Bukit tunggal". This question was first dealt with in 006 = D 5 Čaka 836, then again in 210 = D 18 from Čaka 905. The edict no. 508 = D 51 deals again with the question of the patapan Sukhamartā i thāni i Lutungan. This question was already dealt with in 007. In lb.4: a king: "bhatāra ēri haji Uganendra-dharmadeva" is mentioned. But we do not know this king from other edicts.

Literature.

On 507 = D 50
Dam. IV Date 93, nt. 3 (about punah)
Text by Stein Gallenfels EB p. 2-6.
Photos OD, 3871-3876
On 508 = D 51
Dam. IV Date 94; esp. nt. 2 (or ēri haji Uganendra Dharmadeva): nt.3 (patapan).
Dam. Critique, p. 688, nt.4, about thāmi.
Photos OD 5738-5740
On 509 = - Published by van Naerssen in TBG 77, 1937.
On 510.
This is the edict Tengkulak D (about "Amarawatī"), see Gorria in EB. See Gorria in Dinasti Warmadeva de Dharawangsa di paleu Bali (in Bahasa dan Budaya V. 3 1957, p. 18 sqq.)
* XIV. CHĪ MAHĀRĀJĀJĪ JAYAČAKTI.

0 1053–1072
no. 551–559. Dam. D 52=554;
D 53=557; perhaps 560, 561.

Not all the edicts 551–559 do mention the name of the king. This name is mentioned in 551 = D-, from Caka 1053; in 554 = D 52, from Caka 1059; in 556 = D—, from Caka 1070 in 556b = D—, from Caka 1071 and in 557 = D 57, from Caka 1072.

But according to the list of "ministers" also the other edicts no. 552, 553, 555 belong to this reign. The edicts 558 and may also originate from Jayačakti. They are at least before the reign of Jayasanga. Perhaps we may add no. 560 = 1003 (Old) and no 561 = 1002 old as belonging to this period.

There is still another question. In the Balinese post-Madjapeit literature a king Jaya-Kasumu is often mentioned, as a predecessor of Jayasanga. About this king see T IV 406, Jaya, and Drewes, diss. 1925, p. 149-150. But we have no edicts from him. 1)

The edict no. 555 treats again the kurum of Indrapura in relation to the village Air Tabar and the Bhāṭāra Bakit fungal. See about this question no. 006; 210; 507. 2)

Literature.
Goris PBI. p. 29-31.
Van Stein Callenfels, PB XII: 33-35 = no. 554.
Daṇaiss IV: 166 (no. 554) (date)
IV: 126 (no. 557) (date)

1) About Jaya Kasumu, see also Chinara BB VI, (Okt.
57) p. 15-17.
2) At present we have the very elaborated paper of
Poegor (1964) which deals with many questions.
From His Majesty, the Great-King, King Jayapangus we have quite a number of edicts. Only one edict originates from the year \( \xi \) 1099 (no. 601). All the other ones from \( \xi \) 1103. These other edicts form two groups. Original edicts: 20 (no. 602-605; 621-645) and "copies": (no. 661-669). The only edict from the year \( \xi \) 1099 (no. 601 = D 45) was found by me in Mantrig and it was published in OV 1929 p. 74. It differs in important points from all the \( \xi \) 1103 edicts. In the first place the plate has 7 lines (as also no. 666 = Mantrig C) against the usual six. Further, the names of both vatsas are not mentioned. The other edicts have all the same date: "Ing \( \varsigma \) 1103 (parame-maes, tithi navani \( \varsigma \) uklapakṣa, ma, ti, \( \varsigma \) tina wajang wajang'.

But the strange thing is that on that very same day the names of the ministers are changing. About this puzzle Van Stein Callenfels wrote in OV 1924 (p. 31-35), comparing more than 10 edicts. Afterwards when more than 30 edicts had been found, I could make a more detailed investigation. Not only the name of the ministers were changing, but there was also variation in special stereotype expressions and in the sequence or the parts.

So I could set up a new method of grouping. The authentic or original edicts fell into two groups: C A (602-605) and B (621-645).

A third group 50 is formed by the copies (661-669) (copies tardives). But also the type of characters is changing even among the authentic edicts. So I could speak about type A and type B. But these deviations in writing do not harmonize with the variations in the text. See about these questions: Go-

**Literature**

About the whole group:
Van Stein Callenfels, in OV 1924 p. 31-35.
Goris, FBI, p. 31-40.
Damas: Liste, p. 94-95.
Damas about Goris SBK, p. 646.
Damas: IV Date 94-95.
Published:

By Brandes: no. 621 in TBG 33, 1899; Transcription p. 54-56.

By Van Stein Callenfels:
no. 602 = D 55 in BE, XIV, p. 40-45 - Plate XVII.
no. 625 = D = in BE, XVI, p. 30-39 - Plate XVI.
no. 631 = D = in BE, XV, p. 46-48 - Plate XVIII.
no. 634 = D = in BE, VI, p. 19- - Plate VI.

Recently Drs. Sujono has discovered at Taru two plates 6 and 7 of this same edict. (In the course of 1961).

By Goris:
no. 601 = D 54; no. 664, 666 and no. 1010 all in OV 1929, p. 74-76.
no. 625 (Selat A), partially in Bja 19, 1939, p. 94-110.

About the Campbell edicts: no. 631 (Ç 1103), 604 (Ç 1246) and 1006 (Ç - ) see Goris, BEI, p. 35, 43, 49.


*VI. ÇTI MAHÂRÂJA HAJI KIKAJAYA-LAMÇANA 1)
AND ÇTI MAHÂRÂJA ÇHI ARJÂRA DENGJAYA.
Ç 1122.

The edict no. 702 is incomplete. Only plate 3 and 4 are left. They form a normal ending and give us a list of ministers. So we know that no. 702 precedes no. 703-704.

From this double edict only one plate (the first) from no. 703 is preserved. No. 704 is a copy of no. 703. It is more complete, but not all the plates are preserved. We have pl. 1-2 from the beginning, two plates P and Q somewhere from the middle and a plate V near the ending (a plate Z is missing). Damais has called no. 703 and No. 704 = D 57 or "Cintamani" V. It is dated Çaka 1122.

But edict no. 702 is also dealing with the same Karanam i Cintamani. Here we have a double royal name. A King and his mother, both bear the title ÇTI mahârâja, but the first (the king) has an additional title "haji". Just as (haji) Jayapangus.

About the question: "ratu-mahârâja and haji" we have spoken in connection with Anak wungu and Jayapangus. Damais has dealt with that problem more elaborately in his study of the Cunang Kawi inscriptions and formerly his Epigraphische Aanteekeningen, TBG 83, 1949, no. VI-VII. 2)

Literature:

Goris, PB I p. 40-41.

Damais, sur Goris SKD, p. 646 (names)

Damais IV Date 96 - nt. 1 (names; + ibumira).

*1) The edicts from Chapter XVI-XX will be dealt with in a scription (thesis) by Gusti Made Anom Susila.

2) About 701: Çaka 1116. Dam. D 56: Dharma bañár, see Ch. XXII no. 20.

41
Photos.

When I read these inscription from the bronze plates (at Kintaman) there was no opportunity to make photos. Afterwards Damais could consult recently made photos: OD 10767b and OD 10768 (see Dam. IV, 96 and Critique, p. 688 nt. 6).

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**XVII. BHAṬĪRA GURU I: CṚṬ ADĪKUNTĪ-KETANA. 1)**

\[\text{Q 1126} \]
\[705 = D 58.\]

This edict mentions many names. Even after the recent remarks of Damais (Critique, p. 646) the family relation is not quite clear. It seems that the queen or King's mother is called Bhaṭīra Guru cṛṭ Aḍī (Adhi) kunṭiketaṇa. Her son is called Cṛṭ-Dhana-adhirāja lañcanā and also Bhaṭīra Paramesvara cṛṭ Vīrahā. The spouse of the king is Pṛduka Bhaṭīru cṛṭ Dharma-dewi-ketu. As Damais about SEK (p. 646) has remarked, Dhana-adhirāja is an epithet for KAwora (king of abundance) and here it is used as a "nom d'oriflamme" (emblem) for the king (the son). What is more important in this edict is the very extensive treatment of the cyclical feasts of the village of Bāngli. All the temples are enumerated and the ceremonies for the mountain temple (Eyeang Wukir) in the 8th month are dealt with even more completely (EB XX, F.58-59). The first bronze plate has a small gravure of a four-armed bearded Guru (in a "Wajapait" aureole or prakāśa).

Literature.

Van Stein Callenfels, EB XX, p. 56-59 + Plaat XXXIII. Goris, PBI, p.41.

Damais, about Goris SEK, p. 646 (about the king's names).

Damais IV, 96-97. gives pl. 1b. (Complete)

Photos.

OD 5480-5482

CA 2156-222.

There is also a picture of pl. 1 in Bali Album, pl.313.

1) See Chapter XVI note 1.
The name of this king occurs only once; we have no other edicts from him. An addition "lañcana" is usual since Jayapangus. We find "cīhna" lañcana, ketu, ketana, all meaning "named" (see Ch. XVII). As in East Javanese and late Balinese edicts: "sapañji". The original meaning of those words is: "standard, banner, emblem". See Chapter XV.

The other name: "Fyang ning hyang" is strange. What de Casparis says about "hyanga i hyang apa" (P.I. II, text p. 314 strophe 16, translation p. 324, note 62 and p. 304 note 95) is far from clear and does not help us very much. He says: "hyanga i hyang apa" ("was not it a God for the God?") is a play on words which may more or less be rendered in the translation". As said, the term appears in str. 16 (and from his inscription XI: A metreical Old Javanese inscription dated 856 A.D. This inscription is from Caka 778 (Dma.A 20, "stele de Siwagha"). More important is that "sang Hyang ning Hyang" is a surname of Kṛṣṇa, used in the eulogy in Hariwangsa, 42.1 (ed Taus; = "vertaling") and also T II: 90, sv. Kṛṣṇa. Our inscription is complete (pl. 1b-5b). It treats the karmān i Bilihan and is still preserved in the same village.

Literature.
Goris: FBI, p. 41.

Photos:
OD. 6897-6904.

1) See Chapter XVI note 1.
This "ibu" from Çaka 1250 was the daughter of the mahārāja from Ç 1247, who was styled "pāduka bhāṭara Guru" in Ç 1246.

**Literature.**

Stein Callenfels, EB XVII, p. 50-52 = no. 904; EBXXV p. 68-70 = no. 907.

Goris, FBI p. 42-43.

Dennis, Liste, p. 94-97, note 1 (bhāṭara).

about Goris, SEK, p. 647 (also about "putu").

Critique, p. 690-692 (esp. about "bhāṭara").

IV 96 (about no. 803); IV 167 (about no. 804, 807).

**Photos.**

803: CA 50-52.

804: CA 190-211; OD 3877-3878.

806: no photos.

807: OD 5724-5725.

**Pictures (plates).**

804 Stein Callenfels, EB, pl. XX.

807 ibid, pl. XVIII (also in Goris Bali Album pl. 313).

Note: during this period there are many short inscriptions and many mediasal calices.

* XX. BHĀṬARA ÇĀṬAṢURA-RATNA BUNI BANTEN. 1) Ç 1259

no. 814 (new) = D 63.

Only one edict of this king is known. He is the lust of the independent Balinese princes. Six years after the date of this inscription Gañah Kada conquer Bali (Çaka 1265).

Between the latest edict of his predecessor, Bhaṭara Guru II = Kāhāguru, in Çaka 1250 and Agīṣura's grant there are 9 years. The edict is normal and complete (4 plates), it deals with the patahān Lānggasen. But we have a statue of a woman (a queen?) from Çaka 1352, nearly a century later. This statue is preserved in the pura Tégah Koriem on the Gunung Panulisan (Stutt. OB, p. 151). On the back there is a heavily damaged inscription (Stutt. OB 5, p. 79 = Goris no. 905b, new = Dem. D 57). This inscription mentions (bhāṭara) (a) rāṣṭra ratna bumi. But the context is far from clear.

Stutterheim's former hypothesis Çaka: -25- = 1254. 1257 and Dennis' edition 1352 (Dem. IV, p. 128-130) will be discussed later on in Chapter XXII, no. 21.

**Literature.**

Goris, FBI, p. 44 (no. 814, new).

Dem. Liste, D 63, p. 96, nt. 2 about "banten".

Dem. about SEK, p. 647 (about edict and statue).

Dem. Critique, p. 692-693 (important).

Dem. IV 96 (date).

**Photos.**

CA 1 - 7.

1) See Chapter XVI note 1.
Extra "note": about banten- bali = offering, esp. a small offering, strown away and eaten by the ravens (gagak) who are since: bali-puṣṭa and bali-buṣūj.

For the question of the name "Bali" for the island east of Java, see Gorus, Register s.v. Bali III. Just as the names Sunda and Upa-Sunda, reflect a Javanese idea; Sunda is "West of Java"and Upa-Sunda is "East of Java" (The smaller Sunda Islands), so also Bali I = Banten ("Bantam") was West of Java and Bali II was East of Java.

All these geographical notions reflect a Central Javanese Empire.

* XXI. THE EDICTS SINCE THE MAJAPAHIT CONQUEST

IN ABAGA 1265.

A. Full Majapahit edicts:

\[ \text{\textcopyright 1305 = no. 901 = D 65} \]
\[ \text{\textcopyright 1320 = no. 902 = D 66} \]

B. The Besakih group

\[ \text{\textcopyright 1366 = no. 905 = D} \]
\[ \text{\textcopyright 1380 = no. 906 = D} \] and
\[ \text{\textcopyright 1393 = no. 907 = D} \]

A. Full Majapahit edicts.

Both edicts are in the name of the prince of Wengker, Wijaya = Raja, the uncle of Hayam Wuruk.

Edict no. 901 gives the full name (see Dam. Lists, p. 97 sub D 55, with notes 5: "cette titulature est celle de Raden Kudarmata"). In this full name the element Candra also appears as garbhodanāma = baby-name. Edict no. 902 speaks about pnduka bhātāra orī pramaṇāvāra sīra sang mokes ring Wijaya bhawana.

Both edicts use a real Majapahit type of writing, Damais says: "Il faut insister sur le fait qu'il s'agit d'une écriture puramente javanaise" (Critique, p. 693). In Dam. IV : 127 we find a transcription of no. 901 pl. 1b 1-2a.5. He adds about bhumi Nalikeraṇāspa (pl. 2a. 4) that this must be a sanskritisation of a Balinese toponomy, as "nasa niyur" and refers to the inscription of Poh (Abagā 897 - Dam A. 70). And to Stutterheim's edition of this inscription in INI, I, p.4.1.2: wanna ri rumasa, ring ny3" (See Dam. IV., p. 127 note 1). He also draw our attention to the use of pihagon as a Javanese translation of praçaṭāni.

Edict no. 902 is published by Van Steijn Cal- lenfels, ES IV, p.13. It resembles strongly the Bi-
luluk edicts, see V.S. Callenfels in OV, 1918 p. 175 sqq. In this edict we find for the first time the term "Arva" (pl. 1a.4).
B. The Besakih group.

The edicts from Caka 1366 and 1380, painted on wooden boards are fully published by Goris in Djawa 17, 1937, p. 279. They are dealt with in his paper "De pura Besakih" (ibidem, p. 261 – 280).

The edict from 1393 (no. 907) is preserved in Selat, and called "Satara Buta Putra". In this edict just as no. 908, called "Bradah" (Kpu Bharaga) a date 9-2-9 is mentioned: mawa sang akit ja-wang (Goris, Dinasti I p. 20). This date is the traditional date of the foundation of the sanctuary at Kutri, for Gupapriya-dharmapati. See Reyting in Krom, Hindu Javaansche geschiedenis, 1931, p. 234 note 3 = Meens, Stamboom Airlangga, p. 121.

Literature.

Goris, in Djawa 17, 1937, p. 279 sqq. in Djawa 19,
* XXII. THE SHORT STONE INSCRIPTIONS.

(General survey).

1. 933  306 - D 24 - GP 1 (incomplete).
2a. 9 - 307 - D - - GP 2 (incomplete) here 2b:
     308 933: guhu Sangsit.
3. 945  354 - D 28 - Pura Sibi I (Agastya).
4. 948  356a- D 30 - Pura Sibi II (Durgā).
5. 948  356b- D 31 - Pura Sibi III (incomplete).
6. 948  356c - D - - Pura Sibi IV (statue).
7. 9 - 411 - D - - Stutt. O (rākaasa).
8. 993  437 - D - - Bran des (grotta, Sangsit).
9. 996  442 - D 46 - CP 3 (double lingga) (443-445; Pakrisan; Goa Gadjah).
10. 999  461 - D - - GP 4 (statue: Mandul).
11. 1001  462 - D - - (Gunung Kawi).
12. - 463 - D - - (Gunung Kawi).
13. - 465 - D - - (Gunung Kawi).
14. 966c = D - - Pedjeng P (Stutt. w).
15. - 467 = D - - Tjeluk (Stutt. X).
16. - 468 = D - - Pedjeng c (Stutt. Y).
17. - 469 = D - - Pujungan (mulkul) (Bali Al-bum no. 309).
18. 1013  503 = D 48; Pedjeng D (Hāriti).
19. 1013  504 = D - - Pedjeng E (Pārwati).
20. 1116  701 = D 56; p. Pengkur-ukuran (Dharma hāmar).
21. 1352  903 = D 67; (Statue: Aṣṭāsura ratna).
22. Zodiocal chalices
   9250 no. 808 Krambitan.
   9253 no. 810 Ubud.
   9253 no. 816 Sangsit.
   9261 no. 816 Baju.

Appendix.

Only dates, mostly in (Candra-) sangkala, 805 (9245); 809 (9251); 812 (9256); 813 (9258); 815 (9261); 817 (9264) (statue of a queen) 903a (9251); 904 (9255).
No. 805 and 903 are "miniature capājī". More of such miniatures are found in Bali, see Stutterheim 81 I, p. 98, 103-104, 151 no. 805, 180-181. Pictures no. 75-78.
And also Stutterheim in Med. Kirtysa 1, 1930, p.60-63 fig. 4-7 (Miniature capājī at Bubulan).
XXIII. THE SHORT STONE INSCRIPTIONS.

(In detail)


1. no. 306 = D 24 = Stutterheim, OB GP 1, from § 933. An inscription on the back of a statue of a "couple". Text (with corrections by Damais and Goris): Stutt. fig. 109: 1)
(1) // ćaka 933 wulan posa sukla prati
(2) pada renggas pasar wijayamangala tatkāla
(3) sīra mpu bga anatā //

2. no. 307 = J = D; Stutterheim, OB, OP 2, §. An inscription on the back of a statue of a "couple": Stutt. fig. 19. Text (Goris). Stutt. fig. 108.
(1) ............... (wijaya)
(2) ............... (lakṣa) tatkāla bga ana (ta) //
Both inscriptions mention Mpu Bega; the first one says: "sīra mpu bga; the second: "bega".
About the characters bga and "bega", see the pictures. Both inscriptions use the trīyana. Neither mentions the names of king and queen, but only the name of the sculptor. 2)

According to Stutterheim Mpu Bega was the sculptor ("anatā"). But in the inscription no. 354 (D 28) we read: "sīra mpu bga ta mijilaken sanghyang 5/. kaki sang sēra.

And that inscription is on the back of an Agastya statue. See here no. 3. About this "mijil-aken"

1) The statue = Stutt. fig. 20; the text is Stutt, fig. 109.
2) In Ćaika 933 Gupapiya had already died (925, see above Ch. VIII) but in Caiitra of that very year (933) Udayana issued an edict.

Stutterheim wrote an article: Winetu-wetu in BKL 90, 1933, p. 287 sqq. But still the question remains: How could any sculptor "mijil-aken" the ājīva of the persons for whom the statues were carved? See further remarks sub 3-6, and 18-19.

Literature.

Stutterheim, OB: Text: p. 70, 80, 84. About the statues p. 118-121.
Goris, FBI Text, p. 94. FB II: Dutch translation, p. 105; Rinkasan; p. 189; Summ ary, p. 200.
Damais, Līste D 24; D --.
Damais IV 229.

Photog.
306 - OD 8729 (front); OD 8730 (back)
307 - OD 8733 (front); OD 8734 (back)

Plate (Pictures).
306 (front) - Stutterheim OB, fig. 20.
306 (back) - idem OB, fig. 100.
307 (front) - idem OB, fig. 19.
307 (back) - idem OB, fig. 108.
Goris, FB, pl. VII = text of no. 306.

3 - 6.

3. no. 354 Kasian = pura Sibi I; § 945; Damais D 28.
4. no. 356a Kasian = pura Sibi II; § 946; Damais D 28.
5. no. 356b Kasian = pura Sibi III; § 948; Damais D 31.
6. no. 356c = pura Sibi IV; -, Damais D --.
All inscriptions are on the back of statues.
No. 354 is on the back of an Agastya statue.
No. 356a on the back of a Darāsūr statue.
No. 356b on the back of a couple.
No. 356c on the back of (a ājīva) ?

The texts:

3. No. 354. (Stutt. BKL 90, 1933, 281; Damais IV, 230)
(1) Ćaika 945 phalagina māsa tithi dwa
(2) dasi pasar manggala irika diwasa sire mpu bga
(3) ta ya mijilken sung hyang 5// kaki sang sara/

(1). //...........çaça 94G phalagina masa (su)k(ī)ja
pañca
(2). (da) si regas pasar vijayama (ngga) la tatka-
lan
(3) ...............lameraja
(4) ...................

5. No. 356b: Damais IV 234
(1). Çaça 94G wulan palagina sukla
(2). pañcadasa sire mpu bga ta ya mwang si
(3). ra mpu kaki nami/

6. No. 356c: Damais, Liste, p. 89 nt. 3
// kaki nami.nama kṛtaka om //

If we compare the 4 texts, we see that no. 354 and
356b contain the name "Sira mpu bga" (as no. 306
and 307). Further no. 354 uses the term "mijilken"
And no. 354 has: "sanghyang 5// kaki sang sara /
No. 356b has: "sira mpu kaki nami", no. 356c reads:
"kaki nami (nama kṛtaka om)". We cannot draw many
conclusions, because we do not understand: "sang-
hyang 5" (n. 354; here no. 3). Who were: "kaki sang
Sara" (no. 354) "kaki Nami" (no. 356 and no. 356c)?
We only know that in 933 a certain Mpu Bga "kana
kath", and that in 945 the same Mpu Bga "mijila-
kah.

Stutterheim wrote (EKI 90, 1933, p. 281-282) that
mijilken may mean: "to give form to" and mijil-
akhen: "to get a form, to be giving a form". In this
context I suppose we must also use the articles of
Moon about: "prātiṣṭha": TGB 58, 1919; p.493 - 527;
TGB 60, 1920, p. 28 -65; and also TGB 80, 1940, p.78 -
109 about Fūnpawam of Tārāmā.

The whole question deserves a new study about the
religious meaning of statues. I may add that there
is a controversy about the meaning of canḍi and ati
pa. Within Buddhism there were aśhega and btenes (re-
lice), within Čiwa-siddhānta no material rests were
preserved.

Literature.
Stutterheim: EKI 90 (1933) p. 281.
Goria: PB I, p. 103 (text of no. 354), PB II, 176
(Dutch translation with "Aanteekening" about
dewa kaki santuṣī cf. "kaki sang sara")
Goria: PB II Register: sv. wiil (p.355); kaki (p256)
Damais: Liste: p. 88 n.l.; p. 89 n-3; IV (Date): as
mentioned above.
Moon: as mentioned above.

Photos.
OD 9335, 9336.

Rubbings: Recently made in 1962 by Drs.Soejono (DPK).

7 + 9 = 411; 442
7 = 411 = D --. Dam IV: 211 nt. 2.

Text:
(1) (bula)n besaka sukla titha ailakasa pekan bijaya-
pura, diwasa sang ............
(2) ............... anghārep datu mangaran tati anghārep
rekraya anali ma........
9 = 442 = D 46 = Stutt. GP 3; Dam IV: 231 (double ling
ga).

Text:
(1) // ing çaça 996
(2) bukan jesta su
(3) ksa trayonami
(4) pasar vijaya manggala

Note:
The inscription no. 443 (mas pirak); no. 444 (kemon)
and no. 445 (ašha wメン) are not dealt with here
especially. For their age, see Stut. OB p. 76,88
500-1000 Çaça: before the quadrata inscriptions). The
inscription 411 is on a statue of a rākṣasa, and no.
442 is on the back of a double lingga. We will deal with them shortly.
In 7 = 411 (transcription by Stutterheim, OB, p. 69; 84; with some corrections from me and from Damais) we find twice: "anghărep". First followed by "datu mangaran tati"; then by "rekryan anami". The language of the date is Old Balinese, but the text is Old Javanese. We do not know who was the "datu". In Old Balinese "datu" means a deity, e.g. Bhaṭara Daṭonta, pinaka ngudunda datu as the local deity, also called "sanghyang" against "ratu" as the living King (Turunan). In 106, 209 (also) in Old Balinese we find "(da) datu kabudi kabudi" - the future kings (jorda) against "sang ratu Ubrasa" as the living king. And in 210: "tany ada birinda datu" -p.262. But "Tati" 1) is a very strange name for a king. The term: "rekryan Anili" remembers of a "Rekai Amili" as a minister under Anak Wangga (Qaka 971; 402.5a.4.). The inscription 442 is again on the back of a double lingga (statue). The text reminds us of the other Gunung Pauhulan statues (no, 306, 307). But the year is Qaka 996 and that of the other statues is Qaka 933. And in the inscription of Qaka 996 Mpu Bega is not mentioned.

Literature and Photos.
About 411:
Stutterheim, OB, Text p. 69, 84, 144. Pictures fig. 33.
Damais: Critique p. 687 nt.3 (about rekai and rekryan).
Damais IV: 211. 2 (about: rekan bijavanura)

Photos.
OD 7739.

1) See Pigeaud, Tantu, King Shatati: his Reg. s.v., and especially Pratasti bhuvan (Pigeaud, p.294).

About 442:
Stutterheim, OB, Text p. 70, 85; 122; Pictures fig. 18 and 107.
Dam. D 46: and IV 231 (complete transcription). With note 1: "Cette fois encore on se trouve devant un cas delicat pour determiner la language."

Photos OD 8752 (back with inscription), 8751 (front).

10 - 17 The inscriptions in "quadrate" character.

10 = 461 = GP 4 (statue of Mandul: ante § 999)
11 = 462
12 = 463 Gunung Kawi
13 = 465
14 = 466 (Pedjeng 3)
15 = 467 (Tjeluku)
16 = 468 (Pedjeng 0)
17 = 469 (Padjungan - bronze kulkul)

10 = 461 Bhaṭara Mandul
A bhaṭara Mandul as a deity (deified) at Sakawana is mentioned in qaka 983 (no. 407) (see Ch. X). She may have been the barren wife of Anak Wangga.

11 = 462 Baji lumah ing jalu
12 = 463 - wa — kira
13 = 465 rakryan
14 = 467 ḍa mpu Kidul
16 = 468 only 5 ekṣera (see Crucq in OV 1930, p.236).
17 = 469 Samak dana prihapan aris jayarana.

Literature.
Cruq in OV 1930, p. 236-7 (about no. 468).
de Casparis has read no. 469.
Gunung Kawi, p. 133-143 "note additionelle", p. 159-160.
After the publication of Stutterheim, the article of Damais, Studeo Cininese III Gunung Kawi (1960) is the most important. His hypothesis is that "haji lumah ing jalu" (the most important inscription of Gunung Kawi) also from a chronogram with the value of 3\(\alpha\)ka 1001. This supposition agrees very well with the fact that Anak Wungtwo's latest edict is from 3\(\alpha\)ka 999.

About the characters in the shield of the r\(\ddot{a}\)ksasa (no 468) - dyah nadasara, the meaning is still uncertain. Even if the interpretation of the singular characters is correct, we do not know in which order we have to read them.

Photos.

461 : OD 3727 - 3723
462 : OD 5689
466a : OD 7720
467 : OD 8712 - 8719
468 : OD 7696

Pictures (Plates).

| Goria, Bali Album pl. 309 (the kuluk, no. 468) |
| Damais, ET Pal. III pl. XXXI-XXXIV (Gunung Kawi) |

18 - 19.

18 = 503 = D 48. On the back of a H\(\ddot{a}\)rit\(\ddot{a}\) statue:

Text:

1) ................. \(\alpha\)ka 1013 magha.
2) (\(\ddot{a}\)kula) paksa tithi nawa\(\ddot{i}\) pe
3) (\(\ddot{k}\)en) kr\(\ddot{a}\)nta \(\ddot{a}\)rika dawasa bhatari
4) i ba\(\ddot{n}\)u palasa \(\ddot{a}\)nijila
5) \(\ddot{k}\)en mpu petak swaraswa
6) ti dirgh\(\ddot{a}\)h\(\ddot{a}\)nu

19 = 504 = D - On the back of a P\(\ddot{a}\)rawati statue:

Text:

1) ................. 1 \(\ddot{a}\)ka 101 (3)
2) ................. caturtha \(\ddot{a}\)kula (pk) en manggalai

Here we meet the term \(\ddot{a}\)nilakan as \(\ddot{a}\)nilakan in no 354 (short inscription no. 3). Stutterheim said (HKI 90, 1953, p. 281-282) that \(\ddot{a}\)nilakan may mean: "to give form to" and \(\ddot{a}\)nilakan: "to be given a form, to get a form". The data still use the trivara (peken or paseur kr\(\ddot{a}\)nta, manggalali, pura). See the no term: Goria, Register avv.

wijaya kr\(\ddot{a}\)nta, wijaya manggalali, wijaya pura.

Damais, IV p. 211-212 (1955) and Damais, Trivara, p. 153-159 (1960). Was the name of the sculptor formerly Mpu Benga, now Mpu Petak is mentioned.

About H\(\ddot{a}\)rit\(\ddot{a}\) statues:

We have this H\(\ddot{a}\)rit\(\ddot{a}\) from 3\(\alpha\)ka 1013; then there is H\(\ddot{a}\)rit\(\ddot{a}\) at Goa Gajah and a third one at Tjandi Dasa. We do not know the site of Ba\(\ddot{n}\)u Palasa and "Gauha".

20. 3\(\alpha\)ka 701 = D 56 ("Dharma h\(\ddot{a}\)nhar") 1)

Text (Stutterheim, Goria, Damais)

1) ................. awa\(\ddot{\imath}\)ti \(\ddot{a}\)kawara\(\ddot{\imath}\)t\(\ddot{\imath}\)t\(\ddot{\imath}\)mata warta-

mama 116. phalgupama\(\ddot{\imath}\) tithi pa\(\ddot{n}\)amati \(\ddot{a}\)kupak-

ya.

2) tu, wa, wra ning julung pujut dew\(\ddot{a}\)ntara ir\(\ddot{a}\)-

ka diwa\(\ddot{a}\) nra mpungkwai dharma h\(\ddot{a}\)nhar guru aji

mapati jiwaya-

3) amunijaiwa ingkang \(\ddot{a}\)napaka mowah bhyami bha-

ri

i \(\ddot{a}\)ro i heng mapati maka muka mukan ratna ku-

jarpa\(\ddot{a}\)da.

The text and the contents are amply discussed by

Stutterheim. OB, p. 89-92: Goria in Bahasa dan Budaya

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1) This very important inscription is not written on a statue, but on a lintel.
VI 4 April 1958, p. 5-6 with the notes 17-27 and a "Iketan" from Purbatjaraka, ibidem, p. 11.

Full transcription by Stutterheim, OB p. 78; Goris

Domains IV, p. 95. The spelling is very bad and many words are far from clear: amurajawa, mapanti makan-

mukamukan.

For the date is used: "Caikawara-atita-anagata- var-
tamana". This does not give a good sense. Caikawara-
tita - "passed year" is very common in Javanesse ed-

icts, but it is never used in Balinese inscriptions. But after this atita-passed follows anagata - future and wartamana = current. 1)

A "guru aji" with the title of spungkwing Dharma ha-

jar. It mentions it that he has died (pura-

jawa), but the term is not known elsewhere and Pur-

batjaraka reminds us of amurajitawan, from pura-

jawa = menghidupkan kembali, as a term, frequently used in Madjapahit edicts. The name Dharma hajar oc-
curs twice in edict 631: dena grih maharaja baji ja-

yapangus and again: Bhajara ring Dharma hajar, makadi i sira, paduka grih maharaja baji Jayapangus.

Here is spoken of an already dead and defied king Bhajara "enshrined" in (at) Dharmaharja. The king's name is Hariyabhu and he is followed by Jayapangus. Two of this mention are found again in no. 1046 - "Sang alomah ring Dharmaharja, mapanji Hariyabhu di mulur", etc. And with a small variation: "bhajara me kasilungkung ri Dharma hajar, makadi sira baji Jayapangus. The first edict is from 9d 1103, the second one has no date, but is of the same structure as the first one. A king's name Hariyabhu is not known from other edicts, but we find Hariyamdi for both Sakalen du, 9d 1030, and Chudhipha, 9d 1037 and Wirumuri 9d 1066. It seems that Hariyabhu is the surname of the immediate predecessor of Jayapangus, after Jayaçakti.

The name Ratanakusumapada occurs only in this inscrip-
tion on a lintel. But we have Anta-Kusumapada in no.
404a from Caka 975 and no. 436 from Caka 995. In the edict from Caka 975 ricefields that re purusañcara at Lutungan are dealt with. They are "Sima punpunan". And in the other edict the "Sima Warajana" is mentioned. In both inscription a sthāpaka and m̐ahā trya are mention ed. And in our edict we find again a sthāpaka. The term "spungkwing Dharma hajar, paduka Bhajara" oc-
curs also in a much later edict from Caka 1246 (no. 804). In this edict the Mpu falls under the Ciba pri-

ests.

Many things in this stone inscription are far from clear.

Literature.

Stutterheim OB p. 78 (top), 89-92 with plate 701.

Goris, in Bahasa dan Budaya, already mentioned.

Goris in PB I p. 40 no. 701.

Danais, Liste, L 35.

Danais IV, p. 95 Den BB, I (=Menthode), p. 9n.2. (= bout the date).

See also Goris, Register S. v. v. panti (pimakati); 25-

jaka. The term: bhajara i heng i tro occurs also in an Old Javanese inscriptions (9d 35 - Den A 92) from Vaka.

Photos.

OD 6632.


Text:

Stutterheim, Goris, Danais :

1) ................. t' cakara $-

2) caka cera thith. cewaki

3) cukrapaksa wara wu. wa. ca.

4) ning julung wangi. samangkana

5) (-) - minga - wa'pa hyang ngi -

6) (-) kawara - kahyangan (-)

7) (-) - ire - i - ta bhatara

1) Den. IV (Date) 95 does not explain this very stran-
ge way of dating.
(a) (-) - atasura ratna bumi banta
(b) .......................................... // o //

About this stone inscription, especially about the name Astasura I have already spoken in connection with edict no. 814 from Çaka 1219 (See Chapter XX). Stutterheim had suggested that the date of the stele inscription was Ç 1287. Damais has solved the question in another way: he took the 2-5 or 5-2 as the last two figures: Çaka 1287 and came to Ç 1352. The text is too damaged to admit of a translation.

Literature.
Stutterheim, OE p. 79, 92 (text); 151 statue, with figure 115 (back with inscription).
Goras PRI, 41, no. 810 (old) = no. 903b (new).
Damais, Listo D 67,
- IV: 128-130 (date: complete transcription).
- Critique, p. 692-693: The woman of the statue from 1352 may be a "descendant" of the king from the edict 1259.

Photos.
OD 8726 = back with inscription;
OD 8727 = front.

22. Zodiacal Chalices.

There are quite a number of these chalices. They are the bowls for the toya bartha of the priest (ciwamba).
We know no. 806: Çaka 1250 (Krambitan) no. 810 Çaka 1253 (Ubud); no. 811 Çaka 1253 (Sangsit); no. 816 Çaka 1261 (Batu). But there must exist many more. See in general: Scholte, De selamatan entas-entas, etc. in Hand.Jav. Taalocongres, 1921, p. 85 sqq; Bruce, Zodiacabekers in TBC 74, 1934 and Bosch, Gids Mus. Bat. 1919, p. 69, 74, 75.

XXIV. Sanskrit-Inscription
from Çaka 841

SS5 = Gori 105 b = Dan. D - (Pedjeng II).

Stutterheim has tried to read some fragments and to combine them. Stutterheim OE, p. 53-57; 59-63. His transcription is republished in Gori, PB I p. 109 - 112.

Damais has read with Stutterheim in fragment b line 10: janaabdi-ma...... and he has supposed it to be a chronogram. Jam = 1, abdi = 4. For 841...... he gives: mahIdewa = 7 or manggala = 6. And so he meets a very difficult choice between Çaka 141 or Çaka 841. After much discussion, also about the type of the figures, he chooses Çaka 841 with (much) hesitation. See Pedjeng II p. 144-152 "Tous adaptérons le date 841 Çaka, mais avec réserve".

Apart from the question of the date, this inscription is also important because many "theological" Skt. terms are used. So: manucina in 4, 15, 17, 205; mantra-mitra in 4; subhaabha in 6.

Literature.
Stutterheim, Gori already mentioned.
Damais, Pedjeng II p. 144-152.

Plates.
Stutt. OE, fig. 94-98.
**XXV. Sanskrit Inscription**

from Çaka 875

SS7 = Goris no. 201d = Dam. D 12; (Pedjeng I).

After the reign of Ugrasena and before the reign of Tabanendra Waradewa a king, named "Agni" promulga-
ted a long inscription on a stone (864-877).

Both Stutterheim and Damais have tried to read this
inscription. The text was published first by Stutter-
heim, OB, p. 65-67: as inscription "w". But Stutter-
heim made some mistakes in the numbering of the four
sides of the stone. I republished this transcription
in FBI p. 113-115.

The real order is: I (Stutterheim fig. 101).
II (Stutt. a fig. 102).
III (Stutt. b fig. 103).
IV (Stutt. d fig. 104).

The more important and readable lines are:
II line 8-13 (Goris, FBI, p. 114);
III line 10-13 (Goris, ibidem).
IV line 6-10 (Goris, FBI, p. 114-115);

Damais wrote an article about it "Etudes Kelimesse",
II, p. 129-129; "l'Inscription Sanskritte de Pedjeng
(I)" in 1951. He read the sangkla (chronogram) as
wës-ñòra-ge (gëkëbas)= 5 - 7 - 8 = Çaka 875 (p.
134) and the date: pëse site thiya tithem =
5 sukla of Pansa (Monday, Dec. 12, 953 AD; p.155).

And the name of the king in II, 11-13: (a) mínëmah
rëpati (p. 135). In this verse it is mentioned that
the palace of the king was burnt down (dëghe yad-
bawane).

In this inscription we find the expression "mnüta
hyana" (II. 11). The cort post is mentioned aṣṭi
Punagi-nand ya (I'6) and the rëma citraëkkha as:
Këpïya (IV; 8-9 nikarâya = kelatut). See further
the anotations of Stutterheim, OB, 65-67 and
Damais in Et. Bal. II (above mentioned). There ex-
ist photos OB and pictures in Stutterheim OB, Flaten
fig. 101-104 (above mentioned). See also Dam.IV:207.

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**APPENDIX A**

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**NB.**

No. 909 (Gaka 1757) of Sebudi is not an edict, but may be called a chronicle in the style of PamaNCangah, cf. PamaNCangah Ngurah Sidemen, the same may be said of no. 1016, from p. Prasada at Kapal.
* APPENDIX II

Changed place-names

354a Kesihan = Pura Sibi I

The question Sangsit, Sawan, Bilu, Belain. Ah is very complicated. New research is necessary in all these villages if there are still bronze-plates and which?

438 - 440 Klungkung. There are the bronze-plates at present:

441 - "Vindplaats onbekend" Y₁
        = Srokodan B = Sukawati C

503  Vindplaats onbekend = Y₂. Hara buti B?


635, 667, 1009 Tabar kau (A, B, C). Where?

803  = Y₃ = Srokodan C