

WOMEN OF THE OLD JAVANESE PERIOD:  
THEIR ACTIVITIES AND ROLES  
FROM 9TH TO EARLY 10TH CENTURY INSCRIPTIONS

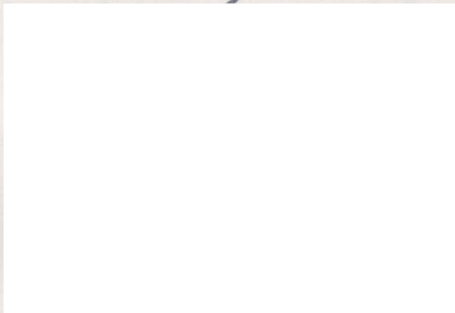
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Summary of Thesis

Unless otherwise indicated, I declare this thesis to be the 9th to my own work



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The result of this study shows that Old Javanese women seem to have been less equal to men, especially when we analyze how many women were actively taking part in each activity. Almost in every activity where women participated actively or passively, they are mentioned as the wife of someone and usually their name appeared after their husband's. This situation seems to indicate that in the majority cases, women's titles function as the status markers rather than role and function markers. The other important finding is that the information given in those inscriptions relates mainly to high status women and only for a very limited range of situations.



## Summary of Thesis

This study is concerned with 92 inscriptions from the 9th to early 10th century A.D. The main topic of this study is to analyze the Old Javanese women's roles in the society. 29 inscriptions show women from this period can be categorised into high and low status groups. Both groups are found involved in social, administrative, religious, economic, and juridicial activities.

The result of this study shows that Old Javanese women seem to have been less equal to men, especially when we analyze how many women were actively taking part in each activity. Almost in every activity where women participated actively or passively, they are mentioned as the wife of someone and usually their name appeared after their husband's. This situation seems to indicate that in the majority cases, women's titles function as the status markers rather than role and function markers. The other important finding is that the information given in those inscriptions relates mainly to high status women and only for a very limited range of situations.

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Canberra, February 1993

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS:

- BEFEO *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*,  
Hanoi, Saigon, Paris.
- BLPPN *Berita Lembaga Purbakala dan Peninggalan  
Nasional*, Jakarta.
- CIJ B.H. Sarkar: *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*,  
up to 928 A.D., 2 vols., Calcutta.
- EEI L.C. Damais: *Etudes d'épigraphie Indonésienne*.
- INI Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsche-Indie:  
*Inscripties van Nederlandsche-Indie*, Batavia.
- KO A.B. Cohen Stuart: *Kawi Gorkonden-Inleiding  
en transcriptie*, Leiden.
- PI J.G. de Casparis: *Prasasti Indonesia*, 2 vols,  
Bandung.

## INTRODUCTION

## I.a. Background

The concept that women are weak and irrational has had a very long history. Emmanuel Kant, a German philosopher, stated that it was very hard to believe that women could understand principles. Arthur Schopenhauer, another German philosopher, also suggested that women were always left behind. They had no ability to think clearly and to reflect. Women were to be positioned between children and men, and finally, they were to be accepted only as a reproduction element (Deckard 1975, Arief Budiman 1982). Lord Chesterfield, an English writer, said that women in fact are children despite their large appearance. They can entertain people surrounding them, but they cannot participate with men in thinking through something more complicated. The main task for women, he thought, was to bring up their children (Deckard 1975:2-3). Certain scholars see the reproduction role of women as having a special value for women which is difficult for men to match (Reid 1988:629, Webster 1975:151-2). But others see it as having less value and that this causes women to remain socially powerless. Moreover, they assume that women's child bearing role can be seen as an

agent of their widespread oppression. Kathleen Gough says,

...because of their monopoly over weapons, and because freedom from child care allows them (men) to enter specialized economic and political roles, some men-especially ruling class men-acquire power over men and over women... (Gough as cited by Webster 1975:148)

Apart from being seen as weak human beings, women are sometime also seen as strong but "dangerous human beings" because they can use their beauty for negative purposes.

Maybe it can be said that women are not equal to men; they really have different functions. Rayna Reiter in the introduction of her book says that women often lag behind men because what they really do, according to man's perspective, is household work, what they talk about is less important than men's talk and can be called gossip, while men's work is seen as the economic base of society and their conversation as important social communication (Reiter 1975:12).

Physically, it is accepted that man and woman are different. And some people also accept that psychologically they are different as well (Arief Budiman 1982:1). But, are the positions mentioned above, which tend to argue that woman cannot do man's work because she acts more emotionally than he, to be accepted universally? Or, is it that the old concept of "sexual divisions of labour", which shows directly that women's duties are "only" those of housewives who look

after households and children, and those of men are providing enough food such as meat for their families by hunting or in modern times by working outside, has been accepted too many years. People in general often tend to ignore the problem, even though this causes women to be left backward and uneducated in some societies, while men are given more chances to develop.

What then of matriarchal societies? Or is it true that male dominance has always been a characteristic of human societies? Matriarchy, according to Webster, is the inverse reflection of patriarchy: It means a society in which women as a class have power and authority over men (Webster 1975:142). More than that, matriarchy is often used as a term to refer to female autonomy, mother/women rights, recognition of the female principle, worship of goddesses, matrilineage, women centered social organization, and so forth (Bullock 1977:510).

Bachofen, who originally postulated the existence of matriarchy as a social system, and Morgan, using the ancient records of women rulers, female goddesses and also evidence of societies in which descent is reckoned through the female, suggested that in the very early stages of human development women had more power than men (Bullock 1977:510; Rosaldo & Lamphere 1974:2-3). But in fact, the existence of matriarchy is very controversial because even in matrilineal societies

we find that male dominance still existed.

Gough in her article "The Origin of the Family", argues that there is no evidence to prove matriarchy. Even in early societies women were also "the second sex, with greater or lesser subordination to men and that from the start women have been subordinate to men in certain key areas of status, mobility and public leadership" (Gough as cited by Webster 1975:147-8). Webster is much more extreme on this matter. She states that women's social position may be much better in matrilineal societies, but the evidence to support the idea that women had power is all talk. Moreover she says,

We do not agree with some of our sisters within anthropology that any attention paid to the matriarchy question is a waste of time at best, or a destructive diversion at worst. The more we read, the clearer it becomes that matriarchy is the only vision we have of a society in which women have power, ... (Webster 1974:145).

As there has been a general assumption that evidence for matriarchy is lacking and that reexamination of the issue is needed, what is the status of the opposite assumption that male dominance has been there from the beginning ? Some anthropologists seem to succeed in answering this question. Friedl as one of them says that even in matrilineal societies in which almost every activity is reckoned through females including the holding of property and inheritance, men still get the most valuable prizes and control the society (Friedl 1975:4). However, the Marxists, as stated in Friedl, assert

that actually preclass societies were sexually egalitarian and that male dominance which now exists in this type of society was the result of colonial conquest (Friedl 1975:5). Others say that the problem of separation between women and men is recognised as the result of the Industrial Revolution. For example, Eugene Lupri argued :

In Marx's term, it (the revolution) prepared the stage for the ensuing oppression of women and the family's subordination to the class relations. It separated men from women and gave way to the ideology of separate 'spheres' for men and women, . . . , the husband's responsibility came to be understood as one of a wage earner, while the wife's domain centered around what Zaretsky calls 'human values', or the preservation of familial unity in terms of love, personal happiness, and domestic felicity (Lupri 1978:3-4).

R.O. Whyte, in the first chapter of his book entitled The Women of Rural Asia, recognised that women from most parts of the world have questioned the value their societies attribute to women's role and status. And Western women, especially, have tried to find explanations of their subordinate position in the history of human societies by comparing problems experienced with those of pre-industrial societies or those of societies which developed along different lines. Some evidence shows that women from the latter societies had very important roles in the family and in their national economies (Whyte 1982:1).

Talking about differences between women and men or

sexual roles in general is very difficult as there is still argumentation about whether the inequality is universal or not. Some anthropologists say that based on cross-cultural studies of female and male activities, it is a fact that in general, cultural systems attribute special value to the roles of men. Still, the recent research of anthropologists and feminist-historians show that women may have more power, more important roles and status in some cultural contexts and under certain conditions. From their findings, it can be concluded that "women are not necessarily universally, or at least not equally oppressed" (Webster 1975:154).

Southeast Asia, according to Penny van Esterik, as cited in Shelley Errington's article "Recasting Sex, Gender, and Power: A Theoretical and Regional Overview", is recognised as an area where women possess high position (Errington 1990:1). This conclusion is widely accepted not only by some anthropologists, but also by some sociologists and historians, who draw the same conclusion from the evidence of old documents and other ancient remains. They record that women were not only street sellers or market sellers, but also large-scale merchants and ship owners. And in politics, women were often used as representatives or negotiators because of their persuasive abilities. More than that, the evidence also shows that female rulers or queens are quite common (Kumar 1980; Reid 1988).

Errington argues this issue, and she states that gender

differences always exist, even in a region like Southeast Asia in which the social and economic equality of women is admissible. She assumes that women in Southeast Asia are seen as having high status only because of their "bilateral" or "cognatic" kinship in which every child is considered equal to both its parents. Southeast Asian women are also recognised as inheriting equal wealth and noble titles with other male family members. And another important point is that Southeast Asian women are used to controlling family finances as they can earn money equally with their husbands. In these societies, according to her, Southeast Asian women can substitute in the absence of their male family members at social functions or other events, and usually they have the same rights (Errington 1990:3-4). Still, she tries to prove that differences between sexes in Southeast Asia exist just like in other part of the world, only because they are not marked in the usual ways, they are not easily recognised. Any small differences between the two sexes within these societies can be understood as "gender markers". And as she mentioned in her article, the gender difference is difficult to see because the ideas of "power" and "status" as the means of understanding gender are not cross culturally the same.

Similar care is needed when considering the content of matriarchy in Old Javanese society. It is believed that matriarchy was characteristic of this society because women held high positions and were active in what are considered

elsewhere to be male activities. Many inscriptions provide evidence that some positions which used to be held by men such as officials who marked out a *sima* (free-holding lands), and ruled independent areas and were active in sacred ceremonies, were also given to women. But, a problem arises as to how equal their positions and their roles in the society were if we use the ideas that gender always exists in any kind of society and any small differences between the two sexes can be understood as gender differences.

The status of women in society will always be a subject for debate. People can take varying approaches, depending on their interests, the importance of the subject to them, and on the value-system of the society which provides the standards of evaluation.

In Indonesia, although it is still at a preliminary stage, the study of women seems to be growing. But most of the research that has already been, and still is being conducted, is about Indonesian women in modern society. There is a great deal more to be said about the roles and status of women in the past if we wish to understand the whole society.

#### I.b. Purpose of this Study

It is assumed that Old Javanese inscriptions will prove a valuable source of information about the position of women

in the societies to which they refer. In this context, the following objectives apply :

(1) to identify what kind of work was undertaken and what positions were held by women in the Old Javanese period,

(2) if women could use the full range of this so as to make an important contribution to the society, this study also intends to explore what kind of activities they undertook in connection with their positions, and the importance of those activities to the society,

(3) if there is evidence that women could obtain the highest positions in government, this study will analyze the character of their leadership.

In general, this study hopes to present as comprehensive a picture as possible of women in the Old Javanese period and their place in society from the inscriptions.

#### I.c. Sources

Our knowledge about the past, in this case the Old Javanese period, is derived from many sources that are written and unwritten. An inscription is a kind of written source which is often used to help people understand more about past history. Although we cannot get an absolutely complete picture, much information about the economic, social, and political situations of women can be acquired

from inscriptions.

This study is based on Old Javanese inscriptions, especially from the 9th to early 10th century. This period is known as the Central Javanese period because most of the inscriptions and monuments up to 900 A.D. come from Central Java and inform us about rulers and their activities in Central Javanese areas. A few separate inscriptions and monuments do in fact come from East Java, but, if we compare these with those of Central Java, we can see clearly that the Central Javanese situation is much more established. Furthermore, it is important to know about the roles and the activities of women in the Old Javanese period from the earliest times when written evidence is available.

There are 92 inscriptions from the period chosen which will be used as the primary sources ( A list of these inscriptions is appended). The inscriptions were written on either stone or copperplate, and most of them were written in the Old Javanese language. The major focus in the content of Old Javanese inscriptions was the establishment of *sima* which meant a change in the status of an area, usually known as a tax-free grant to an area, which could be a village or part of a village, a sawah or ricefields. The *sima* was usually granted to a person, a group of people, or to the villagers of one village, and usually the money or other valuables previously paid as tax were subsequently to be used for the upkeep of religious foundations. *Sima* were usually given by

the royal family or their high officials (*Rakai* or *Samgat*), and the gift was strengthened by a ceremony. Other matters dealt with in the inscriptions are juridical decisions, repayment of debts which were usually a personal matter, and donations. And it is through all of these transactions, that the study examines the position of women in the Old Javanese period.

Buchari (1965:48) reports that in the 1960s the then Archaeological Service held 'almost 3000 estampages of stone and metal inscriptions which have been found in various places in the Indonesian Archipelago.' Despite the labours of earlier epigraphists, and others since Buchari wrote, much basic work remains to be done in almost all fields. Modern scholars must still begin with the 125 transcriptions published by J.L.A Brandes in Old-Javanese Oorkonden (1913) and the work of Stuart Cohen in Kawi Oorkonden in Facsimile, met Inleiding en Transcriptie (1875). Although, according to Van der Meer, misreadings have caused errors and omissions on occasion (Van der Meer 1979:xii), both publications are very useful.

L.C.H. Damais's Repertoire Onomastique de L'Epigraphie Javanaise (1970) is another informative and useful work. The book contains lists of inscriptions from the earliest years until Sindok's era (starting approximately in 928 A.D.) with further information about other references and an alphabetical list of words found in the inscriptions.

Other publications which provide not only transliterations and transcriptions, but also very detailed commentaries are J.G. de Casparis's Inscripties uit de Cailendra-tijd. Prasasti-prasasti dari Zaman Cailendra (1950) and Selected Inscription from the 7th to 9th Century A.D. (1956). Finally, another important publication is the 2 volumes of H.B. Sarkar's Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java. This contains inscriptions from 450 to 928 A.D., complete with notes and glossaries in English. Other transcriptions have been found scattered in articles, and some have not been published, but will still be used as references in this study.

## II

### WOMEN IN OLD JAVANESE SOCIETY

#### II.a. Historical Background of the Society

It is generally assumed that the Indonesian archipelago was reached by Indian traders at about the beginning of the Christian era. The trading was begun maybe with only a few simple items but then became more and more intensive and they traded much more valuable, quality products. In the case of the cultural history of Indonesia, trading with Indian, Chinese or even Europeans in the later period is also recognised as the cause of the coming of foreign influence. India especially, was very important because its influence was dominant so that the early period of Indonesian history is recognised as the "Hindu-Indonesia" history or the "Hindu-period" of Indonesia.

There are various explanations of how Indian civilization came to Indonesia and influenced the society. Was it because of the traders, the Brahman priests, or both? As is seen most of the ancient remains in Indonesia are in religious characters such as temples, sculptures, and sacred literatures.

It was Krom who suggested for the first time that the Indonesian people were as active as the Indian in this process of Indianization. According to him, it is true that the commercial relationship led to the acceptance of Hindu civilization. And more than that, the Indonesian and Hindu cultural aspects gradually became mixed equally rather than only the Hindu culture dominating the indigenous Indonesian (Bosch 1961:7).

Bosch also agreed with the idea of Indonesian initiative. Furthermore, he suggested that the important role was played by the *Brahmana*. The *Brahmanas* were accepted because of their knowledge and wisdom, and when the trade was developing, the local *bhikṣus* could go to India as when they got back they could spread their knowledge to other Indonesians. Bosch called this condition the counter-current (Bosch 1961:14). Van Leur takes a similar position in his book Indonesian Trade and Society. Accordingly, the contact not only happened because of the Indian initiative but also because of Indonesian initiative in going to India or inviting Indian *Brahmanas* to Indonesia because they wanted to develop their country to be like India (Van Leur 1955:99).

In fact there are many more discussions concerned with this matter, but basically most of them agree that the Indians can be credited with transferring the new values and ideas, but it was the Indonesians who decided their acceptance or not. Their abilities in accommodating to and

selecting foreign influences ensured the identity of the indigenous culture did not dissappear.

The earliest kingdom in Java is known to have existed around West Java where some inscriptions found mentioned king Purnavarman who had his capital city at Taruma, a place which has been assumed as identical to what Chinese sources called *To-lo-mo*. And, it is not until the seventh century that we know from inscriptions that kingdoms existed in Central Java. Most of those inscriptions up to 900 A.D., do come from the Central Javanese area, only a few are found scattered in East Java and the outer part of Java. This means clearly that although the central kingdom of Java was in its central part, settlements or possibly small kingdoms still existed in the eastern part. Right after 920 A.D., most inscriptions and also sacred monuments were to be found in East Java with its Singhasari and Majapahit kingdoms.

The Central Javanese kingdom, known as the Mataram kingdom, is always linked to two dynasties: the Buddhistic Sailendra dynasty and the Sivaistic Sanjaya dynasty. It is agreed that those two dynasties ruled in the same area of Central Java, but at around the middle of the ninth century, they were united by marriage. We then find in the Mantyasih inscription that the list of kings in Mataram derived only from the Sanjaya line (Sartono 1990:87-120).

The term Sailendrawangsa is mentioned for the first time in the Kalasan inscription (778 A.D.), and appears in other Sanskrit inscriptions such as the Kelurak inscription (782 A.D.), the Abhayagiriwihara or the Ratu Baka inscription (792 A.D.) and the Kayumwungan inscription (824 A.D.). The same term is also found in the Ligor B inscription which, according to Buchari's assumption, was published by king Balaputradewa, the Sriwijaya king who identified himself as the grandchild of one of the Javanese kings from the Sailendra dynasty (Sartono Kartodirdjo 1990:87).

The question of the actual origin of the Sailendra dynasty looks like the biggest problem in talking about the first society of Old Java. Some scholars agree with Coedes and de Casparis who said that the Sailendra dynasty had its roots in Fu-nan or Cambodia. This is because of the same meaning of the name Sailendra as "the king of the mountain" and the name Parvatabhupala (the other name of Fu-nan) as "the king of the mountain" too. According to Coedes and de Casparis, right after the fall of the Fu-nan kingdom, most of the family members went into Java, taking with them their traditional values, to form the Sailendra dynasty (Sartono Kartodirdjo 1990:88). But, this theory was very weak and the opinion that Sailendra originated from Fu-nan or possibly from the Southern part of India was always debated.

Another group of scholars believed that the Sailendra were originally Indonesian. R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka suggested

that the Sanjaya dynasty from the Mataram kingdom originated from the Sailendra dynasty, who at first had Hinduism as their belief, and soon after Rakai Panangkaran ruled the kingdom they changed their religion to Buddhism. Based on this opinion and especially from the Sankhara inscription (8th century A.D.) which mentions that there was only one dynasty who had the power in Java between the 8th to mid 9th century. The Sanjaya dynasty was the inheritor of the Sailendra and they continuously ruled the Mataram kingdom when it was still in Central Java. It is because they changed their religion from Sivaism to Mahayana Buddhism during the era of Rakai Panangkaran Dyah Sangkhara Śrī Sanggramadhanjaya, and changed again to Sivaism in the reign of Rakai Pikatan that there appears to be more than one dynasty at the same time (Poesponegoro 1990:88-93). However, we have to imagine that it was possible for some members of the family to stay with their original religion and not change to any other, especially as there is evidence for the two religious characters that are Siva and Buddha, found in the temples belonging to this period.

While the Mataram kingdom itself continued, there were changes of kings from about the middle of the 7th century A.D. to the 10th Century A.D., when they still governed in the Central Javanese area, and from the 10th century A.D. to the 11th century A.D. when they moved the kingdom to East Java. Those times witnessed intense building and literary

activities coloured by Indian culture, although the style or art, for example, was not purely Indian and some buildings are claimed to have a pre-Indian style. Krom suggested that what we see in Indonesian art and architecture is the "Hindu-Javanese", the style introduced by Indonesia which shows familiarity with concepts of Indian art and translates these into special forms which could accommodate Indonesian concepts (Krom 1931:128-129).

What about society? In fact, our knowledge of the Mataram society itself can be said to be very general. Until now most evidence found determines that the early Indonesian history is of a "courtly" nature (Van Leur 1955:110). It is mostly about what was happening in the palace, what kind of art style they possessed from the temples and other sacred monuments, what kind of literature they liked, and also how the study of religion and *dharma* was applied. Evidence of what literature most appealed to the common people and other features of their lives is hard to find. Some scholars agreed that although there were various forms of foreign culture influencing Indonesia, the influence was weak, which meant no fundamental changes really occurred. Indian culture, for example, is said to have only touched the top layer of Indonesian society and only certain aspects of life too (Van Leur 1955:148).

Actually, whenever the Indian traders came to the Indonesian archipelago, they met a special kind of society

which already had its own ideas of living, together with a kind of value system that had existed continuously and was basically unchanged. When the foreign culture made contact, some ideas were accepted and transcribed to their own need. Van Leur cited the "pre-Hindu" cultural situation from Krom, who had observed the early history of Java using Brandes research. He describes the society as a

... settled population ... somewhat organized politically, applying the wet field method of rice growing with the complex system of irrigation accompanying it, possessing knowledge of navigation and the stars, working metal-bronze, copper, iron, and gold, and probably holding domesticated cattle. On a part of Java the dead were entombed in megaliths of coffin and cromlech shapes, everywhere on the island terraces were built up or tracked out in the mountains as places of worship, probably ancestor worship especially, in which rough statues and piles of stones played a role" (Krom as cited in Van Leur, 1955:93).

The Old Javanese was a complex society. We do know that the society was influenced by Indian culture, but still the kind and extent of influence is difficult to explain clearly because if we trace it back to India, it was not really the same.

The Old Javanese social stratification, according to some inscriptions and literatures, was apparently modelled on the *Caturwarna*<sup>1</sup> (the Indian caste system) and *Caturasrama*<sup>2</sup> (the Indian stages of life). But, J.G. de Casparis said that even some inscriptions mentioned that the Old Javanese did

not strictly use that kind of social stratification (Timbul Haryono 1986:207). H.B. Sarkar also said that the imported caste system does not seem to have been applied in the lower strata of the society (Sarkar 1972:xxii).

The social stratification was written clearly in one of king Balitung's inscriptions dated 898 A.D. (O.J.O XXI) as *Caturwarna*, the caste system, including *Brahmana*, *Satriya*, *Wesya* and *Sudra*, and the out-caste system including *Candala mleca*. The Sarwadharmā inscription from king Kertanegara, the last king of the Singashari kingdom, dated 1269 A.D., also mentioned the groups of *Brahmana*, *Ksatriya*, *Wesya* and *Sudra*. As regards the stages of life (*Caturāsrama*), one of the Balitung's inscription mentioned *Brahmacarin*, *Gr̥hastha*, *Wanaprastha* and *Pariwrajaka*, whereas the Sarwadharmā inscription mentioned it as *Brahmacari*, *Gr̥hastha*, *Wanaprastha* and *Bhikṣuka*. This means that these stages of life were known and applied to the society. But from the Majapahit era, the Nagarakṛtagama mentions that instead of the caste and the out-caste system, the Majapahit people were also divided into "kaum ningrat (the royal) and "wong cilik" (the common people) (Sartono Kartodirdjo 1979:20). From other inscriptions we are also informed that people were classified into: *Bhatara* (the king), *Wṛagaji* (the royal relatives), *Parawangsa* (the nobles), *Samāsanak* (the noble families), *Sang anden* (the high officials with their relatives), and *Wong lembah* (the common people).<sup>3</sup> The Old Javanese lawbook (Manawa-dharmaśāstra) also mentions the caste system

including different castes and wrote about the risk of having intercaste marriages (Soekarto K. Atmojo 1979:16-34; Slametmuljana 1987). From the sources mentioned above, it is difficult to say whether India's caste system was fully adopted or not. This is because the Old Javanese had many other kinds of social stratification which already existed in the society but did not occur in India, which made the Indian caste system difficult to apply strictly.

With the government system, the Old Javanese appears to have had two kinds of system in accordance with their two levels of community areas, which were (1) an "Indianized" administrative area at *kraton* (court) level with the king, *Rakai* and other high officials; and (2) a purely indigenous administrative area at village level represented by *Rama*. Van Naerssen writes about these two distinct areas :

So the social structure just before the Hindu Javanese period consisted of two main strata the *wanuas* each with their own *Rama* and the *kratons* of the *Rakas*. The former functioned as producers and the latter as consumers, as well as, politically, as administrators, and, economically, as distributors of goods and services... In this social structure of autochthonous Javanese origin a new social order emerged during the early Hindu Javanese period. A *Raka* might be given a high sounding title of foreign origin, which would give him preponderance: apparently first in status and then gradually in power also. This title was *Maharaja* (Van Naerssen 1977:38).

In particular, the Mataram kingdom during the 9th to 19th century A.D., was divided into certain areas. The

smallest unit was called *wanua* or *banua* which means village. Bigger than the *wanua* was the *watak* or unit consisting of some *wanua* (villages). If it was called a *watak*, it did not always mean that all of the *wanua* (villages) were physically united because they were close together, but the important idea was that they were united under one authority.

The central government or the *kraton* level government is more easier to reconstruct, for example, in the Balitung period which lasted about 12 years. In this period king Balitung was assisted by 20 high officials who can be categorized on two levels. The first level included *Rakryān Mapatih i Hino*, *Rakai Halu*, *Rakai Sirikan*, *Rakai Wka*, and *Samgat Tiruan*. Except for *Samgat Tiruan*, other officials used to be the children of the king himself. This situation was also recognised in one of the Chinese sources from the Sung dynasty which said that the three sons of the king acted as *Rajamuda* (lower king) (Buchari 1965:55-84). The second level included *Rakai Pagerwsi*, *Rakai Kanuruhan*, *Samgat Momahumah*, *Rakai Halaran*, *Rakai Palarhyang*, *Samgat Dalinan*, *Rakai Wlahan*, *Samgat Manghuri*, *Pangkur*, *Tawan*, *Tirip*, *Angin-angin*, *Samgat Wadihati*, and *Samgat Makudur*.

The bureaucratic system at the *watak* level is not clearly described in the inscriptions. *Watak* is known as *daerah lungguh*, a territory which was inherited from generation to generation and ruled by high level officials

like *Rakai* and *Samgat*. But, because those officials were living in the surrounds of the kraton, they made a cabinet of lower officials to work for the needs of the *watak* under them. In the Balitung period there were about 18 kinds of *watak* officials including *Patih* and *Wahuta* as the top level, and *Juru/Tuha ning Kanayakan*, *Juru ning Lampuran*, *Juru ning Marangakat*, *Juru ning Wadwa Rarai*, *Juru ning Kalula*, *Matangda* (*Matanda*), *Kalima*, *Parujar*, *Citralekha*, *Misra*, *Ugal-ugal*, *Pangurang*, *Tunggudurung*, *Pratyaya*, and *Amasangakan* at the lower level.

Within the Old Javanese *wanua*, social status was always connected with a person's relationship to the land. There was a group known as *anak wanua*, which is called by de Casparis the elite in a village, because it consisted of the descendants of the original founder of the areas who also owned agricultural lands as well as houses. And, the other group were the descendants of all later arrivals (Casparis 1986:8-9).

The bureaucratic system at the village level, which is known to be purely Indonesian, was not always the same from one *wanua* to another. But, as a basis, they always had village councils made up of *Rama* (village elders who possibly were the descendants of the original founders of some areas). The council of *Rama* could be divided into (1) *Rama Magman*, which means a council that consisted of those who were still

holding office. Usually it was composed of *Kalang*, *Gusti* and *Tuha wanua*, who were known also as the first level, and *Parujar*, *Winkas*, *Hulu Air*, *Hulu Wras*, etc, at the second level. And (2) the *Rama Marata*, a council which consisted of those who were already retired but still held high positions and probably functioned as counsellors. All of them worked as a government managing the basic needs of their own people (the village people).

## II.b. Women in the Society

It is known generally that women in Indonesia since the earliest times held high places, compared with those in other regions. They were more active and independent in all kinds of activities. They worked hand in hand with men in *sawah* (rice-field), they sold their crops and handicrafts in the markets like men used to do, they brought up their families together, and they managed and developed their villages together too. It is not surprising that Dutch missionaries made special mention in their notes about Javanese women because their situation was not usual:

What strikes us directly when arriving in Batavia? That everywhere a large crowd of women is moving around..., everywhere are women and still more women; old and young; of higher and lower social level; very well or poorly dressed; buying and selling... And in the *warungs* again women, restlessly active, preparing things to eat or drink or serving clients... When we walk into the *desa*, our ear is struck by the noise of the paddy-pounder in the woodblock. Women again are busy hulling the paddy. Elsewhere a peculiar click-clack,

alternating with a duller sound; here a woman is weaving. Here and there...we find women and girls doing *batik*-work, ..., dyeing cotton with indigo, ..., weaving mats. In short, everywhere the woman is at work in the cottage industries. And look what she achieves in agriculture! It is she who plants the rice in the prepared fields... She cuts the rice with small knife... She helps with the drying, with the bundling, with the storage... Thus everywhere the Javanese woman is at work (Kruijt as cited by Locher-Scholten 1986:200)

A picture of how Javanese women worked as actively as the men can also be recognised from reliefs in the temples such as Borobudur. In Borobudur, especially in the Karmawibhangga relief which consists of 160 panels, we can find many pictures of women involved in different types of activities. The Karmawibhangga relief is based on the Mahakarmawibhangga sacred text which tells us about the 'cause and effect' of *karma* in Mahayana Buddhism. Although the basic story derives from the text, the Karmawibhangga relief does not accurately reflect the text, but is more the expression of the artist about their surrounding (Kempers 1976:90). That is why pictures in temples such as this were often used as visual evidence of life from the past, not only as visualized texts. These panels show activities participated in by women including charities given by women accompanied or unaccompanied by men, performance art like dancing, religious activities such as teaching sacred texts and meditation, and other everyday activities such as serving the king, cultivating lands, drying meats, making pots, and also cooking.

Evidence that women were also protected by law is sometimes used to show that women held a respected position. From a lawbook of the Majapahit period which was published by J.C.G. Jonker as his dissertation, we find that there are some paragraphs in a chapter called Paradara <sup>4</sup> mentioning different kind of punishment for men who tease girls or women, especially married women, and also for men as adulterers. But if we read these paragraphs carefully, we can see that the rules favour the husband. It was the husband who received all the fines paid by the men, not the wife or the girls as the victims. as the one who was teased.

In fact there are not many rights given to women at that time. There are paragraphs that mention someone's wife could marry another man if her husband had not come back from sailing after 10 years, or in 4 years if her husband did not show up from looking for money in other villages; or someone could be given a death punishment from the king if he touched a girl in front of people and then the girl cried loudly. But these examples do not testify to the equality of rights between men and women in the society. From other paragraphs we also see that more advantages were given to men than to women; for example, it was the father who had full rights over his children, not the mother. Even for permission to marry, someone had to ask his or her father. And between children in a family, it was the oldest son who got the highest part of his parent's wealth after they were dead. This son would also inherit the rights of the 'head' of the

family. If the oldest son had died already, all of his rights and duties were given to the second son, etc (Slametmuljana 1967:42,148,188).

The accession of women to the throne in some periods in Old Java is also used as evidence that women at that time stood equal to men. From early Chinese sources of the T'ang dynasty (618-906 A.D.) we hear about Queen Hsi-mo (Simo). It is said that in 674 A.D. the kingdom of Ho-ling had a queen called Queen Hsi-mo who in Nagarakertabhumi (17th century A.D.) is said to have taken over the kingdom after her husband, Prabhu Kartikeyasingha, died. She was famous as a wise and tough ruler. The kingdom was famous for its enormous wealth because of gold, silver and ebony exports. It was also famous for its safety which made no one dare to touch things that did not belong to them because they did not want to bear the punishment. This situation was given as the reason why king Ta-shih, an Arabian king, cancelled his attack on Ho-ling, because of the queen's great power (Sartono 1990:93-97).

Another great queen who existed in later period was Tribhūwanottunggadewī (1328-1350 A.D.). In 1328 when king Jayanāgara from Majapahit died, the kingdom was taken over by one of his sisters, Bhre Kahuripan, with an *abhiseka* (coronation) name of Tribhūwanottunggadewī Jayawiṣṇuwardhani. She was married to Bhre Singasari or Krtawarddhana, and had a

child named Hayam Wuruk, who then became the greatest king of Majapahit with the title of Sri Rājasanagara (Sartono 1990:433-435). From Nāgarakṛtagama we know that during her reign there was a rebellion called Sadeng and Keta (1331), which was put down by Gajah Mada. Another big event was the expansion of the Majapahit kingdom to Bali (1343) when its king was Śrī Asatsura Ratna Bhūmi Banten (Slametmuljana 1979:30-34).

In 1400 A.D., after Hayam Wuruk died and his successor, Wikramawarddhana, resigned to become a priest, Majapahit had another queen named Suhita. She was the daughter of Wikramawarddhana and became queen because her elder brother died in 1399. Her position as a queen, however, was rather shaky. Soon after she came to power, conflict between families, especially those of Wikramawarddhana and Bhre Kahuripan, happened because Bhre Kahuripan as one of Hayam Wuruk's children from his mistress tried to put his family in the royal line and demanded the same rights. The conflict then became a war called Parēgrēg. In 1477, Suhita died and Majapahit was taken over by her younger brother, Kertawijaya (Sartono 1990:435-442). In the case of women as queens, we have to note, however, that only a small number of women appeared in the Old Javanese history as queens, and it is a fact too that only a few inscriptions were issued by those queens.

In Old Javanese history, it is known that a successor

is the first child of a king. It does not matter whether it was a man or a woman, they had the same right to rule the kingdom. But, sometimes if the first child was a girl, she could give the throne to her husband. Poerbatjaraka once suggested that a king with a word *dharma* in his *abhiseka* (coronation) name is a king who gained his power because of marriage (Sartono 1990:158). Of course this can not be fully accepted as seen, for example, by the case of Rake Halu Śrī Lokeśwara Dharmawangsa Airlangga Anantawikramottunggadewa (1019-1041 A.D.). He was the son of king Udayana (Bali) and Mahendradatta Gunapriyadarmapadmi who was the daughter of Śrī Makutawangawardhana. Although Airlangga had *dharma* on his name, he was not the king because of marriage, but because he was the successor.

#### I.c. The Activities Participated in by Women

As pointed out, this study is concerned with inscriptions from the period of the 9th to early 10th century A.D. In these inscriptions there are six kinds of activities which women could participate in, which also indicate their roles, i.e.: social, administrative, religious, economic, juridical, and cultural activities. Except for cultural activities, all of them will be used in analysing how far women actively participated in the society.

Most Old Javanese inscriptions, not only those which

are chosen for this study, but also from other periods, are concerned with establishment of *sima* (free-holding lands). Generally these *sima* could be either the whole village or only part of a village which had an important function such as sawah (ricefields) or other cultivated lands so that the crops could be used for the purpose of the *sima*. The *sima* inscriptions often sound very religious, because the aim of establishing the *sima* was primarily for religious purposes and the ceremony itself was filled with ritual actions, and sometimes the inscriptions also sound very economic, because they are concerned with taxes that should not be paid anymore. However, these inscriptions can also represent the social situation.

The lands which were going to be established into *sima* could be either bought or given by someone or by a group of people. And, the reason why they were given by individuals, or a group of people (usually the villagers themselves), was usually because a religious foundation was going to be built in that area.

The activity of giving away lands for *sima* is one example of a social activity that women were found to participate in. Other activities were giving and receiving *sima*. Usually a *sima* was a special grant from a king or from high officials to lower officials, such as *Patih* or *Rama*. The reason why they were rewarded was sometimes because they gave a lot of contributions and services to those higher officials

or the king. In the Mantyasih 1 inscription (907 A.D.), for example, we find that the *sima* was awarded to the Patih of Mantyasih, "...*kapwa watak patapān, sinusuk sima kapatihana, paknānya pagantyagantyana nikanang patih mantyāsih sānak lawasanya tlung tahun sowang,...//sambhan danyan inanugrahān sangkā yan makwaiḥ buathaji iniwōnya i śrī mahārāja kala ni warangan haji, lain sangke kapujān bhaṭāra i malangkuśeśwara,...,muang sangka yan antarialika katakutan ikanang wanua ing kuning,...*"<sup>5</sup> ("...all under watak Patapan were marked out into *sima* for Patih of Mantyasih and their relatives, to be used for three years for each,...// the reason why this *sima* was given by the king was because of the services to the king at the time of the royal wedding, because of the worshipping to the gods of Malangkuśeśwara,..., and because of the saving from fear the village of Kuning,..."). But often, the reason why the lands were awarded was not always stated in the inscriptions. See, for example, the Tri Tepussan 2 inscription (942 A.D.), the Munggu Antan inscription (886 A.D.), and the Polengan inscription (872 A.D.), in these inscriptions we find that the *sima* were awarded without its being known why.

Another example found in the inscriptions that can be included in social activities is acting as witness. Women, from both high and low status, are often found to have been witnessess of the *sima* ceremony, see, for example, in the Taji inscription (901 A.D.) and the Lintakan inscription (919

A.D.). Although the inscriptions never mention clearly that in a ceremony such as establishment of *sima* the witness is important, it seems that this activity is a necessity. Usually, the inscriptions mention long lists of witnesses complete with *pasak-pasak* (gifts) that were received by them.

Administrative activities presented in the inscriptions include ordering other people to mark out a *sima*, marking out *sima*, and participating in governmental bodies.

*Sima* inscriptions usually mention in the opening section that the establishment of the *sima* was an order from the king. We then find that the order was received by the group of high officials and handed down through other officials until it was received by the appointed officials or person. In the Telang, 2 inscription (904 A.D.), for example, we find sentences like "...tatkala ni ajña śrī mahārāja rakai watukura dyah balitung śrī dharmodaya mahāsambhu tumurun i..."<sup>6</sup> ("...at the time when the order of Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Watukura Dyah Balitung descended to...") as the indication that the order originated from the king and should be handed down through some officials. And, the Kancana inscription (860 A.D.) also clearly gives us an example of how the order was given, "...irika diwaśanyajña śrī mahārāja bhuwanes-warwiṣṇusakalātmaka digwijaya parakramottunggadewa lokapala-lañcana, tinadah de rakryān mahāmantri katrini, i hino, i sirikan, i halu, umingsor i taṇḍa rakryān..."<sup>7</sup> ("...it was the time when the order of the king Śrī Mahārāja Śrī

Bhuwaneswarwiṣṇusakalatmaka Digwijaya Parakramottunggadewa Lokapalañcana, was received by the Rakryān Mahāmantri Katrini: Hino, Sirikan, Halu, and handed down to Taṇḍa Rakryān..."). However, it is common too that some inscriptions do not mention how the king's order was communicated, and only mention that *sima* was established by some officials. In this case, it meant that those officials acted on their own authority and the establishment was sometimes due to their own initiative. For example, in the Kamalagi inscription (821 A.D.), "...*tatkala sang pamget wuga pu mangnep manusuk sima sawah...*"<sup>8</sup> ("...the time when Sang Pamget Pu Mangnep established the *sima* rice-fields..."). This inscription does not mention by whose order was the establishment, it only mentions the official who had established it. Although not many, some inscriptions mention women who participated in this kind of activity.

The last example of administrative activity is women's participation in governmental bodies. These governmental bodies include Central Government with the king, *Rakai*, and all the *watak*'s officials such as *Patih* and *Nayaka*, and also Local Government with its *Rama* councils together with their *Parujar*, *Juru*, and *Tuhan*

Religious activities as an important section of the ceremony, are usually mentioned in detail. In the inscriptions this is mentioned right after the lists of the

witnesses. Sometimes it begins with mentioning the lists of offerings, then the inscriptions give information on how the ceremonies were conducted, who was the priest and who was responsible for assisting the priest. Finally, as an evidence that a *sima* was established in the area, usually the priest closed the ceremony by mentioning curses so that no one would like to intrude on the *sima*. Actually, it is not easy to find women in this kind of activity, but, some inscriptions at least do mention that there were some women who participated actively in this activity.

Another activity which can be included in the religious activities is protecting or managing a temple. Although mention of this is not found in many of the inscriptions chosen, women during that time could participate in this kind of activity.

In a number of societies, women were regarded as playing a vital economic roles, and in others, women only participated in small trade activities. But, no matter what they participated in, it is shown that they could earn 'money' by themselves, which sometimes gave them a special place within the households. Some inscriptions in fact mention the status belonging to a group of people who functioned as traders. But this only gives us information about what kind of trade, as a part of economic activities, was followed in the period chosen. We can not use this information to tell how far women participated in trading, because usually these

lists are not followed by any information which can show who the person was, so that we can not identify whether those traders were men or women.

Other activities which can be included in economic activities that were participated in by women are buying and selling lands which is mentioned in *sima* inscriptions. This activity is commonly found in the inscriptions, which shows that not all of the lands which were established into *sima* were given, some were bought from the villagers.

Other evidence used to evaluate how far women participated in economic activities is from the *pasak-pasak* (gifts) that they received and *pasak-pasak* that they donated. *Pasak-pasak* in this case is considered as a form of payment which was received by someone after certain areas had been established as *sima*. After the establishment, all the revenues were paid for the purposes of the *sima* and automatically many people suffered loss of income, and as a compensation, *pasak-pasak* were given. Those who received this kind of *pasak-pasak* ranged from the king, *Rake*, and *Samgat*, to their officials.

How far women participated in juridical activities can be shown in the *jayapatra* (juridicial) inscriptions. The content of the *jayapatra* inscriptions varies from debt to disputed lands. Usually, this kind of inscription consists of

persons who function as attorney, judge, witness, and of course the person being charged for the case. Sometimes we can find that a king can be the person responsible for the ultimate decision, especially when the case is about *sima*.

Finally, the cultural activities. Although some inscriptions, especially *sima* inscriptions, mention that there were cultural activities in the feast section which could be participated in by women, the information is very general.<sup>9</sup> This is why cultural activities are not included in analysing how far women could participate in activities in chapter 3 and chapter 4.

Sometimes we find that the inscriptions mention that all of the guests in the ceremony enjoyed watching performances such as mentioned in the Sangsang inscription (907 A.D.), "...*hinyūnnakan ton-tonan mamidu sang tangkil hyang macarita bhima kumāra mangigal kicaka si jaluk macarita rāmāyana mamirus mabañol si mungmuk si galigi mawayang buathyang macarita bhimma kumāra...*"<sup>10</sup> ("...all people enjoyed themselves in watching performances; the *Tangkil hyang* si Nalu recited the story of Bhima Kumāra and dancing like Kicaka, Si Jaluk recited the story of Rāmāyana and showed comedies, Si Mungmuk, Si Galigi showed *wayang* (shadow puppets performances) with the story of Bhimma Kumāra, in honour of the gods..."). But, with this information we can only find that presumably it is true that all of the guests who attended the ceremony were watching the performances, and

among the guests there were women too. There are other inscriptions mentioning artists who performed in the *sima* ceremony, but most of them were men and for others it is not known whether they were men or women.

Almost the same problem occurs in some inscriptions because they mention that all the guests, either women and men or both, participated in dancing, for example, the Er Hangat inscription (888 A.D.). In this inscription it is mentioned "...*matuha manwan laki bini mamanan maninum majñu maskar manigal...*"<sup>11</sup>, from this information we can see that women and men, either young and old, could participate in eating and dancing. But, there is no more information about who the women were. Was it possible that women with different status participated actively in this activity ?

There is a clear problem in identifying how far women took part in all the activities mentioned above. This is because the Old Javanese language used in the inscriptions, does not express differences in gender in the form of special terms (Casparis 1983:9). Although names of persons in those inscriptions have different particles, these reflect different status, not gender differences. In other words, we often find that women and men are given the same particle because they have the same level of nobility. To try to make a clear distinction, *pasak-pasak* (gifts) are used as an indication, especially the cloths which were received by

those people in the ceremony. It is commonly known that instead of gold and silver, men used to receive a *wdihan*, a special *batik* garment for men, and women used to receive *kain*, a *batik* cloth used especially by women. With this difference, it is easier to recognise the sex of a person. But, not all persons in the ceremony received cloths as gifts, sometimes they only received gold, silver or other rewards. In this study, this kind of person will be put in the unidentified section.

## NOTES

1 *Caturvarna* is also known as the caste system which divides mankind into four categories (*catur* means four and *warna* means colour, but in this case meaning different social status). This caste system consists of (1) *Brahmana* (priests family), (2) *Ksatria* (ruler family), (3) *Waisya* (agriculturalists and craftsmen's family), and (4) *Sudra* (slave family).

2 *Caturasrama* is a term for the four stages of life in Hindu society. Usually it consists of: (1) *Brahmacarin*: a stage of being a religious student for the purpose of a new spiritual life, (2) *Grhasthya*: a stage of being married and learning the responsibility of living in a community, (3) *Wanaprastha*: a stage of being retired and starting to practise meditation in the forest, (4) *Sannyasin*: a stage of being free from all worldly values and starting to live in asceticism.

3 These terms can be found, for example, in the Renek inscription (1379 A.D) and the Biluluk II inscription (1391 A.D.).

4 *Paradara* is one chapter found in Kitab Perundang-undangan Agama which is known also as Kutara Manavadharmasastra. This law book consists of 275 articles, but according to Slametmuljana, some articles have almost the same content as others. He tried to rearrange all of the articles and published them in a book entitled Perundang-undangan Majapahit.

5 See the Mantyasih 1 inscription (907 A.D.) part A:3-7

6 See the Telang inscription (904 A.D.) part A:1-2

7 See the Kancana inscription (860 A.D.) part IB:3-5

8 See the Kamalagi inscription (821 A.D) part RECTO:4-5

9 Cultural activities can be found in the Er Hangat inscription (888 A.D.) part Ib:1-2, the Taji inscription (901 A.D.) line 6, the Panggumulan 1 inscription (902 A.D.) part IIIa:20, and the Sangsang inscription (907 A.D.) part II VERSO:9-10.

10 See the Sangsang inscription (907 A.D.) part II VERSO:9-

11 See the Er Hangat inscription (888 A.D.) part IIa:1-2

### III

#### HIGH STATUS WOMEN AND THEIR ACTIVITIES

The basic characteristic of social differentiation is inequality. Even in earlier times, such as the Old Javanese period, differences had already begun. Some of these differences were based on sex, such as the differentiation between woman and man; and also based on age such as the differentiation between young and old. These differences were recognised as biological variations. But then, when the society became more complex, other variations of differences were needed. In this stage, the people of the Old Javanese period were differentiated not only by sex or age, but also by their roles and functions in the society. For this kind of differentiation people who had higher positions, especially those who belonged to the court level and their families, were treated as superior. They tended to receive more benefits such as privileged access to better goods and services, and also prestige meaning respect from the lower people. And more than that, the most important benefit which higher position people had was the ability to affect social life. This ability was known also as social power.

Inequality in fact, was clearly present within both genders. In the case of the women studied here, indications

of class affiliation and status were commonly provided by titles and other markers. On evidence from the inscriptions from the 9th to the early 10th centuries, women in the Old Javanese society could be divided into two categories : (1) high status women and (2) low status women. In this study attention will be paid to both groups, and for the high status women in particular this study also recognises that these women could be categorized into two sub-groups. How active these different status groups were in social, administrative, religious, economic, juridical and cultural activities will be established based on the evidence of the inscriptions.

### III.a. High Status Women

#### III.a.1. The First High Status Group

A title, found usually before personal names, was an important means of indicating their status. Based on the inscriptions, the titles found include such as: *Rake*, *Rakai* or *Rakryān*; *Samgat* or *Sang Pamegat*; *Patih*; *Wahuta*; *Nayaka*; *Pratyaya*; *Juru*; *Tuhan*; *Pangurang*; *Citralekha*. These titles are usually found in the inscriptions followed by names of places, which could be the name of a *watak* (unity of villages) or *wanua* (a village) and carried the meaning that the person with such a name came from or had authority in the place mentioned. Finally, those names were followed by their personal names which were preceded by articles such as

*Pu, Sang, Dyah, or Si.* For example, the name of Rakaryan Wka Pu Catura in the Mulak inscription meant Rakaryan of Vka whose name was Pu Catura. But not all inscriptions mention the name of the people in full. Sometimes we find that some individuals had no titles at all, and sometimes we only find the name of the place before the individual's personal names. In these cases, their status will not be known, and as the inscription often does not clearly mention whether they were men or women, this group of people was categorised as unidentified.

Members of the high status group of the Old Javanese society are recognised as having certain titles only, including *Rakai*. As already mentioned in chapter 1, the *Rakai* title belonged to the highest status group of the society because usually members were the descendants of the king, or at least a member of the royal family. The evidence also showed that kings generally had the *Rakai* title and still used it together with their *abhiseka* (coronation) names and of course their personal names (Casparis 1956:290). For example, the name of the king Balitung was Śrī Mahārāja Rake Watukura Dyah Balitung.

The title *Rakai* can be found in the earliest Central Javanese inscriptions, such as the Garung inscription (819 A.D.) which mentioned Rakarāyan i Garung, and the Kayumwungan inscription (824 A.D.) in which the title Rakarāyan Patapan

Pu Palar was written. *Rakai* was often mentioned as *Rakryān*, *Rakarāyan*, or even *Rake*, but they all have the same meaning. Certain scholars suggested that *Rake* was a sandhi construction and composed of the word *Raka-i*. Stutterheim suggested that *Raka* could mean 'elder brother'. In fact, although there were some variants in the inscriptions for the title *Rakai*, the words *Raka i* were never found.

Sometimes we find in the inscriptions that the same person has variations of this title. For example, the titles used by a person named Pu Samarawikranta. In the Ayam Tēas inscription (900 A.D.) he used the title *Rake Sirikan*, but in the Telang 2 inscription (904 A.D.) he used *Rakryān Sirikan*. We also find that sometimes the variation is used in the same inscription. For example, in the Panggumulan 1 (902 A.D.) some persons from the same level were written with variations of the word *Rakai*: *Rakryān Mapatih i Hino Pu Dakṣa Sang Bahubajrapratipakṣakṣaya, Rake Halu Pu Bwalu Sang Sanggramadurandhara, Rakai Sirikan Pu Wariga Sang Samarabikranta*. Together all of them were given *pasak-pasak* (gifts) on the ceremony of *sima* in the Panggumulan village.

In the inscriptions, commonly we find that the titles *Rake* and *Rakryān* are followed by the words *Mahamantri* or *Mapatih*, then followed by *Hino*, *Halu*, *Sirikan*, and *Wka*. The title *Rakryān Mahāmantri i Hino* was found for the first time in the Kuti inscription (840 A.D.) and belonged to Pu Daksottama, who accompanied the king in marking out the *sima*.

Generally this title was mentioned in the first place of the list of officials who received the order from the king. Some scholars have suggested that because it was almost always mentioned earlier, this title was very important and the person who had it was the crown prince, princess or the designated successor to the reigning king (Buchari 1967/68:7-20). Actually, the inscriptions did not mention clearly whether this *Rakryān Mahāmantri i Hino* belonged to the crown prince, princess or not, but, from its place on the lists which was always after the king or as the first who received the king's order, we can see its importance in the society. We often find some inscriptions were also issued by *Rakryān Mahāmantri i Hino* on the occasion of establishing *sima* (free-holding lands) or giving honour to someone.

There were other titles which belonged to the same group as *Rake Hino*, these were *Rake Halu* and *Rake Sirikan*. The three titles were known as belonging to the same group because they often referred to the *Rakryān Mahāmantri Katrini*, or the three honoured ones. And together with the *Rake Wka*, they received the king's order and communicated that order to other lower officials. In the inscriptions, although sometimes *Rakryān i Hino* received different *pasak-pasak*, in general all of them received the same amount of *pasak-pasak*. For example, in the Taji inscription (901 A.D.) "...*mangasēakna pasak-pasak i rakryān mapatih swyawastha ning manusuk sima dangu, rakarayan ri hino pu*

*bāhubajrapratipakṣakṣaya, rakryan sirikan pu samarawikaranta, rakryān i wka pu kutak, ..., kapua inasēan wḍihan gañjar haji patra sisi yu i simsim prasada woḥ i brat su i sowang sowang, ...*"<sup>1</sup> ("...the gifts were given to the Rakryān Mapatih as the custom of establishing *sima* to Rakarayan of Hino Pu Bāhubajrapratipakṣakṣaya, Rakryān Sirikan Pu Samarawikranta, Rakryān Wka Pu Kutak, ..., each of them received 1 set of *gañjar haji patra sisi* cloth, 1 ring weight 1 su, ...").

The title *Rake Halu* is generally mentioned after *Rake Hino*. It was mentioned for the very first time in the short inscriptions found in the Plaosan Lor temple (838-856 A.D.) in Central Java. It was the title of one of the officials who gave the donations for the foundation of the temple (Casparis 1958: 36). In one of the inscriptions from the Balitung period, a person named Pu Sanggramdhurandhara who usually had the title *Rake Halu*, was mentioned also as *Rakryān Watu Tihang*. Although the person belonged to the *Rakryān Mahāmantri Katrini* group (because he had *Rake Halu* title), he could issue inscriptions which used his other title as a *watak* ruler.

*Rake Sirikan* is another title which was found for the first time in the Plaosan Lor temple, and was borne by persons named Pu Suryya and Pu Anggehan. The person with this title usually had the same right as the *Hino* and *Halu*. And according to the Nawanatya text, *Sirikan* duties was almost the same as the duty of *Upabharya*, an officer who received

directly the king's order, compiled the legislation, and led the arts and the general knowledge affairs (Pigeaud 1960, I:81-86; III:119-128).

The title *Rake* or *Rakryān Wka* usually appears together with those mentioned before. It is mentioned generally after *Hina*, *Halu*, and *Sirikan*, except in the Tulang Air 1 inscription (850 A.D.) where it was put right after the king. Boechari once stated that the word *Wka* which means 'child', could be related to the child of the king from the second or the third wife. But this statement should be taken as uncertain because there is not much evidence for such an interpretation.

*Samgat* or *Sang Pamgat* is another title often found in the inscriptions. Like the word *Rake*, there are many variations of the word *Samgat*, such as *Samget*, *Samagat*, *Samgat*, *Sang Pamgat*, *Sang Pamgət* or only *Pamgat*. All of these have the same meaning. In the inscriptions, *Samgat Ebawang* is the one often mentioned right after *Hina*, *Halu*, *Sirikan* and *Wka*.

All of the titles mentioned above belonged to the officials who could directly receive an order from the king, and were recognised as ministers or councillors from the court as the Central Government. Usually they also had a group of officials who worked under them, and they usually

had a *Parujar* (speaker). But Casparis warned us to be more careful in looking at the status of these officials as there were many others who used the word *Rake* and *Pamgat* but had no direct association with those of the Central Government. Those who had no direct association with the Central Government seemed also to have the same authority over the *wanua* (villages) which were included in the *watak* (the unity of villages) with the place-name identical with that in his or her titles (Casparis 1986:56-57). From the inscriptions chosen, those which belonged to this group included *Rake Halaran, Rake Panggilhyang, Rake Garung, Rake Wlahan, Samgat Dalinan, Samgat Makudur, Wadihati, Samgat Tiruan, Samgat Manghuri, Rake Pagarwsi, Samgat Dalinan, Rake Kanuruhan, Samgat Puluwatu, Samgat Lamwa, Samgat Pinapan, Samgat Momahumah, Rake Gurunwangi*, etc. The *Rake* and *Samgat* of this group were seen as having lower status than the first level (*Hino, Halu, Sirikan, Wka, and Bawang*), but in this study they are categorized as the same high status group. Even when they were found as having no authority over some lands, they remained part of the high status group. This is because they did not belong to the *wanua* (village) level.

#### III.a.1.1. The Women of the First Group

So far we have not discussed women from the high status group. Although not many, some inscriptions in fact do

mention them. The women of this group also used the titles of those classified as the high dignitaries. Below is the list which shows all of the high status women found in the inscriptions chosen.

TABLE I

WOMEN OF THE FIRST GROUP

Name of inscription (A.D.)	Status	Name
Karang Tengah (824)	Rakryān Patapan anakbi (The wife of Rakryān Patapan)	-
Tri Tepussan 1 (842)	-	Śrī Kahulunnan
Tri Tepussan 2 (842)	-	Sri Kahulunnan
Wukiran (862)	Pakwian Rake Walaing (The grandmother of Rake Walaing)	-
Munggu Antan (886)	Ari Sang Pangat Munggu Antan & Binihaji Sang Devata i Pastika (The sister of Sang Pangat of Munggu Antan & the Queen of the Devata of Pastika)	Sang Hadyan Palutungan
Balingawan (891)	Anakbi Rakryān: - Nayaka i Taltla (The wife of Rakryān: - Nayaka of Tlatla	Rakai Watangan

Penampihan (898)	Rajaputri (The queen)	-
Taji (901)	Sang Pangat Dmung Anakwi (The wife of Sang Pangat Dmung)	Rake Śri Bhāru Dyah Dheta
Panggumulan 1 (902)	1) Anakbi Rakryān Wantil (the wife of Rakryān Wantil)	Dyah Prasada
	2) Sang Pangat Puluwatu anakbi (The wife of Sang Pangat Puluwatu)	Pu Babi
Panggumulan 2 (903)	Anakbi Rakryān Wantil (The wife of Rakryān Wantil)	Dyah Prasada
Siddhayoga (903)	Rakryān Wantil Sang anakbi (The wife of Rakryān Wantil)	Dyah Prasada
Randusari 1 (905)	1) Nini haji (The grandmother of the king)	Rakai Wwatan Pu Tammēr
	2) Sang Kiniwang anakbi (The wife of Sang Kiniwang)	Pu Tundung
Mantyasih 1 (907)	Rakryān anakbi (The wife of Rakryān)	Dyah Wriayan
Mantyasih 3 (907)	Rakryān anakwi (The wife of Rakryān)	Dyah Wriayan

Sangsang (907)	Sangat Kalang Wungkal anakbi (The wife of Sangat Kalang Wungkal)	1)Sangat Dyah Sucinte 2) Dyah Kina 3) Dyah Waita 4) Dyah Sawita
Guntur (907)	1)Sangat Pinapan anakbi (The wife of Sangat Pinapan)	Pu Gallam
	2)Anakbwi Samaggat Pinapan Atuha (The wife of former Samaggat Pinapan)	Guru Vaju
Sugih Manek (915)	Rakryān Bini Haji Parameswari (The Queen)	-
Lintakan (919)	Binihaji (The Queen)	-
Wintang Mas B (919)	Rakryān Hino anakbi (The wife of Rakryān Hino)	Rakryān Maputu
Kinawe (927)	Rake Gunungan & ibu Dyah Bingah (The mother of Dyah Bingah)	Dyah Muatan
Sangguran (928)	Sangat anakbi (The wife of Sangat)	-

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If we compare the titles used by women with the titles used by men from the inscriptions, we can see that there are not many titles for women available, mainly because there are not many women mentioned in the inscriptions. Women are usually mentioned as *anakbi*, *anakwi*, or *anakbwi ni* (if she was the wife of someone), then followed her own title and her personal names. Sometimes we find that women's personal names are not mentioned. Although not usual, this is found in more than one inscription. For example, in the Karang Tengah inscription (824 A.D.), we find that the woman is mentioned only as *Rakryān Patapan anakbi*, without a personal name,<sup>2</sup> and, in the Sugih Manek inscription (915 A.D.), the woman is called *Rakryān Binihaji Parameswari*.<sup>3</sup>

If the women had titles, usually they would be mentioned. In Table 1, some women are found to have the same titles as their husbands. For example, in the Balingawan inscription (891 A.D.), *Rakai Watangan* was one of the wives of a *Rakryān*,<sup>4</sup> and in the Wintang Mas B inscription (919), the wife of *Rakryan Hino* was *Rakryan Maputu*.<sup>5</sup> These examples might suggest that having a husband or wife from the same class might have been essential in the society. However, we also have many examples of women having different titles from their husbands. The Taji inscription (901 A.D.) mentions clearly that *Sang Pangat Dmung* had a wife with the title *Rake* (*Rakè Sri Bharu Dyah Dheta*),<sup>6</sup> and the Balingawan inscription (891 A.D.) shows that the *Rakryān* had two wives, one of them

with the *Rakai* title and the other without any title, even though they had the same status: *Nayaka*.<sup>7</sup> The other inscriptions mention that some *Rakryān* and *Samgat* had their wives' names added with particles *Dyah* and *Pu* only.

### III.a.2. The Second High Status Group

Inscriptions also mention other people with certain titles which can be classified under the high status group. They used to be seen as lower officials compared with those of *Rake* and *Samgat*, but their position made them associate directly with the Central Government because they worked under the *Rake*'s and *Samgat*'s offices. Casparis suggested that these groups of people might reside in the *wanua* (villages), but were still seen as 'the outsiders'. They were never included in the lists of *wanua* officials. And , although they were very active at the local level, they were qualified as the representatives of the Central Government (De Casparis 1986:52-56).

The people who belonged to this group are commonly referred to as *Patih* or *Pinghai/Pinghei*, *Wahuta*, *Nayaka*, *Pratyaya*, *Juru* and *Tuhan*. They are usually mentioned after the *Rake* and *Samgat* groups, and like the high officials, they used to have other groups of people who worked under them, such as *Parujar* or *Parwuwus* (speakers). The *Patih* of this

lower level who were equivalent to *Pinghai* or *Pinghei*, usually worked together with *Wahuta*. De Casparis suggested that because both titles are usually followed by the names of people carrying arms, such as *Patih Tunggu Durung* (The guardian of the rice sheds), their functions were generally connected with the maintenance of order and security (De Casparis 1986:53-54).

The titles *Nayaka* and *Pratyaya* are usually mentioned right before the lists of those who could not tread upon the lands which had been established as *sima* (free-holding). Both groups of people with these titles worked for the Central Government. For the *Nayaka* especially, they used to have one leader called *Tuhan ning Kanayakān* or *Juru ning Kanayakān* meaning 'the chief of Nayakas'. De Casparis said that the titles *Nayaka* and *Pratyaya* should be accepted as belonging to people whose function was concerned with land tax or revenue (De Casparis 1986:55). But, they were not the only officials who worked in tax affairs. The inscriptions mention another long list of titles, concerned with taxes, which used to be called *Mangilala Drwya Haji* (see below).

*Juru* and *Tuhan* are the other titles which could be classified as Central Government workers, and generally meant chiefs over groups such as *Juru ning Wadwa Rarai*, *Tuhan ning Kalula* or *Tuhan ning Matanda*.

The last groups which are also classified as belonging

to the high status level are the group of *Mangilala Drwya Haji* and the religious authorities. The *Mangilala Drwya Haji* (those claiming the king's property) were the group of people functioning as tax collectors. In the inscriptions usually they are preceded by *Sang Mana Katrini* (the three honoured ones) which were *Pangkun*, *Tawan* and *Tirip*. Their main function was collecting *drwya haji* (taxes) which used to be received by the king instead of *buat haji* or *gawai haji* (compulsory services). This would be stopped when certain lands had been established as *sima*, because starting at that time the revenue was to be used for the purpose of the temple or other (depending on the purpose of the establishment of the *sima* itself). That is why almost all *sima* inscriptions mention the members of *mangilala drwya haji* in detail, and also mention that punishment would be given to them if they still intruded into the *sima*. And finally, there was a group of people, who had functions as religious authorities in the Old Javanese society, which is recognised by titles such as *dapunta*, *punta*, *hyang guru* or *dang accarya* before their personal names.

#### III.a.2.1 The Women of The Second Group

Like the women from the first group, the women from the second group of the high status group were also recognised as *anakwi* or the wife of someone. If they had their own status, it would be mentioned. For example, the Balingawan

inscription (891 A.D.) mentions that a person named Pu Kutil, instead of just being the wife of the *Rakryān*, was also a *Nayaka*. But generally, the women from this group had no titles and they were mentioned only by their personal names plus the particles *Pu* or *Si*. Sometimes we find that their names are not mentioned at all. The Taji inscription (901 A.D.), for example, mentions only their husbands' names, and the Kinewu inscription (907 A.D.) mentions the women who participated in the ceremony only as *Sang Hadyan Waḍwan* (the honourable women).<sup>8</sup>

From all of the inscriptions used in this study, only eleven inscriptions mention this group of women. Below is a table which shows where they are found and who they are.

TABLE II

WOMEN OF THE SECOND GROUP

Name of inscription (A.D.)	Status	Name
Gandasuli 1 (827)	Dang Pu Hawang Glis anakbi (The wife of Dang Pu Hawang Glis)	Si Pirakhut
Tri Tepussan 1 (842)	Sang Darukap anakbi (The wife of Sang Darukap)	Pu Mutra

Tri Tepuasan 2 (842)	Sang Darukap anakbi (The wife of Sang Darukap)	Pu Mutra
Kancana (860)	Wka Paduka Mpungku i Bodhimimba wungsu (The youngest child of Paduka Mpungku of Bodhimimba)	Dyah Anargha
Telaga Tanjung (861)	1) Anakwi Sang Pangurang (The wife of Sang Pangurang)	Pu Simpu
	2) Anakwi Swami Kayuwangi (The wife of the Lord of Kayuwangi)	Pu Dimit
Ngabean (878)	1) Anakwi Patih (The wife of Patih)	Si Ugiredhyana
	2) Anakwi Wahuta Putat (The wife of Wahuta Putat)	Si Karti
Balingawan (891)	Anakbi Rakryan - Nayaka ri limus (The wife of Rakryan - Nayaka of Limus)	Pu Kutil
Taji (901)	Anakbi Patih Kalungan (The wife of Patih-s of Kalungan)	
	1) anakbi Pu Halaran -	
	2) anakbi Pu Dahan -	
	3) anakbi Pu Dhanu -	
	4) anakbi Pu Buatoh -	
	5) anakbi Pu Wariga -	
	6) anakbi Pu Halding -	
Kinewu (907)	Sang Hadyan Wadwan	-

(The hounourable women)

Lintakan (919)

- 1)Anakbi Patih Gilikan  
(The wife of Patih  
Gilikan) -
- 2)Anakbi Patih Tigang  
(The wife of Patih  
Tigang) -
- 3)Anakbi Patih Panggil  
(The wife of Patih  
Panggil) -

Gilikan 2 (923)

- 1)Patih waduan & Si Abhi  
anakbi Patih Gilikan  
(woman patih &  
the wife of Patih  
Gilikan)
  - 2)Tunggu Durung Si Dunak  
anakwi  
(The wife of  
Tunggu Durung)
  - 3)Winkas anakwi Si Dmit  
(The wife of  
Winkas)
- 

### III.b. Participation of High Status Women in the Activities

As we have seen already, the inscriptions generally give us information about how ancient societies managed their lives. In this study especially, how they managed their lives is seen through major activities such as social, administrative, religious, economic, juridical , and cultural activities. Most of these activities are represented in *sima* (free-holding lands) inscriptions, *jayapatra* (juridical)

inscriptions. So far, we have not seen how the women from the high status level participated in their societies in those activities. To make it clearer, the participation in different types of activities will be seen separately here for both the first and the second group.

### III.b.1. Social Activities

From chapter 2 we can see that granting and receiving *sima* are included in the social activities. But, from all of the inscriptions in which the *sima* were given or awarded, only two inscriptions indicate that the donors were women. It is clear, however, that in both inscriptions these women were not alone in giving that *sima*, but were either accompanied by men or accompanying men. The first inscription is the Karangtengah inscription (824 A.D.) which mentions that Rakarayan (Patapan) Pu Palar and his wife gave *sima* lands including the lands which were at Kiwa and Babadan, "...swasti śakawarṣātita 746... tatkāla rakarayān (patapān) pu palar sang laki-laki pu palar anakbi mawaih sawah sima arikiwa luang babadan...".<sup>9</sup> The second inscription is the Wukiran (862 A.D.), which mentions that Rake Walaing Pu Kumbhayoni, the grandchild of the king of Halu and the grandmother from Jangluran gave the rice-fields at Wukiran to be used for *caru* offerings by Sang Pangat, "...Swasti śakawarṣātita 784... tatkāla rake walaing pu kumbhayoni puyut sang ratu i halu pakwiannira i jangluran maweh sawah i wukiran... carua sang hyang winaya uwang sang pangat...".<sup>10</sup>

It is clear here that although those women had high status, their roles in giving the lands were somehow always connected with those of men.

It is only in one inscription that we can see a woman having full authority in granting *sima*. The Kinawe inscription (928 A.D.) mentions that the Rake Gunungan Dyah Muatan, who was also the mother of Dyah Bingah, marked out a *sima* at Pibang village in Kinawe. In this inscription, it is also written that the *sima* should be inherited by her own descendants, not by the stepbrothers or sisters of her child, Dyah Bingah, because the *sima* was not the *sima* of her husband, "...*rake gunungan dyah muatan, ibu dyah bingah sumusuk pibang wanua i kinawe waték kadangan, kunang matangyan susuk ya sima potraka kalilirana ni sanak nira jaga tan ilua savuanghanak dyah bingah ing wasa apan tan sima rakryān laki laki ikang sima...*".<sup>11</sup> *Sima* could be inherited by the daughter or the son of someone, and, once he or she inherited the lands, they could have authority over that *sima*. The Kancana inscription (860 A.D.) gives us an example of this. It is written in that inscription that Padukua Mpungku i Bodhimimba bought the lands from the villagers of Bungur. The lands which had to be the foundation of Sang Hyang Prasada for the worship of Sang Hyang Arcca Boddha were also the place of his son, Dyah Imbangi, and his youngest daughter, Dyah Anargha. Both of them had authority over this *sima*.<sup>12</sup> In the case of the Kinawe inscription, it might have

happened because the Raka of Gunungan's husband had other children not from her, and she, as the owner of the *sima*, decided who would inherit her property.

The other social activity found in the inscriptions for women is witnessing. Women of high status group are found as witnesses of the *sima* ceremonies. In the Taji inscription (901 A.D.), the wives of all *patih* from Kalingan functioned as witnesses and received *pasak-pasak* (gifts) in the form of *ken* (cloth) and 2 *ma* of gold for each.<sup>13</sup> In the Lintakan inscription (919 A.D.), it is also mentioned that all the wives of *Patih* from Gilikan, Tigang, and Panggil received *pasak-pasak* in form of one piece of *ken* (cloth) because they were the witnessess of the ceremony.<sup>14</sup> But, in the Kinewu inscription (907 A.D.), women are not mentioned clearly as witnesses and they did not receive any *pasak-pasak* (gifts) either. They are mentioned only as *Sang Hadyan Wadwan* (the honourable women), and we know that they were at the ceremony because they were given the food.<sup>15</sup>

### III.b.2. Administrative Activities

Administrative activities found participated in by women include giving and receiving orders to mark out a *sima*, marking out a *sima*, and participation in governmental bodies. In the case of ordering other people to mark out a *sima*, there are only two inscriptions from the period chosen showing that women appeared in this kind of activity. The

Tri Tepussan 1 and the Tri Tepussan 2 (842 A.D.) inscriptions mention that the same person, Śrī Kahulunnan, ordered Sang Darukap and his wife to mark out a *sima*, "...kinon Śrī kahulunnan manusukka sang darukap lakibi sang laki laki pu widya sang anakbi pu mutra muwah kinon milwa manusuk..."<sup>16</sup> ("...ordered by Śrī Kahulunnan to mark out, Sang Darukap husband and wife, the husband Pu Widya the wife Pu Mutra, ordered to mark out..."). Śrī Kahulunnan was known as the consort of Rakai Pikatan from the Sailendra dynasty, and as she belonged to the court family it was not surprising that she could order these officials to mark out a *sima*. But, she is the only one found ordering other officials to mark out a *sima*, and she did this activity alone (unaccompanied by men). Other inscriptions never mention women giving orders to other people, especially in marking out a *sima*.

Women as recipients of the king's order to mark out a *sima* are not found in many inscriptions. From the period chosen, in fact, there is only one inscription mentioning this. In the Randusari 1 inscription (905 A.D.) we find that the *ajna* (the order) of the king Balitung was received by two officials: the Rakryān Mapatih i Hino Śrī Dakṣottama Bāhubajrapratipakṣasaya and the Rakai Wwatan Pu Tammēr. The Rakai Wwatan was known also as the *nini haji* (the grandmother of the king). As an official who received the order from the king, in which the order was about the establishment of *sima* in Poh, Rumasa, and Nyu, under the *watak* of Kiniwang, for the

*caitya* (sacred monument) of *Sang Dewata* (the gods), she also received *pasak-pasak* from all the *Rama* of those villages.<sup>17</sup>

According to the bureaucratic system, the officials who received the order straight from the king were those of the rank of *Hina*, *Halu*, *Sirikan*, and others from the high level group. However, the most likely reason why there are many officials who did not belong to this level but are found receiving the order, is that they were directly involved with the areas where the *sima* was to be established (Barret-Jones 1984:63). This explanation is used for some examples such as Rakai Wwatan Pu Tammer. Although she was one of the court family members, she could not be included in the recipient list unless she had an authority over the lands of that *sima*. Like Sri Kahulunnan in the Tri Tepuasan 1 and the Tri Tepuasan 2 inscriptions, the mention of Rakai Wwatan Pu Tammer was also the only evidence found for the involvement of women in this kind of activity. If we try to imagine how many women there must have been at the court level, we can see that the participation of women like Rakai Wwatan Pu Tammer in this kind of activity was minimal.

Another activity that comes as a part of administrative activities is marking out a *sima*. From the period chosen, there are only five inscriptions available giving us evidence of women's participation in this activity. The Tri Tepuasan 1 and the Tri Tepuasan 2 (842 A.D.) inscriptions are once again used because they mention Pu Mutra, the wife of of Sang

Darukap, who joined her husband in marking out the *sima* at the village of Tpusan.<sup>18</sup> The third inscription is the Gandasuli inscription (827 A.D.). This inscription mentions that Si Pirakhut, the wife of Pu Hawang Glis, was the one who marked out the *sima*.<sup>19</sup> The fourth inscription is the Munggu Antan (886 A.D.). It is mentioned that Sang Pamgat of Munggu together with his sister, Sang Hadyan Palutungan who was also the queen of Sang Dewata of Pastika, marked out a *sima* at the Munggu Antan village as it was received from the king Raka Gurunwangi, "...Sang pamgat munggu muang ari nira sang hadyan palutungan binihaji sang dewata ing pastika, sumusuk ikang wanua i munggu antan,..., sangkari śri mahārāja rake gurunwangi...".<sup>20</sup> And the last inscription is the Panggumulan 1 inscription (902 A.D.), where it is mentioned that the wife of Rakryān Wantil, Dyah Prasāda, together with her husband and her three children marked out a *sima* at the Panggumulan village for the gods and the goddesses of Kinawuhan, "...rakryān wantil pu pālaka anak wanua i wuatan sugiḥ watak sulakan, muang nganakwi nira dyah prasāda, muang anak nira katiga, manusuk sima wanua i panggumulan watak puluwatu,... sima bhatarā muang bhatarī i kinawuhan...".<sup>21</sup>

In these five inscriptions, four of the women were marking out the *sima* together with men: two of them with their husbands (The Tri Tepusasan 1 and the Tri Tepusasan 2) and two others with their husbands and children (The Munggu Antan and the Panggumulan 1 inscription). It is only the

Gandasuli inscription which shows that a woman could mark out a *sima* without a man. Although this woman is clearly written as the wife of Dang Pu Hawang Glis, she was the one who marked out the *sima*, not her husband, and she was not accompanied by him or any other men. In the case of the women in the other four inscriptions, it seems that they participated in marking out the *sima* because they had to accompany their husbands, which also means that it was only because of the status of their husbands that they could participate in the activity of establishing or marking out *sima*.

The participation of women in the governmental bodies is the last administrative activity of relevance here. Women are found in five inscriptions as government employees. The Randusari 1 inscription (905 A.D.) shows that a woman called Pu Tammer was also a *Rakai* from Wwatan.<sup>22</sup> The Lintakan inscription (919 A.D.) also gives an example of a woman as the ruler of an area. It is mentioned that there was a *wanua* (village) at Kinaling under the *Bini Haji* (the queen).<sup>23</sup> The Balingawan (891 A.D.) and the Wintang Mas B inscription (919 A.D.) state that women could also be *Nayaka* or the chief of *Nayaka*.<sup>24</sup> And finally, the Gilikan 2 inscription (923 A.D.) mentions a woman as *Patih Waduan* (woman Patih).<sup>25</sup> But tables in appendix show that there was a great difference between how many men and how many women occupied positions in the governmental bodies. From these tables we find that more than 100 titles including *Mahārāja*, *Rakryān Hina*, *Halu*, *Sirikan*,

*Wka, Samgat Wadihati, Rakaryān Watu Tihang, Rakaryān Pager Wsi, Rakai Halaran, Rakai Palarhyang, Samgat Makudur, Samgat Dmung, Samgat Pangharungan, Samgat Putat, Samgat Kiniwang, Samgat Watu Antan, Samgat Pulung Kayang, Samgat Puluwatu* with almost all of their *parujar* or *parwuwus* were held by men, and only 6 titles by women, namely *Rajaputri, Rake Walaing, Rakai Watangan, Rake Gunungan, Rakai Mwatan, and Samgat.*

### III.b.3. Religious Activities

From all of the inscriptions studied, only two inscriptions clearly mention women in this kind of activity. The first inscription is the Sangsang inscription (907 A.D.). It is mentioned in this inscription that after *Sang Makudur* and *Manguyut* set out the offerings, *Samgat Kalang Wungkal* and all his wives, *Samgat Dyah Sucinte, Dyah Kina, Dyah Waita, and Dyah Sawita* gave the *pañcopacāra* (the five kinds of offerings), "...*i sampun i saji sang manguyut pinarṇaṅ mangḍiri samgat kalang wungkal muang samgat anakbi dyah sucintē muang dyah kina dyah waitā dyah sawitā mawaiḥ pañcopacāra...*".<sup>26</sup> These women acted in the ceremony together with their husband, and they could be seen as equal to their husband in the ceremony because the inscription also mentions that they, together with the husband (*samgat kalang wungkal*), were given special places to sit compared with others attending the ceremony. After giving the offerings, they went to sit facing to the south, to the *Sang Hyang Kudur*. Other

officials took their seats behind Sang Hyang Kudur, other witnesses took their seats facing to the north, and the matron witnesses sat in the east. Although the Sangsang inscription shows that women could be as active as men in the ritual activity, still, there are no other inscriptions, especially from the period of 9th to early 10th century A.D., proving that women could be leaders of this kind of activity. This is because often we find that the personal names of Sang Makudur, Sang Hyang Kudur, or Sang Manguyut are not mentioned, but, as persons who led the important part of the ceremonies they received *pasak-pasak* which was usually *wḍihan*, *mas* (gold), or *pirak* (silver). *Wḍihan* is a kind of batik cloth specially for men and usually was given in *yu* or *yugala* which means a pair. A kind of batik cloth which was given specially for women was called *kain* or *ken*. This *kain* was usually given to someone in *wlah* or *blah*, which means a piece. From the inscriptions there are no religious leaders such as Sang Makudur or Sang Manguyut who were given *kain* in the ceremonies, only *wḍihan*. This leads us to assume that those leaders were men and the position was not common for women.

The second inscription is the Taji inscription (901 A.D.). This inscription mentions that the Rakryān of Watutihang, Pu Sanggramadhurandara, marked out the ground at Taji under *watak* Dmung, and the rice-fields at Taji. The reason was that a temple for the *Dewasabha* was to be reconstructed and the ricefields at Taji should support this

temple as its *sima*. The temple would then be under the Samgat Dmung's family. It is mentioned that the wife of Samgat Dmung, the Raka Śrī Bharu Dyah Dheta, together with her children should protect and take care of this *dharma*, "...*matangya rake śrī bhāru atah winaih rakryān i watu tihang irikanang kabikuan, muang sahanani wka rake śrī bhāru, ri dlaha ning dlaha, siratah pramana kumyatnakna sang hyang dharmma...*".<sup>27</sup> This inscription is very interesting because the responsibility is mentioned again and again as given to the wife of Samgat Dmung and her descendant only. Samgat Dmung is mentioned only once when he received the *pasak-pasak*. If it is true that this temple and the *sima* were given only to the Samgat's wife, this inscription provides strong evidence that women could have their own authority over a temple and a *sima*, and as in the Kancana inscription, she could bequeath this property to her children. But, if the *citralekha* (the writer) considered that Samgat Dmung to be the ruler of the areas where the temple and its *sima* were established, automatically he had authority over them. If the reason why his name is not mentioned is because it was his duty to take care of his lands and everybody would know this, then the responsibility of the Samgat's wife would be only as a support for her husband.

### III.b.4. Economic Activities

What are included as economic activities here are the activities of buying or selling lands, because not all of the lands which were established in *sima* were given, some were bought from the owners, usually the villagers. Also included is receiving *pasak-pasak* (gifts), because this kind of *pasak-pasak* was received by certain people as a form of payment or compensation for their loss of income.

From the 103 inscriptions used in this study, only two of them show that women could join the transaction activities, and in both cases they acted as the buyers. They are the Panggumulan 2 inscription (903 A.D.) and the Siddhayoga inscription (903 A.D.). Both of these inscriptions mention the same person in relation to the same affairs. In these inscriptions, it is written that Rakryān Wantil , Pu Palaka, together with his wife, Dyah Prasāda and their three children bought the lands from the *Ramanta* of Panggumulan which were the garden named Siddhayoga and the rice-fields at Paniluan. Both of these lands were bought for the price of 3 *kati* of silver.<sup>28</sup> Nothing more could be said than that this woman bought these lands together with her family, which meant that the authority over the lands should be under the whole family, not under the woman alone.

Ten of the inscriptions used in this study give us evidence that women from the high status level were also

included in the lists of the *pasak-pasak* recipients. Among those inscriptions, only the Randusari inscription (905 A.D.), the Wintang Mas B inscription (919 A.D.), and the Gilikan 2 inscription (923 A.D.) show that women received *pasak-pasak* more or less because of their own positions. The Randusari 1 inscription clearly shows that the woman, Rakai Wwatan Pu Tammēr, received the *pasak-pasak* right after the king, and her *pasak-pasak* could be seen as a gift to her because of her status also as *Rakai* of Wwatan, who received the order from the king.<sup>29</sup> The Gilikan 2 inscription mentions that one of the women receiving the *pasak-pasak* was the *Patih Waduan* (the woman patih).<sup>30</sup> And the Wintang Mas B inscription mentions that the woman who received the *pasak-pasak* was the wife of Rakryan Hino who was also the chief of *Nayaka*.<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, in this inscription, her status as the wife of Rakrayan was written earlier than that as chief of *Nayaka*. It seems here that the *pasak-pasak* she received was also considered as the *pasak-pasak* for the *Hino's* wife, because her husband was also the one who confirmed this legal document.

Almost all of these inscriptions, that is the Balingawan ((891 A.D>)), the Ngabean (878 A.D.), the Sugih Manek ((915 A.D.), the Mantyasih 1 (907 A.D.), the Mantyasih 3 (907 A.D.), the Sangguran (928 A.D.), and the Panggumulan 1 (902 A.D), show that women received *pasak-pasak* because of their husbands. In those inscriptions, usually their names

are written right after their husbands. Sometimes their names are mentioned, but sometimes, they are only mentioned as the wife of someone. If we compare the numbers of men and women who received *pasak-pasak* from one inscription, for example, the difference is very clear. From all officials mentioned as the recipients of *pasak-pasak*, only one or two are accompanied by their wives. This might be because their husbands were in charge of the ceremony, as is found in the Panggumulan 1 (902 A.D.). In this inscription we find that the one who marked out the *sima* was Sang Pamgat Puluvalu, Pu Kunir, and his wife, Pu Babi, who also received *pasak-pasak*. In the Mantyasih 1 (907 A.D.) we find that Dyah Tales was the official who marked out the *sima*, and his wife, Dyah Wraiyan, also received the *pasak-pasak*.<sup>32</sup> But, if their husbands were not in charge of the ceremony, and we still find that their wives also received the *pasak-pasak*, this could mean that their husband's position had something to do with the areas that were established. It is not easy to determine why all of those officials were not accompanied by their wives in receiving the *pasak-pasak*, because the rules relating to *sima* are not mentioned very clearly in the inscription.

As regards the donors of the *pasak-pasak*, only one inscription gives us evidence about how women could participate in this kind of activity. The Telaga Tanjung inscription (861 A.D.) gives us the list of those who gave *pasak-pasak* to someone who could not be recognised in the inscription, but might be the official who established that

*sima*. From that list, there are two women appearing together with their husbands giving that *pasak-pasak*, "...*anakwi sang pangurang pu simpe paweh i sira ken atmaraksa sawlah sisim wrat su ma i anakwi swami kayuwangi pu dimit paweh i sira ken...*"<sup>33</sup> ("...the wife of Sang Pangurang Pu Simpe gave him/her 1 piece of *atmaraksa* cloth and ring with the weight of 1 *su ma*, the wife of the Lord of Kayuwangi gave him/her cloth...'). This is the only inscription from the period chosen which shows that women could give the *pasak-pasak*, but, why only two women? perhaps for the same reason as for those who received *pasak-pasak*, that is, that their husbands were involved with the areas that were being marked out.

### III.b.5. Juridical Activities

There are not many *jayapatra* (juridical) inscriptions found in Java. One of them is the Guntur inscription (907 A.D.) which tells us how the court was conducted in a case of debt. In the Guntur inscription the person being charged was Pu Tabwel and he was charged because his wife, who had already passed away, had not paid her debt. But then, it was said that he never knew about this debt and it was common in the society that such a debt could not be accrued to the husband, only to their children. From this inscription we get information that Pu Tabwel was called to the court by *Sang Pamgat Pinapan*, Pu Gawul and his wife, Pu Gallam. Among the witnesses, there was Guru Waju, the wife of the former *Samgat*

*Pinapan*. This means that the women as the wives of *Samgat Pinapan*, who was in charge for this affair, could participate actively. Even though a woman's husband might be dead, her status still made her active in the court, as in the case of Guru Waju. What we cannot know is whether there was any woman who was a *Samgat Pinapan* or not, because there is no inscription found which mentions this.

## NOTES

- 1 See the Taji inscription (901 A.D.) line 1
- 2 See the Karang Tengah inscription (824 A.D.) part B:25-26
- 3 See the Sugih Manek inscription (915 A.D.) part RECTO:30
- 4 See the Balingawan inscription (891 A.D.) part A:10-11
- 5 See the Wintang Mas B inscription (919 A.D.) line 9
- 6 See the Taji inscription (901 A.D.) line 3
- 7 See the Balingawan inscription (891 A.D.) part A:10-15
- 8 See the Kinewu inscription (907 A.D.) line 19
- 9 See the Karang Tengah inscription (824 A.D.) part B:25-26
- 10 See the Wukiran inscription (862 A.D.) line 7-11
- 11 See the Kinawe inscription (927 A.D.) line 6-9
- 12 See the Kancana inscription (860 A.D.) part IIB:2-3  
and IIIB:3-6
- 13 See the Taji inscription (901 A.D.) line 3
- 14 See the Lintakan inscription (919 A.D.) part II:6-7
- 15 See the Kinewu inscription (907 A.D.) line 19-20
- 16 See the Tri Tpuasan 1 inscription (842 A.D.) line 6-8  
and the Tri Tpuasan 2 inscription (842 A.D.) line 4-5
- 17 See the Randusari 1 inscription (905 A.D.) part Ib:2-3  
and part Ib:6-7
- 18 See the Tri Tpuasan 1 inscription (842 A.D.) line 7-8 and  
the Tri Tpuasan 2 inscription (842 A.D.) line 5
- 19 See the Gandasuli isncrption (827 A.D.) line 5-7 and  
line 17-19
- 20 See the Munggu Antan inscription (886 A.D.) line 2-5
- 21 See the Panggumulan 1 inscription (902 A.D.) part I:1-4
- 22 See the Randusari 1 inscription (905 A.D.) part Ib:6

- 23 See the Lintakan inscription (919 A.D.) part I:11
- 24 See the Balingawan inscription (891 A.D.) part A:10-15  
and the Wintang Mas B inscription (919 A.D.) line 9
- 25 See the Gilikan 2 inscription (923 A.D.) part a
- 26 See the Sangsang inscription (907 A.D.) part II:11-12
- 27 See the Taji inscription (901 A.D.) line 7
- 28 See the Panggumulan 2 inscription (903 A.D.) part IIIb:9-10  
and the Siddhayoga inscription (903 A.D.) line 9-10
- 29 See the Randusari 1 inscription (905 A.D.) part Ib:6-7
- 30 See the Gilikan 2 inscription (923 A.D.) part a
- 31 See the Wintang Mas B inscription (919 A.D.) line 9-10
- 32 See the Mantyasih 1 inscription (902 A.D.) part A1:12-13
- 33 See the Telaga Tanjung inscription (861 A.D.) part VERSO:7-  
10

## IV

### LOW STATUS WOMEN AND THEIR ACTIVITIES

#### IV.a. Low Status Women

The low status group in Javanese society were those who resided and were involved actively in the *wanua* communities. According to de Casparis, the *wanua* community gives the impression of people who might not be exactly equal in social status, although they clearly belonged to the same social class. To support this interpretation, de Casparis estimated that the particles used in front of the personal names in the inscriptions were used as a mark of classification. Usually, there were three kinds of particles used, which were *Si*, *Sang*, and *Pu*. De Casparis suggested that *Si* was a particle used by ordinary villagers while *Sang* and *Pu* were honorific particles. However, we still have to consider that this generalisation varies between periods and regions, and it is a fact that some inscriptions used the particles equally for all the villagers. Although some people were clearly recognised as belonging to the honorific group, they still used *Si* in front of their names (De Casparis 1986:5-6).

Inside *wanua*, there was more than one group of villagers. Van der Meer in her thesis about sawah cultivation in ancient Java suggested that the ancient Javanese villages

usually consisted of three groups of people. The first was the owners of *sawah* fields which was known also as the core villagers. They were known also as the village 'elite' who were the descendants of the original village founders. Because usually the membership of this group was passed down within the family, these people were very exclusive. Their roles in the *wanua* community were considered very important. They enjoyed full rights and privileges, and even when they retired, these *kaki* (grandfathers) still continued to have an important position in *wanua* affairs. The second group was the villagers who had no *sawah* fields. They might have *tegal* (garden or non-irrigated) lands but not *sawah* and although they had houses usually those houses were on other people's lands. And finally, the third group was the group without property. Van der Meer added that those included in the third group were unmarried children, newly married couples and also newcomers (Van der Meer 1979:56-57). De Casparis in one of his articles (1986) suggested that there were two major groups of villagers. The first group was known as the elite group which consisted of (presumed) descendants of the original founders of the *wanua*. They were also recognised as *anak wanua* (children of the village). The people belonging to this group could own *sawah* (irrigated ricefields) and usually participated actively in the village councils. The second group was the group of people who were the later arrivals and their descendants (De Casparis 1986: 8-9). Actually Van der Meer and de Casparis suggest almost the same arrangement only de Casparis's is more simple: the villagers who had full

civil rights and enjoyed more privileges were those of the descendants of the village founders and automatically those who arrived later got less than the first. Usually the second group members were the labourers and could not be actively involved in *wanua* affairs.

Apart from information about the villagers of the *wanua*, the inscriptions also give us information about an organized village bureaucracy consisting of many officials. A *wanua* was usually led by a group of village elders known as *Rama* or *Ramanta* who belonged to the elite group (De Casparis 1986:8-9). This group or *Rama* was divided into *Rama Magman* or *Rama Mangagam Kon* meaning the group of *Rama* who still held office and functioned as leaders, and *Rama Marata*, the group of elderly who had already retired but were often still considered as *wanua* advisors.

The *Rama Magman* as the group of people actively leading *wanua* affairs consisted of officials with different titles, and each area had different numbers and types of officials. For example, in the king Balitung period, where his territories spread from Central to East Java and consisted of 138 *wanua* under 73 *watak*, there were about 30 titles mentioned which belonged to the *wanua* councils. But, of those 30 titles, however, only 10 appear constantly, the others only appear once or twice. Those 10 titles were *Rama Marata*, *Gusti*, *Winkas*, *Parujar*, *Kalang*, *Tuha Kalang*, *Tuha Wanua*,

*Kalima, Wariga, and Hulu Wras*. According to de Casparis, *Rama Marata, Kalang, Tuha Kalang, Gusti* and *Tuha Wanua* are positioned in the top of the list and the other five functioned as supervisors of different affairs. For example, *Hulu Wras* was the official responsible for rice supplies and *Wariga* was the village astrologer.

Women of this low level were mentioned in the inscriptions just as women of the high level were. Commonly, they are mentioned as *anakbi* or the wife of someone. And the inscriptions also mention *Rainanta* or *Repana* meaning the wife of *Ramanta* (Zoetmulder 1982:1548). Sarkar in his translations used 'matrons' or 'wives' as the meaning of *Rainanta*, but inconsistently he used "the mother of" in his other translations (Sarkar II:34).<sup>1</sup> In my opinion 'the wife of' is more suitable for the term *Rainanta* or *Repana*. In the Panggumulan 1 inscription the word *Rainanta* is abbreviated into *Rai*, which could still mean 'the wife of', because *Rai* is very close with the word *Rayi* which means 'wife' or 'spouse' (Zoetmulder 1982:1526). Other terms of address used in the inscriptions for these women are *ibu ni* or *inang ni* which mean 'the mother of someone'. Apart from wives or mothers, the inscriptions also mention young women villagers, called *Rarai Waduan* or *Rara*, who participated in the *sima* ceremony. It is interesting to note that this young group never appear in the high status women. Below is a table which shows all the low status women and where they are found in the inscriptions:

TABLE III

## LOW STATUS WOMEN

Name of inscription (A.D.)	Status	Name
Jakarta (887)	Anakbi Pu Bha (The wife of Pu Bha)	-
Taji (901)	Anakwanua i Taji (The villagers of Taji)	1) Si Padas 2) Si Mendut
	Reṇanta Matuha & Renanta Manuti i Tpi Siring (The wives of Rāmana of neighbouring places)	-
Guntur (907)	Anakbwi Pu Tabwēl (The wife of Pu Tabwel)	Si Campa
Sugih Manek (915)	Rāma i Tpi Siring i Kalilingan: (Rāma of neighbouring places of Kalilingan)	
	1) Ibu ni Kalangan (the mother of Kalangan)	Ḍapu Hyang Tambir
	2) Ibu ni Raṇḍungan (the mother of Raṇḍungan)	Sang Gnuk
Lintakan (919)	1. Anakbi Rāma Māgman ing Kasugihan: (The wives of Rāma Māgman of Kasugihan:)	

- Anakbi Kalang  
(The wife of Kalang)
- Anakbi Tuha Wanua  
(The wife of Tuha Wanua)
- Anakbi Gusti  
(The wife of Gusti)
- Anakbi Winkas  
(The wife of Winkas)
- Anakbi Wariga  
(The wife of Wariga)
- Anakbi Parujar  
(The wife of Parujar)

2)Anakbi rāma i lintakan  
(The wives of rama of  
Lintakan):

- Anakbi Kalang  
(The wife of Kalang)
- Anakbi Gusti  
(The wife of Gusti)
- Anakbi Tuhabanua  
(The wife of Tuhabanua)
- Anakbi Winkas  
(The wife of Winkas)
- Anakbi  
(The wife of)
- Anakbi Parujar  
(The wife of Parujar)

3)Anakbi Rāma i Tunah  
(The wives of Rāma  
of Tunah):

- Anakbi Kalang  
(The wife of Kalang)
- Anakbi Tuha Banua  
(The wife of Tuha Banua)
- Anakbi Parujar  
(The wife of Parujar)

4)Anakbi Rāma i Wra  
(The wives of Rāma  
of Wra):

- Anakbi Kalang  
(The wife of Kalang)
- Anakbi Gusti  
(The wife of Gusti)
- Anakbi Tuha Banua  
(The wife of Tuha Banua)
- Anakbi Winkas  
(The wife of Winkas)

5)Anakbi Rāma i  
Turumangambwil  
(The wife of Rāma of  
Turumangambwil):

-Anakbi Kalang  
(The wife of Kalang)

6)Rarai Waduan

Gilikan 1 (923)

Raiṇanta  
(The wives of Rāmanta)

Randusari 1 (905)

Raiṇanta  
(The wives of Rāmanta):  
1)Inang ni Pingul -  
(The mother of  
Pingul)  
2)Inang ni Gantiḥ Si Tiris  
(The mother of  
Gantiḥ)  
3)Inang ni Jawil Si Wirikan  
(The mother of  
Jawil)  
4)Inang ni Cuddha Si Jabwan  
(The mother of  
Cuddha)  
5)Inang ni Kamman Si Limwayā  
(The mother of  
Kamman)  
6)Inang ni Gading Si Wulakan  
(The mother of  
Gading)

Rarā  
(The young women): 1)Si Kārigna  
2)Si Dariṇi  
3)Si Rumpuk

Panggumulan 1 (902)

Raiṇanta Sang Matuha  
(The wives of the  
elderly):  
1)Rai Nangga Si Turuk  
(The wife of  
Nangga)  
2)Rai Bai Si Tadah  
(The wife of  
Bai)  
3)Rai Daimoh Si Rumpung  
(The wife of  
Daimoh)

Raiṇanta sang manuti  
(The wives of elderly):  
1)Rai Kṛṣṇa Si Gawi  
(The wife of  
Kṛṣṇa)

- |  |            |
|--|------------|
| 2)Rai Sryan<br>(The wife of<br>Sryan)      | Si Magya   |
| 3)Rai Rampuān<br>(The wife of<br>Rampuān)  | Si Kuduk   |
| 4)Rai Tugan<br>(The wife of<br>Tugan)      | Si Wrut    |
| 5)Rai Burubuh<br>(The wife of<br>Burubuh)  | Si Kinang  |
| 6)Rai Mahear<br>(The wife of<br>Mahear)    | Si Dakī    |
| 7)Rai Tarum<br>(The wife of<br>Tarum)      | Si Turukan |
| 8)Rai Ramya<br>(The wife of<br>Ramya)      | Si Haryya  |
| 9)Rai Gamwo<br>(The wife of<br>Gamwo)      | Si Balyah  |
| 10)Rai Gamwaus<br>(The wife of<br>Gamwaus) | Si Puñjang |
| 11)Rai Bari<br>(The wife of<br>Bari)       | Si Lamyat  |
| 12)Rai Dayana<br>(The wife of<br>Dayana)   | Si Dayang  |
| 13)Rai Bireḍis<br>(The wife of<br>Biredis) | Si Dita    |
| 14)Rai Go<br>(The wife of<br>Go)           | Si Kutil   |
| 15)Rai Wdai<br>(The wife of<br>Wdai)       | Si Tugan   |

Anakmanuam anakbi  
(The wives of  
villagers):

- 1)Si Mahyang
- 2)Si Tagēs
- 3)Si Rikha
- 4)Si Sojara
- 5)Si Widoh
- 6)Si Rampwas
- 7)Si Kaḍya
- 8)Si Camna

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#### IV.b. Participation of Low Status Women in Activities

Unlike the high status women who were actively involved in five kinds of activities in the society, the low status women, based on the inscriptions chosen, were only active in social, administrative, economic, and of course cultural activities, as some inscriptions mention in general that all the guests (including women) could participate in the activities. There is no inscription which shows that woman from this group took part actively in the juridical activities. And, in the case of religious activities, especially the ritual actions in the establishment of *sima*, there is no evidence that women of this low level did anything special as was found for the high status group in the Sangsang inscription (907 AD). In this inscription, it is mentioned that all the wives of Samgat Kalang Wungkal gave the *Pañcopacāra* or the five kinds of offerings to the priest. For the low status women, on the other hand, if they attended a ceremony, they merely sat there and observed the ceremony like the other guests without doing anything special. The Gilikan 2 inscription which is used here as an example shows that women of the low status group, together with the men attended the ceremony and did something which can be considered as a regular activity, giving honour to the sacred

objects. The inscription mentions, "...*sang wahuta patih muang rāmana rainanta muang rāma tpis siring kabaiḥ manambah i sang hyang wungkal muang kulumpang...*" (all the Wahuta Patih with Rāmana, the wives of Rāmana and the Rāma of neighbouring places gave honour to Sang Hyang Wungkal and Kulumpang...")

#### IV.b.1. Social Activities

The majority of the inscriptions which mention women of the low status group show that they were involved in social activities, especially as the witnesses of the establishment of *sima*. Although they received *pasak-pasak* (gifts) in the form of one piece of *kain* for each person, and sometimes also silver or gold, this activity can not be seen as an economic activity as could happen with the high status women. There are some women of the high status level who received *pasak-pasak* because they were the witnesses of the ceremony, for example, the wives of the Patih in the Taji inscription (901 AD) and in the Lintakan inscription (919 AD). But, almost all the high status women who are mentioned in the inscriptions received the *pasak-pasak* as a form of payment because after the lands were lished as *sima*, usually they suffered some losses including their income. This is why the *pasak-pasak* was given as a compensation. If women received the *pasak-pasak* because they attended the ceremony and functioned as witnesses, this means only that these women took part in the social aspect of the ceremony.

There are three inscriptions mentioning that low status women received *pasak-pasak* as witnesses in the ceremony. The Lintakan inscription (919 AD) mentions that *anakbi rāma māgman ing kasugihan* or the wives of the members of village council of Kasugihan, as well as the wives of Kalang, Gusti, Tuha Banua and Winkas of Lintakan, all received 1 piece of *kain* each. Other women who received the same *pasak-pasak* were the wives of the neighbouring village councils such as Tunah, Wia, and Turumangambwil.<sup>2</sup> The Gilikan 2 inscription (923 AD) of which only its last part has been found, mentions that *Winkas anakwi* or the wife of a Winkas whose name was *si Dmit* received *pasak-pasak* in the form of 1 piece of *kain*.<sup>3</sup> And finally, the Panggumulan 1 inscription (902 A.D.) mentions that *Raiṅanta Sang Mātuha* or the wives of the elders which were *si Turuk*, *si Tadak* and *si Rumpung*, received *pasak-pasak* in form of 1 piece of *kain* and 1 *kampit* for each, while the *Raiṅanta Sang Manuti* or the wives of other members of the village council received only 1 piece of *kain* for each person. The other women who also received *pasak-pasak* in this inscription were *anak manuam anakbi* who might be the wives of villagers who were not members of any council. Their *pasak-pasak* were in form of silver 4 *ma* for each person, "...*anak manuam anakbi si mahyang, si tagēs, si rikka, si sojara, si widoh, si rampuan, si kadya, si camuna pinda praṅa 6 winēḥ pasak-pasak pirak mā 4 ing sowang sowang...*"<sup>4</sup>

The other inscriptions do not say that women received *pasak-pasak* or mention directly that there were women as witnesses. But at the end, some inscriptions mention that there were women at the ceremony and they joined the feast. The first inscription in this category is the Er Hangat inscription (888 AD). Although there are lists of *Rama* and other officials who received *pasak-pasak*, we do not find women mentioned. The only information about women is from the sentence, "...*matuha manwan laki bini mamangan manginum...*"<sup>5</sup> ("...the old and young, men and women eat and drink..."). This means that there were women who joined the feast in the ceremony, but because they had no special position they did not receive the *pasak-pasak*. Another inscription which shows almost the same case was the Taji inscription (901 AD). In this inscription, the women are not mentioned directly as witnesses but we know that they were present at the ceremony because the inscription mentions that they were given the lontar leaves (usually used as the place for the food) and moreover, they also joined the dancing with all the *Rama*.<sup>6</sup> The third inscription is the Randusari 1 inscription (905 AD). The women in this inscription are mentioned one by one without any further information whether they were the witnesses or not, and they also did not receive *pasak-pasak*. We could only presume that they were positioned as the attendants of the ceremony and followed the ceremony like the other guests. The Sangsang inscription (907 AD) is the last inscription in this category. In this inscription the

involvement of the low status women is mentioned when the inscription informs us about the way they sit in the ceremony, "... sang wahuta hyang kudur malungguh humarēp waitan samangkana sang patih wahuta malungguh i pungkuran sang wahuta hyang kudur ikanang rāma i wukajana i tumpang i wurutlu muang rāma tpi siring kabaih malungguh humarēp lor rainanta umunggu waitan ning witaka umarēp kuluan..."<sup>7</sup> ("...Sang Wahuta Hyang Kudur sat facing to the east, then the Patih Wahuta sat behind Sang Wahuta Hyang Kudur, the Rama of Wukajana, of Tumpang, of Wuru Tlu and all the rāma of neighbouring places sat facing the north, the wives were on the east of the tent facing to the west...")

Another social activity in which the low status women took part is on the occasion of giving away their properties. See, for instance, in the Taji inscription (901 A.D.), a group of villagers including the women gave away their properties for the purpose of a temple construction which would be called *Kabikuan ing Dewasabha* (the Temple of Dewasabha). It is written in this inscription, "...anung makalmah ikanang Imah anak wanua i taji, ngaran nikanang malmah, si tukai rāma ni tihang, muang si padas ibu ni sumēg, si mendut ibu ni mangās, ..., salmah prasama umēhakannikanang Imah..."<sup>8</sup> ("...those who had these lands were the villagers of Taji, the names of those owners were, Si Tukai the father of Tihang and Si Padas the mother of Sumeg, Si Mendut the mother of Mangās, ..., all of them gave away the lands....").

It is clear from this inscription that women, although they were from a low status group and were not the members of the village council, could own lands. If they wanted, they could give these lands away for religious purposes.

#### IV.b.2. Administrative Activities

There are two kinds of administrative activities which are participated in by the women of the low status group. The first is marking out of *sima* and the other is women's participation in the village councils. Each activity is represented in only one inscription.

It is mentioned in the Jakarta inscription (887 AD) that the wife of Pu Bha joined her husband and brother in marking out the *sima*<sup>9</sup>. If this is true, it means that although this Jakarta inscription is incomplete, it can still be used to show that a woman of the low status level could also mark out a *sima* like high status women. And like almost all the high status women, she also did not do it by herself but was accompanied by men.

In the case of women's participation in the village councils, the inscription of Sugih Manek (915 AD) shows that there were two women who were members of the *Rāma* council. In the inscription, it is written, "...*rāma tpi siring i kalanglingan gapu hyang tambir ibu kalangan ,... , sang gnuk ibu randungan...*"<sup>10</sup> ("...*Rāma* of the neighbouring places of

Kalanglingan Dapu Hyang Tambir the mother of Kalangan,..., Sang GnuK the mother of Raṅḍungan..."). This is, as far as I know, the only inscription which shows that women could participate in the village councils. If we compare the number of men and that of women who were sitting in the village councils, we could see clear differences (see tables in Appendix).

#### IV.b.3. Economic Activities

The Guntur inscription (907 AD) is the only inscription from the period chosen which mentions women from the low status group being involved in economic activity. It is written in this inscription, "... *hana sang dharma ngaranya, bapa ni manghamping sangkari wurakung ya ta tumagiḥ pu tabwēl tinagihakanya mas su 1, ndātan hutang pu tabwēl ya ta hutang sang anakbwi makangaran si campa wuang sanak sang dharma, pajjah pua si campa, tinagiḥ ta pu tabwēl de sang dharma, ndātan hananak ni pu tabwēl muang si campa nguniweḥ yar wruha nikang hutang...*" (there was a man called Sang Dharma who was also the father of Manghamping from Wurakung. He reminded Pu Tabwēl about the debt of *mas su 1*, it was not the debt of Pu Tabwēl, it was the debt of his wife whose name was Si Campa and also the relative of Sang Dharma, Si Campa had died already, and Pu Tabwēl was reminded by Sang Dharma. There was no child of Pu Tabwēl and Si Campa moreover did not know about this debt ..."). This indicates that women at that time

could borrow money on their own account, without its being known and without any permission from the husband. This inscription also informs us that such debts could not accrue to the husband if there was no child of their marriage and he did not know anything about them. But, was that rule also applied to woman if the same case happened to them and the husband was the one who borrowed the money and there was also no child of their marriage? Until now, we have never found a text dealing with how the debt should be paid by the family if one of them, especially the one who was responsible for that debt died. Even Kitab Perundang-undangan Majapahit, a special book of law from the Majapahit period which was issued in the 15th century, does not give any information about this.

## Notes

- 1 These differences are found in Sarkar's translation in the Panggumulan inscription part II:17-18
- 2 See the Lintakan inscription (919 A.D.) part II:7-9 and II:10-12
- 3 See the Gilikan 2 inscription (923 A.D.) part a
- 4 See the Panggumulan 2 inscription (903 A.D.) part IIIa: 2-3
- 5 See the Er Hangat inscription (888A.D.) part IIa:1-2
- 6 See the Taji inscription (901 A.D.) line 6
- 7 See the Sangsang inscription part II RECTO:13-VERSO 1
- 8 See the Taji inscrritpion (901 A.D.) line 1
- 9 The Jakarta inscription (887 A.D.) line 2-3 reads "...*tatkāla Pu Bha rāma ni Sragu ( )sa anakbi muang kaka nira Pu Dati kaki ni, ..., sima gatra i...*" ("... at the time when Pu Bha the father of Sragu ( )sa his wife and her brother Pu Dati the grandfather of , ..., *sima gatra* in ...").
- 10 See the Sugih Manek inscription (915 A.D.) part VERSO: 12-13

## V

### CONCLUSION

Based on the inscriptions from the 9th to early 10th century A.D., Javanese women seem not to have been equal to men. This situation appears consistent with certain scholars' hypothesis, especially Shelley Errington's. It is stated by her that, although differences between men and women in Indonesia are not highly marked in contrast with other societies, subtle indications of differences still occur and may be considered as gender markers. It is true that differences always exist, even in the Old Javanese society which has long been held up as a society in which women were equal to men in many aspects of life, and where women can be identified as having high positions.

The inscriptions chosen show that almost all kinds of activities described were participated in by both men and women, including ordering someone to mark out a *sima*, marking out the *sima*, having authority over some lands, receiving compensation in the establishment of *sima*, giving away properties, buying lands, and being a witness in the establishment of *sima*. But, the results of this study show clear differences. These differences are particularly marked when we analyse how many women were actively taking part in each activity.

The striking differences between how many women or men participated in an activity can be seen easily in their participation in administrative activities, especially as members of governmental bodies, either central or local government. The inscriptions list the titles of persons who functioned as government officials (see page 66 and tables in Appendix). But, of all of them only 7 titles appeared as belonging to women, namely : Rajaputri, Rake of Walaing, Rakai of Watangan, Rake of Gunungan, Rakai of Wwatan, Samgat, Patih, Nayaka, Rama of Kalanglingan.

Religious activities are another striking example of gender differences in the society. Women are never found having a title which shows that they were the leader of religious activities. Although other sources mention that a woman could be a priest, the inscriptions, which almost all mention ritual activities in the *sima* ceremonies, never mention that the *Sang Makudur*, *Sang Hyang Kudur* or *Samgat Makudur*, who used to lead the ritual ceremonies, was a woman.

With these results, we learn something of these women's roles in the society. Usually women could participate in the same activities as men, such as marking out a *sima* or buying lands. It is the difference in quantity that makes them seen not equal. The other thing which also leads to them not being seen as equal is that almost all of the women are mentioned in the inscriptions in company with men, while the men appear

without being accompanied by women.

In almost every activity where women participated actively or inactively, they are mentioned as the wife of someone, and their names are mentioned after their husbands' names. If women could have such titles, which usually indicate that the person bearing the title had a special function, why did almost all of the inscriptions mention that these women were either accompanied by men or they were accompanying men? This situation seems to indicate that in the majority of cases their titles did not have the same value as men's titles. Women's titles, from almost all of those that are mentioned in the inscriptions, indicate their status in society, generally as the wives of the members of village councils, the wives of high officials, or the wife of the king; rather than their roles and functions in society as is the case with men

This study is concerned with 92 inscriptions from the 9th to the early 10th century A.D.. From all of them only 29 inscriptions mentioned women from different status groups. To get a comprehensive picture of women of the Old Javanese period we should also consider that this study has a limitation. This is because the information given in those inscriptions relate mainly to high status women, and to a limited range of situations. The picture of how daily activities were done, especially by lower class women, is not

presented. If we compare it with the quotation from the Dutch missionary (see page 24), we can see that not all social activities in which women might have been involved are recorded in the inscriptions.

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GLOSSARY: JAVANESE TERM USED

*acaryya* - priestly name

*ajña* - royal order

*anak* - child

*anak wanua* - villager

*angin-angin* - official

*anugraha* - gift, grant, favour

*bhikṣuka* - a stage of being a priest

*bini haji* - queen, ruler's wife

*blah* - measurement

*brahman* - priestly class

*brahmana* - priest

*brahmacarin* - a stage of being a religious student

*buat haji* - service to king or ruler

*caturwarna* - caste system

*caturasrama* - four stage of life

*ṣaka* - era (commencing 78 A.D.)

*citralekha* - writer

*dang* - priestly particle

*dharma* sacred domain

*drwya* - property

*drwya haji* - ruler's share

*gawai haji* - service due to the ruler

*gṛhasthya* - a stage of being married

*haji* - king, ruler

*halaran* - official

*hulu* - head  
*hulu air* - supervisor of irrigation works  
*hulu wras* - supervisor of rice supplies  
*hulu wuatan* - supervisor of bridge building  
*hyang* - god, gods  
*hyang guru* - spiritual master  
*ibu* - mother  
*inang* - mother  
*jayapatra* - juridical inscription  
*juru* - official  
*kain* - a batik cloth specially for women  
*kaki* - grandfather, senior  
*kalang* - a title for workers  
*katik* - measurement  
*mangilala drwya haji* - a group of tax collectors  
*kraton* - court  
*kudur* - priest (usually the leader of the ceremony)  
*makudur* - priest  
*mahārāja* - king  
*mahāmantri* - highest official  
*mapatih* - minister  
*pangkat* - high official  
*sangat* - high official  
*nayaka* - watak' official (under rakryan)  
*nini* - grandmother  
*pañcopacāra* - five kinds of offerings  
*pangurang* - official (under mangilala drwya haji)

*parameśwari* - queen  
*parawangsa* - noble family  
*pariwrajaka* - a stage of being a priest  
*parujar* - speaker  
*pasak-pasak* - gift  
*patih* - official (first minister)  
*paruwus* - speaker  
*pinapan* - official  
*punṭa* - pu  
*pinghai* - official  
*pratyaya* - official (under watak)  
*rai* - wife of someone  
*rainanta, reṅanta* - wife of ramanta  
*raka, rakai, rakryan* - ruler, high official  
*rāma* - village elder  
*rāmanta* - village elder  
*rāma marata* - retired rama  
*rāma magman* - rama who still holding the office  
*rāma tpi siring* - rama of neighbouring places  
*rāma matuha* - rama marata  
*karaman* - council of elder  
*saji* - offerings  
*sambanda* - reason  
*sang* - honorific particle  
*sawah* - ricefields  
*si* - particle (before personal name)  
*sima* - freeholding lands  
*sudra* - slave class

*tahil* - measurement  
*taṅḍa, mataṅḍa* - official  
*tawan* - official (usually mention together with *pangkur* and *tirip*)  
*tuha* - elder  
*tuha kalang* - elder of the group of *kalang*  
*tuha wanua* - elders of the village  
*tunggu durung* - guardian of ricefields  
*undahagi* - craftsman  
*upabarya* - official  
*wadihati* - person assisting the priest in the ceremony  
*wadwan, waduan* - female  
*wadwa* - official  
*wahuta* - official (for ritual activities)  
*wanaprastha* - a stage of retired and meditate in the forest  
*wanua* - village  
*wariga* - astrologer  
*watak, watek* - unit consisting of a number of villages  
*wayang* - shadow puppets performance  
*wdihan* - special batik cloth/garment for man  
*winkas (Mingkas)* - official  
*wong cilik* - common people  
*wong lembah* - common people  
*wragaji* - royal family

APPENDIX:

APPENDIX 1: List of the inscription from the 9th to early 10th century A.D.

APPENDIX 2: Tables of inscription from the 9th to early 10th century A.D. which mention women's participation in the activities.

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Appendix 1 : List of the inscriptions from 9th to early 10th Century A.D.

Inscriptions	Date (A.D.)	Reference
Dieng	809	CIJ I:VII
Kamalagi (Kamalagyan)	821	PI I:126-128; CIJ I:IX
Karang Tengah	824	CIJ I:X
Abhayananda	826	BLPPN 8:3-21
Gandasuli I	827	OJO III; CIJ I:XI
Kuti	840	KO II; CIJ I:XII
Tri Tepusan I	842	OJO X; CIJ I:XII
Tri Tepusan II	842	OJO XVII; CIJ I:XIII
Śrī Kahulunan	842	-
Tulang Air	850	PI II:232-243; OJO VI; CIJ I:XVI
Tulang Air II	850	PI II:231f; OJO V CIJ I:XVII
Ratu Baka	856	PI II:272-277
Siwagrha	856	PI II:311-330; CIJ I:XIX
Gunung Murya	860	CIJ I:XXI
Kancana	860	CIJ I:XXII
Gunung Wule	861	CIJ I:XXIII
Wukiran	862	CIJ I:XXV
Telaga Tanjung	862	OJO VII; CIJ I:XXIV
Pereng	862	KO I:XXIII; CIJ I:XXV
Walaing	863	PI II:341-343
Wanua Tengah 1	863	OJO VIII; CIJ I:XXVI
Wanua Tengah 2	863	CIJ I:XXVII

Inscriptions	Date (A.D.)	Reference
Krapyag	869	CIJ I:XXVIII
Polengan 1	873	CIJ I:XXX
Waharu 1	873	CIJ I:XXXI
Sri Manggala	874	OJO XI; CIJ I:XXXII
Humanding	875	CIJ I:XXXIV
Jurungan	876	CIJ I:XXXV
Haliwangbang	877	CIJ I:XXXVI
Wintang Mas A	878	CIJ I:XXXVII
Patapan 3	878	OJO CI
Mamali	878	CIJ I:XXXIX
Kwak 1	879	OJO XII; CIJ I:XL
Kwak 2	879	OJO XIII; CIJ I:XLI
Salingsingan	880	CIJ I:XLII
Wuatan Tija	880	CIJ I:XLVI
Taragal	881	CIJ I:XLVII
Ra Tawun	881	CIJ I:XLIX
Ra Tawun 2	881	OJO XVI; CIJ I:L
Alih Tingal	883	OJO CIX
Randusari 1	885	INI I:29f
Randusari 2	885	INI I:29-30
Munggu Antan	887	OJO XVIII; CIJ I:LIII
Jakarta	887	CIJ I:LIV
Er Hangat	888	OJO CIV
Balingawan	891	OJO XIX-XX; CIJ I:LVI

Inscriptions	Date (A.D.)	Reference
Wadihati	891	OJO XCVIII; CIJ II:CI
Panunggalan	896	CIJ I:LVIII
Penampihan	898	CIJ I:LIX
Ayam Teas 1	901	-
Ayam Teas 2	901	-
Taji	901	OJO XXIII; CIJ II:LXI
Kayu Ara Hiwang	901	OJO XXII; CIJ II:LXII
Watukura 1	902	OJO XXIV; CIJ II:LXIII
Panggumulan 1	902	CIJ II:LXIV
Siddhayoga	903	EEI IV:176-178
Telang 1	904	CIJ II:LV
Telang 2	904	CIJ II:LXV
Poh	905	CIJ II:LXVI
Kubu-kubu	905	CIJ II:LXVII
Kikil Batu 2	905	CIJ I:XLII
Rabwan	905	BEFEO LI:58-582
Palapangan	906	CIJ II:LXVIII
Kandangan	906	OJO XXV; CIJ IILXIX
Mantyasih 1	907	CIJ II: LXX
Mantyasih 2	907	CIJ II:LXXI
Mantyasih 3	907	OJO CVIII; CIJ II:CX
Sangsang	907	CIJ II:LXXII
Guntur	907	OJO CXXX; CJI II:LXXIII
Kasugihan	907	CIJ II:LXXIV
Kinewu	907	OJO XXVI; CIJ II:LXXV

Inscriptions	Date (A.D.)	Reference
Kaladi	909	CIJ II:LXXVIII
Tulangan	910	OJO XXVIII; CIJ II:LXXIX
Taji Gunung	910	OJO XXXVI; CIJ II:LXXX
Wuru Tunggal	911	OJO XXIX; CIJ II:LXXXI
Timbanan Wungkal	912	OJO XXXV; CIJ II:LXXXII
Sugih Manek	915	OJO XXX; CIJ II:LXXXIV
Kiringan	917	CIJ II:LXXXV
Lintakan	919	CIJ II:LXXXVI
Wintang Mas B	919	CIJ II:LXXXVIII
Harinjing B	921	CIJ II: LXXXIX
Wurudu Kidul	922	CIJ II:XC
Wurudu Kidul B	922	CIJ II:XC
Gilikan 1	923	CIJ II:CIV
Gilikan 2	923	CIJ II:CV
Harinjing C	927	EEL III, A 103
Palabuhan	927	CIJ II:XCIII
Wulakan	928	EEL III, A 104
Kinawe	928	CIJ II:XCV
Sangguran	928	OJO XXXI; CIJ II:XCVI
Panggumulan 3	928	OJO XXXI; CIJ II:XCVIII
Kambang Sri	928	OJO XXXIII; CIJ II:XCII

Appendix 2: Tables of inscriptions 9th to early 10th century A.D. which mention women's participation in the activities

No. Table	Inscriptions	Date (A.D.)	Reference
Table 1	Karang Tengah	824	CIJ I:X
Table 2	Gandasuli I	827	OJO III; CIJ I:XI
Table 3	Tri Tepusan I	842	OJO X; CIJ I:XII
Table 4	Tri Tepusan II	842	OJO XVII; CIJ I:XIII
Table 5	Kancana	860	CIJ I:XXII
Table 6	Telaga Tanjung	862	OJO VII; CIJ I:XXIV
Table 7	Wukiran	862	CIJ I:XXV
Table 8	Ngabean	878	CIJ I:XXXVIII
Table 9	Munggu Antan	887	OJO XVIII; CIJ I:LIII
Table 10	Jakarta	887	CIJ I:LIV
Table 11	Er Hangat	888	OJO CIV
Table 12	Balingawan	891	OJO XIX-XX; CIJ I:LVI
Table 13	Penampihan	898	CIJ I:LIX
Table 14	Taji	901	OJO XXIII; CIJ II:LXI
Table 15	Panggumulan 1	902	CIJ II:LXIV
Table 16	Panggumulan 2	903	CIJ II:LXIV
Table 17	Siddhayoga	903	EEL IV:176-178
Table 18	Randusari 1(Poh)	905	CIJ II:LXVI
Table 19	Mantyasih 1	907	CIJ II: LXX
Table 20	Mantyasih 3	907	OJO CVIII; CIJ II:CX
Table 21	Sangsang	907	CIJ II:LXXII

No. Table	Inscriptions	Date (A.D.)	Reference
Table 22	Guntur	907	OJO CXXX; CJI II:LXXIII
Table 23	Kinewu	907	OJO XXVI; CIJ II:LXXV
Table 24	Sugih Manek	915	OJO XXX; CIJ II:LXXXIV
Table 25	Lintakan	919	CIJ II:LXXXVI
Table 26	Wintang Mas B	919	CIJ II:LXXXVIII
Table 27	Gilikan 2	923	CIJ II:CV
Table 28	Kinawe	928	CIJ II:XCV
Table 29	Sangguran	928	OJO XXXI; CIJ II:XCVI

Table 1: Karang Tengah

Name of Inscription	Date (AD)	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
		Name	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	
Karang Tengah (Kayuwungan)	824	Anakbi Rakryan Patapan	---	Pu Palar	---	---	---	Gave a sima at Kayuwungan
						Si Rawan	---	---
						Si Mandaksa	---	Witness
						Sang Lua Pandak	---	---
						Sang Kaniryyan	---	---
			---	Si Behas (father of Mai)	---	---	---	---
			---	[ ] Manjan (father of Pegar)	---	---	---	---
				Si Jati (father of Swara)				---
				Si Madhawa (father of Bhawana)				---
				Si Lancang (father of Nari)				---
				Si Manga (father of Napai)				---
				Si Rindang (father of Gunung)				---
				- Si Wikrama (father of Dhara)				---
				- [ ] (father of Pingul)				---
				- [ ] (father of Ambari)				---
				Si Kunurame (father of Raji)				---
				Si Kalat (father of Nanta)				---
				Si Danaka (father of Dara)				---
				Si Herem (father of Awak)				---
				Si Patuca (father of Tirtha)				---
				Si Sangkara (father of Carmi)				---
				- Si Gunung (father of Rasal)				---
				- Si Katil (father of Buwi)				---

Wariga	- Si Sumbut (father of Siddha)	---	---
Juru Matuhā	Si Awit (father of Ayat)	---	---
Kalima :	- Si Sampu (father of Banung)	---	---
	- Si Panca (father of Hneng)	---	---
Parwuwus Sang Kayuwangan	Si Haras (father of Wikrama)	---	---
Parwuwus Mantyasih	Sang Kirti	---	---
Parwuwus Tri Haji	----	---	---
Sang Lua Pendak	Kbal (father of Jamin)	---	---
Tuhalas Hulu Luwas	Si Silpa (father of Yada)	---	---
Tuhalas Kandangan	Si Saruh (father	---	---

Table 2: Gandasuli

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	
Gandasulil	827	Anakbi Taqda (Pu Hawang Glis)	Si Pirakhut				Marked out a sima Pangliwatan
					Dapunta Likha		Witness
					Dapunta Suradri		

Table 3: Tri Tepusan 1

Name of Inscription	Date (AD)		Men		Women		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	842		Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	Name	
Tri Tepusan 1				Sri Kahulunnan					Gave order to mark out sima
			Anakbi Sang Darukap	Pu Mu[ ]					Ordered by Sri Kahulunnan to mark out a sima
					Sang Darukap			Pu Widya	

Table 4: Tri Tepusasan 2

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	
Tri Tepusasan 2	842	---	---	---	---	---	Gave order to mark out a sima
			Sang Darukap		Pu Widya		Ordered by Sri Kahulunnan to mark out the sima
		Anakbi Sang Darukap					"
			Sang Kati		---		"
			From Kayumwungan		Pu Kandyen		"
			From Mantyasih		Pu Pandin		"
			From Mandanggi		Sang Dahual		"
			From Patepan		---		"
			Wanwa Wadwa		Sang Pumasu		"
			---		Si Kalinduan		"
			Sang Marhyang of Kronca		---		Witness
			Mancarthritis		Pu Mawi		"
			---		Pu Mitra		"
			Parujar Sang Kayu- mmungan		---		"
			Parujar Sang Mantyasih		---		"
			Juru Tri Tepusasan		Si Manulih		"
			Rama Matuha		Si Ti		"
			Rama i Lumbu		Si Kanti		"
			Kalima i Lupandak		Si Ka		"
			Rama i Dulang		Si Napda		"
			Rama i Pragaluh		Si Dhawa		"
			Juru i Waringin		Si Agem		"
			Rama i Kdu		Si Kalap		"
			Rama i Halu		Si Nagap		"
			Juru i Pamigaran		Si Dhanu		"
			Rama i Puhunnan		Si Gana		"
			Rama i Wunut		Si Pagava		"
			Juru i Mantyasih		Si Kali		"
			Rama i Tri Heji		Si Mana		"



Table 5: Kancana

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Undeidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Status	Name	Status	Name		
Kancana	860						Gave order to mark out a sima
			Sri Bhuvanawara Wignu Sakalatakma Digwijaya Para- kramattunggadewa				
				Rakryan Mahamantri i Hino			Received the order and communicated it the other officials
				Rakryan Mahamantri i Halu			"
				Rakryan Mahamantri i Sirikan			"
				Tagda Rakryan i Rakryan Kanaru	Pu Dharmasakti		Received the order from Rakryan Maha- mantri
				Paduka Mpungku i Bochimimba			Received the sima as an Honoured
				Anakwanua of South Atuha of Wiswan	Bungur Bahak Trang		Sold their lands for sima
				Pamaja Tuha	Bahak Kancing		"
				Pamaja Kwam	Sang Intip		"
				Kabayan of Umbil	Ananggung		"
				Winkas	Sang Kwek		"
				Buyut	Kaki Hadyan La lawun		"
				Anak Paduka Mpungku	Dyah Imbangi		
				Anak Paduka Mpungku	Dyah Anarigha		Both inherited the sima and had authority over the sima
					Pangkur		
					Tawan		
					Tirip		
					Pinghe		
					Wahuta		
					Rama		
					Nayaka		
					Pratyaya		
					Sang Mangilaledrwa Haji - Misra - Paramisra		

- Pangurang  
- Kring  
- Fadem  
- Manimpiki  
- Paranakan  
- Limus Galuh  
- Malendang  
- Lca  
- Lablab  
- Kutek  
- Tangkil  
- Tripan  
- Sukun  
- Haluwarak  
- Rakasang  
- Pinginglai  
- Katangaran  
- Watutajem  
- Sungging  
- Pangumargan  
- Tangkisan  
- Er Haji  
- Manghuri  
- Tirwan  
- Maniga  
- Pamanikan  
- Miser hino  
- Misra Anginangin  
- Rumban  
- Tutan  
- Salyut  
- Watu Walang  
- Wiji Kewah  
- Wilang Manwa  
- Awl  
- Awur  
- Kyab  
- Pandaruhan  
- Skartahun  
- Wli Panjut  
- Wli Hareng  
- Wli Hapu  
- Wli Tambang  
- Wli Wadung  
- Sipat Wilut  
- Fanggare  
- Fawlangwang  
- Fabelsar  
- Pabinjatan  
- Pagulung  
- Pulung Padi  
- Sungsung Pangurang  
- Famawasya  
- Fajuku  
- Fawngkurung  
- Pakalanggang  
- Pakalingking  
- Widu  
- Mangidung  
- Hopan  
- Panzangan  
- Parang  
- Sungkhe  
- Dhura  
- Mangrubui  
- Manggunjai  
- Juru Jalir  
- Juru Judi  
- Juru Gosali  
- Juru Cina





Table 6: Telaga Tanjung

Name of Inscription	Date (AD)		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Women	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	
Telaga Tanjung (Kali Beber)	861					Pitamaha	
				Ragakang of Bungle	Pu Yantra		Pu Magadha
				Sang Matanda Nayaka of Tamyang			
						Parwuwus Sang Kuku	
					Pu Blunuh	Tuhan of Kalu	
						Citralekha	
						Wahuta of Tatapa	Pu Diwu
						Wahuta of Paseranak	Pu Indu
						Tuhan of Mulung Katak	Pu Madhawa
				Pangurang	Pu Langhawa		
				Tuhan of Kayuwangi	Pu Sukri		
Anakwi of Pangurang			Pu Simpe				
Anakwi Tuhan of Kayuwangi			Pu Dimitwangi				
				Parujar Tuhan of Kayuwangi			
				Parujar Tuhan of Wulung Katak	Pu Gowinda		
				Juru of Luwang Antan	Baruna		
				Juru of Pandai Gangsa			
				Patinghalang	Pu Manang		
				Juru of Tamwalang Panjang	Pu Pradhana		
				Juru of Tatawangan-tas	Pu Waig		
Rainanta of Limosusu							

gave a gift at the ceremony

gave a gift at the ceremony

Table 7: Wukiran

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	
Wukiran (Pereng)	862						
		Nini Raka Walaing					Gave a sima at Wukiran
						Sang Hyang Winaya	
						Sang Pamgat	
						Sang Tuha Kalang	
						Pu Nista	
						Gusti	
						Winkas	
						Si Unggah	
						Si Maniksa	
						1. Si Ara	
						2. Si Manggah	
						Si Wesi	
						Si Mitra	
						Tunggu Kuwu	
						Wahuta	
						Wadihati Makudur	
						Mapatih	
						Tiruan	
							Gave a sima at Wukiran

Table 8: Ngabean

Name of Inscription	Date (AD)	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
		Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	Name	
Ngabean	878			Rakryan Wka	Pu Catura			Marked out a sima at Mulak for a temple
				Wahuta Hyang Sang Halaran	Pu Kita			Received gift
				Makudur	Sang Rawugwug Pu Manggal			
				Patih	Si Ugig (father of Dhyana)			
		Anakbi of Patih	Si Ugiredhyana	Parujar	Si Gongol (father of Sanguhara)			Received gifts
				Wahuta	Si Maja (father of Warjuk)			
				Gusti	Si Riwt (father of Kandi)			
				Tuha Alas	( ) (father of Guwar)			
				Wahuta of Putat	Si Ranggal (father of Pli)			
		Anakbi of Wahuta tat	Pu- Si Karti	Pitungtung	Si Bilu (father of Coda)			Received gifts
				Pangureng of Rakryan Mawanua	----			
				Sang Kasumuran	Pu Manglina			
				Partaya of Mulak	Pu Agul			
				Rama of Mulak : - Kalang	Si Mangawit (father of Manghuling)			
				- Gusti	a. Si Bantal (father of Dini) b. Si Gondo (father of Banyaga)			
				Tuha Banua	Si Guwana (father of Lancap)			
				Winkas	Si Winuya (father of Coda)			
				Wariga	Si Nuguh (father of Ungkar)			
				Parujar	a. Si Gamras (father of Gaja)			



Table 9: Munggu Antan

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	
Munggu Antan	886	Sang Hadyan Palutungan					Marked out a sima at Munggu Antan together with her brother (Sang Pangat)
			Sang Pangat of Munggu				Marked out a sima at Munggu Antan
					Pu Manghalangi		Witness
					Pu Sdang		---
					Pu Amwari		---
					Pu Sana		---
					Pu Fibang		---
					Pu Tiri		---
					Pu Kindong		---
					Kalang		---
					Pu Sri		---
					Pu Ugra		---
					Pu Wepo		---
					Tuha Merah		---

Table 10: Jakarta

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	
Jakarta	887				Pu Bha (father of Sragu)		Marked out the sima
		Anakbi Pu Bha		Kaka Pu Bha	Pu Dati		Marked out the sima
				Sangat Wadihati			Marked out the sima
					Pu Damas		Witness
				Sangat Makudur	Pu Samma		
					Pu Dampit		
				Tuhan of Wadihati	Sang Wla		
				Miramirah of Wadihati			

Table 11: Er Hangat

Name of Inscription	Date (AD)	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
		Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	Name	
Er Hangat	888			Mangrakat	Pu Kunjang			
		Matanda	Pu Tosti			Wahuta of Kambang Sri	Sang Kerti	
		Parujar	Pu Dakut			Patih Datar	Pu Balo	
		Amasangkalan	Pu Manḍyas			Patih Karungdung	Pu Perwalata	
		Abalun	Pu Niṣṭa			Kalang	Mpu Suki	
						Ramanta of Salud	Pu Canita (father of Pujujan)	
						Parujar	( ) (father of Daki)	
						Rama Marata :	- Pu Radi	
							- Pu Lawean	
							- Pu Mahusa	
							- Pu Tadah	
							- Pu Manggarit	
							- Pu Mahatmi	
							- Pu Hari	
						Rama of Dalyantan	Pu Simapan	
						Rama of Kayuhurang	Pu Hima	
						Rama of Nusa	Pu Sakti	
						Rama of Kupang	Pu Santi	
						Rama of Limo Manis	----	
						Guru Hyang of Kelasa	----	
						Maharaja	Dyah Gwas Sri Jayakirttiwardhana	Gave this sima as a gift
						Sangat Tilimpik	----	
						Wahuta Patih of Layu Watang	----	
						Mangilala Drawaya Hiji:		Could not enter the sima
						- Tiruan	----	
						- Manghuri	----	
						- Senamukha	----	
						- Unggah Karas	----	
						- Pangeruhan	----	
						- Manimpiki	----	
						- Limus Galuh	----	

- Pinilai
- Ketenggaran
- Walyan
- Kring Padam Apuy
- Hulun Haji
- Widu
- Mangidung
- Cadar

Table 12: Balingawan

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex	Activities
	Date (AD)	Status	Name	Status		
Balingawan	891				Dapuhyang	
				Rakryan	Depu	Marked out a sima
		Anakbi Rakryan :				Received gifts
		1. Nayaka of Limus	Rakai Watangan			Received gifts
		2. Nayaka of Tlatla	Pu Kutil			Received gifts
				Parujar Masmen		
				Parujar Bungguluh		
				Parujar Pabhu		
				Parujar Kawangyan		
				Parujar Mandon		
				Parujar Manindil		
				Rama of Balingawan :		
				- Winkas	Sang Mahamantaga	
				Juru of Daman	Dyus	
				Hulu Wuattan	Sang Darsa	
				Dapu Burkulu		
				Tuha Buru of Daman	Sang Heja	
				Rama Kabayan of Daman	Lama	
				Dapu Panginangin of Daman	Gananta	
				Undahagi	Sang Salareb	
				Wariga	Mansanduk	
				Tuhales of Daman	Suddha	
					Juru Kanayakan :	Witness
					1. Sang Parhya - ngan	
					2. Sang Rangga	
					Mangrangkapi :	
					1. Sang Beluh - baluh	
					2. Sang Rapoh	
					Matanda	
					Parujar	
					Juru Lampuran :	
					1. Sang Ratingin	
					2. Pu Bepaka	

Mangrangkapi of Telabung	----	----	----
Nayaka of Cangrama	----	----	----
Juru Wadwa of Rasa	Sang Halalang	----	----
Manunggu	Sang Subhasita	----	----
Juru of Ming	----	----	----
Warakat	Sang Bharata	----	----
Madamak of Haryang	----	----	----
Mangaseakang	Sang Tamba	----	----
Madwal of Mangin	----	----	----
Citralekha	Sang Laksana	----	----
Wahuta of Padwan	Sang Bunttil	----	----
Wahuta of Wungkal Raya	Sang Mala	----	----
Wahuta of Pakamba ngan	Sang Bangsalah	----	----
Patih	----	----	----
Samgat	Sang Butuhan	----	----
Manghamben	1. Sang Baka banghyang 2. Sang Uwak	----	----
Juru	----	----	----
Mangrangkapi Gusti	Sang Rantan	----	----
Pangurang	----	----	----
----	Sang Gali	----	----
Juru Kalang	Sang Kumara	----	----
Patih of Mammatuan	----	----	----
----	Dapu Keki	----	----

**Table 13: Penampihan**

Name of Inscription	Date (AD)	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
		Name	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	
Penampihan	898	Rajaputri						

Table 14: Taji

Name of Inscription	Date (AD)	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
		Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	Name	
Taji	901							
		Malémah :	<----->	Rakryan Watu Tihang	Pu Sangrana Dhu-randhara			Marked out a sima at Taji
				Malémah :	- Si Tukai (fa - ther of Tihang)			The owners of the lands who gave away their lands for this sima
					- Si Kandyut (fa - ther of Bere- lek)			
					- Si Tawdak (fa - ther of Semek)			
					- Si Kusala (fa - ther of Ndanah)			
					- Si Glo (father of Pulir)			
					- Si Bngal (fa - ther of Kali - han)			
					- Si Padas (mo - ther of Sumeg)			
					- Si Mengut (mo - ther of Mangas)			
				Rakryan Hino	Pu Bahubajrapra- tipakakaya			Received gifts
				Rakryan Sirikan	Pu Samarawikranta			-----
				Rakryan Wka	Pu Kutak			-----
				Pangat Tiruan	Sang Simastra Pu Asanga			-----
				Raka Halaran	Pu Hawang			-----
				Sangat Dmung	Pu Cintya			-----
		Anakbi Sangat Dmung	Rake Sri Bharu Dyah Dheta					Conducted the ceremony
				Sang Makudur	-----			Witness
				Sangat Kayo	Pu Cara			-----
				Sangat Wrigvrik	Pu Lingga			-----
				Raka of Kiwa	Pu Narawira			-----
				Raka of Padlagan	Pu Tendang			-----
				Sangat Pangharungan	Pu Galung			-----
				Sangat Putat	Pu Jagul			-----
				Sangat Hampungan	Pu Basu			-----
				Sangat Kiniwang	Pu Buat			-----
				Sangat Kaliki	Pu Aryya			-----
				Sangat Watu Antan	Pu Basa			-----
				Rake Munggang	Pu Swang			-----

Sangət Rimwancak	Pu Pṛṣṇa				
Sangət Pulung Kayang	Pu Ananta				
Patih Kolungan (Naya ka) :	- Pu Halaran (father of Kapana) - Pu Dahan (father of Manunggang) - Pu Dhanu - Pu Buatoh (father of Bolo-tong) - Pu Wariga (father of Surung) - Pu Halabing (father of Komala)				
Anakbi Patih Kalungan :	- Anakbi Pu Halaran - Anakbi Pu Dahan - Anakbi Pu Dhanu - Anakbi Pu Buatoh - Anakbi Pu Wariga - Anakbi Pu Halabing				
Patih Matuha of Lampuran :	- Pu Buddha - Sang Watumanggul				
----	- Pu Gridha (father of Nala) - Pu Bayatu (father of Gutti)				
	Tuha Padahi				
	Mapati of Mula Wuai				
	Rama Magman of Taji				
	Madwai Rarai of Ramanta				
	Rama Jataka				
	Mangilala Dnyya Haji :				
	- Banyaga Wantal - Undahagi - Pandai Mas, Wsi, Temra - Kangsa - Macadar - Mapadahi - Mengidung				
	Citralekha of Demung	Sang Mesti			
Repanta Matuha Tpi Siring					Attended the ceremony
Repanta Manuam Tpi Siring					----

Could not enter the sima

Attended the ceremony



- Sang Wurukuy Si Managesu  
 Lumaku Manusuk of  
 Makudur :  
 - Sang Kamalagyan Si Lalita  
 Tuhan Mamuat Ujar :  
 - Parujar of Hino Si Tunggang  
 - Citralekha Watu Warani Si Manese  
 - Parujar of Halu Si Wirya  
 - Parujar of Sirikani Si Agre  
 - Citralekha Dharmma Si Parbwata  
 sinta  
 - Parujar of Wka Si Denuwe  
 - Citralekha Halang Si Gowinda  
 Manuk  
 - Parujar of Tiruan Si Kasura  
 - Parujar of Halarani Sang Wijanta  
 - Tuhan of Kanayakani Si Samadhi  
 of Puluwatu  
 - Tuhan of Lampuran Si Dhaniti  
 - Parujar of Manghuni Si Samodaya  
 ri  
 - Parujar of Pangkur Si Dhyana  
 - Parujar of Tawan Si Krna  
 - Parujar of Tirip Si Singha  
 Pitungtung of Parujar :  
 - Si Barubuh  
 - Si Waru  
 Patih of Puluwatu :  
 - Mahas Si Tirisan (father of Yoga)  
 - Tajyengin Si Kandi (father of Lucira)  
 - Tunggudurung Si Sarana (father of Wawul)  
 - Parujar Patih { } (father of Wandi)  
 Wahuta of Puluwatu :  
 - Airhayo Si Bras (father of Waringin)  
 - Tunggudurung Si Baisakhe (father of Tumwa)  
 Wahuta of Winkas Si Katis  
 Wahuta of Lampuran Si Bhadra  
 Rama Magman :  
 - Kalang Mangungu Si Pingul (father of Uda)  
 - Gusti Si Atag (father of Ranga)  
 - Winkas Si Wudal (father of Denoh)  
 - Tuha Banua Si Guka (father of Dayang)  
 - Rama Matuha Si Wlang (father of Go)  
 - Magawai Watu Sima Si Sru (father of Gukang)  
 - Kalang Tungguudu - Si Tude (father of Baisakha)  
 - Hulu Wras Depunta Bingung  
 - Tuha Werek : - Si Brit

- Si Kpul (father  
of Mahear)  
- Si Plat (father  
of Dharma)  
- Si Unja (father  
of Gamwoh)  
- Si Poho (father  
of Ramya)  
- Si Ranggel (fa-  
ther of Tugan)  
- Si Kaladhara  
(father of Uda-  
yana)  
- Si Mangoh (fa-  
ther of Tarum)

Witness

- Si Blondo  
- Si Karan  
- Si Uyang  
- Si Plat  
- Si Muga  
- Si Kudu  
- Si Tunggu  
- Si Tidu  
- Si Kawel  
- Si Bngal  
- Si Glo  
- Si Aleng  
- Si Bahi  
- Si Glar  
- Si Limbu  
- Si Gwari  
- Si Balugu  
- Si Draweng

- Wadahuma :

Anak Manuam :

- Si Turuk (mo-  
ther of Ngga)  
- Si Tadah (mo-  
ther of Bai)  
- Si Lumpung (mo-  
ther of Dainoh)  
- Si Gawi (mo-  
ther of Krsna)  
- Si Magya (mo-  
ther of Siyan)  
- Si Kuduk (mo-  
ther of Rambu)  
- Si Wrut (mother  
of Tugan)  
- Si Kinang (mo-  
ther of Baru-  
buh)  
- Si Daki (mother  
of Mahear)  
- Si Turukan (mo-  
ther of Tarum)  
- Si Haryya (mo-  
ther of Ramya)  
- Si Balyah (mo-  
ther of Gamwo)  
- Si Punjang (mo-  
ther of Gamwa-  
is)  
- Si Lamyat (mo-  
ther of Bari)  
- Si Dayang (mo-  
ther of Dayana)  
- Si Dica (mother  
of Biredis)

Raipanta Sang Matu-  
ha :

Raipanta Sang Manu-  
ti :

- Si Kutil (mother of Go)  
- Si Tugan (mother of Wdai)

- Si Mahyang  
- Si Tages  
- Si Rikha  
- Si Sojara  
- Si Widoh  
- Si Rampwas  
- Si Kadya  
- Si Canma

Anak Manuam Anakbi :

Patih of Hino

Patih of Kulumpang

Patih of Tiro Ranu

Patih of Pandawan :

Rame Tpi Siring :

1. Rama of Suru :  
- Kalang

- Parujar

2. Rama of Tugseh :

- Gusti

- Parujar

3. Rama of Purud :

- Fande Kalang

- Parujar

4. Rama of Astamvir :

- Kalang

- Parujar

5. Rama of Kinsawan :

- Gusti

- Parujar

6. Rama of Wangun :

- Fande

- Parujar

7. Rama of Mungguwatan :

- Rama Matuha

Mareggang

Mabrèkuk

Mulapanjut :

Si Punjang (father of Sri)

- Si Piyangka (father of Kuru - tug)

- Si Parama (father of Wulaken)

Si Pagan (grandfather of Mahu)  
Si Tahil (father of Waris)

Si Sunglit (father of Pteng)  
Si Hali (father of Jaluk)

Si Taji (father of Swami)  
Si Junet

Si Gunakara (father of Jaluk)  
Si Ungda (father of Kisik)

Si Baideg (grandfather of Aji)  
Si Tudu

Si Pyul (father of Suddhi)  
Si Juluk

Si Wadua (father of Impen)

Si Catu (father of Kriya)

Si Wera (father of Goga)

- Si Ma (father

of Kutil)  
- Si Mangol  
- Si Sagasi  
- Si Mandon

Mulawule

Si Mari

Mabañol

Si Paracan

Madwal Wras :

- Si Antyang  
- Si Ramyal  
- Si Surat  
- Si Arani

Anakwanua of Sarup  
su :

- Si Biddhi  
- Si Hyang  
- Si Goda

Mangilala Diwya Ha

ji :

- Tikasan  
- Rumpen  
- Menimpiki  
- Paranakan  
- Kring  
- Padamapuy  
- Manghuri  
- Air Haji  
- Tapa Haji  
- Tuha Dagang  
- Wanua i Dalam  
- Katanggaran  
- Pinilai  
- Mapadahi  
- Mangidung  
- Kulun Haji

Table 16: Panggumulan 2

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Name	Status	Name	Status	Name	
Panggumulan 2	903		Rakryan Wantil	Pu Palaka			Bought the lands from Rama of Panggumulan
		Anakbi Rakryan Wan - Dyah Prasada til			Anak Rakryan Wantil:	- Pu Palaku - Pu Gowinda - Dyah Wangi Tamuy	
					Rama of Panggumulan:	- Dapunta Prabhu - Dapunta Kaca	Sold the lands at Panggumulan
			Tuha Kalang of Panggumulang	Si Tudai (father of Be)			Received gifts
			Gusti	Si Blondo			"
			Winkas	Si Wudel (father of Daimoh)			"
			Rama Marata :	- Pu Dharmma - Pu Ramani - Si Unju - Si Ridu			"
			Hulu Wras	Si Ratni			"
			Jatata	Si Suni			"
			Mathyang of Dakšina	Dapunta Murtti			Witness
			Pasingir :	- Si Go (father of Kucu) - Dakunta Tiwi			"
			Citralekha	Sang Karanwa			Wrote the inscription

Table 17: Siddhayoga

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	
Siddhayoga	903			Rakryan Wantil			Bought the lands
		Anakbi of Rakryan Wantil	Dyah Prasada			Anak of Rakryan Wantil :	Bought the lands together with her family
						- Ku Palaku - Pu Gowinda - Dyah Wangi Tamuy	Bought the lands together
						Ramanta of Panggu - mulan	Sold the lands to Rakryan Wantil and his family





Lumaku Manusuk from Wadhaci	Si Parthawa	-----
Lumaku Manusuk from Makudur	Sang Uttara	-----
Pangurang Rakryan Hino	Pu Mana	-----
Pangurang of Halu	Si Naitra	-----
Pangurang of Sirikan	Rakai Panggang	-----
Pangurang of Wka	Rakai Sanjat	-----
Pangurang of Pangkur	Sang Dhyana	-----
Parujar of Rakai Wwatan :	- Pu Kaisawa - Pu Dumbwa	-----
Juru Kanayakan of Liniwang	Si Lagai	-----
Pangurang of Kiniwang :	- Si Sala (father of Barubuh) - Si Gasyak (father of Gawang) - Si Sangkhara (father of Widyu) - Daladap - Si Prajna	-----
Pangurang of Kring :	- Si Purul (father of Wudi - ang ) - Si Gunung (father of Pakudan)	-----
Pangurang of Manimpiki	Pu Mamwri (father of Mangna)	-----
Patih of Kiniwang : - Nayaka	- Sang Rakawu - Si Driping (father of Pangalah) - Sang Gegele (father of Tung - gang)	-----
Patih of Lampuran:	- Rakai Wadara - Si Ralua - Si Lmahndi	-----
Parujar of Patih :	- Si Rawakan - Si Wahugyan (father of Purul)	-----
Wahuta of Kiniwang :	Si Barut (father of Lucir)	-----
Wahuta of Lampuran	-----	-----
Pihujung of Wahuta :	- Si Cangkir - Si Purul	-----

Rama Magman of Poh:  
 - Sang Tuha Banua  
 - Kalima  
 - Juru  
 - Parujar of Juru  
 - Patengahan of Ju-ru  
 - Tuha Kalang  
 - Winkas  
 - Tuha Gosali  
 - Gueti :

- Parujar :

- Rama Marata of Poh :

Si Gupi (father of Jawil)  
 Si Remma (father of Gantih)  
 - Si Sandak (father of Libat)  
 - Si Lirat (father of Nunggu)  
 Si Krit  
 Si Segel (father of Basawa)  
 Si Suk (father of Turuz)  
 Si Rutut (father of Guhara)  
 Si Tato (father of Sayi)  
 - Si Kandip (father of Butei)  
 - Si Kandel (father of Duduk)  
 - Si Pula (father of Maruwu)  
 - Si Kirim (father of Gimuh)  
 - Si Cangal (father of Cakang)  
 - Si Jamah (father of Baisus)  
 - Si Mula (father of Buddhi)  
 - Si Gamana  
 - Si Kabya (father of Sima)  
 - Si Gading (father of Hamka lung)  
 - Si Karyyut (father of Capa)  
 - Si Cuntang (father of Krat)  
 - Si Pande (father of Din dang)  
 - Si Tengkiran (father of Tambilang)  
 - Si Katak (father of Rawon)  
 - Si Pandet (father of Banten)  
 - Si Lingir (father of Welet)  
 - Si Brakara (father of Puruh)  
 - Si Kudyal (father of Tarambal)  
 - Si Mangga (father of Garga)  
 - Si Garuntung (father of Kaktuk)  
 - Si Sadha (father of Dhuta)

Witness

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Rainanta :	- Si [ ] (mother of Pingul)				
	- Si Tiris (mother of Gantih)				
	- Si Wirikan (mother of Jawil)				
	- Si Jabwah (mother of Suddah)				
	- Si Umwaya (mother of Kamman)				
	- Si Wulakan (mother of Gading)				
Rara :	- Si Karigna				
	- Si Darini				
	- Si Rumpuk				
	Rama Tpi Siring :				
	- Kalang	Si Brita (father of Taram)			
	- Tuha Banua	Si Palwak (father of Turubut)			
	- Juru Kiniwang	Si Wangun (father of Wira)			
	- Tuha Banua	Si Wawa (father of Gampwar)			
	- Juru	Si Pyang (father of Mundi)			
	- Tuha Banua	Si Banya (father of Wawa)			
	- Tuha Kalang	Si Niti (father of Wedung)			
	- Mangmit Sawah Hiji:	- Si Ndadok (father of Hasin)			
		- [ ]			
	Sang Madang	----			
	Sang Mangla :	- Pu Wilut			
		- Si Janar			
		- Si Bayur			
	Sang Mulawuddha :	- Dapunta Piwli			
	- Hulu Wras :	- Si Lanot			
	Mapadahi Matuwung	Si Pati (father of Turawus)			
	Marégang	Si Wicar (father of Wisama)			
	Matapukan :	- Si Mala			
		- Si Parasi			
	Mabanol :	- Si Lugundung			
		- Si Kucika			

Table 19: Mantyasih 1

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	
Mantyasih 1	1907						Rewarded the sima to path of Mantyasih
			Maharaja		Raka Watukura Dyah Balitung		
			Rakryan Mapatih i Hino		Mahamantri Dakso- ttama Bahubajra- pratipaksakaya		Received the order
			Rakryan Mapatih i Halu		Pu Wirawikrama		---
			Rakryan Mapatih i Sirikan		Pu Wariiga Samara- Wikranta		---
			Rakryan Wka		Pu Kutak Bhaswara		---
			Rakryan Halaran		Pu Kiwing		---
			Samgat Tiruan		Pu Siwastra		---
			Samgat Momahumah		Pu Uttara		Received gifts
			Halaran		Pu Kiwing		---
			Palarhyang		Pu Punjeng		---
			Dalinar		Pu Manguso		---
			Manghuri		Pu Cakra		---
			Wadhati		Pu Depit		---
			Makudur		Pu Samwrada		---
			Rakryan Mawanus		Dyah Tales		---
		Anakbi Rakryan			Dyah Wriayan		---
			Juru of Ayam Teas :				---
			- Miramirah		---		---
			- Mangrengkapi Halaran		Pu Dhananda		---
			Juru of Makudur :				---
			- Patalesan		Pu Wiryya		---
			- Mangrengkapi Wawawa		Pu Jayanda		---
			Lumaku Manusuk from ayam teas		Pu Wriayan		---
			Wadhati of Makudur		Sang Waringin		---
			Wadhati of Tiruan		Sang Patrugan		---
			Tadahaji of Punggul		---		---
			Juru of Wadwa Rarai		Pu Krsna		---
			Juru of Patapan :				---
			- Matanda		Pu Soma		---

Juru of Lampuran : - Raka of Pipil	----- Sang Nirmala		
Juru of Kalula	Sang Nirmala		
Juru of Mangrangkat:	Sang Manobhawa		
Patih of Kayumungan	Raka of Endo (father of Kapur)		
Patih of Sukun	Sang Ganbhira (father of Dudu)		
Patih of Warangan	Si Daha (father of Surasti)		
Wahuta of Ptir	Si Drawida (father of Laghawa)		
Wahuta of Pandakyan	Si Tajak (father of Giliran)		
Patih of Mantyasih :	- Pu Swa (father of Ananta) - Pu Kula (father of Dini) - Pu Punjang (father of Udal) - Pu Kara (father of Labdha) - Pu Sadraka (father of Kayut)		
	Pangkur		
	Tawan		
	Tirip		
	Mangilala Drivya Haji :		
	- Kring		
	- Air Haji		
	- Manimpiki		
	- Paranakan		
	- Padam		
	- Retaji		
	- Menghuri		
	- Kci		
	- Apuy		
	- Makalanggang		
	- Limus Galuh		
	- Widu		
	- Tapa Haji		
	- Mengrumbai		
	- Sambal		
	- Mangidung		
	- Mamresi		
	- Hulun Haji		
Wahuta of Lampuran	Si Sanjaya (father of Pawaka)		
Wahuta of [ ]	Si Tanda (father of Nara)		
Parujar Patih of Ka-	Si Haus (father		

Received the sima

Could not enter the sima

Witness

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yumungan	of Kenden)		
Perujar Patih of Sukun	Si Watu (father of Wiryan)		
Parujar Patih of Air Barangan	Si Wisala		
Kalima of Ptir	Si Wujuk (father of Nakula)		
Juru [ ]	Si Jona (father of Suddha)		
Juru of Pandakyan	Si Mardon (father of Sonde)		
Juru of Samwal	Si Pingul (father of Hadhawa)		
Rama Tpi Siring :			
- Rama of Muduan :	Si Guwi (father of Krami)		
- Rama of Haji Huma :	Si Hiwa		
- Gusti			
- Rama of Tulang Air :			
- Gusti	Si Palarsan (father of Bahu)		
- Rama of Waringin :			
- Gusti	Si Waringin (father of Lungen)		
- Rama of Kayu Ha - sam :			
- Gusti	Si Wujil (father of Grak)		
- Rama of Pregaluh :			
- Gusti :	- Si Mni (father of Bhasita)		
- Rama of Wurut :	- Samwal		
- Winkas :	Sang Momwa (father of Dhananjaya)		
- Rama of Tiruan :			
- Winkas	Si Luar (father of Gustina)		
- Rama of Air Hulu	Si Kidut (father of Karnni)		
- Rama of Sulang Kuning :			
- Winkas	Si Kudha (father of Dhidhi)		
- Rama of Lankat Tanjung :			
- Winkas :	Si Saking (father of Tamui)		
- Rama of Samalagi	Si Tara		
- Rama of Wungkal Tejam :			
- Winkas	Si Antara (father of Jute)		
- Rama of Hampran :			
- Kalima	Si Ina (father of Bana)		
- Rama of Kasugihan :			
- Winkas	Si Hayu		



Table 20: Mantyasih 3

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Name	Status	Name	Status	Name	
Mantyasih 3	907	Anakbi Rakryan		Dyah Wraiyen			Received gifts
			Juru of Ayam Teas				"
			Miramirah		Pu Rayung		"
			Mangrangkappi Halan		Pu Dhanada		"
			Juru Makudur		Pu Wiryya		"
			Mangrangkappi Wacana		Pu Danta		"
			Lumaku Manusuk from Ayam Teas		Pu Wrayan		"
			Lumaku Manusuk from Makudur		Sang Waringin		"
			Juru of Wadwa Rarai		Pu Krsna		"
			Juru of Patapan		Pu Tema		"
			Juru of Lampuran		Rakai Pipil		"
			Juru of Kaluka		Sang Nirmala		"
			Juru of Mangdahat		Sang Marowara		"
			Patih of Kayuwungan:		- Rakai Aindo (father of Kapur)		"
					- Si Gambhira (father of Dudu)		"
					- Si Deha (father of Surasti)		"
			Wahuta Petir		Si Gambhira (father of Laghawa)		"
			Pandakyan		Si Tajik (father of Gillirana)		"
			Wahuta of Lampuran		Si Sanjaya (father of Pawaka)		"
			Pandakyan		Si Tanda (father of Tara)		"
			Parujar Patih Kayuwungan		Si Harus (father of Kudu)		"
			Parujar Patih Sukun		Si Watu (father of Wiryyan)		"
			Parujar Patih Air Barangan		Si Wisala		"
			Kalima of Petir		Si Pujut (father of Kaluka)		"
			Juru		Si Jana (father of Suddha)		"

Juru of Dandakyan	Si Mandon (father of Sonde)	---
Samwal	Si Pingul (father of Madhawa)	---
Rama Tpi Siring :		Witness
- Rama of Munduan :	Si Guwi (father of Kravi)	---
- Gusti	Si Hiwa	---
- Rama of Haji Huma :	Si Palarasa (father of Bahu)	---
- Gusti	Si Mni (father of Bhasita)	---
- Rama of Tulang Air		---
- Gusti :		---
- Rama of Waringin :		---
- Gusti		---
Samwal of Wunut Winkas :		---
- Winkas	Pu Mamwang (father of Dhananjaya)	---
Samwal of Tiruan :	Si Lbur (father of Sukiksa)	---
- Winkas	Si Kidut (father of Kerma)	---
Samwal of Air Hulu		---
Samwal of Sulang Kuning :	Si Kuda (father of Diwi)	---
- Winkas		---
Samwal of Langka Tanjung :	Si Sahing (father of Tamuy)	---
- Winkas		---
Samwal of Samelagi	Si Tara	---
- Winkas		---
Samwal of Wungkal Tajan :	Si Antara (father of Juwe)	---
- Winkas		---
Samwal of Haupren :	Si Ina (father of Bana)	---
- Kalina		---
Samwal of Kasugihan :	Si Hayu	---
- Winkas		---
Samwal of Puhun :	Si Pawa (father of Sumingkan)	---
- Winkas		---
Samwal of Praktuhan :	Si Ngawun (father of Sanglan)	---
- Winkas		---
Samwal of Wuatan :	Si Tirip (father of Loka)	---
- Winkas		---

Samwal of Pandamuan: - Winkas	Si Siwa (father of Wipula)	-----	-----
Samwal of Tpusan: - Winkas	Si Aja (father of Koyen)	-----	-----
Samwal of Tureyun: - Winkas	Si Guta	-----	-----
Samwal of Ruhur: - Winkas	Si Wahu	-----	-----
Samwal of Kalandingan: - Winkas	Si Banua	-----	-----
Samwal of Kdu: - Kalima	Si Dharni	-----	-----
Matapukan	Si Barubuh	-----	-----
Juru Padahi	Si Nanja	-----	-----
Maganding	Si Krsni	-----	-----
Rawanahasta	Si Mandal	-----	-----
Mangla:	- Si Kirata (father of Bhasita) - Si Buter	-----	-----
Mabungwa	- Si Busu (father of Garagash) - Si Rubih	-----	-----
Patih of Matyasih:	- Sang Krana (father of Anenta) - Pu Kola (father of Dini) - Pu Penjeng (father of Bahad) - Pu Kara (father of Labdha) - Pu Tero (father of Bisio) - Pu Hecin (father of Cni) - Pu Mandadi (father of Wacita) - Pu Bikray (father of Baruna)	-----	-----
	Sang Makudur	-----	Conducted the ceremony

Table 21: Sangsang

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Undeidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Status	Name	Status	Name	Activities	
Sangsang	907						
			Raka Watukura Dyah Balitung				Gave the order of establishing sima
				Mahārāja			
			Rakryan Mapatih i Hino				Received the order
					Sangat Lamwa	Pu Layang	Being charged to mark out a sima at Sangsang
					Pangkur		Could not tread upon the sima
					Tawan		"
					Tirip		"
					Mangilala Droya Ha ji :		"
					- Kring		
					- Padam		
					- Pamanikan		
					- Maniga		
					- Iwa		
					- Malanjang		
					- Manghuri		
					- Undahagi		
					- Pandai Wsi		
					- Paranakan		
					- Mangidung		
					- Warahan		
					- Watak i Dalam		
					- Pamrsi		
					- Makalangang		
					- Tapa Haji		
					- Air Haji		
					- Tuha Gosali		
					- Tuha Dagang		
					- Tuha Nambi		
					- Tuha Hunjana		
					- Maninpi		
					- Walyan		
					- Widu		
					- Tuha Padahi		
					- Sambal Sumbul		
					- Singgah		
					Pandai Mas		Had to pay taxes
					Pandai Wsi, Tambaga Gangsa		"
					Macadar		"
					Manaulang		"
					Mabasana		"
					Massyang		"
					Macapuri		"
					Manambul		"







Table 23: Kinewu

Name of Inscription	Date (AD)	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
		Name	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	
Kinewu	907					Rama of Kinewu		They were rewarded an addition sawah fields
			Mahārāja	Raka Watukura Dyah Balitung		Rakryan Randaman		Rewarded this sima to Rama of Kinewu
						Rakryanta of Gangsal		
						Rakryanta of Wungkal Tihang		
						Rakryanta Wka		
						Rakryanta Sirikan		
						Rakryanta Kalung Warak		
						Rakryanta Tiru Ranu		
						Sangrat Momehuma of Pamrata	Pu Uttara	
						Raka of Hamparan	Pu Watabuang	
						Rakryan Panji	Sang Dumba	
						Sang Pangurang of Kabandharyan : - Rake Mandyangin	Pu Khattwangge - Sang Prasan - Sang Malanja - Sang Kasugihan - Sang Rongguy - Sang Rawa - Sang Nila - Sang Dramprs	Witness
						Parujar of Mamrata :	- Sang Turuhan - Sang Panagar	
						Manurat Prasasti	Sang Dapunta Gara Lek	Wrote the inscriptions
						Wadhihati of Kasugihan	Pu Padma	Witness
						Makalambi Haji	Dyah Nangkala	
						Danu of Makudur		
						Sang Hadyan Wedwan		Attended the ceremony

Table 24: Sugih Manek

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	
Sugih Manek	915			Mahārāja	Sri Dakṣottamoba- bejrapratipakṣa- kṣaya		Gave order to mark out a sima
Rakryan Binihaji Parameswari		----				Rakai Kanuruhan	Received gifts
						Sang Manakatrini:	Received the order
						- Pangkur	
						- Tawan	
						- Tirup	
						- Tiruan	
						- Manghuri	
						Mangilala Drwya	
						Haji :	Could not enter the sima
						- Kring	
						- Halu Warak	
						- Tualandag	
						- Pangurang	
						- Pamanukan	
						- Pakalanggang	
						- Pamrsi	
						- Maniga	
						- Tapahaji	
						- Manimpiki	
						- Lwa	
						- Airhaji	
						- Juru Gosali	
						- Juru Nambi	
						- Juru Katak	
						- Juru Dagang	
						- Juru Kuyakan	
						- Juru Jalir	
						- Juru Judi	
						- Undahagi Limusga- luh	
						- Pangarukan	
						- Watu Tajem	
						- Taji	
						- Pande Mapayungan	
						Kdi	
						- Malyan	
						- Paranakan	
						- Widu	
						- Mangidung	
						- Juru Padahi	
						- Sinsqiha	
						- Tangkil	
						- Salwit	
						- Burahan	
						- Sambal Sumbul	
						- Watak Ri'ro	
						- Singgah	
						- Pamrsi	
						- Hulun Haji	
						- Mahaliman	
						- Tebeleb	
						- Nuisra	
						- Paramisra	





Table 25: Lintakan

Name of Inscription	Date (AD)		Men		Women		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Date	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	
Lintakan	919								
			Manārāja		Rake Luyag, Dyap Tulodong Srisajj- nasannatanuraggo- ttunggadewa				Bought the lands from Rama of Kasugihan
			Mamrati		Pu Dapit				Had to protect the lands
			Tilimpik		Pu Pandamuan				"
			Rakryan Hino		Pu Ketudhara				Received gifts
			Raka of Halu		Pu Sindok				"
			Raka of Sirikan		Pu Hawang				"
			Raka of Wka		Pu Kirana				"
			Sangat Momahumah of Pikatan		Pu Kambaladhara				"
			Tiruan		Pu Cakra				"
			Halaran		Pu Winikan				"
			Palarhyang		Pu Belandung				"
			Dalnan		Pu Purbawata				"
			Manghuri		Pu Teja				"
			Pangkur		Pu Jayanta				"
			Tawan		Pu Sena				"
			Titip		Pu Hariwangsa				"
			Wadihati		Pu Nanggala				"
			Makudur :		- Pu Nanggala - Sang Panganuan				"
			Manglintaki		Pu Sawitra				"
			Tuhan of Wadihati :						"
			- Miramirah		Pu Sudanta				"
			- Mangrangkapi		Pu Wikasita				"
			Tuhan of Makudur		Sang Manghandul				"
			Mangrangkapi		Sang Manglage				"
			Wahuta Hyang Kudur		----				"
			Lumaku Manusuk of Wadihati		Si Wada				"
			Lumaku Manusuk of Makudur		Si Mangantus				"
			Parujar of Hino : - Kendamuhi		Sang Kasura				"

Parujar of Halu : - Wisaga	Sang Widyanigi	"
Anurat of Hino : - Wungkal Warani	Sang Suddha	"
Parujar of Sirikan : - Hujunggaluh	Sang Tatua	"
Parujar of Wma : - Wiridih	Sang Kirtadheg	"
Parujar of Tiruan : - Sumudan	Sang Prajna	"
Parujar of Halaren	Sang Adigara	"
Parujar of Palar - Hyang	Sang Manca	"
Parujar of Dalinan	Sang Trisaraka	"
Parujar of Pengkur : - Didelan	Sang Adik	"
Parujar of Habanga : - Aluk	Sang Nirmala	"
Parujar of Tirip	Sang Stanggal	"
Parujar of Mamrati : - Turuhan	Hawang Ananda	"
Parujar of Tilimpik : - Wka-Wka	Si Pawana	"
Anurat of Mamrati : - Kerep	Sang Ludra	"
Anurat of Tilimpik : - Patilaman	Sang Khatwangga	"
Wahuta of Mamrati : - Prih	Si Godha	"
Wahuta of Tilimpik : - Jukuter	Si Dewa	"
Pihujung of Pangkur : - Nanda	Si Nanda	"
Pihujung of Tawan	Lua Sukan	"
Pihujung of Tirip	Panawungan	"
Wahuta of Kahulunan : - Dumlung Turuy - Si Bikrma	- Dumlung Turuy - Si Bikrma	"
Patih of Gilikan	Si Mund (father of Wagad)	"
Patih of Tigang Su- gih	Si Caker (father of Racha)	"
Patih of Panggil	Si Balikuh	"
Anakbi . Patih Gilik- an		----
Anakbi Patih Tigang		----





Anakbi Kalang of Tunah	Winkas	Si Gujil (father of Towana)	---
Anakbi Tuha Banua			---
Anakbi Winkas	Parujar	-Si Tarah (father of Medag) -[ ] (father of Ayi)	---
Anakbi Parujar	Wariga	Si Buru (father of Mundihi)	---
	Pawah of Wariga	Si Bama (father of Uduh)	---
	Huler	Si Mukmuk (father of Ndukuh)	---
	Tuha Werek :	- Si Mangalap - Si Hunur	---
	Rama Mareta :	- Si Wada (father of Wangi) - Si Mebeyang (father of Kupu)	---
	Kalang of Wra	Si Ges (father of Bining)	---
	Gusti :	- Si Kewah (father of Kepu) - Si Wangah - Si Garjita - Si Panjol (father of Cangkah)	---
	Tuha Banua	Si Lakuan (father of Kucyak)	---
	Winkas	Si Palaku	---
Anakbi Kalang of Wra			---
Anakbi Gusti			---
Anakbi Tuha Banua			---
Anakbi Winkas	Wariga	Si Garu (father of Samwi)	---
	Huler	Si Luka (father of Daha)	---
	Rama Tpi Siring: - Rama of Sawyan :	Si Anggu (father of Gileh)	---
	- Gusti	Si Nek (father of	---
	- Kalang		---
		Witness	---



Pinang Manuaya of	---	---
Marebung	---	---
Sang Wireh of Kasu-	---	---
gihan	---	---
Sang Pakuwangi	Pu Banjua	---
Sang Tangkil	Pu Wunji	---

Table 26: Wintang Mas B

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	
Wintang Mas B	919		Manārāja		Raka Hino Pu Daksa		Gave the order to modify the sima
						Dyah Dewa	Protested to the King about the sima
						- Dyah Bagru - Dyah Vijaya	----- -----
						Dang Acaryya Bhuti	Demanded payment from the sima
			Sangat Tiruan		Pu Tegang		Received gifts
			Sangat Manghuri		Pu Cakra		-----
			Wandami Waleng		-----		-----
			Sangat Rahulu		-----		-----
			Rakryan Mapatih i Hino		Pu Ketu Wijaya		Inspected the sima
		Anakbi Rakryan Hino					Received gifts
					Juru Kansayakan of Curusiki		-----
					Parujar		-----
					Pitamaha of Hladan		Witness
					Pitamaha of Praganita		-----
					Pitamaha of Tgang Rat		-----
					Pitamaha of Kupa		-----
					Citralekha of Tiruan Sang Sujangka		Wrote the inscription

Table 27: Gilikan 2

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Status	Name	Status	Name		
Gilikan 2	923			Patih Gilikan	Si Jaluk		Received gifts
		Patih Waduan	Si Abhi				"
		Anakbi Tunggdurung	Si Dunak				"
				Rama of Gilikan	Si Dharani (father of Jaluk)		"
				Rama Matuha	Si Panu (father of Bo)		"
				Winkas	Si Widya (father of Kebeh)		"
		Anakbi Winkas					"
				Gusti of Gilikan	Si Kandung		"
				Tuha Banua	Si Kamul (father of Balusuh)		"
				Parujar	Si Mamwang		"
				Gusti :	- Si Garsta (father of Lung - gat)		"
					- Si Tewik (father of Danes)		"
				Tuha Werek	Si Dana (father of Komoloh)		"
				Wariga :	- Si Pring		"
					- Si Toheng		"
					- Si Mandon (father of Kutang)		"
					- Si Daya (father of Kundu)		"
				Rama Mareta :	- Si Hunur (grandfather of Waut)		Attended the ceremony
					- Si Kiruh (father of Kalem)		
					- Si Tamwir (father of Mijit)		
					- Si Gio		
					- Si Kadik		
					- Si Kintya		
					- Si Bobol		
					- Si Durung		
					- Si Kano		
					- Si Ungal		
					- Si Guwinda		
					- Si Punding		
					- Si Don		
					- Si Tanggap		
					- Si Dhana		
					- Si Dalwoh		
					- Si Masya		

				Received gifts
	- Si Bayi			
	- Si Kinuy			
	- Si Kalima			
	- Si Bulu (father of Prabhu Anwilan)			
	- [ ] (father of Anwilan)			
	Si Bhawita (father of Tumu)			
	- Si Karnna (father of Lintaku)			
	- Si Kirana (father of Rupi)			
	- [ ] (father of Panuratan)			
	Si Danghuan (father of Dalug)			
	Si Gurumet (father of Dalung)			
	Marhyang of Gilikan			
	Hulair of Gilikan :			
	- Si Kaledi (father of Kamwag)			
	- [ ] (father of Perang Tuha)			
	- Si Hawa (father of Dunu)			
	- [ ] (father of Kasugihan)			
	Tuha Banua			
	Si Drsti (father of Wahan)			
	Madang			
	Si Gondong (father of Sanjaya)			
	Si Sadya			
	Mariga of Danu			
	Si Tuluk (father of Riwt)			
	Sangat Pamasaran			
	Tuha Padahi :			
	- Si Kenjur (father of Bacing)			
	- Si Wanua (father of Brkut)			
	Widu			
	Si Laksana			

Table 28: Kinawe

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Status	Name	Status	Name	Status	
Kinawe	927	Raka Gunungan	Dyah Muatan				Marked out a sima at Kinawe as her si-
				Tanda Rakryan			ma
				Rakryan Mapatih			Received gifts
					Pu Sindok Isana Wikrama		Received gifts
				Sangat Momahumah :			Received homage
				- Anggehan		Pu Kundala	
				- Sangat Landayan :		- Pu Wudyang	
						- Si Nantha	
				Maharaja		Sri Wawa	Received gifts

Table 29: Sangguran

Name of Inscription	Women		Men		Unidentified Sex		Activities
	Date (AD)	Status	Name	Status	Name		
Sangguran	928						Gave the order to establish a sima at Sangguran
			Manaraja		Raka Pangkaja Dyah Wawa		Received the order
			Rakryan Mapatih i Hino		Isanawikrama		
			Sangat Momahumah :				
			- Medander		Pu Padma		
			- Anggehan		Pu Kundala		
			Punta of Manajung :				
			- Dang Aryya ( )				
			- Dapu Jambang Kisiki				
			- Dapu Bhairawa				
			- Mesya				
			- Lukking				
			- Bhandra				
			- Tamblang				
			- Wiger				
			- Depuset				
					Misra		
					Paramisra		
					Mangilala :		
					- Pangurang		Could not enter the sima
					- Kring		
					- Padem		
					- Pangaruhan		
					- Watu Tajem		
					- Halu Warak		
					- Pinginglai		
					- Tapa Haji		
					- Juru Gusali		
					- Tuhan Judi		
					- Misra Hino		
					- Wli Tambang		
					- Pawisan		
					- Urutan		
					- Sungsung Pangurang		
					- Sipat Wilut		
					- Pulung Padi		
					- Panusuh		
					- Sumbul		
					- Watak i Jro		
					- Manimpiki		
					- Paranakan		
					- Limus Galuh		
					- Taji		
					- Sukun		
					- Rakedut		
					- Ketanggatan		
					- Air Haji		
					- Tuhanambi		
					- Juru Jalir		
					- Wli Hapu		
					- Wli Panjut		
					- Pelanek		
					- Dampulan		
					- Pesuk Alias		
					- Panginangin		

- Skar Tahun			
- Hopen			
- Hulun Haji			
- Malanda			
- Leca			
- Lebleb			
- Kalangkang			
- Kutak			
- Tangkil			
- Trepan			
- Salwit			
- Tuha Degang			
- Tuha Hunjaman			
- Pamarikan			
- Wli Wadung			
- Wli Haeng			
- Pakalangkang			
- Tjung Wawang			
- Payungan			
- Panewasya			
- Penrangan			
- Sambal			
- Pamresi			
Mananguring Mangkala			
Manguwar			
Matarub			
Mangapus			
Manula Wungkudu			
Manangkeb			
Makalaka			
Mamisandung Manuk			
Macadar			
Manggunjal			
Mangawan Kapas			
Wungkudu, Wsi, Tam- bage, Gangsa, Weyang , Lnge, Bras, Galu			
Raka Sirikan	Pu Amenendra		Received gifts
Raka Wka	Dyah Balyang		-----"
Tiruan	Dapunta Taritip		-----"
Amrati Hawang	Wiceksana		-----"
Puluwatu	Pu Pandamuan		-----"
Halaran	Pu Gunottama		-----"
Manghuri	Pu Manguwil		-----"
Wadihati	Pu Dinakara		-----"
Hujung [ ]	-----		-----"
Kaleng of Waharu	Pu Waniga		-----"

Received gifts

-----"  
-----"  
-----"  
-----"  
-----"  
-----"  
-----"  
-----"





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