*Pūrvādhigama*

Text and Translation

by Marine Schoettel

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| avighnam astu![[1]](#footnote-2) nihan pūrvādhigamaśāsana śāstrasāroddhr̥ta, pūrvārambha saṅ təlas vr̥ddhācārya rājapurohita sarvaguṇajña, bhānuraśmisadr̥śa sarvajanahr̥dayatamisraharaṇa, sakalāgracūḍāmaṇi śirasi pratiṣṭhita təkap sahana parācārya śiva kabeh, kaniṣṭhamādhyamottama, | May there be no hindrance! As follows are the Precepts of the Pūrvādhigama which are essential extracts of the scriptures,[[2]](#footnote-3) the primary knowledge for those [who have acquired the rank of] venerable teachers,[[3]](#footnote-4) royal chaplains *knowers of all sorts of virtues*,[[4]](#footnote-5) *like the rays of the sun [in that] it removes the darkness in the hearts of all people*,[[5]](#footnote-6) *the most precious crest jewel of all*, *placed atop the head* by all the Śaiva teachers,[[6]](#footnote-7) all of them: *the lowest, the intermediate and the loftiest*.[[7]](#footnote-8) |
| ndan sira paramādiguru mahābhagavān taṅgəhnira, sira paṅudaran bhasma ṅaranira, saka ri vənaṅnira panaḍahan bhasma təkapniṅ santāna pratisantāna saṅ bhasmāṅkura, sira atah \*amramāṇakən[[8]](#footnote-9) pagəhni karakṣaniṅ śāsanādhigama śāstrasāroddhr̥ta ri para mpuṅku makabehan sahana saṅ guməgə̄ śivāgama, kimuta sahana saṅ bhujaṅga śiva pinakasthavira[[9]](#footnote-10) riṅ nagara, saṅ sampun kr̥ta, ṅuniveh saṅ maharəp riṅ nagara lavan riṅ pradeśa, təlas karuhun saṅ vatək prāgivāka vyavahāravicchedaka, saṅ vənaṅ maməgatakən vivādaniṅ sarvajana riṅ sabhāmadhya mvaṅ riṅ pradeśa, nā ta lvirnira, yayan saṅ hyaṅ adhigamaśāsana śāstrasāroddhr̥ta juga pamākniṅ śāsana, kramanira tika kabeh[[10]](#footnote-11) // | And the Supreme guru [i.e. Śiva], his position (*aṅgəh*) is that of Great Bhagavan. His name is Paṅudaran Bhasma,[[11]](#footnote-12) because he is entitled to be the one from whom ashes are received by the offspring and distant relations of those Bhasmāṅkura [ascetics].[[12]](#footnote-13) Only He has power over the stability of the protection of the precepts [stated in the] *Adhigama* which are essential extracts of the scriptures for the benefit of all religious masters, all those who adhere to the scriptures of Śiva, specifically the Śaiva priests (*bhujaṅga* *śiva*) who are the elders in the capital; those who are consecrated [masters] (*saṅ kr̥ta*); even more so those who are about to [obtain a position] in the capital or in the districts; and most of all the class of judges *who adjudicate in lawsuits*, who are entitled to adjudicate the disputes of all people in the court as well as in the regions; such are their categories. Nevertheless (*yayan*), only the *Adhigama Precepts*, *which are essential extracts of the scriptures*, are means to express law-codes. The conditions of this whole [group] are. |
| nihan pratyeka saṅ bhujaṅga śivān pinakasthavira[[13]](#footnote-14) riṅ nagara, saṅ kuməmit mamaṅku saṅ hyaṅ adhigamaśāsana śāstrasāroddhr̥ta, lvirnira, saṅ minakamapabhr̥ti,[[14]](#footnote-15) saṅ ārya dharmādhyakṣa, lyan saṅke sira, vvalu kvehnya, ndya ta, saṅ ārya tirvan, saṅ ārya kaṇḍamuhi, saṅ ārya pamvatan, saṅ ārya pañjaṅ jīva, saṅ ārya maṅhuri, saṅ ārya jambi, saṅ ārya lekan, saṅ ārya taṅar,[[15]](#footnote-16) ndah samaṅkana lvirniṅ liṅgihnira, kapva bhujaṅga haji sira kabeh, yekā maṅharəp liṅgih riṅ nagara ṅaranira // | As follows is the enumeration of the Śaiva priests who are the elders in the capital, who guard, protect, the *Adhigama Precepts*, *which have been synthesized from the scriptures*. Their categories are:  - the one who is the first, the noble administrator of religious law, [and] apart from him, eight is their number. Here they are:  - the noble one of Tiruan, the noble one of Kaṇḍamuhi, the noble one of Pamvatan, the noble one of Pañjaṅ Jīva, the noble one of Maṅhuri, the noble one of Jambi, the noble one of Lekan, the noble one of Taṅar. Now so many are the specifications of their ranks. All of them are peers as royal priests (*bhujaṅga haji*). They are the ones who have a claim to a position at the capital. |
| nihan lvir saṅ kr̥ta, yapvan hana sira saṅ bhujaṅga vr̥ddhācārya, sampūrṇa riṅ vālavidyā lavan mahāvidyā, təlas vruhnira riṅ kopadeśan saṅ hyaṅ homavidhi mvaṅ homasaṅskāra, tasak ri saṅ hyaṅ sarvādhva, sampun vənaṅ mandaməl maśiṣya bhujaṅga, maṅharəp pahomāmaṅku kuṇḍa, tuhaganāṅgəlarakən kapūjān bhaṭāra śivāgni satata, sakala pinakapatīrthaniṅ vvaṅ sanagara, mvaṅ sahananiṅ para janapadānta, saṅ bhujaṅga samaṅkana kramanira, ya ta kr̥tadīkṣita ṅaranira, yadyan sāvakanira saṅ para[[16]](#footnote-17) ḍaṅ ācārya yapvan təlas maṅkana, ya ta saṅ kr̥ta ṅaranira, ndatan apilih pakoṅgvananira, mon riṅ nagara, mon riṅ pradeśa, mon riṅ kadharmahajyan, ityevamādi kasthityanira, yayan saṅ kr̥ta ṅaran saṅ kr̥tadīkṣita. | As follows are the characteristics of the consecrated priests (*saṅ kr̥ta*):[[17]](#footnote-18) if there are priests who are venerable teachers, perfected in minor and major sciences; of consummate knowledge about instructions in precepts of oblation and in purification (consecration) through oblation, experts in All the Paths (*sārvadhva*);[[18]](#footnote-19) authorized to practice, to take students who are priests, to prepare the implements for oblation,[[19]](#footnote-20) [and] to take charge of the sacrificial fire; tirelessly carrying out the veneration ritual for Lord Śivāgni constantly,[[20]](#footnote-21) visibly serving as spiritual teachers (and bestowers of holy water) for the people of the whole realm and all of the people from rural districts.[[21]](#footnote-22) Priests whose conduct is such, they are called consecrated priests (*kr̥tadīkṣita*). As regards teachers, of any kind, if they are [confirmed] thus, they are called consecrated priests (*saṅ kr̥ta*), without discriminating with regard to their official position, whether their position is in the capital, in the districts, or in the royal religious foundations, and so forth, nevertheless (regardless?), the accomplished ones will be considered consecrated priests. |
| nihan lvir saṅ prāgvivāka,[[22]](#footnote-23) yan hana sira ḍaṅ ācārya sampūrṇa vruhnira riṅ sarvaśāstra makādi dharmaśāstra kuṭāramānavādi, sārasamuccayacāṇakyakāmandakādi, tan kevran sira riṅ rusitniṅ kavalik bəlahaniṅ padārthanikaṅ aṣṭadaśavyavahāra,[[23]](#footnote-24) mvaṅ lokika prayoganya, sahopadeśanya, təkeṅ udāharaṇa, māvās vruhnirerikā kabeh sakarika sarvajñatvanira rikaṅ sarvaśāstra, saṅ samaṅkana kramanira prāgivāka ṅaranira, sira vyavahāravicchedaka, ri deniran vnaṁ paməgataknaṅ sarvavyavasthaniṅ loka, mvaṅ vādaniṅ vvaṅ riṅ sarvarājya, nāhan hetuniran sinaṅguhan prāgivāka, ndatan apilih kasthityan saṅ prāgivāka, mvaṅ tar apilih kāvakanira saṅ sinaṅguhan prāgivāka, mon saṅ para bhujaṅga haji, mon saṅ kr̥ta, mon saṅ maṅharəp dharmādhyakṣa maṅharəp dharmopapatti riṅ pradeśa mvaṅ riṅ kadharmahajyan, mon saṅ śubhakāla, ṅuniveh saṅ paməgatan[[24]](#footnote-25) vyavahāra riṅ sarvapradeśa, deśa pamañcan, kādhipatyan, hulu, kuvu, sāmya, vaṅśa, kalagyan, kaputravaṅśan, sahana saṅ paməgatan vyavahāra ṅkāna, yayan prāgivāka ṅaranira kabeh. | As follows are the characteristics of the judges: if there are teachers whose knowledge is perfect in all sciences, beginning with the *dharma* treatises, such as the *Kuṭāra Mānava*, etc, the *Sārasamuccaya*, Cāṇakya[’s treatise], and Kāmandaki[’s],[[25]](#footnote-26) etc, whom are not confused by the difficulties of the “moving back and forth between” (inversions? intricacies? meanders?)[[26]](#footnote-27) the different divisions, [namely] the explanations of the 18 points of litigation, the *Aṣṭadaśavyavahāra*, [on the one hand], and the popular usage (custom?), along with its teachings including the illustrative examples (*udāharaṇa*), [on the other hand]; [if] clear is their understanding of all of [the aforementioned], because of their omniscience in all sciences, those whose condition is such, they are called *prāgivāka* (judges/endowed with discernment), they are the adjudicators of lawsuits. In view of the fact that they have the right to decide all sorts of laws for the people, and [to] the disputes of people from all countries, that is the reason why they are considered as judges. Without discrimination is the condition of the *prāgvivāka*-judges, and (it is indifferent?) without discrimination is the social identity of those who are considered as judges, whether they are royal priests*-bhujaṅga haji*s, whether they are accomplished men of religion (saṅ kr̥ta), whether they officiate (maṅharĕp?, proceed, move forward, desire?) as *dharmadhyākṣa* or as interpreters of the law (dharmopapatti) in the districts and in the royal religious foundations, whether they are [people] of the auspicious time, let alone those who decide lawsuits in the various districts, i.e. in the five districts, in the residences of the *adhipati*s (rulers/kings/governors?), in the [administrative units] of the *hulu*s and *kuvu*s, and the *sāmya*, in the lineages (?), in the religious establishments, in the apanages, all of these deciders of lawsuits in these parts, even so they are all called *prāgvivāka*. |
| kunaṅ sahana saṅ bhujaṅga haji, sahana saṅ kr̥tadīkṣita, kapva vnaṅ məgatakən vyavasthaniṅ loka gatinira, irikā sira yan ekasaṁjñā, saṅ prāgivāka kr̥ta ṅaranira, saṁ kr̥ta prāgivāka ṅaranira, saṅkṣepanya, saṅ kr̥ta katuduhanira vəkasan, ri deny antarānyat prākr̥ti sira kāliḥ. | And all of the royal priests, all of the consecrated priests, their condition is that they equally have the right to decide the laws of the people, with regard to them when [they are designated] with a single appellation, the ‘accomplished prāgvivāka’ - *prāgvivākakr̥ta* is what they are called, the *kr̥taprāgvivāka* is what they’re called. In brief, the accomplished ones are known to everybody in the end, out of their being different from others, both of them are distinguished / put forward. |
| ndah sampun təlas inajarakən kapratyekan saṅ sinaṅguhan prāgivāka lavan kr̥ta, təlas karuhun cinaritakən, yapvan sira kabeh makakəmitan saṅ hyaṅ adhigamaśāsana śāstrasāroddhr̥ta, paṅanugraha saṅ təlas atītaprabhu, mvaṅ śrī rājapurohitāgracūḍāmaṇi, paramaguru bhagavantānindyānubhavātmakagiripatisadr̥śa, sirātah sakalāmratisubaddhākən kapagəhaniṅ śāsana para ḍaṅ ācārya sahana saṅ guməgə̄ śivāgama kaniṣṭhamadhyamottama, | Now the various categories of people known as judges (prāgivāka) and consecrated [priests] have been taught. After that it will be described / narrated about [the time] when all of them came to have the custody of the sacred *Adhigamaśāsana*, *which has been extracted from (or synthesized as?) the essence of the scriptures*, a privilege granted by the kings of the past, and their (his?) chief brahman, the *Most excellent crest-jewel* (agracūḍāmaṇi), the Supreme Guru, the Divine One, *like the Lord of the Mountain [in that] he consists in — he is composed of the understanding / the experience of the flawless*, they who completely give stability to the fixation of the rules for all the teachers who adhere to the Śaiva doctrine, *the lowest, the intermediate and the loftiest*. |
| ndān ika ḍavuhiṅ anugraha śrī narendra i saṅ vr̥ddharājātītaprabhu, makatilaka vākya siddhi śrī vr̥ddhācārya rājñapurohita paramaguru bhagavanta, yatikā sampun təlas kempən kapaṅku təkap sahana parācārya haji, kapva sumambahakən gə̄ṅni kabhaktinira riṅ śrī paramaguru bhagavānta, vetnyan atimuditanirenanugrahan cūḍāmaṇyamr̥tātmaka sakala tar pakahilaṅan, nāhan hetunira tar alaṅalaṅ kuməmit rasaniṅ anugraha, mvaṅ tan paləhpaləh pratisāra ri karakṣan saṅ hyaṅ śāsanādhigama || 0 || | And this is the descent of the king’s [Narendra’s] grant to the old and wise kings, rulers of the past, having as distinctive mark the magically powerful words of the venerable teachers, royal chaplains, the supreme masters who are holy people. It, [as soon as it was] put together, it was received on the lap by all the royal teachers, whom all equally respectfully bowed [showing] the strength of their devotion to the Illustrious Supreme Guru [Śiva]. Because of their extreme joy at being granted *this crest-jewel which was entirely of an imperishable nature* - which has no end, such is the reason why they made no opposition in protecting the contents of the grant, and that they were not negligent in being the “amulets”[[27]](#footnote-28) for the protection of the Adhigama Rulings. |
| nihan sarasa saṅ hyaṅ śāsanādhigama śāstrasāroddhr̥ta, pinəkət saṅ kr̥ta ṅūniṅūni, yatna ta kita parācārya kabeh, katuturana maṅke məne hələm, adyapi katəkeṅ dlāha, makadon pagəhaniṅ vinayanira, vruhvruha yan apadudvan śāsananira mvaṅ rājaśāsana, muvah meṅətanira ri gəgvanira sovaṅsovaṅ, tan salah kvana, mapiṅita denira rumakṣa śīla mvaṅ ācāranira, tan kasəlatana vastv apakrama, vruha ri səṅkərniṅ śāsananira, tātan marva kalavan rājanīti rājavidhi, tovi tan silih gəgvan svakarmanira lavan karājatvan, kevala menaka \*magilikgilika maṅeka pravr̥tty a:tah svatantra saṅ hyaṅ śāsanādhigama, maṅkana deya saṅ kr̥ta kuməmit saṅ hyaṅ śāsana, mapan lukat halanya yadin \*mapasilihsiliha svakarma, aparan halanya, ndatar pakavuruṅan taṅ paramopadrava ḍavuh ri saṅ prabhu lavan saṅ kr̥ta, yapvan sira tan mahāprayatna rumakṣa kramanira sovaṅsovaṅ, ṅuniṅuni yan salah siki sira vanya muraṅmuraṅ arumurahaṅ śāsanādhigama, tan vandhya mahāduhkha sabvatniṅ brahmāṇḍa pinaṅguhnira, atəhər tumampuh riṅ paramadurgatī hələm yan pəpədniṅ prāṇāntika,[[28]](#footnote-29) saṅkṣepanya yatnayatna juga saṅ prabhu mvaṅ saṅ kr̥ta, marapvan nirvighna siran pamaṅguh tikaṅ śubhaprakr̥ti. | As follows is the full contents of the *Adhigamaśāsana* (Adhigama Rulings), which are essential extracts of the scriptures, the admonitions for the consecrated priests especially (or etc. ?). Pay attention! all of you teachers, they are always to be remembered now in the present and in the future, even up to the distant future, in view of [maintaining] the stability of your code of conduct! Know that their rulings / precepts are distinct from those of the *Rājaśāsana* (“the śāsana of the kings”), and that [if] one keeps in mind one’s steadfast practice of each of them, without changing places, if one remains isolated (detached?) through his keeping of good conduct and of his established rules, not interfered with by anything deviating from the holy tradition, knowing about the limits of the śāsana, not at all having two divisions with the Rājanīti (the royal policy) and Rājavidhi. Their own actions and that of king, they are not the support of one another, it would only be good that they would concentrate on the independent putting into practice of the *Adhigamaśāsana*, such are the actions of the consecrated priest who watches over the *śāsana* (precepts?). For their evils are wiped out / purified if they undergo the pasilih ceremony to substitute the conditions caused by their former actions. What kind of evil deeds? without fail the greatest misfortunes befall the ruler and the priest, if their respective way of action is that they are not extremely careful in protecting [the people/the law], and all the more so if one or the other deviates [from the prescribed path], disturbing violently the *Adhigamaśāsana*, without doubt, those extremely evil [people], what is obtained by them is of the same weight as the whole Egg of Brahmā *—* [the whole world]. Without delay, it hits the worst evil-doers in the future as they reach [completion of] death. In brief, let the ruler as well as the consecrated priests be very careful, so that they be without impediments as they obtain auspicious varieties of karmic matters. |
| nihan kavənaṅvənaṅ saṅ parācārya bhujaṅga kr̥ta, tumūt katəkeṅ parācārya śiva kabeh, mvaṅ katəkeṅ santāna pratisantānanira hələm, təkeṅ dlāhaniṅ dlāha, ndya ta kramanya, nihan:  hana ta rājanīti, rājadaṇḍa, rājakārya, mvaṅ rājotpatti, rājavidhi, luput saṅ kr̥ta riṅ samaṅkana, | As follows are the prerogatives of the teachers who are consecrated *bhujaṅga* priests, including all of the Śaiva teachers coming after them, and also even their offspring and their distant relations in the future, down to the future’s future, here is their condition. As follows: there are the *rājanīti* [regulations on royal policy], the *rājadaṇḍa* [the penalties enforced by the king], the *rājakārya* [the royal festivals and obligatory service exacted by the king], and also the *rājotpatti* [tribute to the king], and the *rājavidhi* [regulations by which one pays taxes to people having the usufruct of said royal taxes (?)], the consecrated priests are exempted from such duties (?). |
| rājakārya, ṅa, sakalvirniṅ kārya haji mabvat aḍaṅan, lvirnya, luput riṅ kəriganiṅ vvaṅ makveh mabvat ajyan, luput riṅ \*atagatagan, \*papaṅarahan, kəmitan, \*iriṅiriṅan, kāla saṅ prabhu mimbā aṅdon musuh, tuvi yan aṅavvalu, aṅasapuluh, alalaha macaṅkrama kunaṅ, ikā ta kabeh rājakārya ṅaranika, tan tumūt saṅ kr̥ta riṅ kārya maṅkana, kunəṅ yan kālaniṅ aṅasapuluh, mvaṅ aṅavvalu, macaṅkrama kunaṅ, dadi saṅ kr̥ta maṅiriṅ yan sinyaṅ \*sinuruhan, ikā lvirniṅ rājakārya tan tumibā riṅ saṅ kr̥ta. | The *rājakārya*s are any kinds of royal works/rituals/festivities, of great scale or small, of these types : being free from gatherings of large numbers of people to give contribution to a royal festivity (*bvat haji*), being free from being summoned (by “mobilisation?”), at public summons, from being what is given in custody, from being put to the side (??), [at] the time the ruler starts moving to attack the enemy, also if there are eight [of them?], if there are ten, they [can] disport themselves, or even go walking about. All of these which are called *rājakārya*s, the consecrated priests do not join in such works. Further, when it is the time when they are ten, or when they are eight (it being the eighth month?), they are walking about indeed, if they are invited or entrusted with a charge, it is possible for the consecrated priests to meet such wish. These are the sorts of royal works which will not fall down to the consecrated priests. |
| rājotpatti, ṅa, salvirniṅ dr̥vya haji, utpatti kahatur iṅ saṅ prabhu, lvirnya, vəsi haji, paṅraga səkar, utpattiniṅ pradeśa, kubvan, lvah, tasik, utpattiniṅ masara, utpattiniṅ baṇyāga malandaṅ, kaləcan, pajəg iṅ baṇijagrama, ikā ta kabeh rājotpatti ṅaranya, luput saṅ kr̥ta riṅ maṅkana, ṅuniveh tan katapakan deniṅ sakveh saṅ maṅilala dr̥vya haji, tan katamaheṅ saṅ kr̥ta savinava saṅ māna katriṇī, paṅkur, tavan, tirip, mvaṅ piṅhay avaju vahuta rāma, savinavanikā tan tameṅ saṅ kr̥ta. | The *rājotpatti*s are any kinds of royal properties, revenue/tribute presented to the ruler, such as: the royal iron, the contribution to the flower offerings (*ragasəkar*), the revenues from the districts, the gardens, the rivers, the sea, the revenue from the markets (??), the revenue from the merchant(-vessels), from the gambling inspectors, from the *kaləcan*, the arrangement of the guild of merchants, all of these are called *rājotpatti*. The consecrated priests are exempted from such giving such tribute, in particular they [their lands?] are not “entered” by all of the beneficiaries of the royal share, all of those who are commanded by the ‘Three Lofty Ones’, [i.e.] the Paṅkur, the Tavan, and the Tirip, will not be conducted to the consecrated priests, as well as the piṅhay, the avaju, the *vahuta* officers, and the headmen (*rāma*), all of the people who are commanded by those do not penetrate the [land] of the consecrated priests. |
| rājavidhi, ṅa, salviraniṅ vadvā haji, kaniṣṭamadhyamottama, ndan inubhaya sanmata de saṅ prabhu, inanugrahan taṅ vadvā vənaṅ amuktyaṅ dr̥vya haji kilalanyan sakariṅ vadvā haji, ndyaṅ maṅilala dr̥vya haji riṅ daṅū, nyaṅ vuluvulu, para vulu, magə̄ṅ aḍəmit, makādi miśra paramiśra, paṅuraṁ, kriṅ, paḍəman, limus galuh, maṅriñci, dhūra, paṅaruhan, paṅunəṅan, suṅgiṅ, taji, vatu tajəm, sukun, halu varak, piniṅle, kataṅgaran, tapa haji, air haji, malandaṅ, ləca, lablab, paṅkuvaṅi, kuṭak, taṅkil, vatu valaṅ, maniga, pamanikan, rumban, manambi,[[29]](#footnote-30) siṅhiran, tiṅkəs, manambaṅi, tuha judi, juru gosali, maṅrumbe, juru huñjəman, pavuruk, pajuku, pavuṅ kunuṅ, pakalaṅkaṅ, pakaliṅkiṅ, pavəlaṅvəlaṅ, pakuda, paliman, paguluṅan, ḍampulan, təpuṅ kavuṅ, vəli pañjut, vəli hapū, miśra hino, miśrāṅinaṅin, siṅgah, pakatimaṅ, kicaka, vidu maṅiduṅ, sumbal, sumbul, hulun haji vatək iṅ jəro, ityevamādi, ndah yatikā tan kavənaṅ tumampakeṅ saṅ kr̥ta ikā kabeh, nāhan taṅ rājavidhi ṅaranya.  nihan muvah lvirniṅ kapasuk riṅ rājavidhi, luput saṅ kr̥ta riṅ lokikācāra, lokikācāra, ṅa, luput saṅ kr̥ta riṅ rājavali, lvirnya, nyaṅ valighāra,[[30]](#footnote-31) panaṇḍuṅ səṇḍi, palaṅkaḥ bahan, byaya, arik purih, calaṅ caṅkiran, pagoṭak, pagoloṇḍoṅ, padugaṅ, padugiṅ, gañjargañjar, pintanpintan, sorohsorohan, nāhan taṅ lokikācāra kapasuk riṅ rājavidhi, ikā ta kabeh tan tama riṅ saṅ kr̥ta. | The *rājavidhi*s are any kinds of royal subjects, among *the lowest, the intermediate and the loftiest*, and a favour has been agreed to by the ruler, that these subjects are granted the privilege to be authorised to enjoy the royal properties, [in the form of] a share of the usufruct from the king’s subjects. Here are the beneficiaries of the royal share known of old, the *vuluvulu*s and other *vulu*s great and minor, in the first place the *miśras* and *paramiśra*s, the *paṅuraṅ*s, the *kriṅ*s, the *paḍĕm*s,[[31]](#footnote-32) the *limus galuḥ*, the *maṅriñci*s, the *dhūra*s, the *paṅaruhan*s, the *paṅunĕṅan*s, the *suṅgiṅ*s, the *taji*s, the *vatu tajĕm*s, the *sukun*s, the *halu varak*s,[[32]](#footnote-33) the *piniṅle*s, the *kataṅgaran*s, the *tapa haji*s, the *air haji*s, the *malandaṅ*s (the inspectors of gambling?), the *lĕca*s, the *lablab*s, the *paṅkuvaṅi*s, the *kuṭak*s, the *taṅkil*s, the *vatu valaṅ*s, the *maniga*s, the *pamanikan*s, the *rumban*s, the *manambi*s, the *siṅhiran*s, the *tiṅkĕs*’, the inspectors of ferries (*manambaṅi*s), the [*tuha] judi*s, the chiefs of the smiths (*juru gosali*s), the *maṅrumbe*, the *juru huñjĕman*s, the *pavuruk*s, the *pajukuṅ*s, the *pavuṅ kunuṅ*s, the *pakalaṅkaṅ*s, the *pakaliṅkiṅ*s, the *pavĕlaṅvĕlaṅ*s, the inspectors of horses (*pakuda*s), the inspectors of elephants (*paliman*s), the *paguluṅan*s, the *ḍampulan*s, the *tĕpuṅ kavuṅ*, the *vĕli pañjut*, the *vĕli hapū*, the *miśra hino*, the *miśra aṅin-aṅin*, the *siṅgah*s, the *pakatimaṅ*s, the *kicaka*s, the *vidu maṅiduṅ*s, the *sumbal*s, the *sumbul*s, the royal servants who are part of the people attached to the kraton, and so forth.[[33]](#footnote-34) Look, these are the people who are not allowed to set foot on [the land] of all the consecrated priests. Such [people] as precedes are called *rājavidhi.*  Moreover such are the types of [provisions] included in the *rājavidhi*: the consecrated priests are exempted from worldly (customary?) duties. *Lokikācāra* means that the consecrated priests are exempted from compulsory contributions to the performance of royal ceremonies, of these categories: namely, the oblation of offerings, the ‘pushing’ of the chair (?), the material throne (?) / the material for the throne, the sacrifice, the *arik purih* (land-)tax,[[34]](#footnote-35) the *calaṅ caṅkiran* tax (paid to the *maṅilala dr̥vya haji*), the *pagoṭak*, the *pagoloṇḍoṅ*, the *padugaṅ* and *padugiṅ*-taxes, the *gañjar* gifts, the *pintan*-*pintan*, the [tax?] on divisions (?). Such are the worldly (customary?) duties included in the *rājavidhi*, all of them do not touch the consecrated priests. |
| muvah tan kəna sira riṅ upaśubhaniṅ vadvā haji, nyaṅ kadyahan, parəkan, rary alitira, tovin amr̥ddhah, mvaṅ sakalviriṅ \*pāməṅaməṅan, cabol, vuṅkuk, \*ḍaḍaṅkak, darih, lampaṅ, bule, vujil, pujut, boṇḍan, ṅūniṅūni taṅ binoroṅ, sinəlir mvaṅ tinonton, vaju kuniṅ, vahuta, parujar, \*praleki,[[35]](#footnote-36) untaluntal, barat katiga, ṅuniveh popoṇṭaṅ bhayaṅkara, popoṅo, vadvā barat, cacacuca, \*kakaluṅkuṅan, \*kakaluntaṅan, malaṅ malintaṅ, ṅuniveh taṅ akaṭik, asārathi, masərəhan asu, ityevamādi, tan kəna riṅ upaśubhaniṅ maṅkana saṅ vatək kr̥ta, nāhan lvirniṅ rājavidhi // | Further, they are not subjected to the compulsory entertaining as royal servants, namely [being part of?] the corps of pages, being in the retinue of a prince, [serving] as his minor wives, also having prosperity, and all sorts of rare things kept for pleasure (means of diverting): dwarves, hunchbacks, people with short necks and long chests, sexually impotents (?), people with a skin-disease with white spots, albinos, dwarfish hunchbacks, dark-skinned people, slaves (Papuan?), let alone those who “are encouraged”, those who are picked and those who are watched [as they give performances?], the [wearers of] yellow garments, the *vahuta* officials, the spokesmen (?), the pralekis, the *untal*-*untal*s, the three barats (soldiers?), and also the popoṇṭaṅ soldiers of the royal guard, the popoṅos, the troops of the West (?), the cacacucas, the kaluṅkuṅans, the kaluntaṅans, those who lie across (malaṅ) and “those who pass” (lumintaṅ), and also those who serve in the stables and the charioteers, those who are commissioned with the dogs, and so forth. The group of the accomplished ones are not subjected to such entertainments. Thus are the different types of royal regulations on people’s taxes. |
| nihan taṅ rājanīti, sahananiṅ kinəkər iṅ saṅ prabhu hinilan, taman vnaṅ pinurug deniṅ vadvānira, lvirniṅ kəkəran, inuṅgvakən riṅ nītisavara, adhigama, pūrvadr̥ṣṭa, deśadr̥ṣṭa, śāstradr̥ṣṭa.  nītisavara, ṅa, nīti ulihniṅ aṅārambha maṅke, təlas inarpitakən riṅ sabhā.  adhigama, ṅa, nīti muṅgv iṅ praśasti.  pūrvadr̥ṣṭa, ṅa, adhigama sitasitaniṅ deśa hulihniṅ \*akārya pūrva maṅke, inuṅgvakən riṅ papan.  deśadr̥ṣṭa, ṅa , nīti sitasitaniṅ deśa katama, katəmu antukniṅ saṅ mapūrvaka ṅūnīṅ daṅū //  śāstradr̥ṣṭa , ṅa , nīti śitaśitaniṅ deśa manūtakən rājanīti rājaśāsana, ikā ta kabeh rājanīti ṅaranya, tan dadi tumibeṅ saṅ vatək kr̥ta tikaṅ samaṅkana || 0 || | As follows is the *rājanīti* (‘the royal policy’): all of the things locked up for the king (reserved for him?) and forbidden, which are not possible to be approached by his subjects. The categories of royal “enclosed territory” are located in the *Nītisavara* [the Nītisāra?], the *Adhigama*, the *pūrvadr̥ṣṭa* (‘the norms of the past’), *deśadr̥ṣṭa* (‘the norms of the country’ or ‘customary law’), the *śāstradr̥ṣṭa* (‘the norms of the śāstra’).   * Nītisavara is the procedure that is the result of having a beginning in the present, after it has been fixed in the audience-hall, * *Adhigama* is the procedure as found in the inscriptions, * *Pūrvadr̥ṣṭa* is the adhigama and the regulations of the districts, which are the product of past cases and present, [such as they] are located in the places for audiences (papan?), * *Deśadr̥ṣṭa* is the procedure [where] the regulations of the districts is put into practice, the results of those who had [worked] previously in the past are found, * *Śāstradr̥ṣṭa* is the procedure [where] the regulations of the districts go after the royal policy of the Precepts for the king (*rājaśāsana*),   All of these form what is called *rājanīti*, such lawcodes as these, it is not allowed that they apply to the group of the accomplished ones. |
| nihan taṅ rājadaṇḍa ṅaranya kojaraniṅ daṇḍadośa manūt rasaniṅ āgama kuṭāramānavādi, pratyekaniṅ daṇḍakrama, hanan prathamasāhasa, madhyamasāhasa, uttamasāhasa, dviguṇottamasāhasa,  prathamasāhasa, ṅa, 5000 //  madhyamasāhasa, ṅa, 10.000 //  uttamasāhasa, ṅa, 20.000 //  dviguṇottamasāhasa, ṅa , 40.000 //  samaṅkana lvirniṅ rājadaṇḍa, tinibākən riṅ vālaka, ndātan salah prayoga, manūt sagə̄ṅlitniṅ doṣa, kramanya //  muvah lvirniṅ rājadaṇḍa, tan kavnaṅ tumibā riṅ saṅ vatək kr̥ta, ndya ta daṇḍa kudaṇḍa, reka, lūdan, tūtan, aṅśa pratyaṅśa, paraḍah, sipat, pīḍana, vākcapala, hastacapala, duhilatən, idu kasirat, mijilakən vūryan iṅ kikir, ikaṅ daṇḍakrama samaṅkana, tan dadi tumibāheṅ saṅ kr̥ta, apan sira luput riṅ valat vali rājavali , tan katapaka sira riṅ rājaśāsana, tuhun dinaśrama tumameṅ saṅ vatək kr̥ta, dina ṅaranya, kotpāditan[[36]](#footnote-37) saṅ asərəhan rājadaṇḍa //[[37]](#footnote-38) | As follows is [the description of] what is called the royal code of penalties (*rājadaṇḍa*), that is, the proclamation of the punishments and the faults that follow the essence of tradition of the *Kuṭāra*, the *Mānava*,[[38]](#footnote-39) and other books. [Here is] the enumeration of the ways of punishments, there are the first (basic?) fine, the intermediary fine, the superior fine and the double superior fine.   * The primary fine is of 5000, * The intermediary fine is of 10.000, * The superior fine is of 20.000, * The double superior fine is of 40.000,   Such are the categories of the royal code of penalties, which are directed at the young ones, continuously choosing the right thing, its course of action is to accompany [according to?] all sizes of faults.  Moreover, the specificity of the royal code of penalties is that it does not have the right to hit the group of the accomplished ones. As for instance punishments by/and unjust punishments, reka, lūdan, tūtan, aṅśa pratyaṅśa (tax on parcelling out??), paraḍah fines/penalties, sipat rules, pressing/squeezing, insulting, beating, defamation, spitting, drawing sharp weapons, all of such punishments, it should not happen that they fall on the accomplished ones, for they are free from the use of violence, compensations [or understand valat vali?] and compulsory contributions to the performance of royal ceremonies, they will not be touched by the *Rājaśāsana*. But the *dinaśrama* will hit (apply to?) the group of the accomplished ones: *dina* means “good treatment - caring for” of those who are commissioned with [the application of] the royal code of penalties. |
| śrama, ṅa, dvādaśa vibhāganiṅ rājaḍaṇḍa, vyaktinya, yapvan dviguṇottama, tibānikaṅ rājadaṇḍa riṅ vālaka, śrama riṅ kar̥ṣyan, 8000 //  yapvan uttamadaṇḍa tibāniṅ vigraha riṅ vālaka, śrama riṅ kar̥ṣyan, 4000 //  madhyamadaṇḍa tumibeṅ vālaka, śrama riṅ kar̥ṣyan, 2000 //  yapvan pratamasa:hasa , tibā riṅ vālaka, śrama riṅ kar̥ṣyan, 1000 //  ndah samaṅkana pratyekaniṅ śrama, prasiddha daṇḍa kar̥ṣyan, yekopalakṣaṇākna ri kaprayoganiṅ sarvadaṇḍa riṅ kar̥ṣyan, hayva salah prayoga // | *śrama* means the twelve divisions of the royal code of penalties. Their explanation:   * when [the fine] is of the double superior type, the falling of the *rājadaṇḍa* upon the immature one, [is] an effort / strain (*śrama*) for the community of r̥ṣis equivalent to 8000; * when [the fine] is of the superior type, the falling of the disfavour upon the immature one, [is] an effort/ strain for the community of r̥ṣis equivalent to 4000; * if [a fine] of the intermediary type falls upon the immature one, the effort/ strain for the community of r̥ṣis is equivalent to 2000; * when a primary fine falls upon the immature one, the effort/ strain for the community of ascetics (*r̥ṣi*s) is equivalent to 1000;   Here, likewise are the different types of *śrama*, which are well-known as the punishments for the community of ascetics (*r̥ṣi*s), these should be used as examples (guidelines?) for the application of the various punishments for the communities of ascetic. Do not fail to use them with insight! |
| ndya vyaktinya, yapvan hana kavulaniṅ saṅ kr̥ta, santāna pratisantānanira kunəṅ, durācārāmalat amlagandaṅa, murugul, hamr̥jo, mulahakən salviriṅ apacāra, dārātikrama, duṣṭa, 3, ekacorah, ṅa, ātatāyi kunaṅ, parivāra saṅ kr̥tan maṅkana, hilaṅakna deniṅ bhujaṅganira kabeh, kunaṅ yan tan kavnaṅ denirāṅilaṅakən, vvatakna ri saṅ prabhu taṅ durācāra, saṅ prabhu maṅilaṅakna, makadon patinya //  kunəṅ yapvan atorasih tikaṅ durācārāminta hinurip, atəhər hinurip makakāraṇa sampura saṅ prabhu, tibāna daṇḍadaṇḍa tikaṅ durācāra, catursatapaṇa, 8000, maṅkana kramanya // | Here is their explanation: if there is afollower of the accomplished ones, or also one of their offspring and distant relations who is of bad behaviour, [i.e] taking by force and/or abducting women, assaulting violently, setting fire (??) being an incendiary, engaging in any kind of criminal behaviour, *taking a wife by violence* (killing a man in order to take possession of his wife)[[39]](#footnote-40), being a villain, 3 (?), they are called *ekacorah* (‘the supreme fellons’?), and also *murderers* (guilty of capital crimes?). The followers (dependants?) of the accomplished ones, when they are thus, they should be caused to disappear by all of their own priests (bhujaṅga). But if it is not within their reach to make [them] disappear, the people of evil conduct will be brought before the king, and the king will suppress [them], resulting in their death.  However, if these people of evil conduct implore [the king], begging to be spared their lives, consequently they are granted life because of the royal forgiveness. They will be severely hit with the punishment of evil people, [as] *caturśaṭhapāṇa*, [they owe] 8000. Such is their manner. |
| kunaṅ ḍaṅ ācārya saṅ madr̥vya durācāra, yapvan tar vruh riṅ durācāraniṅ hulunira, vandhu santānanira durācāra kunaṅ, ṅūniṅūni yan madoh saṅke sira, hayva hinapak arih saṅ madr̥vya durācāra de saṅ prabhu, kunaṅ yan prajña ta sira riṅ durācāraniṅ hulunira, mvaṅ santānanira, tan amrakāśākən sira riṅ vvaṅ makveh, tibāna sira paraḍah de saṅ sāmpun pinintuheṅ liṅgihnira, piṇḍa, 1600, samaṅkana paraḍah saṅ madr̥vya durācāra // | As for the teachers who own people of evil conduct, if they ignore about the misconduct of their slaves, as also of their kinsmen and offspring of evil conduct, all the more so if they are at a distance from him, let these owners of evil men not be touched/troubled at all by the king. However, if they are aware of the misconduct of their slaves, and also of their offspring, without making it known to the public (vvaṅ makveh?), they will be hit with the punishment of a *paraḍah* fine by those who are already accepted at their rank, a total sum of 1600. Likewise is the *paraḍah* fine for those who own people of evil conduct. |
| yapvan təkeṅ adoṣapati kadurācāranya, kunaṅ yar turuṅ pra:ptaṅadoṣapati kaduraca:ra[fol7r3]nya , tuṇḍatuṇḍa kajaṅ hulva tiba:niṅ dina mvaṅ śrama, ndya:ta lvirnya, dva:daśavibha:ganikaṅ ra:jaḍaṇḍa , yatika śrama ṅara[SH]nya , yata:lapən pinakadaṇḍaniṅ ka°r̥ṣyan, dva:daśavibha:ganiṅ daṇḍa kar̥ṣyan, yekālapən paraḍah tiba:kniṅ ḍaṅ a:ca:rya seka mvaṅ durācāra, ndah samaṅkana kramahanira ḍaṅ a:ca:ryya [seka is crossed out here] sa:mpun kabayan· riṅ liṅgiḥnira:n paniba:ni paraḍah, riṅ samanira ḍaṅ ācārya, hayva vipata //  kunaṅ taṅ daṇḍakrama riṅ kar̥ṣyan, ndatan kapramāṇa he saṅ prabhu, kevala sira sahöbniṅ variṅin para ḍaṅ ācārya śiva kabeh praṅa:ṇeṅ daṇḍa kar̥ṣyan, māvās bvat magave hilahila yan salah prama:ṇa // | If one’s bad behaviour goes to the point of *adoṣa pati* (having guilt that deserves death), or even if they have not yet reached guilt deserving death (prāptaṅ adoṣa pati), …. these will be seized as *paraḍah* directed against the teachers who are (associated, seka?) with people of evil conduct. And as such is the situation of the teachers…. when the paraḍah falls on them, with the equals (the likes of) of the teachers. Do not fall down (err)!  And the means of punishment within the seer’s communities, the king does not have authority over them. No one but them who are like the shade of the fig-tree, all of the Śaiva teachers, …. the punishments of the seers’ communities, having clear insight about the particular nature of carrying out that which is forbidden when... |
| nihan valuyana muvah kavənaṅvənaṅ saṅ kr̥ta, vənaṅ gopura məṅā, gopura məṅā, ṅa, vənaṅ inusir iṅ paṇḍuṅ tələs, kidaṅ atavan kanin, baṇṭeṅ kokalan tuhuk, uluṅ anavanakən savuṅ riṅ kuruṅan, celeṅ bolotən, °l̥mbu \*akulah, asu puṇḍuṅ, ikā ta kabeh, yan umuṅsira i sthāna saṅ kr̥ta, tan doṣa sira, tuhun deya saṅ kr̥ta yan inusir iṅ durācāra samaṅkana lvirnya, konənira umilaga sake sthāna saṅ kr̥ta, yar tan aṅgā mūra tikaṅ durjana umuṅsir i sira, prakāśākna ri saṅ prabhu hayva kasoven, maran katon kasajña:nanira deniṅ loka // | As follows are the retributions (?, “what will return”) as well as the prerogatives of the consecrated ones : they are authorised to be “opened *gopura*s”, *gopura məṅa* means they are allowed to be taken refuge with by people caught in the act of stealing.[[40]](#footnote-41) Barking-deer bearing wounds, wild buffaloes hit by a stabbing weapon, inciting /urgeing to carry off cocks in cage, dirty pigs, [...] cows, wild dogs: all of these, if they should take refuge at the abode of the consecrated ones, they[[41]](#footnote-42) are not (will not [be considered?]) guilty. Indeed, what the consecrated ones should do in case they are sought out for refuge by such people of bad behaviour is like that: they should be asked by them to go away from / to escape from the abode of the consecrated ones. If this evil-doer who is taking refuge with him is not willing to depart, it will be made known to the king without delay, with the result that his name (?) will be seen by the people. |
| ndya patuṅgaltuṅgalan ikaṅ pinājarakən pūrvvaka, paṇḍuṅ tələs, ṅa, maliṅ kacob, katumbak añoloṅñoloṅ kajaruhan, aṅalap rājalaraṅan, kaparag riṅ \*laṅlaṅan, maliṅ \*kataṇḍa, yekā kabeh paṇḍuṅ tələs ṅaranya //  kidaṅ atavan kanin, ṅa , duṣṭaka:rmma , lvirnya , haṅaṅgas· vvaṁ , haṅəntal· , hambegal, haṅutil· , hamuṁpaṁ , hambahak· , hanumpuṁ , °ika: ta kabeḥ kola[fol8r1]r ularan· , saha cihna , tinūt deniṁ vvaṁ makveḥ , yeka: kidaṁ hatavan kanin· ṅaranya //  banteṁ kokalan tuhuk· , ṅa , [SH] vvaṁ hilaṅ ilaṅan· , halun alunan· , °uyan huyan· , bubuñcaṅan· , °ika: ta kabeḥ , tinūt· ri naraḥ , kinəpuṁ binoṣarante , kinunaṅ kunaṁ [fol8r2] matūt gunuṁ , yeka: banteṁ kokalan tuhuk· ṅaranya //  °uluṁ hanavana savuṁ riṁ kuruṅan·, ṅa , duraca:ra maṅiṅgatakəna [SH] strī riṁ da°l̥m purī , lvirnya , hiña , puyaṁ , karaṇḍan , kimuta yan piṅit piṅitan haji , papaṇḍo , hugihan· , ravvaṅira saṁ prabhu , °ityevama:dhi , [fol8r3] °ikaṁ duraca:ra maṅiṅgatakən· strī samaṅkana lvirnya , ndan tinūt· ri naraḥ deniṁ vadva: saṁ prabhu , yeka: hlaṁ hanavanakən sa§[SH]vuṁ riṁ kuruṅan , ṅaranya // | Here they are, the specific qualities of those who have been previously announced: *paṇḍuṅ tələs* means a thief ‘trying to escape by hiding’, who has been stabbed while carrying off stealthily and disturbed, stealing the king’s forbidden [possessions], one who was come upon in his wandering, a thief who’s been marked, all of these are called *paṇḍuṅ tələs*. |
| oṅ indah ta kita kamuṅ hyaṅ haricandana, haṅgasti mahār̥ṣi, pūrvadakṣiṇapacimottaramadhya, uṙddhamadaḥ, raviśaśi, pr̥thivya:paḥtejaba:yura:ka:śa dhaṙmma:horatrya sandhya:traya , ya:kṣara:kṣasapiśa:capr[SH]aitasuragaruḍa gandhaṙvvakīnnaramahoraga , yamabaruṇakuvairavaśavaputradevata , pañcakuśikanandiśvara maha:ka:laṣadvinayana:ga[fol17v3]rāja duṙgga:devī caturaśra , °ananta hyaṅ ka:lamr̥tyu , | Pay heed you gods, Haricandana, Agasti (?), [of the five elements, four world guardians, six Vināyakas, starting with Lords Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Īśvara! You protect the triple world by observing the bad and good deeds of individual/eminent men in the whole world.] |

1. Note the variety of the opening formulas in the different manuscripts. On the fluidity of such formulas, see Nattier 2003: 26-27. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
2. Compare with other occurrences of *śāsana* in the same text (; §8 saṅ hyaṅ śāsanādhigama; §9 svatantra saṅ hyaṅ śāsanādhigama). Note that *sāroddhr̥ta* is probably a synonym of *sāroddhāra*, which itself is a synonym for *paddhati*, a manual built around a series of citations quoted from a main scripture. Therefore the compound *-sāroddhr̥ta*, a cliché often found in Old-Javanese literature (Acri 2018: xxx), is indicative of the technical genre of literature this work belongs to. In translating *śāstra* as ‘scriptures’, I follow A. Sanderson’s remarks according to which the normal sense to be given to *śāstra* in Śaiva works is ‘scriptures’, i.e. the *Śivaśāstra*. Conversely, it is rather in Buddhist usage that *śāstra* denotes works of scholarship (2003: 353-354). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
3. Friederich interpreted this sentence quite differently: “het eerst vervaardigd door den voleindigden ouder leraar”, i.e. ‘the first to be composed by the perfected old scholar’ (1849: 25-26). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
4. *sarvaguṇajña* could also be understood in a more technical sense, in the light of the theory of the three *guṇa*s, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, usually referred to collectively as ‘the three constituents’ (Acri 2011: 408). These *triguṇa*s are defined in the most important Śaiva *tattva*s, such as the *Vr̥haspatitattva*, *Dharmapātañjala* and the *Tattvajñāna*. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
5. Friederich’s reading of this Sanskrit compound (*ibid*) fails to recognise the word *tamisra*, ‘darkness, darkness of the soul’. He splits the words differently, and seems to arrive at the conclusion that the particle *ta* separates the alleged name of the *Pūrvādhigama*’s author, Miśraharaṇa [sic], from his epithets. I would rather take this compound as an epithet qualifying not the author of the text, but the text itself and its enlightening virtues. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
6. The action of receiving a sacred order from above, usually from a king, and placing it atop one’s head like one’s crest jewel is well known from Sanskrit epigraphy from all over the Indic world (Francis?: ). In this case, this royal imagery is transposed in a purely religious sphere: the god’s words are received and held as the highest command by the Śaiva teachers. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
7. See the translation given by H. Creese (2009: 257), “This is the first and most excellent āgama, containing the essence of the books of learning and of the ancient knowledge that flows eternally (pūrvādhigama śāsana sarodṛtha śāstra pūrvārambah) from those who are learned scholars (vṛddhācārya), and chief priests of the court (rājapurohita). It incorporates the laws for the conduct of all.”, which seems somewhat loose and does not completely take into account the Sanskrit compounds. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
8. This form is not recorded in OJED, but it is attested with the same meaning in the Saṅ Hyaṅ Pamutus (Buddhist). See prov. ed.+transl. AG: *ya ta mapisan riṅ pramāṇa, ka, pramāṇa* **[fol5v]** *mary \*amramāṇakĕn* “They unite in authority (*pramāṇa*). The meaning is that the authority ceases to have any authority”. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
9. Use of the word *sthavira* in a Śaivite context, showing the influence of a Buddhist worldview? see other [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
10. I follow the reading in ms. BG (L881). [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
11. I translate *paṅudaran* as ‘holy man’, following the suggestions of the KBW, which derives it from udāra II, ‘high, lofty, great, noble, illustrious’. See OJED 2099.7. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
12. Csaba Kiss has gathered some data from Sanskrit texts (Śaiva *paddhatis* and *jātiviveka*) about this little-known Śaiva category of persons called *bhasmāṅkura*. His conclusions are that this appellation is an original Śaiva category, a product of the Śaiva age, used to classify people characterised by their problematic or sinful origins, who are thereby prohibited from being consecrated as *ācārya*s (Kiss forthcoming). In medieval Java, it would appear that this group was held in a much less demeaning regard. See other occurrences of *bhasmāṅkura* in *Sum*. 59.3, *tan hāvan gati sārarāhavu havū vvaṅ ahayu tinuras rarasnikā / lūd bhasmāṅkura laṇḍa rakva sira saṅ tuhatuhanika yan sakeṅ bibi*, wherein we understand from the context that one of the duties of this ascetic is to prepare the ash powder. In connection with the specific rule by which these *bhasmāṅkura* ascetics abided, as distinct from those of the other sects, see also Sum. 128.1, *vetvetniṅ brāhmaṇātyanta vĕkasiṅ aruhur kadvijāṅśan ginöṅnya / vetniṅ śaivarṣy aluṅgvīnĕhĕr amuji kabhasmāṅkuran mūlya denya / vetniṅ boddhādvitīyan rumĕjarĕja kabuddhāṅkuran kāraṇanya* (“Descendants of Brahmins enjoyed the highest status since they clung to their status as Brahmins assiduously. The descendants of Śaiva sages sat next in order for their status as descendants of non-Brahmin priests was high. The descendants of Buddhist priests, who were without equal, held their status in high regard because of their rank as Buddhists”),as well as SwS 3h1b17. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
13. Provisionally I emend *pinakasthavira*, even though all the manuscripts have initial *m* and a long *ā*. See other occurrences, spelt *pinakāsthavira*, in the Sugih Manek inscription, from 837 Śaka (*saṅ pārtha pinakāsthavira i pakāraṇān*), and Mpu Hasthavīra in the Kāñcana inscription (*mapakna mpu sthāpaka‚ təmpah‚ 2, iṅ gayanti uṅgvanya, mpu brahmā ta sthāpaka, mpu hasthavīra*). [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
14. All mss. have *minaka*-. Emend? Or is this an idiosyncrasy of late texts? [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
15. Very similar lists of functionaries, apparently serving as judges, appear in the inscriptions of the Majapahit period, albeit epigraphical lists amount to seven people in their complete form instead of eight here. In these inscriptions (Tuhanyaru, Canggu, Sidateka, Bendasari, Sekar), they are called *samgət* or *pamgət* and they are associated with the same series of toponyms. See also *Deś.* 83.2c-d for a reference to the seven *upapatti*, followed by these three: *pañjyaṅ jīva*, *lekan*, *taṅar*, apparently minor ritual specialists. It appears quite logical that the two *samgət i kaṇḍaṅan* (*atuha* and *rare*), the last two of the standard list, are not represented in the *Pūrvādhigama* as they seem to belong to the Buddhist congregation. See van Naerssen 1933, 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
16. We would expect *para saṅ*, see if there are other occurrences of this word order. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
17. The term *saṅ kr̥ta*, ubiquitous in this text, seems to have acquired a polysemic value originating in the use of a Sanskrit derived form *saṁskr̥ta* (‘consecrated, sanctified, initiated’) in the archipelagic context. *saṅ* is indeed a typical Old Javanese honorific particle, making it easy for the locutors of this language to split *saṁskr̥ta* as *saṅ skr̥ta* and then subsequently *saṅ kr̥ta*. This term *saṁskr̥ta* is basically synonymous with *kr̥tadikṣīta*, which is one of the defining characteristics of the group of priests whose qualifications are described in this sub-section. In usage however, at least in this text, the two do not seem interchangeable, *saṅ kr̥ta* being much more common than *kr̥tadikṣīta*. It appears that *saṅ kr̥ta* has taken on a more general meaning through time, ‘the perfected ones’, referring to a category of priests of a prominent status, whose dominant position in the hierarchy of their order is guaranteed partly by their initiation, but also by their specialized knowledge and capacity to perform certain sacrifices. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
18. Is this *sarvādhva* a reference to the doctrine of the *adhvan*s, or *ṣaḍadhvan*, the sixfold division of the cosmos into paths (*bhuvana*s, *kāla*s, *tattva*s, *varṇa*s, *pada*s and *mantra*s), which is known from the *Svāyaṁbhuvasūtrasaṁgraha* (an early text of the Siddhānta stream, see Goodall 1998)? A verse from this text (SBSS, 6d) indeed mentions the six paths by the term *sarvādhva*°. Acri has noted that a parallel to this passage exists in the *Vr̥haspatitattva* 7-10, wherein the redactor seems to have changed *sarvādhva* for the more general *sarvataḥ,* either because of a misunderstanding or of his lack of familiarity with this doctrine(2006: 121-122). [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
19. This is the translation for pahoma, but we should consider the possible emendation to pahoman, the place for oblation. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
20. Supposing that *satata* might alternatively mean the same as *nitya*, one might translate: ‘carrying out the regular (*satata*, i.e. *nitya*) veneration of Lord Śivāgni’? See other examples in the Bhuvanakośa where we translated xxx as *nitya*, assuming that in this context a regular Śaiva observance is referred to. D. Goodall says that in South Asian texts, such a usage of *satata* would not occur. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
21. Translate as a dvāndva les districts ruraux et frontières, les gens des confins des districts ruraux. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
22. em. prāgvivāka or keep prāgivāka? It would make more sense to consider that the function is intended here rather than the virtue of being endowed with discernment or judicious. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
23. See parallel passage in the *Tantri Dəmuṅ* (4.44a): *tan vruh iṅoṅ rusitniṅ saṅ amatut bĕlahan iṅ aṣṭadasavyavara*. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
24. The form *paməgatan* is not attested in OJED. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
25. While Cāṇakya is none other than the famous figure to whom the *Arthaśāstra* is attributed, Kāmandaki is the author of a core *nītiśāstra* text, the *Nītisara*, composed at the advent of the early medieval (Creese 2009: 244; Singh 2010). Claiming a sound knowledge of similar series of authoritative texts seems to have been a *topos* in praises of Javanese scholars, since the 12th century at least. See for instance a passage of the *Smaradahana* (1.17), where Br̥haspati is qualified as *vruḥ iṅ śāstra kuṭāramantra ṅuniveḥ cārakya* [=cāṇakya] *kāmandaka*, ‘knowledgeable in the treatises of the Kuṭāramantra [type] and especially those of Cāṇakya and Kāmandaki’. Note that the *Pūrvādhigama* inserts a fourth text in the *Smaradahana*’s series, i.e. the *Sārasamuccaya*. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
26. Comment the use of *kavalik*, when the intended meaning seems rather to have been *avalikan*. Potential corruption here in the transmission? [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
27. MW 672: “*pratisara* (m,f,n): a cord or ribbon used as an amulet worn round the neck or wrist at nuptials, a bracelet, a line returning into itself, circle, assailing, an attack, the name of particular magical verses or formulas protecting from demons.” Hidas points out that the use of *pratisara* in the masculine gender can be traced back to Brahmanism and texts such as the *Atharva-Veda* (2012: 22, n.6, 7). This term appears in numerous later Hindu texts as well, for reference see Ślaczka 2007: 68-69; the entry *pratisara* in Goodall and Rastelli. See also Cruijsen, Griffiths & Klokke 2012 for pratisarā. In the *Arjunavivāha*, the term *pratisāra* appears in this context: *ṅkāna ta* (var. saṅkaṭa) *saṅkananiṅ mamĕgat-mĕgati pratisāra*,“A stronghold from which they would be able to cut off their best troops”, in Robson’s translation. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
28. A similar wording is found passim in curses invoked from the gods in the inscriptions. For example, see OJO LXXI, 1181 ce, (*pəpədakən prāṇāntika*), LXXXII, 1323 ce, (*pəpədakən vəkas i prāṇāntika*), LII, s.a., (*təhər pəpədakən vəkasan prāṇāntika*). [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
29. It is very tempting to draw a parallel between these *manambi*s and the *tuha nambi*s, ‘chiefs of the *nambi*s’, which are usually mentioned at about the same point in the standard list of *maṅilala dr̥vya haji* of the Majapahit period. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
30. Zoetmulder emends *valigara*, but van der Tuuk suggests *valighāra* (‘the besprinkling of offerings’), which indeed corresponds with the reading from ms. BG. Check other instances, it seems that van der Tuuk indeed has used ms. BG for his abstracts in KWB. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
31. OJED, *s.v*. paḍĕm III, suggests ‘head of the fire department’ with a question mark, given the frequent association of this function with the term *apuy*, ‘fire’. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
32. Zoetmulder draws a possible connection with *luvarak*, ‘chief musician’ (OJED 1069)? [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
33. Such lists of *maṅilala dr̥vya haji* are quite strictly standardized and seem to follow the same model from the earliest inscriptions onwards. However, it is worth observing that the list given here contains almost all the elements found in lists of the Majapahit period. Some seven or eight terms found in the inscriptions of Tuhanyaru and Geneng II are missing here, but conversely, the list given in this text contains only one or two elements absent from the standard list in the Majapahit period. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
34. See three inscriptions from the last decades of the 14th century (Biluluk, Trawulan V, and CSt 4), probably all part of the group of short regional inscriptions, where different people are exempted from such *arik purih* taxes. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
35. but see van der Tuuk’s KBW s.v. praleki, napraleni. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
36. See OJED 2151, which refers back to OJED 2130, s.v. *upadita*. Indeed the Sanskrit meaning utpādita, ‘*produced*, *effected*, *generated’* seems to me more difficult to connect with the rest of this clause. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
37. I find the boundary marker // seems rather out of place here, as it occurs in the middle of the explanation of the syntagm *dināśrama*. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
38. Check where T. Lubin distinguishes between these two works, which he describes as a composite tradition (2015: 254). [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
39. See *Ślokāntara* 32. 4, *dārātikrama ṅaranya vvaṅ ambahud aṅris*, “*dārātikrama* is said of a man who kills someone in order to take possession of his wife.”, as well as Ślokāntara 33.8, which defines the six forms of murder (*ṣaḍātatāyi*). Whereas the term *ṣaḍātatāyi* is not mentioned here, maybe check if the enumeration of crimes listed here tally with the list in the Ślokāntara: agnida, viṣada, atharwa, śastraghna, dārātikrama, rājapiśuna. It does not seem so though. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
40. OJED (1982.5) suggests this meaning for *maliṅ tələs*, but see also, further down, the gloss given by the Pūrvādhigama itself over *paṇḍuṅ tĕlĕs*. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
41. This “they” in all probability refers to the *kr̥ta*, the consecrated ones, rather than to the *durācāra*. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)