Translation of the *R̥ṣiśāsana*

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This provisional translation has been prepared on the basis of the critical edition (see html document attached), which is itself still a work in progress. In footnotes, I report various hypotheses which need to be checked, or refer to parallel passages which could shed light on obscure portions.

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Homage be to Śiva!

‘There once was a [royal] ancestor[[1]](#footnote-1) Manu, who gave the excellent scripture called Śivaśāsana (“Precepts of Śiva”) to the [order of] Śaivas[[2]](#footnote-2) who continuously conduct worship for the sake of the long lasting welfare of both the people and their king, after paying him (Manu) homage.’

The meaning is: in the beginning, the Lord revealed his body (i.e. incarnated), as he took residence in the world. He is the origin of those held to be kings in the human world. He is called the Great King Manu. He gave as grant the excellent scripture called the Śaivaśāsana, to serve for the sovereignty of the Śaiva masters, because of the way the *bhujaṅg*a-priests constantly make efforts to carry out worship and meditation at all times (lit. during day and night). Day and night do the *bhujaṅga*-priests relentlessly petition for the welfare of the world, all the more so for the well-being of the executive officers and first and foremost for the greatness of the king. May he be permanently served by the *bhujaṅga*-priests[[3]](#footnote-3) and may the “threefold bodily domains of the Highest Good” be performed! [That is] moral conduct, speech and mind.

The four perfections (*caturpāramitā*) of the hermits and the pursuit of the realm's prosperity[[4]](#footnote-4)

As follows is the keeping of good conduct. Benevolence (...);[[5]](#footnote-5) suffering for others (*paraduhkha*), that is, being broken-hearted, is [linked to the virtue of] *sukha karuṇā* (‘pleasure of compassion’); happiness is [linked to the virtue of] *sukha muditā* (‘pleasure of sympathetic joy’);equanimity with regard to the joy and sufferings of others is the state of [detached] attention (*kamopekṣan*).

Bringing about the well-being of others is the meaning of *maitrī*. Pain for others, what is called sorrow (*para-duhkha viyoga*), when one’s mind suffers by seeing the suffering of others, that is called compassion (*karuṇā*). Happiness for others, [when] one’s mind is joyful when seeing the happiness of others, that is called sympathetic gladness (*muditā*).[[6]](#footnote-6)

The meaning is, do not fail to have a friendly nature. Just like the affection you have for your own self, likewise should be your affection for others. And you should perform recollection (*tutur*), austerities, prayer, absorption, repeating the *mantra*s, restraining from wrong actions — for the hermit (*viku*) is *tapasvinā samarūpam*, *sama* is his *samādhi*, *rūpam* is what serves as his body — [all of these] are considered to be his observances. He is *prajābandhu*, he has affection for all people, and especially he should foster the well-being of the whole world, the production (lit. the coming into existence) of crops, the long duration of rains, and in the first place bring about the longevity of the king, along with his family, his sons and grandsons and descendants. Such is the protection of the world, the way of the learned masters.[[7]](#footnote-7)

Distinct bodies of legal precepts and the autonomy of the *R̥ṣiśāsana*

That is the reason why we have the Royal Decrees, issued by the Royal Ancestor(s) of Məḍaṅ, the accomplished learned master(s). Examples of them: we have the *Dharmaśāsana*, we have the *Rājaśāsana*, we have the *Devaśāsana*, we have the *R̥ṣiśāsana*.

* We call *Dharmaśāsana* the precepts for[[8]](#footnote-8) the *patih*, the *vahuta*, the *kalaṅ*, the *gusti*, the *vinəkas*, the village elders,[[9]](#footnote-9) trade-guildsman, trade-guildswoman, the heads of trade-guilds, the ship masters. These are called the *dharma* precepts.
* We call *Rājaśāsana* the precepts for the kings, those who devote themselves to warfare: the Compendium of the Essence of policy (or just: Sārasamuccaya), to [the Laws of] Manu, the Āgama-Mānava. These are called the precepts for the kings of the past future and present.
* We call *Devaśāsana* the precepts for the Buddhists, the Māheśvaras, the Mahābrāhmaṇas, all the different kinds of initiates, “son-disciples”, yogic practitioners (*sādhaka*), the “grandfather” ascetics (*pitāmahā*), the Lord parameśvaras, all the kinds of priests (*ḍaṅ hyaṅ*) of Saliṅsiṅan, Vulusan, Tigaṅ Rat, Rāja, Jambi, Air Bulaṅ, Air Asih, Maṅulihi, Taji, of the *kamūlan*s, of the *parhyaṅan*s. This is called *Devaśāsana*.
* We call *R̥ṣiśāsana* the precepts for the scholars, the lords of yogins, who are independent, whose property is exempt, not subject to royal tax, by this [collection of] royal orders/precepts, for the scholars have jurisdiction over the hermitages: they are autonomous in the forests [and] the mountain ranges. That is the territory of the scholars. The scholars may not be disturbed by anyone, to begin with the king. They are absolutely not subject to the *Rājaśāsana*. This is called *R̥ṣiśāsana*.

The brahmins, the nobility, the merchants, the servants — only they are considered to be the four ways of life (lit. births). As (?) they wander in the hermitages, in the seats/abodes of the scholars, they do not meddle with anything (the scholars) have planted in their hermitages, for instance areca nut, betel leaf, coconut palm, *tal* palm, aren palm, banana, taro, yam, sugar-cane, all of them, and even less so with geese, ducks, chickens, domestic birds, goats, cows, buffaloes. Anything that is in their hermitages, should absolutely not be meddled with by them. Whatever be their status — executive officers, officiants, ministers, royal servants — they should really not meddle with them.

Privileges: ownership of controlled types of properties

And they are allowed to have a yellow mat, a yellow carpet, to carry a yellow parasol, and suchlike, to have *rǝgaṅ* cymbals, *curiṅ* cymbals. And if they meet with death in the hermitage, whatever their status, for instance executive officer, officiant, royal servant, minister, prince, princess, and also people of any birth, *maṅbaṅ*, *havaṅ*, Persians (? *paraṣi*), *uñjəman*, *karṣa*, *juhut*, *bahijən*, including the *savuk-savuk* status (?), the *hiṇḍavan*, the *mumuhan*, the *sulap* (magic trickers?), people from Timor, the live-stock (=servants?), the *parivnaṅ*, the dark-skinned slaves (*pujut*), the East Africans, the Papuans, the *aluṅ*s, the Khmers, the eunuchs, the healers, people of any status, when they meet with death in the hermitage, all of what they take along with them, even what they have in the village, *the lowest, the intermediate and the highest,* they come under their (i.e. the scholars’) protection in the hermitage. Their different categories are: ironsmiths, goldsmiths, all types of smiths, and also all who tradesmen, merchants, turners, salesmen and laundrymen.

They are allowed to have as servants Pujuts (Negritos), Papuas (?), Khmers, all sorts of people from foreign lands. Furthermore, those who reside in the hermitage may have intercourse with the young servants without being strictured.

And also all their status symbols (*bhūṣaṇa*) are to have pavillion, to arrange (*anusuna*) the different tiers of an ivory palanquin (or: palanquin with turnery), to carry a yellow parasol, to carry a white parasol faced with a black parasol (?), to have a mat black and yellow, the king does not make obstruction with regard to these. Such are the contents of the instructions of the eminent sages.

Social categories not allowed in the hermitage, tax exemptions

These *kelu* are tax-exempt: the scholar has authority over them. Nobody interferes [with him], least of all the king. He is absolutely not subjected to the *Rājaśāsana* (or, the king’s orders), for the scholar has a paramount position among the people. He accomplishes the goals of *the lowest, the intermediate and the highest* [classes]*,* to release all people from their sins. The collectors of the king’s revenue obey, [namely] the *vulu-vulu*s great and small, the *paṅuraṅ*, the *kriṅ*, the *paranakan*, the *prah*s (*petugas*?), the *vadihati* officiant, the *akudur* officiant, all the people who protect the borders, in that they do not enter into the masters’ [domain]: the *limas galuh*, the *paṅaruhan*, the *maniga*, the *vuṅkal tajəm*, the *manimpiki*, the *vuṅkal umalaṅ*, the guardian of the *sipat vilut* (litt. “straight and crooked lines”), the *paṅunəṅan*, the *suṅgiṅ*, the *rakadut*, the *sukun*: per pair of tradesmen, may own (*avita*) 1 *kati* of gold; one who transports two units, may own 1 *kati* of gold; one who [transports goods] with two oxcarts, his wealth is, mā sū 15, one who “turns” [the contents of] two rice-pounding blocks, his wealth is, mā sū 15.

All of these people, they will not be hit by the *paṅgaṅsal* and the *paṅdva* *mās* taxes (?), for they should practice thoroughly all of the rituals for worship. And the god’s wealth, it will be of use to the venerables among the Śaivas, in order to bring about the welfare of the world, beginning with the prosperity, longevity and health of the king, along with his family and relatives. Such is the goal of the divine commands of the *Śaivaśāsana* scripture, which was bestowed upon the venerables among the Śaivas, to be kept by the venerables so that His Majesty may be perfectly well.

The hermits’ right to take wives

Also, regarding the right of the venerables among the Śaivas to take as wife (i.e. to have intercourse with) a *ḍayaṅ*, a *bikaṅ*, a *havaṅ*, a *mambaṅ*, an East African, in the moment that they their iron-[bonds] are broken (?), in particular Papuans, *klente*, *meñco* (“the myna-women?”), *tarahan* (robbers/sea-people?), South Indian (*kəliṅ*), Persians (?), those from Kalimantan, the people from Buwun, the Negritos, and so forth, all kinds of people, they can be owned as slaves by the venerable among the Śaivas, without consideration of offspring. However since they (*sira*, the offspring?) are *bhasmāṅkura* (descendants of vikus?), they cannot be subjected to the [control of the]officiant(*pamgat*) *air haji*, nor of the *pamgat uñjəman*.

Property of cattle and crops; use of animals for ritual purposes

They will have the right to own cows as their means to accomplish the *pūjā* rituals. They will be authorized to sell the product of their crops. And when [these] cows die, first *saṅaskāra* will be performed over them, they should be buried with magic/ritual procedure (?), while attended by groups of *bhujaṅga* priests of two and three, as well as the head of their residence/establishment. They should not be impeded by the *pamgat air haji*, nor by the *pamgat uñjəman*.

And regarding their right to offer in worship boars, pythons, castrated dogs, turtles, —— [all these kinds of] game may be taken by them if [found] dead in the forest —, as well as *taluvah*, *padu* goat (or fighting ram as suggested by Zoetmulder?), they would not be troubled/strictured by the officiant ofSinagiha, and all the less so the holy rituals [should not be impeded] by the *pamgat* *salvit.*

Immunity from royal inspectors

And they are not subjected to the *vulu*s, great and small, [envoys/inspectors/collectors] from His Majesty the Great King, such as the *Miśra*, the minor *Miśra*, the Paṅuraṅ, the Kriṅ, the Manimpiki, the Paranakan, the Limus Galuh, the Təpuṅ Kavuṅ, the Limbaṅ Kavah (cauldron smiths?), the Maṅhuri, the Sinagiha, the Pavəlaṅ-vəlaṅ, the Palamak, the Paṅgare, the Pamanikan, the Pavakarma, the Pabr̥kis, the Kala Pituṅ, the Pakalaṅkaṅ, the Salyut, the Taṅkil, the Trǝpan, the Avur, the Paṅaruhan, the Tapa haji, the Air haji, the Vatu Tajəm, the Suṅka, the Dhūra, the Malandaṅ, the Ləva (or Lǝca?), the Aləb-ələb, the Vidu Maṅiduṅ, the Taṅhiran, the Samar Paḍəm, all sorts of collectors of the king’s revenue, *vulu*s, great and small, every kind of them, they should not enter the [domains of the] venerables among the Śaivas, including the venerables [established] in the places of residence (*panaivāsikan*). It is ordered with regard to them, by the king, out of the greatness of his heart, that they should be taken care of attentively [and] that this, the sacred Śaivaśāsana, should be maintained, because it is well known that the great king is *a servant of Rudra* (*Rudradāsa*).

If there are *havaṅ*, *mambaṅ*, *ḍayaṅ* (prostitutes?), *bikaṅ*, East Africans (*jəṅgi*), Persians (*parasi*?), South Indians (*kliṅ*), *meñco*, Negritos (*pujut*), *kelente*, Papuans (*boṇḍan*), pirates (*tarahan*) of Tañjuṅpura, maritime traders, eunuchs (*kəḍi*), physicians / *ḍukun* (valyan), royal servants, the *siṅgah*, the mabrǝsi (cushion-bearer?), the courtiers (“abdi dalem”), the avuluṅ-vuluṅ, the guild members male and female, if they sojourn in the place of the *bhujaṅga*, and they would be affected by illness, if they should die there in the *kabhujaṅgan*, even if they die of a “wrong death”, the venerable who accommodates them will not be troubled*.*

Forbidden trees

As follows are the forbidden trees (i.e. trees that cannot be felled), such as the *piyəh*, the jack-fruit tree (*naṅka*-tree), teak-tree, the *kasta* tree, the *puntaja*, the *kayu lemah*, the *maṅhri*s, the rambutan tree; and all of the trees at the border with the place of sacrifice/offerings, with the *paṅkət*, and the place for offerings/binding (with firewood?), all of what is of use for the venerables in the place of the Maheśvaras. They may not be hindered by the *pamgat manimpiki*, or the *pamgat makudur*.

The possessions of the head of the community

And also regarding all the possessions of the venerables in the Śaiva division, including the venerables who dwell in the places of residence (*panaivāsikan*), all kinds of possessions, beginning with the god’s possessions (*dr̥vyā hyaṅ*), should they be stolen by wicked people [or] should they be taken (by innocent people?), whatever has been obtained by them will not be redeemed / reimbursed by the venerables in the Śaiva establishment, … for the nature of the possessions is like “fireflies following the mountain”, for the likes of the hermit*.*

And if there are any fines [to be imposed] on the venerables of the Śaiva division: he will not be subject to *lūdan* (punishment for repeated attack?), by the *tūtan* (punishment for pursuit), by the *maṇḍi halādi* (the “effective punishment”?), any of such [fines], they do not affect the venerables of the Śaiva division, because they are [themselves considered] as a valuable source of wealth (dr̥vya-amadr̥vyā). The authoritative texts [have this to say] about it:

*Anuṣṭubh*

‘The state of Brahmanical student, that of a householder, the forest hermit in the same way: of these three, the state of householder is…’

*Anuṣṭubh*

‘[...] the king should not make offense to the hermits.’

*Anuṣṭubh*

‘What they call poison isn’t poison. What is de god’s property is considered poison. Anoither poison here in the world is the property of the god.’

Thus say the scriptures, which teach that his own property will be his (i.e. the venerable’s) property. Because of that one should not trouble and should not use the wealth of one such as him.

Relationship between the hermits and the laymen outside the monastic institution

As follows is the prescribed conduct of the headmen at the place of residence (? *paṅasthāna*) of the venerable of the Śaiva division when he (the venerable) has [to perform] his own works, great or small. He should not be given any commands at all [with regard to] his own works. No kind of food should be begged from him at all. He should indeed be without concerns because he is a *bhujaṅga*-priest. And also he should not be subject to the *turun-turun* taxes, whether measured by the rakut, by the handful, by the *kupaṅ* or by the *atak* (strings of 200 coins), *padəg*-*adəg* taxes, *lakva-lakvan* (procession?) taxes, the “shifting”-levy (*tuṇḍan*), the *durugan*-tax, the “hayva”-tax. Moreover [he should not be subject to] *valagara* taxes: his children may take spouses, may be taken or may take (*alapən āṅalapa*), his children may be taken by outsiders [to the community].

And even his “children” who have not yet undergone initiation, should they take a “child” from outside [the community] as wife, they will not be answerable to the headmen, moreover they are not subjected to the *laṅka havu* (a functionary?), should they take as wife a widow with child, whose husband is dead, [should his status be] low, intermediate or high, the husband dies, because the nature of the venerables among the Śaiva is to be pure. Such are the words of the holy Śaivaśāsana, which should be rigorously observed by the venerables of the Śaiva group with regard to their customs, in order for them to be irreproachable.

Disposal of a hermit’s possessions

Likewise, in the case of a hermit who has been killed and died, and if there should be any kind of possessions [left behind], and [no matter] what was the [last] place [of sojourn] of the hermit who has been killed and died, be it in a village, in a freehold (*sīma*), in a market, or in an agricultural village (*thāni sumbul*?), in a *kakalaṅan*, in a ‘place of origin’ (*kamūlan*), in a place for recluses, in an ancestral shrine (*paryaṅan*), in a *kuṭi* or in a hermitage, especially if he was dwelling in the family of his master (*guru*), his master certainly will have authority, [and] will take the possessions of the hermit who has been killed and died, [this is] not going in the wrong direction. And it will not be interfered with by all the ranking officials, as well as the *nāyaka*-chiefs, the *partaya*, the *apiṅhe*, the *avaju*, the *punta*, the headmen, the *vinəkas*, the *gusti*, the collectives *juru*s, the official in charge of the rice (*hulu vras*), the *atur tali*, the inspector (*ser*). Its function will be to be offered in worship to the god Śivāgni and also [to serve] for the troubles of the hermit who has been killed. Such will be the use made of his possessions by the master, it should really not be appropriated by him.

Moreover, if there is no master, no master’s son (i.e. co-disciple?), eldest son, companion or relative, in particular his own family/clan in the foundation, who would take all his possessions, one should entrust them to the Goddess and to Śivāgni, as well as offer purificatory (*tarpaṇa*) libations for the deceased hermit. It should not be put to wrong usage (salah parana?) and it should absolutely not be seized.

The authoritative texts [have this to say] about it:

*Anuṣṭubh*

‘The personal property of the deceased one, in whatever small amount, beginning with manuscripts, etc, that had entered in the possession of the guru, it is proper to give it away to [others]…’

*Anuṣṭubh*

‘Because of the absence of the guru, the proper thing to be done by the three great souls/sages (/the trimurti?), … in second instance, [it should be given] to Śiva (*devadeva*) and also to the fire’

*Anuṣṭubh*

‘There is consumption of the third part. Or, if there be a destitute ascetic, who doesn’t even have that much, it is given to him.’

*Anuṣṭubh*

‘The property of the guru who has gone to heaven, it should be offered to the divinity [i.e. Śiva], indeed temples and so on should diligently be built with it for the Lord,’

*Anuṣṭubh*

‘Of his manuscripts, great care should be taken by his disciples, who have been appointed [for this task] according to their order of seniority, always following the proper rules.’

Such are the instructions in accordance with the holy Mataṅga. As follows are the instructions of the holy Bakula.

*Anuṣṭubh*

‘Whatever property there is of the ascetic, in whatever small amount, beginning with books and so on, it is not to be given to the village community, it enlightened…’

Such are the words of the scriptures, which have been given as a command by the Great King [Manu], [ordering that] all the masters of the Śaiva division be treated with great attention, including the masters dwelling in the permanent establishments, because of Great King Manu’s great efforts toward the masters of the Śaiva division.

Religious service of the ascetics

As for the duties of the masters: they should not fail to keep constantly in mind all of their respective vows, as well as their religious service and their correct behaviour. They should be constant in offering mental worship to the Lord (or: to the Lord that is the Quintessence), to be endowed with a pure mind as they strive after the instruction of the teacher. They are not moved towards unrefined pleasures (i.e. sexual intercourse), without having any *salavah* (?), the perfect detachment of sacred priesthood should be their sole foundation, so that they will adhere firmly to the good scriptures [relevant] to their particular nature. Further, at the descent of the order of the *mahārāja*, insofar as the masters of the Śaiva division perform activities of worship and offering of oblations, in particular the oblation with fire, offering oblations with ghee and sesame seed to the fire, *divārātri*, in the daytime and at night, [all of these services] result in abundant rains, [copious] yielding of crops, the welfare of the realm/of the people, and especially the victorious longevity and health of His Majesty the king, his family and offsprings. Further, it is already been considered that his Majesty the king’s customary relationship with the hermits is that they mutually assist [and benefit] each other.

More tax exemptions

Such as precedes is the traditional way of action for all hermits and Śaiva masters, as they adhere rigorously to their body of doctrine. Furthermore, the prescribed course of action for the heads [of communities? of establishments?], who have the status of masters of the Śaiva division, is that they should have restraint regarding the [temptations of] beautiful enterprises, in their teachings (/peripheral domains?), and especially in their own domains: like vehicle-pavilions (*vimāna*), *paliḍura*, bathing places (*maṇḍi-maṇḍi*?), *bvat hyaṅ* (pavilions for ceremonies?), *brisadi* pavilions, halls for the *tiləm* ceremonies, all kinds of sizable structures, residences, they should be weary of profusions (lit. ‘all sorts’) of ornaments, really not feeling intent with regard to what has ivory decorations/gildings (??), as well as for carvings of delicate motifs, because it is the *mūlakārya* who should be asked for the ornaments (*lvir-lvir*?). The masters who are considered as hermits shall not be asked for “things to do with the appearance” (*lvir-lvir,* ??), for [these] are called tasks for those of the inside - i.e. the *kraton*’s artisans? Such will be the [appropriate] behavior of the artists, when the master of the Śaiva division, would be humbly entreated with the realization of pavilions, *paliḍura*, containers for ashes (?), palanquins, all sorts of things [?authorized by?] the holy *R̥ṣiśāsana*, which should be kept firmly by each one of those who dwell in his hermitage respectively, and all the more so the encounter with forbidden women. This should not be tackled by the sages.

Anyone who enters the hermitage, as for instance [any member of] the four classes, brahman, warrior, merchant or servant, [if they visit the hermitage, carrying along all of their adornments, all that is brought in the hermitage, indeed, its ornaments have authority: [once] they are carried into a hermitage, the rulers do not have a right to it for their services / corvees [or to its usufruct?], it is not within the village chiefs’ power, it is not spoken about by the servants, especially those of the vanva they occupy, those who are in charge of the compulsory contributions to the performance of royal ceremonies]; no matter what their category could be, no matter what their personal status could be, no matter what their appearance could be, they are not touched by royal orders, let alone by the chief officials/the chief *vahuta*, the *nāyaka*-chiefs, the *partaya*, the village elders, they certainly have gratitude for the masters in the hermitages, all the more so all the people of common birth, who are “*aṅkuśa*-driven” by the whole circle of the island of Java.

There will be no fine rain, there will be no scratching, there will be nothing sweet/endearing, he will not contribute to the *tahi tikus* tax, without the virtues and sins of the master in the hermitage is, he is not affected by the *ivak hyaṅ* (-tax), for these are exclusively his place (he possesses them entirely?), [these] are domains in which he is independent, the domain of what is within his power is not unique, it is limitless. This means that when he is in distant lands, its power will be originating from his power, its freeholds will have as origins his freehold, its laws will have as origins his laws. The rights [granted to] the masters in the hermitage will be everlasting, for they have received the favour of the deified ancestor who has created the first circle in Məḍaṅ: beginning with their consecration into the holy requisites for the Śaiva ritual, its vows, its austerities, its yogic concentration, the capacity to release from their faults the entirety of mankind.

Curse section

But if anyone would trespass upon that which has been prohibited by the ancestor Kaṇḍyawan, really transgressing the decree of this royal ancestor, he will incur all the disasters in the universe.

Pay heed, you gods, Five Great Elements, Kuśika, Garga, Metri, Kuruṣya, Pātañjala, let him be seized and thrown away in the sky, may all the limbs of his body be cut off and torn asunder by all *bhūta*s. If he goes to the forest, he will be attacked by tigers, bitten by great snakes, eaten by demons. If he goes to the open fields, he will be struck by [the fire of] lightning without rain, he will be bitten by evil spirits, eaten by giants, when he goes to the sea he will be cast into the depths of the water. If he goes to a river, he will be precipitated inside a dam, grasped by the spirit inside the water, snapped up by crocodiles, snatched away by the *tuviran* monster. When on the road, he will stumble on sharp pieces of decomposed wood (or (...) and decompose?), stabbed with a weapon, dying under a furious attack, “pierced” by a *kris*; when walking at night he will be pierced by a thief, bitten by a venomous snake.

Whatever his destination, he will encounter misery, whatever his occupations he will encounter sufferings, he will encounter all kind of illnesses, i.e. he will be dropsical, he will be a leprose, he will be without descendants, he will be mute, he will have a lame leg, he will be deaf, for the seven types of sins, he will reincarnate seven times to obtain perpetual afflictions, lasting until he will die here in this world, his rebirths will get him no comfort. Such is what is incurred by people who would disobey or obstruct the decree of His Majesty the ancestor who established the first circle in Məḍaṅ. If anyone from the four classes would hinder the divine dispositions, let him be turned to ashes!</Translation>

This was the holy *R̥ṣiśāsana*. [That was the time that the ancestor in Mədaṅ, the accomplished learned master, ordered that all humanity should treat it with all their attention, when it is taken by them as course of action.]</Translation>

1. Note the use of the term *devatā*, which is used in epigraphy within curse formulas since the Central Javanese period (inscriptions of Mantyasih from 829 Śaka, Sugih Manek from 837 Śaka) to invoke the protection of the spirits of royal ancestors (van Naerssen 1976: 301-302; de Casparis & Mabbett 1999: 310; Griffiths & Clavé 2020). In the Mantyasih inscription of king Balitung we find a clear illustration of the inclusion of the names of deceased rulers under the designation *rahyaṅta rumuhun*, a term which, in later inscriptions, is replaced by *devata prasiddha*. This passage suggests that in Java (and Bali?), *mahārāja* Manu himself would have been considered as a royal ancestor (*devatā*). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. What we reconstruct as a locative singular in the śloka (*śaive*) serves the purpose of a dative. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. The omnipresence in this text (as well as in the *Pūrvādhigama*) of names of religious groups formed with the circumfix ‘ka—an’ deserves a note, or even better, a longer development. Probably to be connected with the text’s historical context marked by the institutionalization of cults, where different groups were cristallized as institutions in themselves, administratively managable units designated by terms such ka-bhujaṅga-n, ka-rsy-an, ka-śaiva-n, etc. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. It is not unlikely that the following prose paragraph would have glossed a Sanskrit stanza which is now missing in all the witnesses. Compare with the development in the *Advayasādhana* 10j.3-17 describing the *caturpāramitā*, which contains a couple of lemmata comparable with the contents of this paragraph, as well as similar Old Javanese glosses. The development in the *Advayasādhana* begins and is wrapped up with the statement: *caturpāramitā ṅaranya metrī, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā*. The fact that the present paragraph is hardly that well-construed and appears to begin *in media res* strongly suggests a lacuna in the transmitted text. The list of *pāramitā* itself is fairly widespread and seems to be organized in a standard order, which the *R̥ṣiśāsana* reproduces albeit with missing elements. Compare also with *Dharma Pātañjala* (give quotation + reference). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. A segment explaining the concept of *maitrī* is probably missing here, or before the beginning of the extant paragraph. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. The expected gloss for *upekṣā* is missing here. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Max Nihom gives justifications for translating *paṇḍita* as ‘learned masters’ in his article (Nihom ). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Or, alternatively, the precepts with regard to (...). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. A very similar list of social categories (patih, vahuta, kalaṅ, gusti, vinəkas, tuha vanva) is often encountered among the witnesses mentioned in the inscriptions of the Central Javanese period, as for instance in the inscription of Śrī Maṅgala II (796 Śaka, l. X: *patih, kalaṅ, gusti, variga, vinəkas, parujar*....). As a wider social category, they have been described as “village functionaries” in TBG 73: 100, following Goris’ earlier study in TBG 70: 163 et sq. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)