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ELSA CLAVÉ AND ARLO GRIFFITHS

The Laguna Copperplate Inscription
Tenth-Century Luzon, Java, and the Malay World

The Laguna Copperplate Inscription is one of very few Philippine historical documents dating from the precolonial period and the only one bearing information on the social life of the Manila region before the arrival of the Spanish. Building on previous studies which discussed the significance of the inscription in the context of Luzon and the Philippines, this article proposes a reading of the inscription in the larger context of maritime Southeast Asia. We focus on how this document complicates the current understanding of the historical roles of the Malay language. On this basis, we call for a revision of the notion of a "Malay World."

KEYWORDS: COSMOPOLITANISM • OLD MALAY • INDIC SCRIPT • DEBT CLEARANCE • SOUTHEAST ASIA

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This article is dedicated to the oldest locally written document of the Philippines, published thirty years ago in this journal (Postma 1992a). Issued by a political authority in the Laguna area of Luzon precisely on 21 April, in the year 900 CE, this document records the clearance of a debt and is formulated in an early form of the Malay language. Much of our discussion revolves around the Malay aspects of this document and around the question how we are to understand the fact that the written record of Philippine history commences in the tenth century with a document formulated in Malay. In so doing, we confront the vexed question of external influence on the formation of cultural practices in the Philippines and demonstrate the need for a paradigm shift in envisioning Malayness in the premodern history of the Philippines.

With the exception of Wilhelm von Humboldt's use of the German term "malayisch" (Malay) at an early stage of Austronesian linguistic scholarship to designate the language matrix common to maritime Southeast Asia,[1] the term Malay is used elsewhere in early scientific discourse almost exclusively in a civilizational context. To explain the peopling of the country, early scholars have postulated models of ancient migration to the Philippines that are quite different from what is generally accepted in scholarship today. What is common to these early models is their postulation of successive waves of migration, one or more of which involved "Malays," who are generally presented as relatively more civilized than others.[2]

The necessary postcolonial reaction against this discourse has understandably led to the term Malay being generally eschewed in the Philippine social sciences. Felipe Landa Jocano (1965) was the first to oppose such migration theories by proposing a model in which the peopling of the Philippines resulted from complex movements of people and a long process of evolution. However, it is in the work of E. Arsenio Manuel (1990) that the disavowal of any Malay origins was expressly formulated through the concept "Philippineasian." The term was coined to replace the culturally loaded terms Indonesian, Malayan, and Malayo-Polynesian, which are widely used in Oceanic, Austronesian, and Southeast Asian studies and "have generated concepts and ideas that disturb Filipino identity and nationality" (ibid., 25). Meanwhile, Zeus Salazar (1998), in his collection of articles entitled *The Malayan Connection* published in 1998, argued in a nuanced manner for the importance of such a connection in understanding Philippine culture

and history, but his subsequent discourse appears less nuanced regarding historical processes of cultural and linguistic contact because it blurs the categorical boundaries between Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, and Malay (Salazar 2013). Our study is built on a different understanding of the term Malay. For us, Malay is first and foremost a language, one that has over the centuries been used by various people from different cultures as a vehicle of communication over a large area, including the Philippines.

The Document

Accidentally discovered around 1986 during dredging operations in the Lumbang River, which drains into the Laguna de Bay, the copperplate that will occupy us in the following pages was subsequently acquired by the National Museum of the Philippines and registered there under the accession number 1990-B-1.

Not much written data from the premodern and early modern periods have been recovered for the Philippines, compared with other Southeast Asian countries. The inscription is one of the very few precolonial records found in the country and the oldest. The major contribution of the document has therefore been to give the Philippines a place in the early history of Southeast Asia. While it is unique, as far as we know, in the archaeological record of the Philippines, the plate is an example of a type of archaeological artifact that is widespread in Java and Bali. On those Indonesian islands, similarly shaped plates, manufactured in copper or bronze, have been found in the hundreds, the oldest known specimen dating to 807 CE.[3]

The vast majority of plates found in Java and Bali record endowments of tax-exempt status on land made by representatives of the state (typically, the king) to individual or collective beneficiaries. Given this conjunction of the form (metal plates, individually or in sets) with the content (endowment records), which is also found in India, where considerably older specimens of copperplate grants have been found, it is evident that this cultural practice of recording land endowments on highly durable documents in the form of copperplates is only one facet among many of the adoption and adaptation of Indian cultural practices in premodern Southeast Asia.[4] The fact that these documents from Java and Bali are always engraved in a script commonly designated as "Old Javanese" or "Kawi," which belongs to the family of Indic scripts, is another of these facets.[5] While Indian copperplate grants are expressed in Sanskrit or vernacular languages of South Asia, in all

specimens from Java, and in most specimens from Bali, the (main) language of expression is Old Javanese (OJ).[6] The Laguna Copperplate Inscription (LCI), as it has come to be called, is the only known example of its kind that bears a text in the Old Malay (OM) language.

In terms of content, an innovation that seems specific to maritime Southeast Asia is the use of the copperplate medium to issue debt-clearance documents as well as certificates of successful litigation, and the use for such records of a small set of terms—*jayapa(t)tra*, *(vi)śuddhapa(t)tra*—which, although borrowed from Sanskrit, are not found in Indian copperplate records until centuries after their first recorded use in Southeast Asia.[7] The LCI is one of these debt-clearance records.

The LCI measures 17.5 centimeters in height, 30.5 centimeters in width, and is around 0.1 centimeter thick. The plate is so thin that the repoussé effect of the writing engraved on the obverse (fig. 1) is very pronounced on the reverse (fig. 2); although Indian and Indonesian copperplate documents are often engraved on both sides, the same could not have been the intention of those who manufactured the LCI. It is said to have been crumpled when it was found, and indeed the plate, although it has been flattened since, still shows clear traces of its former condition. These physical features set the plate apart from otherwise comparable artifacts from India and Indonesia, where copperplate documents from the same general period are thicker and would generally allow being engraved on both sides, although one often sees, in the case of multi-plate documents, that the outer sides of the first and last plates have been kept blank. Since the text engraved on the plate is incomplete but does not seem to lack a substantial portion, one may assume that it would originally have formed part of a set consisting of two plates, each inscribed on a single side.

Previous Studies

Shortly after the LCI's discovery, the Dutch missionary and scholar Antoon Postma, a specialist of Mangyan manuscripts who lived and worked in Mindoro for half a century,[8] offered to the world of scholarship an edition of the inscription, a translation, an analysis of its language, and an interpretation of its historical significance in a string of writings that are largely overlapping in contents. Three were published as articles (Postma 1991a, 1991b, 1992a) while one was communicated at a conference but never formally published (Postma 1992b).

From the outset, Postma identified the language of the LCI as OM; he noted that several of the OM words that it contains exist in an identical or closely related form in premodern varieties of Tagalog and are also shared by OJ.[9] Despite the undeniably cosmopolitan character of his approach to deciphering the document, Postma (1992a, 8) chose to apply a local lens—what he called the "Tagalog angle"—to analyze the sociocultural dimensions of the text. While he only mentioned a possible link with Java (ibid., 193), a connection that was also emphasized in an Indonesian-language reaction to Postma's paper at the 1990 conference of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association held in Yogyakarta (Kusen 1991),[10] other authors speculated on the influence from the kingdom of Śrīvijaya (Patanñe 1996, 88, 96; Andaya 2008, 56). The only other study that gauged the significance of this inscription in a wider geographical context is the one on debt and credit in early island Southeast Asia by Jan Wisseman Christie (2009a), whose results we respond to and seek to improve. The most recent study by Jaime Tiongson (2013b), by contrast, adopts a radically local approach with a new interpretation based on early Tagalog dictionaries.

Aware of past attempts to counterfeit old documents,[11] Postma first had to verify the LCI's authenticity. Once he had established it as authentic (Postma 1991b, 4; 1992a, 189), the second issue he needed to resolve was the plate's geographic origin. The fact that the engraved text's vocabulary turned out to be OM and OJ naturally suggested the possibility that the plate might have been imported to Luzon. However, Postma demonstrated convincingly that the inscription concerned an event in the Tagalog-speaking region that comprised Manila and its surroundings. Although the choice of a local approach is thus quite understandable and most of Postma's conclusions are acceptable, the Malay dimensions of this inscription written locally in OM have not been fully explored.

Postma's text edition has become the point of reference for all subsequent scholarship, and it should be emphasized that, although Postma was a specialist neither of OM nor epigraphy, his generally reliable work counts among the best publications not only in OM epigraphy but also in

Fig. 1. Laguna Copperplate Inscription, obverse; photo taken by Arlo Griffiths (next spread)
Fig. 2. Laguna Copperplate Inscription, reverse; photo taken by Arlo Griffiths (next spread)

the study of the precolonial history of the Philippines. Its excellence does not mean, of course, that it cannot be improved, and part of the raison d'être of this article is to attempt to do so by making use of our knowledge of OM and OJ epigraphy and the broader historical record of maritime Southeast Asia around 900 CE.[12] On this basis, we aim to show the benefit of a transregional approach to studying this unique document.

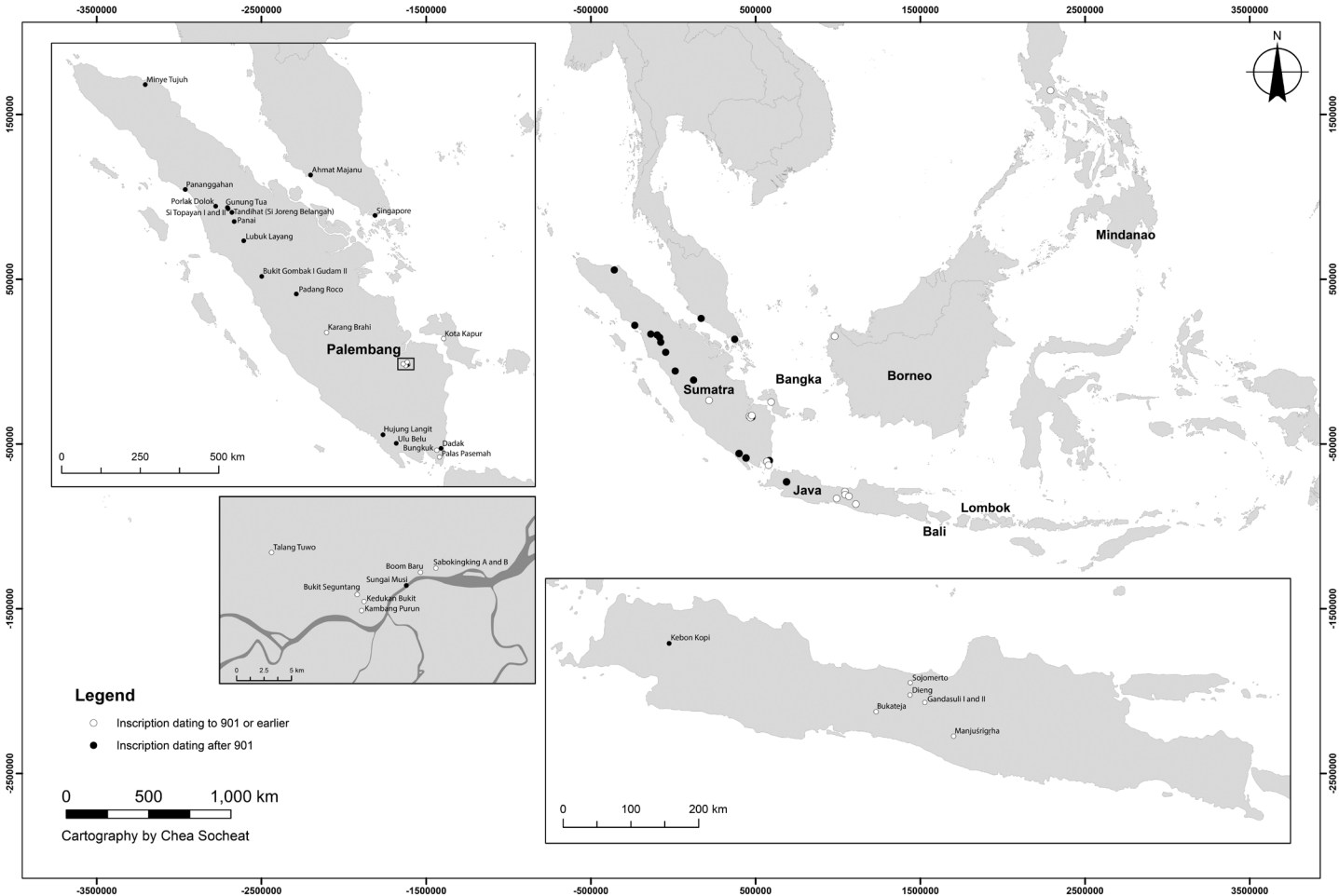
Scripts, Languages, and Epigraphic Sources

Before we turn to our analysis of the inscription, we must make clear that, with the exception of the Jawi tradition, which we will briefly mention, all indigenous documents produced in maritime Southeast Asia in the premodern period were written in some form or another of what we call the Indic family of scripts, i.e., writing systems descending ultimately from the Brahmi writing system created in South Asia some centuries before the beginning of the Common Era. Later forms of this system were adopted and adapted in Southeast Asia at various points of time.[13] The particular form of Indic script that we encounter in the LCI seems identical to the one used in contemporary documents from Java. How its users named that script is unknown, but as mentioned earlier it is referred to in the scholarly literature under the names "Old Javanese" and "Kawi."[14]

Our discussion of the linguistic content of the plate involves data from various languages—mainly Malay and Javanese and to a lesser extent the indigenous languages of the Philippines—belonging to the Austronesian language family. Within that language family, data are derived from at least two distinct subgroups of the Malayo-Polynesian group: the "Western Indonesian" subgroup, to which Malay and Javanese belong, and the "Philippine" subgroup, to which Tagalog and the other Philippine languages belong.[15] Each of these languages exists in a range of geographically, chronologically, and sociologically determined varieties. Forming part of a common linguistic ecosystem, they have exerted influence on each other over the centuries, loanwords from Malay into Tagalog being a particularly significant instance of such influence.[16] And by the time they made their appearance in the historical record, all of them had (directly or via Malay) borrowed substantial amounts of cultural vocabulary from the cosmopolitan language of Sanskrit, originating in India, whose impact on Southeast Asian languages went hand in hand with the introduction of Indic script.[17]

Readers who are unfamiliar with Sanskrit but wish to learn more about the place this language occupies in the historical record of maritime Southeast Asia can consult a wealth of recent scholarship, among which we particularly recommend the sophisticated work of Sheldon Pollock (1996, 2006) and Daud Ali (2011). For the historical role of OJ, there is not a comparable, recent, and sophisticated abundance of studies, so we refer readers to the somewhat more old-fashioned but reliable overview by P. J. Zoetmulder (1974, chapter 1).

We concur with the simple but important observation by K. Alexander Adelaar (2005, 19) that "Old Malay and modern Malay are forms of the same language, in spite of some considerable differences between them," and we use the term OM to designate the varieties of the Malay language found in documents written in an Indic system of writing dating before 1500 CE.[18] What precedes is a positive way of formulating what is, in fact, a negative definition, aiming to capture the states of the Malay language before it had undergone large-scale influence from Arabic. It is especially the absence of such influence that differentiates OM from Classical Malay (CM), the term used to designate forms of the language seen in manuscripts and inscriptions written in Jawi script,[19] more recent varieties of Malay written in Indic script,[20] or modern forms of spoken or written Malay, all of which are marked by a significant percentage of loanwords borrowed from Arabic. We see the un-Arabicized OM language almost exclusively in inscriptions,[21] engraved on stone or metal artifacts from what is now Indonesia, dating from the seventh to the fifteenth century, after which the writing of Malay in Indic script seems to have become increasingly marginal.[22] It is ironic that, while in today's world Malaysians and Bruneians have appropriated the custodianship of Malayness, the premodern historical documentation for the Malay language—that is, the OM epigraphic corpus—has almost entirely been assembled from archaeological discoveries in what is now Indonesian territory, primarily from Sumatra but also from Java. To our knowledge, just one document falling under the adopted definition has been found within the boundaries of what is now Malaysia, but it is a borderline case from the fifteenth century; a very fragmentary inscription from Singapore (the locally famous Singapore Stone) also seems to be in OM. Finally, one important OM inscription has been found in the Philippines, and it is the subject of this article. Fig. 3 (cf. Griffiths 2018, 281–83) is a map of the inscriptions alluded to here.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Ahmat Majanu
Pananggahan
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Gunung Tua
Si Topayan I and II
Tandihat (Si Joreng Belangah)
Panai
Singapore
Lubuk Layang
Rukit Gombak I Gudam II
Padang Roco
Karang Brahi
Kota Kapur
Palembang
Hujung Langit
Ulu Belu
Bungkuk
Dadak
Palas Pasemah
0
250
500 km
Mindanao
Bangka
Borneo
Sumatra
Java
Lombok
Bali
Talang Tuwo
Boom Baru
Sabokingking A and B
Sungai Musi
Bukit Seguntang
Kedukan Bukit
Kambang Purun
0
2.5
5 km
Kebon Kopi
Sojomerto
Dieng
Gandasuli I and II
Bukateja
Manjuśrigṛha
0
100
200 km
Legend
Inscription dating to 901 or earlier
Inscription dating after 901
0
500
1,000 km
Cartography by Chea Socheat

Regarding OM grammar, by far the most systematic and most informative publication of recent years is the study by Waruno Mahdi (2005). While Mahdi limits his discussion to only a group of OM inscriptions, namely those produced in the seventh century under the Śrīvijaya kingdom on the islands of Sumatra and Bangka, the study is nevertheless quite useful for the study of other varieties of OM. We must make clear, however, that we do not agree with one idea that figures prominently in Mahdi's work, namely, the chronological limitation of the label OM to "the language of the earliest Malay epigraphy (seventh to tenth centuries AD)" (ibid., 182). This chronological limitation, which is made without any justification, not only excludes a substantial number of Malay documents[23] but also tends to obscure "the existence and persistence of certain expressions over centuries, indicating that Old Malay enjoyed the status of a—to some extent—standardized language" (Griffiths 2018, 279).[24]

To avoid needlessly crowding the article with bibliographic references for inscriptions cited, we refer to Indonesian inscriptions by their standard designations in the scholarly literature, normally specifying their island of provenance and their date, or using the expression "Śrīvijayan," which implies a late–seventh-century date and a provenance from southern Sumatra or Bangka. Specifically, for OM inscriptions, we use the designations listed in Arlo Griffiths's (ibid.) "The Corpus of Inscriptions in the Old Malay Language," in which the reader may find the relevant bibliographic references for text editions. Whenever possible, OJ inscriptions from Java are cited by their designations listed in Kōzō Nakada's (1982) *An Inventory of the Dated Inscriptions in Java*, which furnishes bibliographic references for each inscription, complete up to the year of publication of that work. Inscriptions from Bali are cited exclusively from Wisseman Christie's (2009b) "References to Debt and Debt Bondage in the Epigraphic Record from Early Island Southeast Asia," in which the reader may find the relevant bibliographic references.

Fig. 3 [facing page]. Map showing the distribution in Southeast Asia of Old Malay inscriptions inventoried as of March 2022
Source: The authors, with cartographic assistance from Chea Socheat

The Document's Text

Philological Methodology

The text presented, translated, and analyzed in the following pages has been edited in comparison with the published tracing by Postma, using published and unpublished photos (fig. 4), as well as based on direct inspection of the plate at Manila on 14 May 2012. The lines of text in the original are indicated with parenthetical numbers and in bold face.

The transliteration system that we use to edit the text is the adaptation of the standard 15919 of the International Standards Organization described by Dániel Balogh and Arlo Griffiths (2020), which means that we represent the superscript dot (Sanskrit: *anusvāra*, Javanese: *cecak*) in our edition with *ṁ*, although (outside of the edition itself) we use *ṅ/ng* or *m*, depending on the context.

In this regard, we should explain that we make a three-way distinction in romanization between (1) strict transliteration (used in our edition of the document), (2) loose transliteration, which is close to a phonological transcription (used when citing the linguistic contents of the OM text), and (3) simplified transcription (used in our translation and when citing names from the text) based on the standard spelling system of the contemporary Indonesian national variety of Malay, called Ejaan Bahasa Indonesia (EBI).[25] Concretely, this differentiation means that in strict transliteration *ṁ/ṅ/m* and *ḥ/h* are distinguished and vowel length is shown; in loose transliteration, *ṁ* is interpreted as *ṅ* or *m*, *ḥ* and *h* are merged into *h*, *v* is reinterpreted as *b* where necessary, while vowel length is still shown; in simplified transcription, we use *w* instead of *v*, *ng* instead of *ṅ*, do not retain vowel length, do not retain the distinction between retroflex/dental consonants, and do not differentiate the three sibilants of Indic script (*ś* and *ṣ* are merged into *s*).

Fig. 4 [facing page]. Laguna Copperplate Inscription, obverse

Source: Photo made by or for Antoon Postma, which he disseminated at a conference in the early 1990s. Jan Wisseman Christie collection, EFEO photothèque, Paris.

We break words following the same EBI rules, meaning that the preposition *di* is split from the word it precedes, while the passive prefix *di-* is not. Postma's edition contains inconsistencies of transliteration and word division among others, and does not represent all punctuation. Our edition marks an improvement on these points and is more precise than

that of Postma because we explicitly represent independent vowels as capital letters and vowel killer signs (Sanskrit: *virāma*, Javanese: *paṅkon* or *paten*) as the median dot.[26]

Edition and Translation

(1) svasti śakavarṣātīta 822 vaisākhamāsa diṁ jyotiṣa, caturthi kr̥ṣṇapakṣa so**(2)**mavāra sāna tatkāla dayaṁ Aṅkatan· lavan· dṅan·ña sānak· barṅāran· si bukaḥ **(3)** Anak·da daṁ hvan namvran· dibari varadāna viśuddhapā/tra\ Uliḥ saṁ pamgat· senāpati di tuṇḍu**(4)**n· barjā daṁ[27] hvan nāyaka tuhān· pailaḥ jayadeva, di krama daṁ hvan namvran· dṅan· daṁ[28] kāya**(5)**stha śuddhānu diparlappas· hutaṁda valānda[29] kā 1 su 8 di hadapan· daṁ hvan nāyaka tuhān· pu**(6)**liran· kasumuran·, daṁ hvan nāyaka tuhān· pailaḥ barjādi gaṇaśakti, daṁ hvan nāyaka tu**(7)**hān· binvāṅan· barjādi biśruta tathāpi sādānda[30] sānak·[31] kaparāvis· Uliḥ saṁ pamgat· de**(8)**vata varjādi[32] saṁ pamgat· mḍaṁ dari bhaktinda diparhulun·[33] saṁ pamgat·, ya makāña sādāña Anak· **(9)** cucu daṁ hvan namvran· śuddha ya kaparāvis· di hutaṁda daṁ hvan namvran· di saṁ pamgat· devata, Ini graṁ **(10)** syāt· syāpa ntāha paścāt· diṁ Āri kamudyan· Āda graṁ Uraṁ barujara vluṁ[34] lappas· hutaṁda daṁ hva-

Hail! Elapsed Śaka year 822, month of Vaisākha according to the astral sciences (*jyotiṣa*), fourth (*tithi*) of the waning fortnight, a Monday: that was the time when a female servant (*dayaṅ*) who had been taken over (*aṅkatan*) [in debt bondage] together with her siblings (*lavan dṅan-ña sa-anak*), called *si* Bukah, child of *daṅ hvan* Namwran,[35] was awarded a debt clearance document (*viśuddhapātra*). [It was awarded] by the official (*saṅ pamgat*), army commander (*senāpati*) at Tundun, with the title *daṅ hvan nāyaka tuhān*[36] of Pailah Jayadeva.[37] Regarding the specifics (*di krama*) of *daṅ hvan* Namwran, with the scribe (*kāyastha*), being cleared (*śuddha*): what (*anu*) was resolved (*diparlappas*) was his military debt[38] (amounting to) 1 *kāṭi* and 8 *suvarṇa* [that had been contracted] in front of (the following witnesses):[39] *daṅ hvan nāyaka tuhān* of Puliran Kasumuran,[40] *daṅ hvan nāyaka tuhān* of Pailah, with the title Ganasakti, *daṅ hvan nāyaka tuhān* of Binwangan, with the title Bisruta.

But by the deity official (*pamgat*) with the title official of Mdang,[41] all (*sa-ada-nda*) her (i.e., Bukah's) siblings together (*kaparāvis*), because of (*dari*) their loyalty (*bhakti-nda*) [when they were] owned as slaves (*diparhulun*) by the official, that was the reason why (*ya makāña*) all children [and] grand-children of *daṅ hvan* Namwran were cleared together of (*di*) the debt of *daṅ hvan Namwran* to (*di*) the deity official.

If there be (*syāt*) anyone who will doubt this, subsequently, in the days ahead; if there be people who will say "the debt of *daṅ hva*[*n* Namwran] has not yet been resolved . . . "[42]

The Document's Language

As previously mentioned, from the outset Postma identified the language of the LCI as OM. This identification has not remained uncontested in the Philippines (p. 195) but has been confirmed by international linguists and underlies our interpretation of the text.[43] The following discussion of the linguistic data in this document proceeds on the assumption of the reader's familiarity with the description of OM spelling and grammar as outlined by Lars Vikør (1988) and Mahdi (2005). With a few exceptions, we limit our discussion to facts that will need to be taken into account in a future, more comprehensive grammatical description of OM and in a future dictionary of this language.

Spelling and Phonology

The phoneme /ə/, spelled *e* in Standard/Indonesian Malay (S/IM), is not spelled as such in the LCI but is represented either by *a* (*bari* = S/IM *beri*) or by no vowel at all (see the example *vluṁ*). In this regard, the spelling of the LCI is entirely in line with what we find in other OM inscriptions (Vikør 1988, 71–72; Mahdi 2005, 188). The text includes several examples of spelled long vowels that seem to reflect word stress on penultimate syllables, as in *barjādi, valānda,* and *kaparāvis*, among others, a phenomenon already described by Vikør (1988, 69–70) and Madhi (2005, 189). What has not yet been described for OM, although it is well known in OJ, is the vowel *sandhi* observable in *śuddhānu* (*śuddha anu*) and *sādānda/sādāña* (*sa-ada-nda/sa-ada-ña*),[44] the latter also exemplifying vowel lengthening in a stressed syllable. The spelling variation *b/v* in *barjādi/varjādi* for S/IM *berjadi* and the spelling *vluṁ* for S/IM *belum* illustrate the fact that, in spelling, both *b* and *v* may represent either /b/ or /w/, a case where *v*

may express /w/ or /b/ being *lavan* "with," "and" (cf. Mahdi 2009, 74). The *anusvāra* (*cecak*) sign is used to transcribe both /m/ and /ŋ/.[45]

Morphology

The text of the LCI contains a few morphological phenomena that have not yet been well documented on the basis of Śrīvijayan OM:

1. Adelaar (1994b, 3) wrote that:

> [n]one of the known varieties of Malay has a separate morpheme ŋ, and this observation includes Classical Malay and the Old Malay of the seventh century inscriptions of South Sumatra. However, it seems that some forms of Malay exhibit a fossilised ŋ. Standard Malay has a relative pronoun *yang*, which is generally assumed to have developed from the third person pronoun *ia* and a clitic element ŋ. This ŋ would be a cognate of the "linker" or "ligature" found in languages such as Old Javanese and Tagalog.

   Mahdi (2005, 194) reported no such morpheme for Śrīvijayan OM other than in the words "*iyaṃ ~ yaṃ* (neutral) and *daṃ* (honorific), thought to derive from combinations of *iya ~ ya* and *da* with a nasal linker ŋ." Both Adelaar and Mahdi ignored the fact that precisely such a morpheme had been identified in several Śrīvijayan OM texts (Cœdès 1930, 71, under *diṁ*), one of which is quoted in the following section. Moreover, as pointed out in a previous publication on inscriptions from North Sumatra (Griffiths 2014b, 225 n. 58), such a morpheme occurs in post-Śrīvijayan OM. It also occurs in the LCI, certainly in lines 1 and 10 (*diṁ* = /di-ŋ/) and possibly in line 4 (if one is to read *dṅan-da-ṅ* in place of *dṅan daṅ*).
2. That OM had an irrealis (or "subjunctive") suffix *-a*, lost in later forms of Malay, has been documented for Śrīvijayan OM (Mahdi 2005, 198) although only based on very few examples. The LCI contains two clear instances in the verb forms *ntah-a* and *bar-ujar-a*.
3. Instead of the suffixes *ni-* and *mar-* that are typical for Śrīvijayan OM, the LCI uses the prefixes *var-* and *di-*, corresponding neatly to S/IM *ber-/di-*, just like we find in the OM variety of later Sumatran sources, such as the Bukit Gombak I inscription and the Tanjung Tanah manuscript. Those who wish to learn more about epigraphic and

grammatical data may refer to the diagnostic prefixes column in the table in Griffiths's (2018, 281–83) "The Corpus of Inscriptions in the Old Malay Language" and the one in Uli Kozok's (2015, 199) *A 14th Century Malay Code of Laws*.

4. The apparently free variation of third-person singular and plural pronominal suffixes *-ña* and *-(n)da* in *sādāña* (line 8) besides *sādānda* (line 7), perhaps also in *dṅan-ña* and *dṅan-da-ṅ* (line 4), requires explanation, as does the function of *-ña* in *lavan· dṅan·ña sānak* (line 2).

Lexicon

We only comment here on words for which we can improve or add something vis-à-vis the last version of Postma's (1992b, appendix 1) "tentative vocabulary." The words are arranged in roman alphabetical order. A number appearing parenthetically after a headword indicates the line(s) of the text where the word in question, or a derived form, occurs. A question mark, in this context, indicates that the occurrence of the given word is not certain in the given line.

aṅkatan (2): Postma listed this word as a personal name, and consequently translated the combination *dayaṅ aṅkatan* as "Lady Aṅkatan." On *dayaṅ*, see our entry below. We tentatively connect *aṅkatan* with the meaning "to raise, adopt," which is common for the verb *angkat* in CM and S/IM, and translate it as "taken over." A problem with this interpretation is that the derived nominal form *angkatan* never seems to have such a meaning in CM and S/IM. A second possibility would be to consider *aṅkatan* as marking an elevation to a higher social status, which is another common meaning for *angkat* in CM and S/IM. However, this second possibility does not seem consistent with the situation of debt bondage. Thirdly, in CM and S/IM, *angkatan* can express the meaning "expedition, troops," which would yield for *dayaṅ aṅkatan* a meaning like "female attendant of the troops."

anak (2, 3, 7, 8): "child." See **sānak**.

anu (5, *śuddhānu* = *śuddha+anu*): From Postma's text and his entry under *śuddha*, it appears that he understood *śuddhānu* as consisting of two words, *śuddha* and *nu*, with the second meaning "and," but there is no separate entry *nu* in his vocabulary. We see no evidence to support Postma's interpretation, which also fails to explain the long *ā*. Rather,

we must have here *śuddha* plus *anu* joined by the vowel *sandhi*. (For the meaning of *anu* required here, cf. OJ *anu/anuṅ* and Blust and Trussel 2010, 3688.)

barjādi (4?, 6, 7, 8): Hector Santos (in Patanñe 1996, 98) pointed out that "Postma's first and third versions translate *barjadi* as 'representing.' His second version translated *barjadi* as 'represented by'. Finally, the fourth one assigns different meanings to *barjadi* and is the most inconsistent of the four versions as far as the translation of *barjadi* is concerned." In fact, Postma's glossary entry *jadi* cites the meanings "to be(come); represent; to wit" and mentions the cognates *dadi* (Javanese) and *yari* (Tagalog). What does not seem to have been stated clearly so far is that, although a variety of forms based on *jadi* are very commonly used in Malay, the derivation *barjādi* (which would be *berjadi* in S/IM) is extremely uncommon, and no forms of *jadi/dadi* are ever used in similar contexts in other OM/OJ inscriptions. In other OM texts, we only find the base form *jādi* in the meaning "to be born" (Cœdès 1930, 40, 68; Casparis 1956, 5, 346). We have the impression that *barjādi* is used in our text to mark formal appellations that their bearers would have received as adults, for instance, during some kind of initiation, as opposed to *barṅaran*, which would mark a name given at birth or in youth. (Since we have no knowledge of the naming system that was current in the given context, we try to use our words carefully.) In two cases, *barjādi* stands directly before Sanskrit names; in one case it introduces a long title terminated by a Sanskrit name, and in the fourth it stands before a Javanese title (*saṅ pamgat mḍaṅ*). If our understanding is correct, it means that *jādi* has the expected sense of "becoming" but with the nuance of gaining a new identity in the form of a title.[46]

barṅāran (2): It is remarkable that the language of this inscription does not use *nāma* for "name" (known already to have been borrowed into some forms of OM prior to 900 CE from the Sojomerto and Sang Hyang Wintang inscriptions referred to by Postma [1991a, 168 n. 5; 1992a, 200 n. 9; 1992b, 16 n. 8] in all his publications), but *ṅāran*, a typically OM spelling (with vowel length on the penultimate syllable) of OJ *ṅaran* that is not found in other OM documents. Among modern Malay varieties, the heavily Javanized dialect of Banjarmasin in Kalimantan Selatan Province on Borneo has *ba-ngaran* in the same

meaning (Abdul 1977, 126). The only occurrence of *barṅāran* stands immediately before what is clearly an indigenous name, Si Bukah. See also the discussion under *barjādi*.

daṅ hvan (3, 4, 5, 6, 9): Without further comment, Postma translated this combination that is unattested elsewhere in OM as "his honor." The first element is only very rarely attested in other OM texts, once in the combination *daṅ hyaṅ ratnatraya* (the holy triple jewel [of Buddhism]), and another instance standing before the word *svāmi* (master, husband) in a fragmentary inscription (Casparis 1956, 6, 345). Thus, its function is not clearly determinable on the basis of OM data alone. However, the cognate word *ḍaṅ* is well known in OJ where it is a "particle preceding a noun or proper name, denoting a religious person (*guru*) of distinction; often followed by *hyaṅ*" (Zoetmulder 1982). Although it has never been recognized as such, the term *ḍaṅ hvan* occurs in a half dozen of Javanese inscriptions, some of them not yet properly published, dating between 851 and 944 CE, and seems to have been current especially in East Java.[47] The occurrences in OJ epigraphy leave no doubt that *ḍaṅ hvan* was distinguished both from *ḍaṅ hyaṅ* (the holy one [named]) and *ḍaṅ ācārya* (the master [named]). It seems, like those expressions, to have been used as a personal article preceding proper names although it also seems to have served as a common noun designating some kind of occupation. Much more common than *ḍaṅ hvan*, in OJ, are verbal forms derived from the base *hvan*, such as *(m)aṅhvan*, meaning "to herd, to observe attentively." We therefore tentatively suggest that the combination *ḍaṅ hvan* means something like "the overseer" in the Javanese context and that its OM equivalent *daṅ hvan* does the same in our context.

dayaṅ (2): The word *dayang* means "female attendant; damsel; maid of honor" in CM (Marsden 1812), implying not only the idea of service but also the possibility of a certain prestige attached to the task, while *ḍayaṅ* is glossed as "female (of an animal or bird); prostitute" in P. J. Zoetmulder's (1982) *Old Javanese–English Dictionary* (*OJED*).[48] In the heavily Javanized Malay dialect of Banjarmasin, *pan-dayang-an* has the meaning of "prostitute" (Abdul 1977, 134). The word *dayang* is not widespread in the languages of the Philippines, suggesting that where it does occur (Tagalog, Ilokano, and Palawano), it is a borrowing from Malay (Blust and Trussel 2010). Postma (1992b, 16) indicated

that the Tagalog meaning is "wife of leader" and opined that "Dayang in the LCI would be difficult to maintain in its Old Javanese meaning of 'prostitute.' Here, too, a Tagalog meaning would make more sense." We doubt that Postma would have maintained this position if he had been aware of the abundant evidence, in OJ sources, which would have allowed him to make an explicit connection between *ḍayaṅ* and the enslaved status of *hulun* (see *diparhulun* in line 8). For the language of our text, we need to assume a meaning like "female attendant" or even "concubine." Regarding the possibility that the status of *dayaṅ* might have implied an intimate relationship with a master/creditor, we may cite the following two OJ inscriptions, both from East Java. The first is the Gandhakuti charter (1042 CE), lines 1v1–1v4: *ika umguṅ riṅ dharmma gandhakuṭi iṅ kambaṅ śrī, vkanira vnaṅa . . . marabya ḍayaṅ, ahuluna ḍayaṅ, pujut jāṅgi, amupuhāṅrahana, aṅguntiṅāmupuheṅ tumpər*, . . . "The residents of the foundation of Gandhakuṭi at Kambaṅ Śrī, [i.e.,] their offspring should have the privilege . . . to mate with *ḍayaṅ*; to own *ḍayaṅ, pujut* or *jəṅgi* as slaves, to beat and wound [them], to amputate or beat them with a burning stick (*tumpər*); . . ."[49] The second inscription is the Malenga charter (1052 CE), line 3r4: *vnaṅ ajamaha kavula, aṅrvabaṇa utaṅ, adr̥vya ḍayaṅ, ahuluna boṇḍan, pujut*, which means "entitled to mate with slaves, to wipe their debt clean by taking them in possession as *ḍayaṅ*, to have *boṇḍan* or *pujut* as slaves."[50] Similar terminology is also found in a passage from an unpublished prescriptive text called *Śaivaśāsana* cited in the ***OJED*** (Zoetmulder 1982) under *bikaṅ: vənaṅ ta sirārabya ḍayaṅ bikaṅ, ahuluna ta sira ḍayaṅ bikaṅ vuṅkuk bule*, which translates as "They are authorized to mate with *ḍayaṅ bikaṅ*; they may have ownership of *ḍayaṅ bikaṅ*, hunchbacks, albinos."[51]

devata (9): Postma (1991a, 166; 1991b, 8; 1992a, 193; 1992b, 10) listed this word among possible personal names or toponyms and "names of Sanskrit origin," translated it as though it were a toponym, and offered an interesting argument in support of the idea that the place called Devata was located in Butuan or elsewhere in Mindanao: "the map of Mindanao mentions Diuata (or Diwata) in three locations, 1) as Diwata Point of Butuan Bay; 2) as Diwata Mountains east of Butuan City, and 3) as Mount Diwata further to the East" (Postma 1992b, 13). In

his glossary, he indicated "God (J/M); fairy/nymph (K/T); placename in Mindanao." In a passage of the sixteenth-century Boxer Codex, which concerns the islands of Luzon, Panay, and Cebu, one reads that the population "had and revered one God, the creator of all things, whom some call Bathala, others May-ari and others Dioata."[52] The word *devata* in the languages of maritime Southeast Asia ultimately originates in the Sanskrit word *devatā*, which means "deity" in general. However, the word has undergone a semantic specification after it was borrowed and come to be connected with the ancestors. Thus, in OJ, the word means "god, deity; having entered the divine state, deceased" (Zoetmulder 1982). More specifically, in OJ inscriptions contemporary with the LCI, *devata* is used to designate deceased kings in their places of enshrinement.[53] The word also occurs in Śrīvijayan OM, but has been interpreted by most scholars as meaning simply "deity."[54] Significantly, Jan Gonda (1973/1998, 221) has pointed out that "[i]n the Philippines *divata* or *davata* (Bisaya) or *dinata* (Manobo) are the souls of the deceased." In this light, it seems that the type of deity conveyed by the word *devata* in the LCI is very likely to have been a deceased ancestor.

diparlappas (5): See **lappas**.

dṅan (2, 4): Postma translated the first occurrence (in the combination *lavan dṅan*) as "with" and the second as "through," and listed "by" as a meaning in his glossary. To take the word in any other way than as meaning "with" (Mahdi 2005, 196) would be forced; the meaning "by" is expressed with *ulih* in this text. We consider *lavan dṅan* equivalent to S/IM *bersama dengan*.

graṅ (9, 10): Postma glossed this word as "if, perchance [gerang (M); galang (K); barang (Y)]," meaning that he considered Kapampangan *galang* and Mangyan *barang* cognates with the OM word. In his comments on the two occurrences of the word in three Śrīvijayan OM inscriptions, Johannes de Casparis (1956, 346) noted that the word was used in every instance before the word *kadāci*, borrowed from Sanskrit, where *kadācit* means "at any time." He further observed that the word must be connected with *gerangan* in S/IM, but its use seems to be slightly different. Still, according to De Casparis (ibid.), "The meaning of *graṃ kadāci* appears to be 'if, on the contrary', 'if, however.' As a matter of fact, *kadāci* alone is used to formulate crimes with their

sanctions, whereas *graṃ kadāci* is found towards the end of the texts when good acts with recompenses are mentioned." In the LCI the word is used without *kadāci* but is separated by the word *syāt* (see the lexicon entry below) from *syāpa.* We believe that we are dealing with the OM antecedent of S/IM *barang siapa*. Similarly, the combination *graṁ kadāci* can be interpreted as equivalent to *barang kali* or *sembarang waktu.* On the linguistic history of the Malay morpheme *barang*, one may also consult Adelaar's (1994b) "The History of Thing, Animal, Person and Related Concepts in Malay." Historical linguists do not so far seem to have given attention to the history of Malay *gerang-an*, so we limit ourselves to noting the phonological and functional similarity between *graṅ* in OM (where *baraṅ* is unattested) and *barang* in later forms of Malay (where *graṅ* seems to survive, but in slightly different usage, in the word *gerangan*).[55]

jādi: See **barjādi**.

jyotiṣa (1): According to Amrit Gomperts (2001, 99), "*Jyotiṣa* is the general Sanskrit word for Indian astronomy, astrology and divination, while the Old Javanese word *jyotiṣa* means 'astrologer'." In fact, the word can designate both astral science and a specialist thereof in Sanskrit. Although a person called Bhagavanta Jyotiṣa occurs in the OJ Palepangan inscription (906 CE), line 3, and Postma has interpreted *diṅ jyotiṣa* as "according to the astronomer," it seems more likely to us that the science rather than the expert is intended here.

kaparāvis (9): See Cœdès (1930) on *parāvis*; the *ka-* seems to be equivalent in function to the *ke-* in S/IM *kesemua(nya).*

kasumuran (6): This word is derived by the circumfix *ka-. . .-an* from a base *sumur*. In OJ there are occurrences of *sumur* (and various derived forms) already in texts dating to the ninth or tenth century. In S/IM, besides *sumur*, meaning "well," there is *sumber* /sumbər/ meaning "source." This second word is presumably related to the first although showing an epenthetic *b*, and both are presumably loanwords from Javanese.[56] The base *sumur* is not found in Austronesian languages that have not undergone heavy influence from Javanese, no cognates being attested in languages of the Philippines, and no corresponding entry included in the *ACD* (Blust and Trussel 2010). There are two occurrences of the precise word *kasumuran*, which may have been a toponym, in OJ inscriptions of the late ninth century (Damais 1970,

530). On morphological grounds, one expects it to mean something like "well area," but such a meaning cannot be confirmed from the contexts in the two passages in question. The first is in the Jurungan charter (Java, 876 CE): *anuṅ milu manusuk kasumuran si niru mas mā 8 vḍihan aṅsit yu muaṅ raṅga yu 2*, meaning "The one who took part in demarcating the *kasumuran* [named] *si* Niru: 8 *māṣa* of gold, [2] sets of *vḍihan aṅsit* and 2 sets of *raṅga*." The second is in the Mulak I charter (Java, 878 CE): *paṅuraṅ rakryan mavanua saṅ kasumuran pu maṅlīna* "the *paṅuraṅ* [tax collector] was the lord village-owner, the *kasumuran* [called] *pu* Maṅlīna." It seems unlikely to us that Postma (1991b, 22; 1992b) was right in leaving open the possibility that the word serves as a personal name. Tiongson (2013b, 24–26) has tried to argue, with reference to the modern-day Javanese toponyms Sumur Upas and Sumur Bandung, that *kasumuran* in the LCI is connected with the idea of "source," which allows him to link the toponym Puliran Kasumuran to the upstream area of river systems feeding into Laguna de Bay. If only for the reason that the predominant meaning of *sumur* is "well" and not "source," we find this hypothesis too weakly founded.

kāyastha (4–5): This word, borrowed from Sanskrit, is used in Indian inscriptions of the first millennium CE to designate the scribes of legal documents.[57] In her monograph dedicated to the social history of kāyastha in India, Chitrarekha Gupta (1996, 27) explained that legal documents were often written by *kāyastha* and that the Sanskrit legal text *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* "prescribed that if a document of debt was written by a person not belonging to the parties involved the writer was to put his own signature in it, along with those of the debtor and the witnesses, otherwise it would not be regarded as a valid document." The word is found in one other OM inscription (Casparis 1956, 20, 32) and also very occasionally in OJ epigraphy. However, the function of the class of people it designates never emerges clearly in these Indonesian sources. We interpret the LCI's brief and anonymous indication of the scribe with the words *dṅan daṅ kāyastha* in the light of the evidence from the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* and refer for further discussion to pp. 198 and 207.

krama (4): Postma (1992a, 186–87) printed *dikrama* as a single word and translated it as "This means that" without an explanatory note. In his unpublished paper (Postma 1992b), he translated it as "To the

effect that," while the glossary (ibid., 2–3) makes clear that he took *krama* to be a noun through the entries: "*dikrama* 4 thru conduct, behaviour; by action of (?)" and "*krama* (S) 4 conduct; behaviour; action; *dikrama* 4 thru conduct, behaviour; by action of (?)." The meanings quoted by Postma are those cited for this loanword from Sanskrit in the ***OJED*** (Zoetmulder 1982, krama I 3). The other meanings listed for this word in the ***OJED*** (ibid., krama I 1 and 2) are "order, sequence" and "how something is or happens, state, condition." We are aware of only one other occurrence of *krama* in the OM corpus. However, it is in a fragmentary inscription (Bukit Seguntang, line 18), was left untranslated by its editor (Casparis 1956, 2–6), and is not preceded by *di* there. In OJ, *di* would be *ri(ṅ)*, or *i(ṅ)*, but the combination *ri(ṅ) krama* occurs very rarely in epigraphy. The only passage we can cite at this time is from the eleventh-century Pucangan inscription, face B, lines 32–33: *yāṅkən mantrastavanamaskāra śrī mahārāja ri bhaṭāra sāri-sāri, mvaṅ paṅliṅgānanikāṅ rāt, karuhun saṅ anāgataprabhu hlam i dlāhaniṅ dlāha, ri kramani de śrī mahārāja munarjīvākən sāśvatāniṅ sayavadvīpa*, "It was like the Great King's permanent homage with mantras and eulogies to the Lord and was to be evidence for the people, first of all the future kings, thereafter in the future's future, regarding the specifics of the manner of the Great King's reviving the constant well-being of the whole island of Java." However, in contrast to this passage, in which *ri krama* responds to *paṁliṅgānanikāṁ rāt* (evidence for the people) in what precedes it, it seems to us that the LCI uses *di krama* rather to refer forward to the specifics that will be given in the remainder of the sentence. For such usage, we may compare the expression *kunaṅ kramanya* (as for its details) in an eleventh-century Javanese inscription, which Griffiths (2020a, 111–13) has recently studied.

lappas (10), **diparlappas** (5): The spelling reflects the pronunciation /ləpas/, i.e., S/IM *lepas*. The term is used here as the Malay equivalent of the Sanskrit *śuddha* to express a debt being settled. The most common term in S/IM is *lunas* (paid back), which is from Javanese, but the expressions *melepaskan hutang* (to acquit a debt) and *lepas dari utang* (acquitted from a debt) continue the ancient usage seen in our text.

makāña (8): Postma glossed it as "and; then; subsequently (s)he," but the meaning we see in S/IM *makanya* (the reason why) would be more

suitable in this context. See also modern Javanese *mangka-ne* in the same meaning. It initially seemed uncertain to us that this meaning existed already in earlier forms of Malay. However, consultation of the *Malay Concordance Project* (Proudfoot n.d.) reveals that some relatively early CM prose texts, such as *Hikayat Indraputra*, already use *makanya* in the causal sense. It is, therefore, unproblematic to postulate this sense also for OM.

mḍaṅ (8): The occurrence of the toponym Mḍaṅ seems to be an undeniable piece of evidence for a direct connection with the political and religious life of contemporary Java, where this toponym was closely associated with the name of the founder of the polity in Central Java, i.e., with King Sañjaya, who seems to have been enshrined at Mḍaṅ, as it appears from his posthumous designation as "Ancestor who has been deified at Mḍaṅ."[58] The Javanese epigraphic data published by the 1960s and previous opinions were summarized in Soekmono's (1967) "A Geographical Reconstruction of Northeastern Central Java and the Location of Medang" (cf. Boechari 1976, 2012). Also, De Casparis (1988, 39) summarized the data as follows: "The site (or sites) of the famous Central Javanese royal residence of Mĕḍang (OJ) is still unknown." It should be noted, however, that the list of more than 120 persons called *saṅ pamgat* (or, in abbreviated form, *samgat*) in Javanese epigraphy published by Damais (1970, 986–89) contains not a single *saṅ pamgat* or *samgat* of Mḍaṅ. See the entry for *pamgat*.

ṅāran: See **barṅāran**.

nāyaka tuhān (4, 5, 6): Postma translated this combination as "the Leader and Elder." While *nāyaka* is a loanword from Sanskrit (where its basic meaning is indeed "leader"), *tuhān* is a Malay/Javanese term meaning "master, foreman," not to be confused with *tuha* (old).[59] The two words are attested both in Śrīvijayan OM and in OJ epigraphy.[60] They are, moreover, found together in OJ epigraphy, but in the reverse order, in the expression *tuhānniṅ nāyaka* (master of *nāyaka*) that is also seen extended to *tuhānniṅ kanāyakan* (master of the group of *nāyaka*).[61] In the Javanese context, the *nāyaka* had some connection with revenue collection.[62] The combination *nāyaka tuhān* that we find in our text, always preceded by *ḍaṅ hvan* (see the relevant entry), is not found in any other source known to us, and its concrete meaning must therefore remain a matter of speculation.

ntāha (10): This form, not recognized by Postma (whose publications show a single "word" *syāpantāha*), must be an irrealis form derived from *ntah*, i.e., S/IM *entah* (to doubt, to ignore).

pamgat (3, 7, 8, 9): Postma cited an array of evidence suggesting the possibility that this derivation from a base *pəgat* was indigenous to ancient Luzon. However, it seems equally possible, and indeed more plausible, that the term originated in Javanese administrative culture and was borrowed from there into OM, through which it was exported far from Java. Several hundred years after the creation of the LCI, we find the word *samgat* (= *saṅ pamgat*) in a fourteenth-century OM manuscript from highland Sumatra (cf. Kozok 2015, 86, 125).

paścāt diṅ āri kamudyan (10): *Paścāt* is Sanskrit and means "subsequently," *diṅ āri kamudyan* would be *di hari kemudian* or *di kemudian hari* in S/IM. This kind of twin-form involving synonyms from Sanskrit and the vernacular language is typical of discourse in various ancient Austronesian languages from "Indianized" cultures. See *sana tatkāla* in this same inscription. For examples further afield, from the Kingdom of Campā, see the article by Edouard Huber (1905, 172–74).[63] Jan Gonda (1973/1988, 472–73) provides an explanation of the phenomenon as a stylistic device, which he calls "twin-forms" and cites numerous examples from the languages of Indonesia.[64]

puliran (6–7): This toponym is reminiscent of the OJ base *pulir* "to whirl" and of the toponym Vuliran found twice in roughly contemporary OJ inscriptions (Jurungan of 876 CE and Paradah II of 943 CE — cf. Damais 1970, 668).

sāda (7, 8): Postma first glossed *sāda* as "all of them," and under the same entry he glossed the suffixed forms *sādā-ña/sādā-nda* as "all his/her existing/available . . ." while under the entry *sa-* he had glossed them as "all that belong(s) to him/her." We are inclined to give to *sa-ada* the precise OM equivalent of OJ *sa-hana*, exactly the same sense as the OJ word has, namely "all," although we cannot exclude that the word meant more specifically "all those present of the . . . ."

sāna tatkāla (2): On this "twin-form," widespread in this form and some variants throughout the OM epigraphic corpus, see Griffiths (2014b, 217, 225, 227, 234; 2018, 279; 2020b, 57). See also our general comments on "twin-forms" under the entry *paścāt diṅ āri kamudyan*.

sānak (2, 7): Postma listed its possible meanings as "brother/sister/

relative" (citing OJ) and "kindred" (citing S/IM), and translated the word as "relative" in line 2 and "family" in line 7. We have considered translating the word as "all children" or as "relatives," but settled in the end for "siblings," in line with one of the meanings defined for the word *sānak* in the ***OJED*** (Zoetmulder 1982) and cited by Postma.[65] Although it is theoretically possible to interpret the prefix *sa* in *sānak* (= *sa-anak*) as meaning "all" when *sānak* occurs in line 2, which tallies well with what one might expect the text to say about inherited debt (see pp. 201–5), it is impossible to obtain the meaning "all children" from *sādānda sānak kaparāvis* in line 7 (unless one is willing to assume a redundancy of *sa* in *sa-ada-nda sa-anak*), for which "all her relatives together" or "all her siblings together" would seem to be much more natural translations. All in all, it seems to us that "siblings" fits all contexts best and fits just as well as "children" with what we expect the text to be saying about inherited debt. In lines 8–9, *sādāña anak cucu daṅ hvan namvran* then designates the same group of siblings and their children from the perspective of the siblings' father's generation.

śuddha (5, 9): For the technical/legal sense of this word, which lies behind S/IM *sudah*, see the work of Gonda (1973/1988, 565). See also pp. 199 and 209.

syāt (10): Postma glossed it as "eventually (?)." The word is an inflected Sanskrit verb form, the third person singular optative of *as* (to be), inserted into the text presumably to emphasize the irrealis modality of the sentence. The OJ usage of *astu* (third person singular imperative from the same Sanskrit verb) is comparable. Zoetmulder (1982) defines it as follows: "frequent at the beginning of an imprecation, a curse, a blessing, a prophecy."

varadāna (3): The use of this Sanskrit word, which means "the granting of a boon or request; the giving of compensation or reward," in the phrase *dibari varadāna viśuddhapātra* describes the *viśuddhapātra* as something bestowed in granting a request. We may presume that Si Bukah petitioned to get one and the present document is the result.

valānda (5): Postma (1992a, 187) translated this word as "salary-related," while adding in a footnote that "The word is obscure in this context. However, if *walānda* could be read as *welānda*, it could be translated as 'to the amount of'. . ." in relation to a debt, and simply

adopted the latter solution in his unpublished translation (Postma 1992b), with "the amount of, amounting to [*balanja*, *blanja* (J/M)]" in the corresponding glossary entry. We do not understand how reading *velānda* would yield the indicated meaning (and we have indicated in note 29 that we consider this reading impossible). Postma (1991a, 170) had already raised the same idea in his initial publication, in which he wrote: "*Walānda* (or *welānda*?) might be related to Javanese *balanja* or *blanja* (salary, living expenses), tentatively translated here as 'salary-related.'" However, the explanation of the word in connection with S/IM *belanja* does not work because *belanja* is very likely a loanword from Sinhalese-Pali *valañja* (Gonda 1973/1988, 80–81), and there would be no reason for the OM loan to show *nd* if *valānda* too were based on the same Sinhalese-Pali word with its *ñj*, i.e., /nʤ/. Clearly, the word must be analyzed as *vala+nda*, with typical OM marking of vowel length on the penultimate vowel. It is not hard to imagine how *vala*, from Sanskrit *bala*, meaning "force," could come to mean "weight, amount," which would yield one of Postma's translations. However, considering the way amounts of gold are stated in contemporary OJ inscriptions, often without any word explicitly expressing the meaning "amount," we think it is unnecessary to seek this meaning in *valānda*. Moreover, *vala* never seems to have undergone such a semantic development in the languages of Indonesia (cf. ibid., index entries for *bala* and *vala*), where the meaning is always "army" or similar, and the word occurs in this meaning already in the Śrīvijayan OM Kedukan Bukit inscription (ibid., 204). We, therefore, interpret the word as meaning ". . . (of) his army," without excluding the possibility that *valānda* is an error for *vapānda* in which case we could translate it as "of her/their father."

viśuddhapātra (3): See pp. 198–99 for further discussion of this word, which was borrowed from Sanskrit (where one would expect the spelling *viśuddhipattra* or *viśuddhipatra*).

vluṁ (10): Although Postma recognized that this word is S/IM *belum*, his transcription *wlung* obscures the sound correspondence as it is based on the wrong assumption that the *anusvāra/cecak* sign *ṁ* always represents a velar nasal (see p. 182 and especially note 45 on p. 224).

The Old Tagalog Hypothesis

For anyone with knowledge of OM epigraphy, and with the aforementioned reference works at hand (Vikør 1988; Mahdi 2005), there can be no reasonable doubt about the identification of the language of the LCI as being a variety of OM. The facts that the inscription's variety of OM is rich in loanwords, especially from Javanese, and that it contains some toponyms known from Old Tagalog sources as well as some lexical items that also exist in Old Tagalog do not furnish a linguistically or historically sound argument for considering the language of the inscription as anything other than OM. Yet these features of the LCI seem to underlie the reluctance to accepting the linguistic facts that are noticeable in the way the document is received in the Philippines, leading to a variety of qualifications that react against an ostensible "Indonesian bias" and leave open some role for Old Tagalog.[66]

Tiongson (2013b), in his recent study, even goes so far as to claim that the language was not OM at all but Old Tagalog.[67] This Old Tagalog hypothesis, as propounded by Tiongson, suffers from a number of methodological weaknesses. First and foremost, the author does not propose a new edition, making it impossible to grasp in detail where he diverges from Postma's readings—except for a few cases explicitly commented upon—and word divisions. Instead, Tiongson offers lists of lexical correspondences between words excerpted from the LCI and entries from seventeenth-century Tagalog dictionaries, leading to a translation into Modern Tagalog that differs in many ways from Postma's. This approach tends to obscure the presence of composite expressions, such as those we have exposed in our lexicon (e.g., *sāna tatkāla* and *paścāt diṅ āri kamudyan*), which make perfect sense against the background of OM epigraphy but cannot be explained as Old Tagalog. The specific arguments reveal a willingness to squeeze the data into a predetermined interpretive mold (e.g., the claim that the sounds expressed by the letters *d*, *r*, and *l* are interchangeable [ibid., 57–58]) and insufficient familiarity with the OM primary data as well as the relevant secondary literature (e.g., the claim that LCI *bari* cannot be equated with S/IM *beri* "to give" because of the difference of the vowel in the first syllable, or the claim that *di-* as passive prefix occurs only in one OM inscription [ibid., 58, 67]). For these reasons, and others to be discussed in the conclusion of this article, the identification of the language of the LCI as Old Tagalog must be considered unsubstantiated.

Historical Interpretations

The LCI forms the first part of an inscription that would have extended over at least two plates in its original state. Therefore, the information we have is incomplete. Despite this condition, it allows for formulating interesting hypotheses on certain aspects of sociopolitical life in ninth- or tenth-century Luzon. As discussed previously, the text concerns the clearance of a debt contracted by a certain *daṅ hvan* Namwran. The plate mentions the date on which the clearance was issued and the amount of debt cleared, confirms that all descendants were cleared from the debt, and gives the names and titles of the people involved: one relative of the indebted, the indebted himself, a scribe, three witnesses, and an official.

The Date of the LCI

The dating formula at the opening of the document uses terms of the Indian *pañcāṅga* or "five-element" calendar system based on the Sanskrit astronomical treatise *Sūryasiddhānta* (Casparis 1978, 7, 23, 53). Our formula involves the following variables and their corresponding value: era–Śaka, year–822 (expired), month–Vaiśākha, fortnight–*kr̥ṣṇa* (waning), number–*caturthi* (4), and weekday–*somavāra* (Monday).

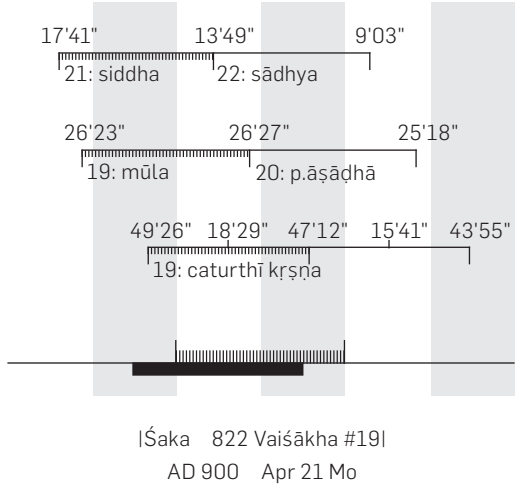


Fig. 5. The dating parameters of the inscription

Source: The authors, using HIC software

If one fills in the above parameters in the online date conversion software Pancanga (Yano and Fushimi 2014), the result is 21 April 900 CE, which fell on a Monday as required by the text so we may consider this conversion secure. Hector Santos (1996) reached the same result through other means.[68] The result is confirmed by the software HIC (Gislén and Eade 2007), which we used to create the diagram shown in fig. 5.

The way the variables of the date are expressed is strongly reminiscent of the way such formulas are expressed in inscriptions of Indonesia, and more particularly with the pattern observable in the dating formulas of Javanese inscriptions. To bring out this comparison, let us juxtapose the LCI's formula with one from an OJ inscription from Central Java of roughly the same period and with another from an OM inscription from South Sumatra that is more than 200 years older (see table).[69]

Comparison of the LCI dating formula with Old Malay and Old Javanese inscription from Sumatra and Java

SOURCE	FORMULA
Laguna Copperplate Inscription	*svasti śakavarṣātīta 822 vaisākhamāsa diṁ jyotiṣa, caturthi kṛṣṇapakṣa somavāra sāna tatkāla …*
Old Javanese Humanding copperplate inscription from Central Java (Damais 1955, 32–33)	*svasti śakavarṣātīta 797 baiśākhamāsa dvitīya* śuklapakṣa*, tuṁlai pon· somavāra, tatkāla …*
Old Malay Talang Tuwo (or Śrīkṣetra) stone inscription, South Sumatra (ibid., 235)	*svasti • śrī śakavarṣātīta • 606 diṁ dvitīya* śuklapakṣa *vulan· caitra sāna tatkālāña …*

Our dating formula has in common with the Javanese pattern, as opposed to the Sumatran one, the fact that the month is called *māsa* and not *vulan*, and the fact that the month is stated before the number of the day and the fortnight rather than after those variables.[70] However, there are also noteworthy differences: The variables for the indigenous Javanese five-day and six-day cycles (*tuṁlai* and *pon* in the above example), typically stated in Javanese dates before the Sanskrit name of the "seven-day cycle" (week),

are absent in the LCI's date as they are from the Talang Tuwo formula and indeed from all known dating formulas of Sumatran inscriptions, while the use of the words *diṁ jyotiṣa* (for reference, see *jyotiṣa* in the lexicon) finds no analogy in any Indonesian dating formula that we know. In short, the way the date is expressed reveals simultaneously a clear impact of Javanese documentary culture, some agreement with Malay documentary culture, and a small (possibly local) adaptation of Malay and Javanese patterns.

The Nature of the Document

The document styles itself a *viśuddhapātra*, a localized spelling of what would be called a *viśuddha-patra* or *viśuddhi-patra*, i.e., a "document (*patra*) of clearance (*viśuddhi*)," in the Sanskritic juridical vocabulary that spread from South Asia to Southeast Asia in the course of the first millennium.[71] Although Luzon is far from India, and this article focuses on our document's Southeast Asian context, it seems indispensable to note that Sanskrit legal literature has a long history, not well documented in all periods, and that the first important occurrence of the technical term *śuddhi*, equivalent here to *viśuddhi*, is found in the fifth-century collection of legal rules called *Yājñavalkasmṛti*, where we read (in stanza 2.97):

> dattvarṇaṁ pāṭayel lekhyaṁ śuddhyai vānyat tu kārayet |
> sākṣimac ca bhaved yas tu dātavyaṁ tat sasākṣikam ||
>
> After paying back the debt, he should tear up the document; or he should have another executed as acquittance. A debt contracted in the presence of witnesses should be repaid also in the presence of witnesses.

We cite the edition and translation by Patrick Olivelle (2019, 144–45), on whose work we also rely for the dating of the text. The same scholar has pointed out (ibid., xiii) that Yājñavalkya, the author of the Sanskrit work, "is the first to use the technical term *lekhya* for a legal document. The importance of documents is evident in the rise of a professional scribal class called *kāyastha* mentioned for the first time by Yājñavalkya." This last term, *kāyastha*, also figures in the LCI (see the lexicon). We thus see that the terminological frame of reference for recording the transaction that took place in Luzon in 900 CE was a cosmopolitan tradition of legal

scholarship that had its roots in India. The term *viśuddhipattra* occurs as such in Indian legal literature in texts that cannot always be dated with any precision, but some of which may be assumed to have been in circulation by the end of the ninth century. However, it has a different meaning in those early texts. The first datable occurrence of the term in the meaning of "debt clearance document" in Sanskrit literature is quite a bit later than our inscription, in Vijñāneśvara's (ca. 1100 CE) commentary on the above *Yājñavalkasmṛti* stanza.[72] And physical examples of such documents from South Asia are even more recent.[73] On the one hand, our document thus shows a usage that must have existed in India but for which textual evidence is still lacking in contemporary Sanskrit sources.[74] On the other hand, documents that are in many ways comparable to the LCI and style themselves *śuddhapatra* or else use the terms *śuddha* or *śuddhapariśuddha* to designate clearance of debt, were issued in Java within a very similar timeframe.[75] Together, these documents attest to the wide dissemination of a very specific documentary practice and vocabulary in maritime Southeast Asia around the turn of the tenth century.

Measures and Metals

The turn of the tenth century stood at the very beginning of a period of expansion of Asian trade, with the opening of the Chinese market and the intensification of trade with South India (Wisseman Christie 1998; Wade 2009). The period saw an increase in interinsular exchanges, where measured weights of gold and iron bars and measures of rice were all standardized enough to be readily used as a medium of exchange. However, they were progressively replaced by golden and silver alloy coinage that used a hybrid weight-value system, combining Indian and local unit names (Wisseman Christie 1996, 256). It is in this context that we should read the use of *kāṭi* and *suvarṇa* in the LCI.

The inscription gives the amount of the debt initially contracted as 1 *kāṭi* and 8 *suvarṇa* of gold, which amounts to between 1,058.8 and 1,076.8 grams. As was the convention in all the places where this system was in use, the units appear in the abbreviated forms *kā* and *su* (Wicks 1986, 45). On the one hand, the term *kāṭi*, borrowed into Javanese and Malay from the Tamil *kaṭṭi* (Hoogervorst 2015, 72; 2019, 179–80),[76] was the largest unit in this early currency system. The term was widely used in maritime Southeast Asia and had a varying weight depending on the period. In early Java it

weighed between 750 and 768 grams. On the other hand, *suvarṇa*, a Sanskrit term for gold and gold coins, appeared as a unit of weight (38.60 grams) for measuring gold in the currency weight system in early Java (Wisseman Christie 1996, 257, 259).

These units were not directly represented by standardized coins or ingots but were related to coinage as accountancy units (ibid., 261). Therefore, the amount of 1 *kāṭi* and 8 *suvarṇa* of gold may have been borrowed under various forms. The so-called *piloncito*,[77] a type of gold coin of relatively small size and globular shape, immediately comes to mind as it was used as a medium of exchange and circulated between Indonesia and the Philippines from the ninth through the twelfth centuries. Such coins, whose prototypes were first created in the Javanese kingdom of Mataram between the eighth and ninth centuries, weighed between 2.1 and 2.5 grams[78] in Java and Bali (Wicks 1986, 45, 55; Wisseman Christie 1996, 24). However, the ones found in the Philippines, precisely in the Laguna area (Calamba, Mandaluyong, and Makati) and Manila Bay (Bataan), and also in Mindoro and Mindanao, weigh between 0.09 and 2.65 grams (Legarda 1976a, 8, 11; 1976b, 192, 197–98). Gold ornaments, barter rings, and bamboo tubes filled with gold, attested in exchange in the Philippines (Legarda 1976a, 15), may also have been part of this system of monetary-weight values.

Previous authors have written about the importance of the gold industry in precolonial Luzon in relation to the inscription. These studies are based either on the rich vocabulary found in dictionaries of the early seventeenth century (Postma 1992a, 197; Tiongson 2013b, 36–39), emphasizing the technical sophistication and aesthetic qualities of local production, or on ethnoarchaeological findings showing how gold traveled from mines to bulking villages and ephemerous markets (*tiangge/tabu-tabuan*) to finally reach coastal maritime trading centers in northern Luzon (Canilao 2013, 2017, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c). Such approaches, as valuable as they are to understanding the socioeconomic role of gold in Philippine protohistory, have overshadowed the importance of the unit system in which the debt is recorded—and the same may be said about the attempts to localize what could have been the major mining area for gold in relation to the region of the inscription (cf. Tiongson 2013a).[79] The epigraphic record indicates that this unit system was also used in Java to express monetary value in the interest and repayment schedules on debt, among other transactions (Wisseman Christie 1996, 257), and that it was the common frame of reference for gold

and gold coinage between Java and Luzon around the turn of the tenth century (Wicks 1992, 351, 353).

Debtor and Debt Inheritance

The name of the debtor is preceded by the words *daṅ hvan*, which, as suggested in the lexicon, are used to designate a person of some distinction. His status is different from that of the three other persons designated as *daṅ hvan* because they are further specified as *nāyaka tuhān*, terms that might indicate their responsibility for the collection of revenue in different places. Wisseman Christie (2009a, 45) thought that the debt (*hutaṅ*) had been contracted by a religious official. This reading seems to have been founded on her interpretation of *daṅ hvan* as equivalent to *ḍaṅ hyaṅ* in OJ, an equivalence that is demonstrably untenable.

We know almost nothing about the debtor, except that he contracted a debt for his army (*hutaṅda valānda*), implying that he was involved in some military activity. The need to borrow money could arise in a situation where there was no standing army sustained from the state's revenue but where armed forces were conscripted on an ad hoc basis. Later accounts on warfare in Southeast Asia suggest that soldiers usually foraged food for themselves (Charney 2004, 193–94), but even if we assume that such may also have been the case here, it remains that the party organizing the military campaign would have had to provide the means of transport—the river or sea-going vessels—which would have implied substantial expenditure.[80]

Another piece of information regarding the debtor concerns his family. We know that he had at least one direct descendant, his daughter, Bukah—and possibly also other children—representing him on the day of the debt clearance. His absence can only be explained by assuming that he had died by the time of the event. In Wisseman Christie's (2009b) corpus of twenty-eight inscriptions related to debt in Java and Bali between the ninth and twelfth centuries, there is only one recorded case about the absence of a person during the settlement of a debt, involving a man who made a claim demanding a repayment but a court ruled against him on the grounds of his absence (cf. ibid., 179–80).

We know that when a debt exceeded the lifetime of the indebted, it was passed on to the debtor's children (Henley and Boomgaard 2009, 4). Debt was a common condition, even for the elite, in premodern maritime Southeast Asia, where direct economic assistance was often sought and commonly led

to servitude. The borrowing of money was therefore the first reason for debt bondage (Wisseman Christie 2009a, 51). Different categories of debt-bound people—those living with their masters and those maintaining their own households—appear not only in inscriptions of the ninth to twelfth centuries in Java and Bali (ibid., 49) but also in accounts from the sixteenth century in the Philippines. In the latter case, the *aliping namamahay* or "householder slaves" had often bought their condition with gold, which enabled them to live separately and only come on call, whereas the *aliping sa gigilid/gigilir* or "hearth slaves" lived in the lower part of the creditor's house where the hearth was (Postma 1992b, appendix 2; Scott 1991, 16–17).[81] However, more than their place of living, what differentiated them were their marital status and the condition of having a family (Scott 1983b, 149–50).

Bukah is mentioned as being a *dayaṅ*, that is to say, in our interpretation, a female servant who entered the service of the creditor to repay the debt of her father. As a consequence, she was considered an adopted member (*aṅkatan*) of her new household. The word *dayaṅ* (also discussed in the lexicon) is not attested in other OM documents but designates a female member of a courtly entourage or a maid-servant in later Malay sources (Matheson and Hooker 1983, 199); its OJ cognate *ḍayaṅ* can imply some sort of sexual servitude to the master of the house. In the present context, *dayaṅ* indeed seems to designate a servant and, although it is not possible to ascertain the nature of her relationship with the creditor, it should be kept in mind that intimate relations are attested in the context of debt bondage in Java in several inscriptions (two of them cited above, p. 186), which mention sexual intercourse in compensation for monetary debt.[82]

The *ḍayaṅ* explicitly figures as a category of servants (*hulun*) in several OJ inscriptions. In the LCI the *dayaṅ* Bukah is clearly designated as being in a position of debt bondage (*diparhulun*). The term *hulun* is not only common in OJ but is also one of the terms used in Old Balinese inscriptions to refer to classes of people held in debt bondage (Wisseman Christie 2009a, 49); it is used in the same sense in Old Cham records (Lepoutre 2015, 131–37); and it occurs in Śrīvijayan OM in the fixed combinations *hulun-tuhān* (cf. note 61) and *hulun haji*. The latter, also common in OJ inscriptions, presumably corresponds to the *hamba raja* known from later Malay sources; it seems that such "royal servants" were not necessarily of low social status (Casparis 1956, 37–38, n. 14; Matheson and Hooker 1983, 184, 195–96). The use of the term *hulun* in the LCI indicates that Luzon was part of a much larger area with a commonality of cultural practices involving the status of *hulun*.

In the LCI Namwran's direct descendants were bound to the creditor, which means that the debt might have been passed not only to Bukah but to her siblings as well (*lavan dṅan-ña sa-anak*). If we look at the few contemporary inscriptions from Java and Bali that deal with issues of debt, the inheritance of debt varies from one case to the other, without any particular rule being applied consistently, and the same can be said for later periods.[83] We can cite the Guntur inscription (907 CE), which speaks of a husband who was asked to repay the debt of his wife and was relieved from doing so on the grounds of his ignorance of the contract, or the inscription of Wuru Tunggal (912 CE), presented in nearly integral translation below (p. 209), where a child repaid the debt of his or her father (Wisseman Christie 2009b, 179–80). However, in all cases, only one person was responsible for the debt. The LCI may present an exception or simply state more clearly than the other known inscriptions something implied by debt bondage in general: Even if only one descendant has been designated to pay the debt, more broadly, the family remains responsible for paying it.

Debtor, Inheritance, and Settlement of the Debt

Finally, we should say a few words on debt settlement. In the inscriptions related to debt in Java and Bali, the compensation for monetary debt is normally expressed through terms derived from the base *sahur*, which are applied irrespective of the means of repayment, whether in currency or in-kind (through services).[84] Another term, the base *puhaka* and forms derived from it, seems to have been more specific and employed only in the case of a monetary repayment. Finally, the legal possibility offered to servants to pay off their debt, irrespective of the chosen means, could be designated as *bayar hutaṅ* (Sembiran AI inscription, Bali, 922 CE). Interestingly, the LCI uses the term *lappas* (S/IM *lepas*) to indicate that all the relatives together (*sa-ada-nda kaparāvis*) were released from their bond to the creditor on the basis of their loyalty (*bhakti-nda*). We have here a formulation particular to the context, reminiscent of the phrase *lapas na ang utang ko sa iyo*, meaning "my debt to you is now dissolved," recorded to have been used in Old Tagalog when a debt has been paid (Postma 1992a, 198). The use of the word *lappas* therefore implies that the debt has been paid "on the grounds of (completed) service in bondage" (*dari bhaktinda diparhulun*).

The creditor is named twice, first as *saṅ pamgat devata*, which we have translated as "the deity official," then as *saṅ pamgat mḍaṅ*, "the official of Mdang." Mdang is the name of a place associated with the ancestors of the

Javanese kings of the Mataram dynasty (see *mḍaṅ* in the lexicon). Contrary to Kusen (1991), we do not think it is necessary to assume that any place in Java is directly in question here because the toponym may have been translocated from Java to Luzon while keeping its association with ancestors,[85] or the term *saṅ pamgat mḍaṅ* may have been coined in Java (although we have no Javanese evidence of its existence) to designate a priest linked with ancestors at Mdang and then come to designate a priest involved with the worship of the ancestors more generally. The fact that the creditor was associated with the cult of a deity, probably a deified ancestor (see *devata* in the lexicon), means that he was attached to some kind of religious institution. Despite the valuable studies undertaken so far on precolonial religious beliefs in the Philippines (Scott 1994; Tantoco et al. 2001; Brewer 2004), we do not have a sufficiently precise idea of the religious institutions of Luzon in the tenth century to determine which type of institution could have been intended here. Archaeological data recovered from burial sites located around Laguna de Bay consist mostly of funerary items, none of them being recognizably related to Hindu or Buddhist practices. The only element possibly associated with Indic influence is a stone structure, believed to be a crematorium, that dates from the eleventh to twelfth centuries (Vitales 2013, 65). However, cremation practices are attested in the Philippines since the early Holocene (Lara et al. 2015), so the recovery of a crematorium does not in itself constitute proof of the prevalence of Indic cultural practices. By contrast, in northeastern Mindanao, several artifacts like the Mahāpratisarā amulet from Butuan (Orlina 2012), the golden statue of Tārā from Agusan, and the *kinnarī* vessel from Surigao (Capistrano-Baker 2011, fig. 1.8, 4.65–66) form more recognizable traces of Buddhist or Hindu impact on local religious life. The scarcity of such information in the Philippines impels us to turn to Java and South Asia for comparative materials.

We infer from the text of the LCI the existence of a religious institution, represented by *saṅ pamgat mḍaṅ*, which lent money to an individual for some business relating to armed forces. In Java we have a number of more explicit indications that religious dignitaries were involved in moneylending during the same period. One likely case is the debt to a person named *mpu guru* Dhayā in the Wuru Tunggal inscription (see p. 209), and a small handful of inscriptions concerning pawning (*saṇḍa*) of land to Buddhist priests (Griffiths 2020a, 129–32). In South Asia we also find interesting comparative data in the example of the great Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore (Tamil Nadu). In

total, twenty-one short inscriptions engraved on the temple's walls deal with temple moneylending and inform about the way money donations to the temple were subsequently lent in cash to different groups. Interestingly, military figures were at the origin of most of the donations, which were lent to the agriculturalists, allowing monetary resources to be redistributed (Spencer 1968, 286–87). These examples do not correspond exactly to what we find in the LCI, and they belong to a somewhat later period (the reigns of the Chola rulers Rājarāja I, ca. 985–1014, and his son Rājendra I, ca. 1012–1044). However, a few elements remain relevant for our study. In Tanjore temple moneylending was possible in the first place because the temple received donations in cash. Although we cannot affirm that such was also the case in the Laguna area around the turn of the tenth century, it remains that the religious institution must have had enough resources to do so and probably held a central economic role. The origin of the resources remains unknown and could have come from donations following military raids. Agricultural activities or trade may also have generated revenue transferred to the religious institution. In Laguna, as at Tanjore, we seem to confront a close interweaving of social, economic, political life around religious institutions.

Other Actors and Associated Toponyms

Considering the nature of the debt, it may not be a coincidence that the *viśuddhapātra* was issued by an army commander (*saṅ pamgat senāpati*) in charge of the area of Tundun but also *nāyaka tuhān* of Pailah. According to the interpretation we have chosen, the debt was contracted in the presence of three other persons having the same position, the *nāyaka tuhān* of Puliran Kasumuran, the one of Pailah named Ganasakti, and the one of Binwangan named Bisruta. We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the role of these three persons was rather to have witnessed the clearance of the debt, or even that they had witnessed both its contracting and its clearance. Three further elements need to be clarified here.

First, both Jayadeva and Ganasakti are mentioned as *nāyaka tuhān* of Pailah (present-day Pila). Our interpretation of the role of the witnesses makes it possible to assume that the first one bore this title at the moment of the debt clearance, whereas the second was *nāyaka tuhān* of Pailah when the debt was contracted. As already mentioned in the lexicon, the words *nāyaka tuhān* are found in reverse order, as *tuhān nāyaka*, in OJ inscriptions

to designate collectors of some sort of tax, possibly on rice harvest. It seems plausible that the words *nāyaka tuhān* also designate some sort of collectors in our context. If we then consider the alternative scenario that the role of the witnesses concerned the clearance of the debt, we may infer that their activity necessitated or allowed two persons for a given area, in this case, Pailah. Or else, they may have been associated with Pailah because their lineage had a link with it or because it was their individual place of origin. The sources of the revenue collected are uncertain. According to archaeological data from the tenth to twelfth centuries, the Pila area had a fishing-oriented economy with an agricultural base (Tenazas 1982, 10). If we are looking in the right direction with our hypothesis that *nāyaka tuhān* were charged with or authorized to collect any products, we may have here one of the sources of the religious institution's revenue. However, it remains unclear under whose authority this transaction happened and if there were other parties who benefited from it.

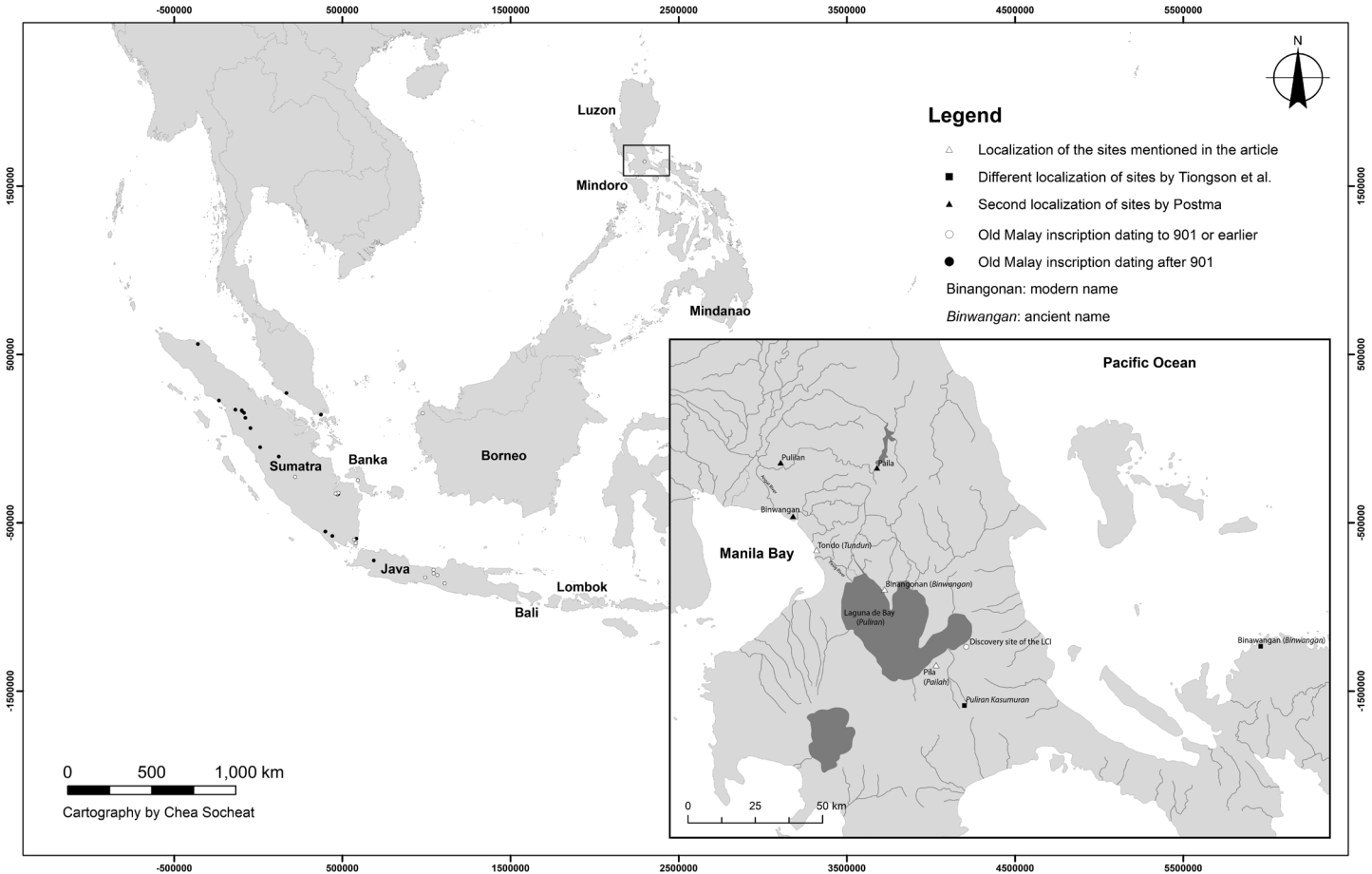
The second point that needs to be clarified concerns the location of the places with which the witnesses are associated (fig. 6): Pailah, Puliran Kasumuran, Binwangan, and Tundun. Initially, Postma considered Pailah as the old spelling of contemporary Pila, located south of the lake, where he also placed Puliran, which, according to the seventeenth-century Tagalog dictionary by San Antonio, designated the southern shore. However, several elements he considered that were inconsistent with this hypothesis made him revise his initial judgment (Postma 1991a, 166–67). He finally located Puliran, along with the other place names to the north of Manila, in the province of Bulacan, more specifically on the rivers Angat and Bulacan, while he remained uncertain whether to take Kasumuran as a toponym or proper name. In his recent study, Tiongson (2013b) has moved the context back to Laguna. Using the *Vocabulario de lengua tagala* by Pedro de San Buenaventura (1613/1994), in which *namumulilan* means going from Manila to Laguna de Bay, Tiongson argues that Puliran was the name of the lake, which may also have implied its shores. According to him, in the LCI, Puliran should be read together with Kasumuran and taken as a place name. He cited the word *sumur*, known in languages of Indonesia, to suggest that *kasumuran* designated not the lake's shore but a water source (see the discussion of *sumur* in the lexicon), which would mean that this place was located upstream (Tiongson 2013b, 22–25).

While we follow Tiongson's identification of Puliran as the ancient name of Laguna de Bay, we are inclined to give Kasumuran a different

meaning, in relation to foraging for water, for example, for boats departing to the high sea. This hypothesis would bring the word semantically closer to the predominant meaning of *sumur* and is all the more plausible as Laguna de Bay was probably easier to reach from the open sea in the first millennium CE than it subsequently became.[86] In such an earlier territorial configuration, it is therefore imaginable that traders would have visited a place where freshwater was known to be available and easily accessible from the coast. Binwangan may have been located in Capalonga, Camarines Norte, where a place bears the almost identical name Binawangan (ibid., 35). However, it may also have been situated on the northern part of the lake, in Rizal Province, where there is a settlement called Binangonan (as observed by Kusen 1991, 6). Neither alternative agrees perfectly with the ancient name, and both involve points difficult to reconcile with other known facts, so we will leave the question of Binwangan's location open.[87] The only location for which there is no doubt is Tundun, convincingly identifiable as modern Tondo. When the Spanish arrived in the early sixteenth century, the port and the surrounding regions were administered by three sovereigns, Raja (Muda) Suleiman, Raja Matanda, and Raja Lakandula, the third being presented as the sovereign of Tondo and the surrounding regions (Santiago 1990).

Now it is striking that of the four *nāyaka tuhān*, only three are mentioned by their titles, which are pukka Sanskrit and thus testify to a degree of cultural Indianization on the part of their bearers, whereas the *nāyaka tuhān* of Puliran Kasumuran remains anonymous. An advantage of Tiongson's hypothesis, situating Puliran Kasumuran in the highlands, would be that it might explain the absence of an Indianized name or of the mention of any name.[88] However, a number of other scenarios, no more or less speculative, could be proposed to explain the irregularity away.

The third and final point to be clarified is that an unnamed scribe referred to with the term *kāyastha* is said, quite explicitly, to be party to the clearance of the debt. We understand this to mean that the *kāyastha* had drawn up the original loan agreement and played the role of witness besides his role as scribe, which would be consistent with the contemporary inscriptions from Java that often mention among the listed witnesses the same person identified at the end of the document as its scribe. In other words, in Javanese inscriptions, the involvement as a scribe often explicitly went along with participation as a witness, although admittedly, in Java, the roles of scribe and witness seem to have been relevant only for clearance of debt, while we have no Javanese document that concerns a debt being


-500000
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N
Legend
Localization of the sites mentioned in the article
Different localization of sites by Tiongson et al.
Second localization of sites by Postma
Old Malay inscription dating to 901 or earlier
Old Malay inscription dating after 901
Binangonan: modern name
Binwangan: ancient name
Luzon
Mindoro
Mindanao
Sumatra
Banka
Borneo
Java
Lombok
Bali
Pacific Ocean
Manila Bay
Pulilan
Pila
Binwangan
Tondo (*Tundun*)
Binangonan (*Binwangan*)
Laguna de Bay (*Puliran*)
Discovery site of the LCI
Pila (*Pailah*)
Puliran Kasumuran
Binawangan (*Binwangan*)
0 25 50 km
0 500 1,000 km
Cartography by Chea Socheat

contracted. What is clear, in any case, is that the three *nāyaka tuhān* served as witnesses (see pp. 198, 205–6), and so one might be led to see prima facie an illustration of the theory according to which political leaders and administration could guarantee contracts, i.e., give certain insurance of their fulfillment, while their presence facilitated the collection of debts (Henley and Boomgaard 2009, 6). However, if we again place our document in a larger context, we do not find further support for this idea. In an inscription issued in Java in 912 CE, concerning the clearance of a debt to a creditor apparently residing in the village Wuru Tunggal, we find five residents of other villages serving as witnesses:

> [That] was the time that Banawi repaid the debt of his/her father to his/her master (*mpu guru*) Dhaya. The repayment consisted in 16 *suvarṇa*, 10 *māṣa*, 2 *kupaṅ*, and 5 *hatak. pu* Lati, father of Bayal, resident of the village of Wuru Tunggal, *tutuganniṅ taṇḍa*, together with *pu* Wijah, father of Bhūmi, (also) resident of the village of Wuru Tunggal, received the gold. The debt of Banawi to the master (*mpu guru*) Dhaya was cleared (*śuddha*). The witnesses to it were (1) *saṅ* Teguhan, resident of the village of Pilang, *vatak* of Panggil Hyang; (2) *saṅ* . . . resident of the village of Walakas, *vatak* of Walakas; (3) *saṅ* Bhāskara, resident of the village of Walaing, *vatak* of Walaing; (4) *saṅ* Pakambangan, resident of the village of Tangga, *vatak* of Hino; (5) *saṅ* Ratirang, resident of the village of Limo, *vatak* of Pagar Wsi. The document was written by the Lord of Pilang.[89]

It appears, therefore, that the clearance of a debt did not necessarily require the involvement of a political institution per se but rather necessitated an official act of formulation and its recording in the form of a document.

Political Entities in the Premodern Philippines

Despite the relative uncertainty about the location of some of the toponyms, it is possible to affirm that the document refers to events that happened in the Laguna de Bay region. What remains to be understood is the sociopolitical context in which the transaction took place and the inscription

Fig. 6 [facing page]. Map showing the places on Luzon related to the findspot and textual contents of the LCI
Source: The authors, with cartographic assistance from Chea Socheat

was created. The LCI needs to be seen in the larger frame of the "Asian Sea Trade Boom" (Wisseman Christie 1998) or "Early Age of Commerce" (Wade 2009) in Southeast Asia (ninth to thirteenth centuries), a period when important commercial changes occurred in China, the Indian Ocean, and Southeast Asia, leading to the emergence of ports and urban centers in the region (Wisseman Christie 1998; Wade 2009). In the Philippines two polities started to be mentioned during that period in the Chinese sources, namely, Pu-duan (蒲端), identifiable as Butuan in Mindanao, and Ma-yi (麻逸), which, according to the secondary literature, was located either in Luzon or Mindoro.[90]

At a period slightly posterior to that of the LCI (960–1087), the trading port of Butuan, on the Agusan River in the northeastern quadrant of Mindanao, sent three missions to the Song court (Wade 2009, 227, 258), which led to Butuan entering the Chinese historical records, next to the kingdom of Campā, with which the Chinese source affirms that it stood in some relation. Indeed, the *Song hui-yao ji-gao* (宋會要輯稿, *Draft Compilation of the Song Collected Statutes*) mentions that between the tenth and the twelfth centuries, Campā was connected to San-fo-qi (a term referring to one of the manifestations of Śrīvijaya, cf. Jordaan and Colless 2009, 106–21), Ma-yi, and Butuan (Wade 2009, 242–43). Several Chinese texts from the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1271–1368) dynasties also refer to the navigation routes from Campā to Butuan via Ma-yi (Scott 1983a, 1–3). The *Song hui-yao ji-gao* finally indicates that Butuan was "under" the kingdom of Campā, meaning to its south (Wade 1993, 84–85).

There is little doubt that Butuan served as a major port for trade with the Southeast Asian mainland during the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. The discovery of shipwrecks near the Masao River, in the northeast of Mindanao, has brought to light a total of nine large wooden boats of the *balanghai* type, of which only six are documented,[91] and which would have been used for long-distance maritime trade (Peralta 1980; Evangelista and Peralta 1991; Lacsina 2015). Although there has been quite a bit of confusion previously on the dating of these boats (Lacsina 2016, 118–20), the most recent results of the accelerator mass spectrometry C-14 analysis of wood samples from the boats date the artifacts from the eighth- to ninth-century range (Lacsina 2015, 129). One element pointing to the regional and even transregional importance of Butuan is a rhinoceros-horn seal engraved with the toponym Butuan (*butvan*) and generally assumed to have been created to mark the

origin of the foodstuffs traded or offered in tribute (Cembrano 1998; Gallop 2016, 133–34). Another element is the recently published inscription on gold foil (1.85 by 10.05 centimeters) datable to the tenth to the eleventh centuries and written in a script very similar to that of the LCI (Orlina 2012). The inscription has been identified as a mantra dedicated to the Buddhist goddess Mahāpratisarā, protectress of travelers at sea, and the gold foil would have been worn as an amulet. Unlike the many statuettes found in the region,[92] interpretable as prestige goods from outside and therefore possibly unrelated to local religious practice, the amulet bears the name of a local person, Si Angai (*si aṅai*), and seems, therefore, to have been produced locally.

These traces of Buddhist practices in Mindanao could be contemporaneous with the reign of a sovereign bearing a partially Indic title. The *Song hui-yao ji-gao* tells us that in 1011 CE, Śrī Pāda Haji (Xi-li Ba-da Xia-zhi, 悉离琶大遐至),[93] through his envoy Li Yu-xie (李于燮),[94] presented a commemorative gold plate, a slave from the "south seas," and camphor as well as cloves at the court of the Chinese emperor. The Butuan embassy was treated on this occasion with the same honors as those reserved for Campā. Interestingly, four years earlier, such honors had been refused despite the explicit formulation of a request from the Butuanons (Scott 2000, 66–67). Such a change in the protocol might indicate that this polity benefited from a change of status at the beginning of the eleventh century, which would explain why it received honors that it had previously been denied. The nature and possibly the volume of the products brought as tribute could account for such a change. Indeed, in the previous mission, Butuan had sent red parrots in addition to sea products like tortoise shells (ibid., 66). Yet, in 1011 CE, the capacity of Butuan to acquire camphor[95] from Brunei and cloves from the Moluccas supports the idea that this polity was better integrated into the interinsular trading network and so might have benefited from greater prestige. Between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, both Campā and Butuan formed major relays in the cloves trade from the Moluccas to China (Ptak 1993).

Butuan was said to be farther from China than Ma-yi (Scott 2000, 66). Ma-yi first appeared in Chinese sources in 982 when traders from that country brought valuable goods to Canton (Hirth and Rockhill 1911, 160 n. 1). Mait was the common name of Mindoro when the Spanish arrived (Martínez de Zúñiga 1893, 391, quoted in Donoso 2011, 276 n. 103), and

this island has therefore long been considered the location of Ma-yi (Scott 2000, 70). However, there is also a growing body of archaeological evidence, including ceramics dating from the ninth to thirteenth centuries (Vitales 2013, 57, 64–65), in support of the idea that Ma-yi could have referred to a place in Luzon, possibly the very same one as that which has given its name to Laguna de Bay (Wade 2009, 242 n. 121). Indeed, in some varieties of Chinese, the characters transcribed as Ma-yi in Pinyin may have represented the Tagalog pronunciation Ba-i (Wade 1993, 84 n. 59; Go 2005, 123).[96]

Ma-yi is described in some detail in the *Zhu-fan zhi* (諸蕃志, *An Account of Barbarian Nations*),[97] which reports on events contemporary to this text's redaction in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, as a country located to the north of Borneo where:

> Over a thousand families are settled together along both banks of a creek (or, gully 溪). The natives cover themselves with a sheet of cotton cloth (披布如被), or hide the lower part of the body with a sarong (lit., "loin-cloth" 腰布). There are bronze images of gods (佛), of unknown origin, scattered about in the grassy wilderness. (Hirth and Rockhill 1911, 159)

It was the most important of the places visited by the Chinese on the western coast of the Philippines, along the route to Borneo. Other places—Pu-li-lu (蒲里嚕), San-xu (三嶼),[98] Bai-pu-yan (白蒲延), Li-jin-dong (里金東), Liu-xin (流新) and Li-han (里漢)—are said to "belong" to the country of Ma-yi, a belongingness that we interpret to imply the existence of close ties and certain supervision of trade by Ma-yi.[99] Vessels, which anchored in front of the designated trading site, visited this port-entrepot.[100] Their merchandise was brought to secondary centers where Chinese merchants did not venture. Once the goods had been presented to local traders, they carried them to other islands and came back eight to nine months afterward (ibid., 160). This system contrasted with the way trade was undertaken in other places like San-xu, where boats did not remain anchored for more than four days. A direct administration of those islands by Ma-yi, however, was unlikely as the same source clearly mentions that the San-xu were "not connected by a common jurisdiction" (ibid., 162). The trade consisted mainly of local products like beeswax, cotton, tortoiseshell, pearls, and betel nuts, as well as native textiles (Scott 2000, 72, 74).

Besides Ma-yi figuring in the mentioned Chinese sources, it is possibly also relevant to take into account the Māyṭ that appears in certain Arab sources. It is difficult to say if these names designate the same entity, but we are tempted to assume that they do. Māyṭ, which occurs as early as the tenth century, has been interpreted as a place somewhere near Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula.[101] However, the Arab sources do not always point to the same location, and later ones localize Māyṭ near China. While Isaac Donoso (2011) has proposed an erroneous translation as the cause of the discrepancy between sources,[102] one should also keep in mind that the authors of the Arabic texts only knew Māyṭ through secondary, if not tertiary, accounts by travelers who, in the tenth century, did not venture much further than northern Sumatra or the Straits of Malacca. This fact may explain certain aspects that seem inconsistent or imprecise in the Arabic texts. We tend to think that Ma-yi/Māyṭ forms a case similar to that of Zâbaj/Jâba (Java) in Islamicate sources, which designate a kingdom loosely located in the vicinity of Sumatra, whose extent and possible location vary from source to source (Laffan 2009, 24–29).[103] While Javanese kings between the eighth and the tenth centuries used the terms *yavadvīpa* and *bhūmi java* to designate their lands (Griffiths 2013, 70), Zâbaj/Jâba came to refer, in foreign accounts, to places in Java and Sumatra. This phenomenon can be explained with reference not only to the compilation of secondhand sources by Arabic and Persian authors but also to the fact that a toponym may have been used to designate settlements or ports belonging to the sphere of influence of a place originally designated by it. This second explanation is the hypothesis we would like to propose for Ma-yi. The *Zhu-fan zhi* repeatedly mentions settlements or islands that "belonged" to Ma-yi in the thirteenth century, and so it seems imaginable that the name Ma-yi/Māyṭ originally designated a place around Laguna de Bay and subsequently came to simultaneously designate a connected settlement on the island of Mindoro, which retained the name Mait after the historical center of Ma-yi/Māyṭ had ceased to exist as a political entity.

This kind of connection may be interpreted using theoretical models from the literature on state formation in Southeast Asia.[104] Although imperfect and highly schematic, such models are useful to infer what may have been the sociopolitical organization of the settlements mentioned in the LCI. We may not be too far from historical reality if we imagine that Tundun, which does not appear in the Chinese sources as a trading center, was an outpost of Ma-yi/Māyṭ under the supervision of an army commander

(*senāpati*). Tundun may have had a function of supervision over external trade and exercised some sort of control over several other settlements (e.g., Pailah, Binwangan, Puliran Kasumuran), some of which may have been trading stations, where persons charged with collecting revenue needed to come together for a legal transaction to be validated. A system of ritual suzerainty, involving an official in charge of the cult of one or more deified ancestors, may have contributed to the noncoercive influence of certain settlements. Saying any more than this would be extrapolating too much from the very limited sources at our disposal.

Luzon, Java, and the "Malay World"

In this study, we have contextualized the LCI within the cultural and economic world of maritime Southeast Asia using predominantly Malay and Javanese materials as a comparative frame, which has allowed us to understand better the meaning of the words used in the inscription and propose a new interpretation of some parts. Acknowledging the relevance of Malay and Javanese cultural and linguistic influence on Luzon around 900 makes it possible and necessary to conceive of a "Malay World" centuries before the special role in Southeast Asia of Malay, as a language, drew the attention of the first European visitors:

> The first European visitors to the Malay World had much to say about its language ecology. As early as the sixteenth century, these authors . . . noted three important facts. First, they observed that there was an enormous diversity of languages, often with little or no mutual understanding. Second, in that forest of language diversity, Malay was the single, most widespread language of Southeast Asia, where it served as a contact language among speakers of different languages. *Third, moreover, Malay was not simply the language of trade, a pidgin language, but it was also the language of diplomacy, religion, and learning; Malay was a written language*. (Collins 2008, 160, emphasis added)

It is in the epigraphic record of Śrīvijaya, centered in seventh-century South Sumatra, that Malay became the first vernacular language of maritime Southeast Asia to emerge into the domain of literacy, a process evidently stimulated by the meeting of Śrīvijaya with the "Sanskrit Cosmopolis" (Pollock 1996, 2006). Once it had become a written language, Malay then

seems to have played a key role in propelling other Austronesian languages to enter the written record. In this connection it bears reminding that the earliest inscriptions of Central Java written in a language other than Sanskrit—the inscriptions of Sojomerto (possibly dating to the late seventh century) and Mañjuśrīgṛha (792 CE) (cf. fig. 3)—were written in OM and not in the vernacular OJ, thus revealing how early the Malay language had become a translocal and transethnic means of communication or, in the expression coined by Sheldon Pollock (1998), a "cosmopolitan vernacular."[105]

These facts are very little, if ever, taken into consideration in the idea of a "Malay World," which is part and parcel of the development of Malay studies in Malaya and later Malaysia. The interest of the first British administrators in Malay language and culture led in the nineteenth century to a flourishing of mainly philological studies, almost exclusively related to the Malay Peninsula and Borneo. The establishment of the Department of Malay Studies at the University of Malaya in 1970, which became the Institute of the Malay World and Civilization (Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu, ATMA) in 1993, has continued to focus the conception of a "Malay World" on the territory of a very recently conceived nation-state that is not historically its center (Shamsul A. B. 2003, 109–13). In other contexts, scholars have entertained variant notions of a "Malay World," generally with a larger geographical scope but not more historically nuanced than the one that has taken hold in Malaysia. Thus, the French geographer Charles Robequain (1946, [i]) saw an "undisputable unity" in what he named the "Malay world," formed by several "colonized countries" that stretched from the Malay Peninsula to the Philippines; and the American linguist James T. Collins (2008, 159) offered a definition in terms of spoken languages:

> The Malay World can be described, on geographic and linguistic grounds, as those parts of Southeast Asia where the Malay language is spoken, whether as a first or second language. This simple description encompasses many parts of Southeast Asia. In Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, and Thailand, Malay is spoken as a home language; while, in the Philippines, Cambodia, and Vietnam, Malay is spoken by communities as a second or third language.

Although we recognize the pertinence and convenience of underlining the cultural and linguistic features shared over a vast swathe of maritime

Southeast Asia, it seems to us that the analysis of a phenomenon as complex as the formation and transformation of a "Malay World" must be built on an approach that is more sensitive to the historical and cultural dynamics of its constituent periods and regions.

The OM inscriptions that we have from across maritime Southeast Asia reflect the social and economic contexts in which the use of the Malay language evolved. In the case of the LCI, the use of Malay as documentary language reveals that the parties involved were part of a wider cultural world characterized by a shared legal and documentary terminology (with lexical items from Sanskrit, Javanese, and Malay), shared documentary and cultural practices (e.g., the engraving of a legal text on a copperplate, debt bondage), and the variety of regional manifestations of these shared elements. While we assert that Old Tagalog has not made a significant contribution, lexical or otherwise, to the language of the inscription, this assertion does not in any way imply a slight of Tagalog culture and its specificity. As we have noted several times in this study, the LCI is rich in unique combinations or forms of Sanskrit, Malay, and Javanese terms, revealing how they were locally appropriated and adapted. By the turn of the tenth century, Old Tagalog had probably not yet begun to be written any more than Javanese in Java by the turn of the ninth century. This is why the debt clearance was not recorded in the language spoken in Laguna at the time. The fact that it was written in Malay seems to indicate that this language was, despite the scarcity of surviving documents, the most widely used documentary language in maritime Southeast Asia at the time. In other words, the use of Malay in tenth-century Luzon should be interpreted as a practice related to a cosmopolitan context and does not imply migration or political dominance from a part of Southeast Asia where Malay was the local spoken language any more than the use of Malay in ninth-century Java.

While we have thus offered an explanation for the use of OM, we still need to explain the major importance of Javanese linguistic and cultural elements in the LCI. As we have shown, the inscription contains numerous OJ loanwords and participates in many ways in a clearly discernible Javanese documentary culture. Such elements have not failed to inspire more or less strongly Java-centric interpretations. Notably, the Indonesian (and Javanese) scholar Kusen (1991, 7) formulated the hypothesis of Javanese settlers, whereas Wisseman Christie (2001, 49) saw the inscription as proof of the influence of the Javanese kingdom of Mataram in Luzon, following

increased trading opportunities and an expansion of their regional trading network.

What those Javanese elements in an OM document from Luzon mean is certainly not that the protagonists involved in the debt clearance were Javanese or of Javanese descent, any more than the use of Sanskrit in early Southeast Asia implies the migrations and political domination from India that now-discredited theories of "Indianization" imagined. Instead, we see Javanese language and documentary practice as constituent elements of the cosmopolitan Malay culture that reached the people of the Laguna region. There are potential analogies with the situation, one millennium later, at the court of Palembang in Malay-speaking South Sumatra, which used both Javanese (in Javanese script) and Malay (in Jawi script) as written languages. It issued charters predominantly in Javanese.[106] Its royal library had a collection of eighteenth-century manuscripts written in Malay and Arabic as well as a localized form of Javanese. Among the documents in Javanese, besides wayang and Panji stories, which originated from Java, the library contained Javanese translations of Malay works such as a local legal digest (*Undang-Undang Palembang*) clearly addressed to people living in surrounding districts and villages in Sumatra, mentioning their obligations to the court (Drewes 1977, 188–244). What the LCI suggests is that the meeting of Malay and Javanese documentary and literary cultures observed in eighteenth-century Palembang had started many centuries earlier and was not limited to the immediate vicinity of Java.

As we have emphasized, it was in Sumatra, under the kingdom of Śrīvijaya, that OM first emerged into the historical record, in the second half of the seventh century, at a time when the few inscriptions we have in Java were exclusively written in Sanskrit and the first word of OJ had yet to be written. As far as one can tell from physical remains and epigraphic evidence, by the beginning of the ninth century, the kingdom of Mataram, whose court was situated in Central Java, had overtaken Śrīvijaya as the most powerful political and cultural force in maritime Southeast Asia. However, it is only in the course of the ninth century that OJ became its favored language of written expression. The nature of the political relations between Java and Sumatra in the period leading up to Mataram's hegemony is much debated (cf. Jordaan and Colless 2009) but does not concern us here because there is ample evidence to show that Java had started to exert influence far beyond its boundaries well before the time of our inscription

(Griffiths 2013). In Java itself, as already mentioned, several OM inscriptions have been found, dating between the late seventh and early ninth centuries. The brief efflorescence of epigraphic production using OM seems to have died out as soon as production in OJ took off. It therefore stands to reason that the very idea of using a vernacular language (as opposed to Sanskrit) for epigraphic expression was transmitted to Java from Sumatra. It is this process of integration of the Javanese-speaking parts of Java into the "Malay World" that we subsequently see reproduced by the integration of the Tagalog-speaking parts of Luzon, as evidenced by the LCI.[107]

That there is no such thing as a unique Malay identity is generally admitted.[108] Likewise recognized is the increasing number of Javanese loanwords adopted into Malay from its early modern written varieties to contemporary Indonesian (Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo 1982). However, attempts to study how Javanese and Malay cultural spheres were articulated and the extent to which they overlapped in premodern and early modern Southeast Asia are still too rare in the scholarly literature. Some relevant observations are found in studies on *hikayat* or other forms of narration in CM.[109] Even more relevant in our context are the contemporary regional variations of more or less heavily "Javanized" Malay, such as those of Banjarmasin or Palembang, which are acknowledged but remain understudied in their historical manifestation. The LCI, also written in a Malay dialect that had undergone much influence from Javanese, forms a unique example of the overlapping of the Malayophone and Javanese-speaking cultural worlds outside of the core Malay- or Javanese-speaking islands. As such, it is a crucial document for studying the cosmopolitan history of the Malay language and for conceiving a nuanced notion of a "Malay World" that is neither purely a matter of spoken language nor of ethnoreligious affiliation.

Abbreviations Used

CM	Classical Malay
LCI	Laguna Copperplate Inscription
OJ	Old Javanese
OJED	*Old Javanese–English Dictionary*
OM	Old Malay
S/IM	Standard/Indonesian Malay

Notes

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1 Malcolm Ross (1996) showed that the currently more generally accepted term Malayo-Polynesian was already in use in Humboldt's time. See also Salazar 1998, 114. The priest and chronicler Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga noted that the *indios* (natives) spoke different idioms that resembled each other and, therefore, must have come from a common source, like Latin for Spanish, French, and Italian. Martínez de Zuñiga thus postulated a language family descending from a common ancestor (the Malayo-Polynesian languages) in the eighteenth century, one century before linguists defined it (ibid., 113).

2 The North American administrators of the archipelago adopted this concept when they composed the first school textbooks on the history of the Philippines. David Barrows, whose work ***History of the Philippines*** (1925) was republished three times in 1905, 1911, and 1924, saw the Malays as the common denominator of all the tribes of the archipelago, except the Negritos. The Malays were presented as having colonized the Philippines and pushed back the previous inhabitants into the mountains. See, e.g., Jernegan 1904, 3.

3 This specimen is the Munduan inscription. For its text, see Nakada 1986, and for a photograph, see Griffiths 2014a, 54.

4 On copperplate documents from India, see Francis 2018, in which quite a few examples are illustrated.

5 On the names "Old Javanese" and "Kawi," and more generally on Indic writing systems, see the section "Scripts, Languages, and Epigraphic Sources."

6 For more information on OJ, see the section "Scripts, Languages, and Epigraphic Sources." In some rare copperplates from Java, there are minor portions in Sanskrit. Some of the oldest specimens from Bali are in Old Balinese, but this local language soon got pushed out of use by the more cosmopolitan language of Java. See Damais 1959 for a useful overview of material for the study of Balinese epigraphy and the history of research in this field up to 1959. No major progress has been made in the field over the last half century.

7 See Lubin 2015, 251–52. For an overview of the Javanese examples, see Boechari 1975, included as ch. 15 in Boechari 2012. For more on *višuddhapatra*, see the subsection "The Nature of the Document."

8 Apparently, no formal scholarly obituary was published after his death, so we refer to the Dutch *Wikipedia* (2022) page, which cites two Philippine newspaper articles (Sta. Maria 2009; Virola 2016), to which we may add an online magazine article (Gonzalez 2016).

9 On several occasions, Postma expressed thanks to the Dutch specialist of Indonesian epigraphy, J. G. de Casparis, who had advised him about the interpretation of the LCI in the light of his expertise in OM, OJ, and Sanskrit epigraphy. In this connection, we wish to mention here a trace of the two scholars' correspondence that is preserved in the form of a letter kept in the archives of the former Kern Institute at Leiden University Library, the Netherlands.

10 Without citing the Indonesian scholar in the printed version of his own conference paper, Postma (1991a, 165) mentioned part of Kusen's interpretation as possible: "The LCI might therefore have been issued by recognized authorities outside the Philippines (e.g., in Java) who had personal or national interests there. Perhaps important person(s) in the Philippines with a substantial debt in gold had appealed to these foreign authorities for help in the provision of a debt acquittal document, officially sanctioned, under certain conditions not mentioned in the LCI itself." In subsequent publications, Postma abandoned this idea, which we find far-fetched and unnecessary since, as we show in this article, there is no need to assume it has any direct involvement of other than local agents.

11 Examples of these fake documents are the Code of Kalantiaw and the Maragtas, published in 1917 and 1938, respectively. For a full account regarding the forgery of these fake old manuscripts based on existing oral accounts, see Scott 2000, 91–135.

12 Postma (1992a, 187 n. 1) himself admitted that his translation is "[t]o be considered as preliminary, pending further research."

13 See Salomon (1998, 19–30) on the problem of the origin of Brahmi script and on Indic script outside of India (ibid., 150–60).

14 Neither of the terms "Old Javanese" and "Kawi" is satisfactory, but the latter has some advantages over the former. See de Casparis 1975, 29. For illustrated general presentations of the development of Indic writing in Southeast Asia and Kawi script in Indonesia, see Hunter 1996 and Griffiths 2014a.

15 We rely here on some of the most recent iterations in the debate about the subgrouping of Austronesian languages as represented by Smith 2017. Current linguistic scholarship thus dispenses with the Western Malayo-Polynesian group that still underlies the classification proposed by Adelaar (2005, 9–10, 16–20).

16 See Wolff 1976, whose conclusions were summarized by Adelaar (1994a, 62): "Wolff points out that, in order for it to have had such a heavy impact on almost every part of Tagalog vocabulary, Malay must have been more than an important trade language. It must have been a prestige language which was known by a considerable portion of the Tagalog speech community. . . . Wolff concludes that Tagalog speakers at some point had apparently become familiar enough with Malay to be able to use the language in a creative way in order to express certain complex or unusual concepts. Wolff points to comparable tendencies, later on, to build neologisms on the basis of Spanish and English loanwords."

17 Unfortunately, despite the recent publication of some new evidence for writing in the Philippines during the centuries between the LCI and the earliest manuscripts using the localized Indic scripts called *baybayin* (Orlina 2012), there is still not anywhere near enough to piece together a continuous history of writing from the tenth through fifteenth centuries. As stated, the LCI is not written in a Philippine language. It is theoretically possible that the same Kawi script used in it was also deployed in contemporary documents to transcribe vernacular languages, but we do not believe it is likely (see the section "Luzon, Java, and the 'Malay World'"). Whether or not it was used to transcribe vernacular languages already by the time of the LCI, it is possible that the Kawi script forms the direct ancestor of the *baybayin* scripts, just as it is possible that the *baybayin* scripts are derived from another historical antecedent. The issue of the origin of the *baybayin* scripts is beyond the scope of this article, but we may note that the main reason why the solid work of Juan R. Francisco (1973) does not take the former scenario into account is simply because the LCI was not yet known at his time. By contrast, the reason why the work of Christopher Miller (2010) does not stop to consider such a scenario is evidently the author's general unawareness of the full historical picture and its time-depth into the first millennium CE, including ignorance of the LCI.

18 We repeat here almost verbatim the definition one of us has proposed in a recent publication (Griffiths 2018, 275–76). For the most recent addition to the corpus of OM inscriptions, see Griffiths 2020b. The date 1500 is not meant to suggest that no Malay had been written in Jawi script before that date. See also note 19.

19 Jawi is the name given to the Arabic script adapted to the Malay language with five additional consonants (ڤ p, چ c, ݢ g, ڠ ng, and ڽ ny). The resulting Malay alphabet has also been used to render other Austronesian languages and is called Pégon when it is used for Javanese and Sérang for Bugis/Makassar (Gallop 2015, 14). While Indic script seems to have predominated for writing Malay through the end of the fifteenth century, it has to be noted that Jawi script started to be used at least from the thirteenth century onward, both for writing inscriptions (notably the Trengganu Stone, see Paterson [1924], Syed Muhammad Naguib Al-Attas [1970], Omar bin Awang [1980]) and to compose literary works such as the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* (Brakel 1975).

20 See, for example, the Pasar Malay letters written in Banten, dated 1619 and published by M. C. Ricklefs (1976), or the *surat ulu* manuscripts from Sumatra mentioned in note 22.

21 It has recently been demonstrated (Kozok 2015) that a paper manuscript from Tanjung Tanah in the Kerinci area of highland Sumatra is likely to date to the fourteenth century, and both its language and script agree with what we see in inscriptions of this period. As such, there is every reason to classify the language of this manuscript as OM and believe that there was once a broad tradition of manuscripts written in this language, among which at least this one has been preserved into the present. On this issue, see also the book review by Griffiths (2010).

22 Besides the exceptional Pasar Malay letters cited earlier (note 20), the term "marginal" that we use here, not without hesitation, is intended to cover a variety of Malay writing traditions found in the highlands of the island of Sumatra. Against the widespread idea that "there was no tradition in the Malay world of writing on palm leaf or similar materials before the arrival of Islam," Kozok (2015, 55–56) has rightly opposed that it is "meaningful only if one accepts the premise that the Malay language manuscripts in the indigenous surat ulu scripts of southern Sumatra (Kerinci, Bengkulu, Pasemah, Ogan, Komering, Serawai, and Lampung) do not constitute Malay writing." All of these highland Malay writing traditions make use of varieties of Indic script, in place of or beside

Arabic-based Jawi script, but the few samples of the language we have seen fall outside of our definition of OM because Arabic loanwords seem not to be uncommon.

23 Mahdi (2005, 182) merely states that "[t]he language of Malay inscriptions of the subsequent period, though also preceding Classical Malay (CM), the language of Malay classical literature, is usually not considered OM" and on this point refers to an Indonesian-language publication that itself does not furnish any argument for why Malay documents, that date from the tenth century onward but cannot be labeled CM, should not be called OM. The same limitation of the scope of the designation OM is found, still without any justification but with a number of implications for the reliability of the historical and linguistic analysis, in Mahdi's contributions in Kozok 2015 on the language of the manuscript referred to in note 21. For us, the language of this manuscript falls squarely under the definition of OM.

24 This claim was supported with reference to the expression *sana tatkāla* "at that time" and variants such as *inan tatkāla* and *tatkala itu*, found in inscriptions including the LCI. To those examples can now be added the two occurrences of *divasenan* = *divasa inan* at the beginning and end of the Tanjung Tanah manuscript, unrecognized in Kozok 2015.

25 Formerly referred to as Ejaan yang Disempurnakan (Vikør 1988), the system was renamed by ministerial decision in 2016. See Tim Pengembang Pedoman Bahasa Indonesia 2016.

26 Among other indigenous names for such vowel killers, we may cite *tanda bunuh* in Sumatran varieties of Malay (Kozok 2015, 131) and *pangolat* in Batak. This important historical feature of Indic script appears to have left no trace in the *baybayin* writing systems recorded after the Spanish arrived in the Philippines (Francisco 1973, 68). If the script form seen in the LCI may be considered the ancestor of later indigenous scripts (see note 17), then it must be assumed that the vowel killer was lost in the course of palaeographic development of Indic scripts in the Philippines over the centuries between the LCI and the earliest preserved *baybayin* manuscripts. As Ramon Guillermo and Tom Hoogervorst have pointed out to us, the absence of a vowel killer is a feature that the *baybayin* systems share with the Bugis-Makassar *lontaraq* script, suggesting their descendance from a common source. However, this common ancestor may have been younger than the script form seen in our inscription.

27 The words *barjā daṁ* seem to be in need of correction to *barjādi daṁ*. If so, we are dealing with a case of scribal omission of the syllable *di*. Another conceivable correction would be *barṅāraṁ daṁ*, but it seems slightly less likely given the predominant use of *barjādi* in this text. Finally, it is possible that the intended text was *tuṇḍun· daṁ hvan nāyaka tuhān· pailaḥ barjādi jayadeva*, with *barjādi* in front of the name Jayadeva, as we see the word placed before the names Ganasakti and Bisruta in lines 6 and 7.

28 It is conceivable to read *dṅan·daṁ* as one word and analyze *dṅan-da-ṅ*, analogous to *dṅan·ña* in line 2. Cf. the pair *sādāña/sādānda* in lines 7 and 8.

29 Postma (1991a, 170; 1992a, 187 n. 5) has alluded to an alternative reading *hutaṁ velānda*, which we can confidently exclude on the basis of one of our own photos, as these clearly show *hutaṁda valānda*. For our part, we feel tempted to emend *vapānda*, i.e., *vapā* (father) plus pronominal suffix *-nda*. Cf. *santanū namāṇḍa bāpaṇḍa*, "his father's name was Santanū," in the Sojomerto inscription from Central Java. The *akṣaras lā* and *pā* mirror each other in the script used in the LCI.

30 Where we read *sādānda*, Postma read *sādānya*. In support of our reading, we may refer to the shapes of subscript *d* and *y* in *valānda* in line 5, *syāt· syāpantāha* in line 10, *kamudyan·* in line 10.

31 Where we read *sānak·* with a long *ā* in the first syllable, Postma read *sanak*.

32 Where we read *varjādi* with initial *v*, Postma read *barjādi*.

33 Where we read *diparhulun·*, Postma read *diparhulon*. Although the reading with *o* is repeated in all of Postma's (1991a, 1991b, 1992a, 1992b) writings on the LCI, it must have originated in a simple typing error that was made in Postma's initial typed transcription and was subsequently never corrected.

34 Postma transcribed the word *vluṁ* as *wlung*. See the entry *vluṅ* in our lexicon.

35 Postma translated the words from *dayaṁ* to *Anak·da daṁ hvan namvran* as follows: "Lady Angkatan together with her relative, Bukah by name, the child of His Honor Namwran." This translation leaves unclear the relation the woman had with Namwran. We initially attempted to address this problem by a translation still directly influenced by Postma's attempt, which would read: "Lady (*dayaṅ*) Angkatan together with her relative (*sa-anak*) called Bukah, (both of them) children of *daṅ hvan* Namwran." However, in the end, it seems to us that *dayaṅ aṅkatan* is unlikely to be a proper name, which opens up the possibility of taking Bukah as the name of the female protagonist. The term *sa-anak* used here is more general than expected. However, the more concrete meaning that is presumably implied here is clarified further on in the text. See this article's lexicon for all the relevant vocabulary items and our discussion of the socioeconomic aspects in the section "Debtor and Debt Inheritance" and the subsection "Debtor, Inheritance, and the Settlement of Debt."

36 See the entries *daṅ hvan* and *nāyaka tuhān* in this article's lexicon.

37 Or " . . . at Tundun, *daṅ hvan nāyaka tuhān* of Pailah with the title Jayadeva" if the final suggestion in note 27 is accepted.

38 An alternate to "military debt" could be "of her/their father's debt," if we adopt our emendation *hutaṁda vapānda*, as suggested in note 29.

39 The text leaves unclear exactly which event was witnessed by the three persons listed in lines 5–7 after *di hadapan*, whether the drafting of the original debt contract, the awarding of the present clearance document, or both, and an equally valid alternative translation can be proposed that suggests a different scenario:

> . . . was awarded a debt clearance document by the official . . . with the title . . . Jayadeva—regarding the specifics of *daṅ hvan* Namwran, with the scribe, being cleared: what was resolved was his military debt (amounting to) 1 *kāṭi* and 8 *suvarṇa*—in front of (the following witnesses): . . .

The comparison with contemporary Javanese debt-clearance documents indeed suggests that the witnesses were present at the awarding of the clearance document, and thus that *di hadapan* would be the OM counterpart of the words *tatra sākṣī* that typically introduced witness lists in OJ epigraphy. However, this would mean that two dignitaries held the position of *daṅ hvan nāyaka tuhān* of Pailah at the same time. We do not know whether such an implication is problematic, but the translation we have retained here is based on the assumption that it is. See also our discussion in the section "Historical Interpretations," specifically the subsection "Other Actors and Associated Toponyms."

40 On the toponym(s) Puliran Kasumuran and for a speculative explanation of why the title of the first *daṅ hvan nāyaka tuhān* remains unmentioned, see the subsection "Other Actors and Associated Toponyms."

41 In order to bring out the apparent ambiguity of this complex sentence, where the agent noun phrase (*Uliḥ saṁ pamgat· devata varjādi saṁ pamgat· mḍaṁ*) stands far removed from the predicate *śuddha*, while the grammatical subject is stated twice (*sādānda sānak· kaparāvis·* and *sādāña Anak· cucu daṁ hvan namvran· . . . ya kaparāvis·*) and the causal noun phrase is also presented in two parts (*dari . . . ya makāña . . .*), we translate it following the original order as closely as possible. The result is admittedly very disjointed in English, but we are not sure the original OM text, as disjointed as it may seem to us, would have appeared disjointed or even ambiguous to readers at the time. The reader of our translation may mentally move the phrase "by the deity official . . . Mdang" to the very end of the sentence, where it will sound more like the agent of "were cleared."

42 Similar sentences are found in several OJ legal documents, among which we may cite: "As for the aim of this victory document (*jayapatra*), it is that [even] into the future's future there should no more be any one to discuss it!" (Guntur, 907 CE); "Those are the ones who gave the victory document, in order that there be no one who shall say it [again] into the future's future. For the [. . .] is already clear" (Wurudu Kidul, 922 CE); and "May the kings take good notice, so that the holy freehold shall not be discussed again [even] into the future's future!" (Palebuhan, 927 CE). Such sentences tend to stand near the end of the document, suggesting that only a small part of our original *śuddhapātra* has been lost with the loss of the second plate (see p. 170).

43 See e.g., Adelaar (1994a, 64): ". . . loanwords also show that Malay was a prestige language in precolonial times. It had a tremendous cultural impact on speakers of Malagasy and Tagalog, and was not just a simplified lingua franca used for basic communication in trade and the like. In this context the discovery a few years ago of an Old Malay copper inscription from the tenth century AD in the vicinity of Manila is worth mentioning. Its language is very close to that of the Old Malay inscriptions of South Sumatra. This inscription is another very important piece of evidence in the study of the earliest history of Malay."

44 For further examples of vowel *sandhi* in OM, see Griffiths 2020b, 57, under *tatkāletu*.

45 According to De Casparis (1950, 113, n. 6, our translation from the scholar's Dutch, with silent correction of two errors): "although the Indian *anusvāra* is used already in the earliest inscriptions in an Indonesian language in the function of the guttural nasal, one sporadically finds the true *anusvāra*-function (as result of sandhi for *m*, followed by a consonant) in older inscriptions. Consequently, it is possible to find immediately juxtaposed (in the Talang Tuwo inscription, line 2) *yaṁ* (phonetically *yang*) and *nitānaṁ* (phonetically *nitānam*). For this reason, Cœdès deemed the transcription with *ng* that is conventionally used for Indonesian languages misleading" (cf. Cœdès 1930, 31). See also Vikør 1988, 76.

46 We may record here our hunch that the similarity of *jādi* with S/IM *jati* ("real, genuine," also in the expression *jati diri* "identity") may not be insignificant. Although Richard James Wilkinson's (1959) dictionary connects Malay *jati* with Arabic *zat*, it is now generally agreed (Jones et al. 2007, 133) that this word *jati* is from Sanskrit *jāti*, which means precisely "birth, origin," thus furnishing not only similarity in sound and meaning to the inherited Malay word *jadi* but also a potential connection with concepts like name and identity. In a forthcoming paper entitled "Lexical influence from South Asia," Tom Hoogervorst (n.d.) goes so far as to suggest that Malay *jadi* and cognates in other Austronesian languages all descend from an early borrowing into Malay from a Middle Indo-Aryan form *jādi* itself descending from Sanskrit *jāti*. The borrowing would have taken place early enough for the word to have subsequently undergone the wholesale sound-change /j/ > /d/ that has taken place in Javanese, where the cognate is *dadi*.

47 The items are, in chronological order, 1° Hujung or Dinoyo II (772 Śaka), line 2 *tatkāla ḍaṅ hvan kalāta saṅ hivil ri hujuṅ manusuk sīma vatak hiliran ri ḍaṅ hyaṅ guru* and line 8 *tatkāla ḍaṅ hvan alī – – n ri hujuṅ mavaih savaḥ; 2° Kaladi* (831 Śaka), line 7v6 *hulun haji, manambaṅi, saṅka, dhura, pamaṇḍkan, ḍaṅ huan, huñjamān*; Gilikan (ca. 845 Śaka), final plate *rāma i pamratan gusti si ḍaṅ huan ramani ḍaluṅ*; 4°–6° finally, in Hering (856 Śaka) line d28, in Anjuk Ladang (859 Śaka), line A38, and in Muncang (866 Śaka), B14–15, we find nearly identical versions of the phrase *citralekha saṅ lumku ḍaṅ hvan parujar i hino kaṇḍamuhi ḍaṅ acāryya basu*. All items except 2° have a known provenance in East Java.

48 The latter gloss is perhaps not to be taken too literally, at least not as implying all that prostitution might imply in the modern world. Meanings like "concubine, female servant" might also have to be taken into account.

49 The form *amupuhāṅrahana* (for *amuṁpuhaṅrahana* on the original) is emended based on parallels in other inscriptions.

50 This passage is cited here based on the edition included in Boechari 2012, 501–3, but with an emendation *aṅrabvaṇa* based on the reading *arabvaṇa* that we find in an unpublished typescript by the same author. We tentatively interpret this form derived from the base *rob/rwab* ("high tide, high water; to be at the flood, be at high tide, overflowing") as meaning "to wipe clean."

51 On the various categories of marginalized people listed in these passages (*jaṅgi, pujut, bule, vuṅkuk*), see Jákl 2017.

52 See Souza and Turley (2015, 87, 373) for the original text in Spanish and the translation. In his review of Souza and Turley's work, Pierre-Yves Manguin (2017, 539) has pointed out that "les éditeurs, dans leurs gloses diverses, ne se sont pas aperçu qu'il s'agissait là des termes d'origine sanskrite *bhaṭāra* (« Seigneur ») et *devatā* (« divinité »)" (the editors, in their various glosses, have failed to recognize that the terms in question originate in Sanskrit *bhaṭāra* [lord] and *devatā* [deity]).

53 The most explicit argument for this interpretation of the epigraphic occurrences of *devata* was made in Dutch by W. F. Stutterheim (1925, 211–12) and has since become generally accepted in the study of ancient Java so that authors writing in English generally do not give an elaborate argument. Among the relevant English-language publications, we may mention Boechari 1976, 19; 2012, 172–73, n. 22; Naerssen 1977, 73; Casparis 1991, 35 ("*Dewatā kaki*, literally: grandfather-divinity, appears to denote a deified ancestor").

54 Kulke 1993 is an exception. See especially ibid., 164, n. 20: "Although we have no positive evidence about Śrīvijaya's *devatā*, it [is] quite likely that they, too, were deified ancestors of the *datu* of Śrīvijaya."

55 In a personal communication in 2020, Tom Hoogervorst informed us "that the *-an* suffix in *gerang-an* is absent in many Malay varieties: Kutai Malay *garang*, Minangkabau *garan*, Makassar Malay *garang*, Banjar Malay *garang*, etc." and that "It's still a question word in all these varieties, which some older dictionaries beautifully translate as 'ye think' or 'prithee.'"

56 In a personal communication in 2020, K. Alexander Adelaar suggested that the *b* in *sumber* can be explained "phonotactically": an epenthetic stop appears in Malay loan vocabulary after a stressed syllable ending in nasal when an unstressed syllable ending in (or beginning with) *l* or *r* follows. In Adelaar 1988, 65, several examples are furnished, among which are *ember* (from Dutch *emmer*), *jendela* (from Portuguese *janela*), *inggeris* (from Portuguese *ingles*, colloquial *ingres*), *jenderal* (from English general).

57 See Griffiths (2015, 20, 24) for an example in a sixth-century inscription from Bengal.

58 See the opening line of the charter Wanua Tengah III: *vuara sira rahyaṅta i hāra ṅarannira ari rahyaṅta ri mḍaṅ*," There once was a prince of Hara, younger brother of the prince of Mḍaṅ." For the text of this inscription, discovered in the 1980s, see Boechari 2012, 484–91.

59 The spelling distinction between *tuan* (master) and *tuhan* (God) in contemporary forms of Malay is not historical.

60 Although Adelaar (1992, 397) has proposed to analyze the expression *hulun-tuhāṅku*, found several times in the Sabokingking inscription, as consisting in *hulun-tuha-ṅku*, and this view has since been accepted by other scholars (notably Mahdi [2005, 192]), we find De Casparis's (1956, 26) original interpretation as *hulun-tuhān-ku* more persuasive.

61 See De Casparis 1956, 227: "The term *tuhān* frequently occurs in Old Javanese inscriptions. It is never applied to high dignitaries, although it is also clear that the people denoted by *tuhān* are not 'commoners' either. . . . The most important hint as to the meaning of *nāyaka* in Old Javanese might be the fact that the *nāyakas* are usually mentioned at the beginning of the lists of *maṅilala drawya haji* [i.e., revenue collectors]. They are especially forbidden to interfere with the affairs of free-holds. Probably, they were some local chiefs managing the affairs of greater lords. . . ." De Casparis (ibid., n. 63) also pointed out that *tuhān* and *juru* are synonymous in OJ, and *OJED* glosses the latter as "head, leader, chief (of a division, military or administrative; of a group or trade); tradesman, trained worker" (Zoetmulder 1982).

62 Besides the quotation from De Casparis in the previous endnote, see especially Barrett Jones 1984, 107–8.

63 Edouard Huber (1905, 172–74, our translation) in his article, "Etudes indochinoises," presents examples of the so-called twin-forms from Campā: "Thus the words *vayauṅ pinaṅ* in the Mĩ-sơn inscription are a simple Cham translation of the Sanskrit expression Kramukavaṁśa, which immediately precedes them. This repetition in Cham of a Sanskrit expression is by the way far from being exceptional in the inscriptions of Mĩ-sơn. For example in the inscription xxii, A, *savāhyābhyantara* is immediately followed by its Cham equivalent *liṅāv dalaṅ*, which also means 'outside and inside'. I will cite yet another more curious example: it is (inscription xvi, A) the word *viddhi*, 'custom, rule', translated by the Cham word *tanatap*. Old Javanese allows us to understand this word. *Tanatap* is certainly derived from a word **tatap* (Old Javanese *tatā*, Sundanese *tata*, Balinese *dabdab*, Malay *tetap*), which means 'to settle, to fix'. This word is itself a reduplicated form of **tap*, which exists in Old Javanese with the meaning of 'on one line, aligned'. *Tanatap* is a passive from *tatap* obtained by the insertion of *n* preceded by a vowel which is *i* in Old Javanese, but which appears to be regularly *a* in Old Cham. *Tanatap* therefore means 'to be fixed, what is fixed', that is to say 'the rule, the law, *viddhi*'. The practice of following the Sanskrit word with its translation into the native language seems to have been as general in Java as in Campā." The reader must note that repeated *viddhi* is a localized spelling for what would be *vidhi* in proper Sanskrit.

64 From Malay alone, we can add *cantik jelita*, *mala petaka*, and *muda belia*, examples that could easily be multiplied.

65 Between Malay and Javanese, only the former is cited in Blust and Trussel 2010, which does not indicate a meaning for the reconstructed form *sa-anak*. Zoetmulder (1982) glosses *sānak* as "brother, sister, relative; with his brother(s)."

66 An example is Hector Santos in Patanñe (1996, 101): "The question of the language of the LCI is another serious matter that I think suffers from an Indonesian bias. Since Indonesian copperplates were either Old Javanese or Old Malay, efforts to portray the LCI in these two languages hinder its complete understanding. A document is necessarily in one language and the LCI is no different from any other. The LCI is written in a language or dialect that was similar to Old Javanese, Old Malay, and even Old Tagalog. It had cognates in those languages and yet [was] sufficiently different from any of them. It also had words that are not found in any of those languages. Suffice it to say, it is a language that has not been previously encountered in other documents. In *Sulat sa Tanso*, I proposed to call the language Puliran Malay." Although postulating a dialectal form of Malay ("Puliran Malay") is not problematic in itself, several objections may still be made here, most notably that not a single copperplate inscription in OM is known besides the LCI and that the author does not seem to take into account the possibility of some languages influencing others (e.g., through lexical borrowing).

67 See Tiongson 2013b, 57: "There is no doubt, if we read it using seventeenth-century dictionaries, that the inscription was written in ancient Tagalog using some technical Sanskrit terms. (*Hindi maipag-aalinlangan, kung babasahin sa pamagitan ng mga diksyunaryo ng ika-17 ng dantaon, na isinulat ang Inskripsyon sa Sinaunang Tagalog gamit ang ilang terminong teknikal na Sanskrit*)." See also ibid., 67. The statement by Wisseman Christie (2001, 49) that the LCI is "written in what appears to be a dialect of Old Tagalog influenced by trade Malay" seems to be based on a misunderstanding of Postma's work and is not repeated in her subsequent publications that refer to the LCI.

68 This paper gives a lot of useful detail that will be helpful for readers unfamiliar with such dates. However, it does not make any comparison with Indonesian dates and contains a few minor errors, although these do not affect the result obtained.

69 Unfortunately, there are no more closely contemporary inscriptions from Sumatra that can be used for comparison.

70 The other dates from Sumatran inscriptions of the late seventh century collected by Damais (1955, 235–36 under numbers E.1 through E.4) confirm the Sumatran pattern for that period.

71 As noted by Hector Santos (in Patanñe 1996, 101), there has been some confusion in the scholarly literature on the meaning of the terms *viśuddhapatra*, *śuddhapatra*, and *jayapatra* that occur in OJ epigraphy. While *śuddhapatra* may be a synonym of *viśuddhapatra*, the term *jayapatra* designates a different kind of document, namely a record of successful litigation. On the meaning of *jayapatra*, see Olivelle et al. 2015, 167–68; Lubin 2015, 251–52; Wisseman Christie 2009a, 44. The statements by De Casparis (1956, 256 n. 57, 333) on the relationship between the terms *śuddhapatra* and *jayapatra* are partly misleading.

72 See Strauch 2002, 355 for a presentation of the textual evidence on *viśuddhipatra* from India. Olivelle et al. (2015, 363) only record the meaning "document attesting to the exoneration of a person accused of a crime through the performance of an expiation," ignoring Strauch's discussion. Wisseman Christie (2009a, 43) has correctly captured the meaning of *(vi)śuddhapatra* in Javanese epigraphy.

73 The only example we can cite (which does not style itself a *viśuddhipatra*) dates from 1627 CE. It was published by K. P. Jayaswal (1928).

74 See also Davis 2016 on the "perennial challenge in the study of law in medieval India," that is, the encounter between scholastic jurisprudence in Sanskrit and vernacular juridical traditions.

75 There are some documents belonging to this category that remain unpublished, but the published ones are the Bulai, Kurungan, and Wuru Tunggal inscriptions (Wisseman Christie 2009b, items 1, 2, and 5).

76 Hoogervorst's (n.d.) citation of the OJ data is slightly misleading. In the only four cases of inscriptions contemporary with the LCI that use a full spelling instead of the abbreviation *kā*, we find that two texts have *kāṭi* (Kurungan and Rumwiga I, respectively of 885 and 904 CE) and the other two *kati* (Kayu Ara Hiwang and Salingsingan, 901 and 880/905 CE). It is true that in later Javanese sources, the spelling *kati/kāti* with dental *t* predominates. In the *OJED* entry *kati/kaṭi*, one of the examples illustrates the number word *kaṭi* "one hundred thousand" rather than the unit of weight *kati/kaṭi* (Zoetmulder 1982).

77 The term *piloncito* has been given by Philippine numismatists because of the resemblance in shape to the *pilon*, which are receptacles for sugar (Legarda 1976a, 13; Wicks 1986, 55).

78 The most common weight, hence the standard, seems to have been 2.4 g, which is also the weight of the unit called *māṣa* (Wicks 1986, 45).

79 Gold mines were numerous in the Philippines; the major ones were located in Baguio, Camarines, Masbate, and eastern Mindanao. As the gold mentioned in the transaction could have come from several places, using the hypothetical source of origin to identify the place of the transaction seems tenuous to us. For a map showing gold mines in the Philippines, see Capistrano-Baker 2011, 19.

80 Readers may compare the brief record of a seventh-century military expedition, including the use of the word *vala* (army) and mention of vessels for transportation, contained in the Śrīvijayan OM inscription of Kedukan Bukit (Cœdès 1930, 33–37; Boechari 1986; 2012, 385–99). If we were to amend *valānda* to *vapānda* (see note 29), the meaning would become "the debt of his/their" father, and we would no longer have even such a small indication of why the debt had been contracted.

81 For a detailed account of slavery in the sixteenth-century Philippines, see Scott 1994, 224–29.

82 As the term *dayang* is used in several languages of the Philippines to designate the wife of a leader, it is possible to postulate a semantic shift from its description as a servant with whom sexual intercourse was acceptable (OJ and possibly OM) to a concubine and then to a wife. The hypothesis is all the more plausible as debt bondage for women was considered an opportunity for social mobility. For female servants, being taken into the place of a ruler amounted to an honor, and their social status was far from destitute (Reid 1983, 25–26). Moreover, a bonded woman could be given as a wife by a ruler to one of his subordinates. In the Tagalog communities of the sixteenth century, it was common for the *timawa*, the supporters of the chief class datu, to receive secondary wives from the superordinate class (Scott 1983b, 146).

83 For examples from Malay codes whose manuscripts date to the nineteenth century but were possibly composed quite a bit earlier, see Matheson and Hooker 1983, 188–89, 191, 198.

84 See for example the inscriptions of Kurungan, Java, 885 CE; Wuru Tunggal, Java, 912 CE; Dawan, Bali, 1053 CE; Gunun Pai/Pandak Bandung, Bali, 1071 CE; Srokadan B/Sukawati C, Bali, 1077 CE.

85 Compare the translocation of Javanese Mataram to the island of Lombok, or places in Brunei, Kalimantan Selatan, and Bali, whose shared name Kuripan/Koripan (= Kahuripan) originally designated a region in East Java. Such translocation may have happened through direct or indirect

contacts but does not necessarily imply a Javanese settlement. See also Vickers 2005, 283 on the reproduction of the Javanese landscape of the Majapahit kingdom in the form of place names in Bali and Lombok. We see here a clear analogy with the types of "geographical transposition of South Asian toponyms onto the Southeast Asian landscape" alluded to in Griffiths 2011, 146.

86 The Laguna de Bay region underwent a substantial change in the mid-Holocene and a geological event isolated Laguna from the open part of the Manila Bay around 3700 years BP (Ward and Bulalacao 1999). At least for the twelfth century, archaeological data also tended to suggest that the area was swampy and that the settlements were on elevated land, as communicated to us by Emil Robles on 18 August 2020. Juan Bon Go (2005, 125–28) suggested that Manila Bay and Laguna de Bay formed one uninterrupted body of water in historical times but did not give substantial evidence to support this claim.

87 Several articles in the Filipino-language volume edited by Tiongson (2013a) attempt to demonstrate the historical importance of Binawangan in Capalonga. However, in the context of the transaction registered in the LCI, the distance of the settlement from the others does not match what we know about the way debt clearance was conducted in the presence of witnesses. The settlement of Binangonan in Rizal seems to agree better with the known or suspected localizations of the other toponyms but agrees less closely with the name found in the LCI.

88 The important role of traditional elites from the highlands in the early modern period in the Philippines is possibly attested in the case of Sulu, where the first embassy sent to China in 1417 included administrators (*quan* 權) of the eastern and western parts of the archipelago, as well as the deceased wife of the administrator of something called the *dong* (峒) of Sulu, which may have indicated a place in the highlands (Wade 2005). For Mindanao, early Spanish documents show the predominant role played by Raja Bwayan, ruler of the upstream, in what is known as the Sultanate of Maguindanao (Morga 1890, 51; De la Costa 1961, 294, 296, 308).

89 This translation is by Griffiths. In her translation of an extract from this longer passage, Wisseman Christie (2009b, 180) translated the expression *tutuganniṅ taṇḍa* as "who signed [the document]." This is misleading because the expression, which occurs quite frequently in OJ inscriptions of the tenth century, is never found in any other context than immediately following a toponym and thus seems to state something about the preceding place-name rather than about any of the persons who may figure in the context. The expression, whose literal meaning seems to be either "groove of the ensign" or "extent of the ensign," must have had an idiomatic sense that has so far not been convincingly explained but certainly does not indicate who the signatory of a document was.

90 We cite Chinese names and titles in hyphenated Pinyin transcription (by contrast with William Henry Scott, who used the Wade-Giles system) and acknowledge the kind help that Tom Hoogervorst and Geoff Wade gave us in our treatment of the Chinese sources.

91 The number could reach eleven if two additional discoveries are confirmed. Of the nine identified boats, only five have been excavated (Lacsina 2016, 12–13).

92 The first Jesuit missionaries found bronze statues associated with Hindu-Buddhist cults among the Mandaya in Mindanao (Beyer 1947, 301–02; Scott 2000, 31).

93 We take the Chinese characters, Pinyin transcription, and Sanskrit/Malay interpretation from Orlina (2012, 165 and n. 19). On the one hand, Xi-li-ba-da-sha-zhi is the transcription given by Scott (1983a, 4; 2000, 66–67), while Wolters (1983, 58–59 n. 46) gave Śrī "Pa-to-hsia-chih," which he interpreted as possibly reflecting Śrī Pad[uk]a Haji. Wade (1993, 84), on the other hand,

proposed that "[r]ead in Hokkien, the characters are pronounced *Sīt-lî Bá-dâi-ha-zhi*, which can be reconstructed as 'Sri Maharaja.'"

94 Scott (2000, 67) represented his name as "Likan-hsieh," where the transcription of 干 as *kan* was probably due to its misreading as 干 (Pinyin *gan*). We owe this observation to Tom Hoogervorst. Geoff Wade added that the name Li Yu-xie indicates that its bearer was likely a Chinese person.

95 The two principal sources for high-quality camphor in Southeast Asia were Barus in Sumatra and Brunei (Drakard 1989, 55; Harrisson 2003, 99).

96 Salazar (2013, 355–67) has developed this argument further based on a different interpretation of the inscription and of the territorial configuration of the political entities.

97 We refer to this source on the basis of the famous translation by Hirth and Rockhill (1911) while also consulting the very recent online publication by Yang (2021), which offers a slightly modified translation of part 1 of the *Zhu-fan zhi* with reference to Hirth and Rockhill and to Bowen Yang's (1996) annotated and punctuated critical edition of the text.

98 The toponym means "three islands," namely, Busuanga, Calamian, and Palawan (Hirth and Rockhill 1911, 161).

99 Shao-yun Yang (2021) has mentioned these settlements as being "vassals," which may render the original Chinese character well enough but is probably misleading in suggesting a situation of political domination.

100 Hirth and Rockhill (1911, 159) translated as "officials place" (*sic*) the term *guan chang* (官場), which is literally "public official+place or site." In China the term refers to a type of officially designated market site or marketplace. We owe this piece of information to Wade and have confirmed it in Yang's new translation, where one reads: "official marketplace."

101 The first occurrence appears in the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* by Ibn Khurradādhbih. For a detailed review of the Arab sources and the problems posed by their interpretation, see Donoso 2011, 269–82.

102 Donoso 2011, 270–72 has identified a section in the *Murūj al-Dhahab* by al-Masʿūdī as being the possible origin of the confusion. The said section describes a region near China called al-MāND, and Donoso has argued that the toponym might have been later erroneously copied as al-Mayd, with m-y-d (ميد) instead of m-n-d (مند), allowing the authors to associate al-Māyd with Māyṭ so that in later sources we see these two toponyms merged into one.

103 For a discussion of the complex question of what place was designated by the toponym "Java" around the ninth century, see Griffiths 2013, which revises some of the previously accepted ideas mentioned in Laffan 2009.

104 For a synthesis of the important literature on the topic, see Wisseman Christie 1995.

105 The dating of the oldest substantial inscription in OJ is problematic (Damais 1955, 187–89), but it is in any case younger than the Sojomerto inscription. See also Griffiths 2012, 477. About the production of OM inscriptions in Java, see Griffiths 2018, 2020c. On the special role of OM among vernacular languages of ancient maritime Southeast Asia, see also Ali 2011.

106 On such charters (*piagam* in Javanese), see the series of eight articles published by J. L. A. Brandes, of which we list only the first and last in our bibliography (Brandes 1889, 1902), and the more recent contributions of Machi Suhadi (1990) and Boechari (2012, 524–2).

107 Luzon, as well as the Visayas, remained part of the "Malay World" in the following centuries. When the Spaniards arrived in the sixteenth century, they described the alphabet used by the Visayans as "Moro letters," explaining that the script had been brought there by the Muslims (Scott 1994, 94, 96). It is unclear to which population the term "Muslims" refers here, as it could have designated Malays as well as any other Islamized ethnic groups from Mindanao or Sulu. It is quite certain that the Visayans used Jawi, the aforementioned adaptation of the Arabic script adapted to the needs of Malay and other vernacular languages in Southeast Asia, besides a ***baybayin*** script. The same seems to have been true in the Manila region. When the Spanish governor Francisco de Sande sent a letter to the sultan of Brunei in 1578, it was written in Malay and accompanied by two translations in another language written in two scripts by local interpreters, one in Arabic script and the other in ***baybayin*** (Donoso 2019, 97). While the language of those two translations is impossible to assess from the secondary sources we have, it seems safe to suppose that they were in Tagalog. We see here another example of the complex linguistic landscape of the "Malay World."

108 See several papers edited by Timothy Barnard (2004), as well as Mohamad and Aljunied (2011). In the context of the present study, it is poignant to observe that the volume edited by Barnard (2004, vii), which attempts to consider Malay identity across boundaries, excludes almost all of the Philippines and the whole of Luzon from the map of the "Malay World."

109 *Hikayat* is a Malay literary form of narration, in prose or in verse, which records past stories, often the adventures of a hero. Malay ***hikayat*** are all posterior to our period. The studies we are alluding to concern the influence of the Pegon (modified Arabic alphabet used to write languages of Java) on the Jawi script as well as motifs or narrative frames in Malay texts. See, for example, Ras 1968; Wieringa 2003; Ricci 2012; Proudfoot 2018.

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