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NOTES ON THE MARIŃCI INSCRIPTION:
A 14TH CENTURY MAJAPAHIT COPPER-PLATE

The *Notulen* of the Bataviaasch Genootschap for 1914 contain a brief description by N. J. Krom of a copper-plate inscription found in the *desa* Printje, which is located in the vicinity of Batu, above Malang in East Java, on the saddle between the Kawi and Arjuna mountain complexes. The inscription was taken up as number E-49 in the Museum collection and was noted as follows:

E-49. Copper-plate, 29.4 x 9.3 cm., inscribed on one side with five, the other side four lines of late Old Javanese script; together with a [figure of a] parrot as a seal. The language shows similarities to Cohen Stuart IV. The charter is complete and names a king who is deceased at Amṛtabhawana (*NBG* 1914:44, 52; *bijlage* 5, 192).

Besides this concise cataloguing entry, the inscription apparently has not received further published notice. It was not mentioned in Krom's own *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* (1931). The contents of the inscription, however, merit further consideration for what additional light might be shed on rural organization and administrative patterns of fourteenth century Majapahit.¹

The inscription is very similar to a number of other Majapahit era simple rescripts exempting certain rural communities from specific forms of taxes and other levies or exactions. It is one more example of the regulation of social and economic relationships at the village level from the supra-village sphere of the royal court. In addition to Krom's mention of Cohen Stuart IV (Selamañdi), the particular group of inscriptions to which E-49 is similar includes Biluluk, Patapan I (Trawulan IV), Karang Bogem (Trawulan V), Katiñen I and II, and Walañdit (Wanajaya). All but Katiñen I (Stutterheim 1937:150-154) have been republished, translated, and commented upon by Pigeaud in *Java in the 14th Century* (1960-1963). The authorship of some of these inscriptions can be attributed to members of the royal family other than the king himself. On the basis of their internal similarities of language, subject matter, and spare style (to be contrasted with the elaborate formulation of the supreme ruler's decrees), these inscriptions as a class might be characterized as "provincial" rather than "imperial", regulating matters in those territories over which leading members of the royal family held titular jurisdiction or enjoyed usufructuary rights.

The text of the decree contained in E-49 confirms a previous edict of a deceased member of royalty – but not necessarily a king – whose funerary shrine was identified as Amṛtabhawana (*magēhakēn, andika-nira talampakanira bhaṭara sang mokta ring amṛtabhawana*). It is addressed to the *ḍapur* or rural commoners of Tumapēl and exempts the *pangarēmban ing dewarēsi* of the district Mariñci from certain dues and tributes. Utilizing Damais' system (1952:7-9) of internal toponymic designation, we will henceforth term copper-plate E-49 the Mariñci inscription.

It has heretofore escaped notice that the Mariñci inscription is dated.

The date is recorded in the fashion peculiar to the Walaṇḍit, Patapan, and Rēñēk inscriptions: that is, the date is given in a very abbreviated way by month and with the year simply indicated by the unit figure of the first decade of the (fourteenth) Śaka era century.² The Mariñci inscription is dated *titi ka 4 śiraḥ 5 (verso: 4)*: being the fourth month [of the Śaka year having the] head 5. This would be Kārtikka, 1305 Śaka or October-November, 1383 A.D.

Fourteenth century Mariñci certainly is the twentieth century *desa* Printje, where the copper-plate was found in an old coffee plantation. This is situated in the mountainous western border area of the historical realm of Tumapël, the rural common villagers of which were the object of the sealed decree (*rājamudra*). The subject group enjoying the exemptions from levies was a particular religious community of *dewarēsi*, qualified by *pangarēmban*. The *Tantu Panggëlaran* mentions a class of Śivaite monks called *wiku rsyangarēmban* (79:11) as well as *angarēmban* hermitages (Pigeaud 1924:81, l. 24). At one place in the *Korawācrama* (Swellengrebel 1936:60, l. 36) *maṇḍalāngērēmba* is in a list of rather obscure holy orders. Neither Pigeaud (1924) nor Swellengrebel (1936), the respective editors of the two texts, was able to specify a functional meaning for the term. Pigeaud (1960-1963) came back to it as encountered in the *Rājapatigundala*. In the context there, he suggested conjecturally that *pangarēmban* refers to “religious officers connected with householding (perhaps housebuilding or the foundation of a new settlement), and with the opening of new lands” (Pigeaud 1963:IV, 363). This would be consistent with the *angarēmbha* found in a thirteenth century inscription which was translated by its editor “order-nemer” (Van Naerssen 1941:48). Most recently, Zoetmulder defined *angarēmban* as “a particular category of wikus (who work on the land?)” (Zoetmulder 1982:I, 124). It may be then that the *pangarēmban ing dewarēsi* of the Mariñci inscription were the founders or pioneers of a *maṇḍala*, opening up a new religious settlement in a remote and thinly populated region of Tumapël.

Who was the living member of the Majapahit royal family issuing the Mariñci decree? Given the jurisdiction – Tumapël – and the date – 1383 A.D. – we would tentatively assign it to Kṛtawardhana (died 1386 A.D.), King Hayam Wuruk’s father, prince of Singasari, and the Bhre Tumapël of the *Pararaton*. His involvement in the affairs of the realm is only hinted at in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, and the Mariñci inscription could document his active participation in administrative matters. Unfortunately, we do not know whether the bird emblem (Krom’s “papegaai”) adorning the plate served as Kṛtawardhana’s seal.

Even more problematical is the identity of the deceased member of the royal family appearing on the plate. We would assume a family relationship with the issuing authority. Amṛtabhawana (“Abode of Immortality”) as the name of a funerary temple does not occur elsewhere.³ There are no literary or epigraphic clues as to who the *bhaṭara* “liberated” at Amṛtabhawana might be. We are left then only with conjecture, for what it is worth. One possible candidate is Kṛtawardhana’s son by a secondary wife. This was Raden Soṭor, King Hayam Wuruk’s older half-brother, who is mentioned in the *Pararaton* as occupying a suc-

cession of high status roles at court: *hino* of Koripan, Daha, and Majapahit (*Pararaton* 29:25). The titles are princely and in the protocol of Majapahit "imperial" inscriptions rank just below the king's immediate family. Raden Soṭor's son was Raden Sumirat, prince of Paṇḍan Salas (*Pararaton* 29:25). His consecration name Raṇamanggala is known from the 1367 A.D. Gĕdangan inscription (Kern 1917) and the *manggalas* to the kakawins *Arjunawijaya* and *Sutasoma* (Zoetmulder 1975:342). He married the king's niece, becoming the brother-in-law of Hayam Wuruk's successor, Wikramawardhana (Hyang Wiśesa).

Obviously, Raden Soṭor was a person of great prestige. It is accordingly strange that this distinguished contemporary of Hayam Wuruk is not mentioned by Prapañca in his *Nāgarakṛtāgama*. One very possible explanation is that he was already dead by the time of its composition in 1365 A.D. There is no problem with this chronologically. Soṭor would have been born before 1334 A.D., his younger brother Hayam Wuruk's birthdate, and his son Raṇamanggala was at least an adolescent by 1367 A.D. Raden Soṭor is one of the few prominent nobles mentioned in the *Pararaton* whose date of death and place of "liberation" are, for whatever reason, not recorded. Without further evidence the question will, of course, remain open, but speculatively we may ask: is Kṛtawardhana's son Raden Soṭor the *bhaṭara sang mokta ring amṛtabhawana* of the Mariñci inscription?

NOTES

- 1 The discussion to follow is based on incidental notes made by the author in 1963 on inspection of the rubbing of E-49 in the Kern Institute, Leiden, during the course of dissertation research supported by the Ford Foundation Foreign Area Fellowship Program.
- 2 This method of dating is discussed by Damais (1955:237) for the Walaṇḍit and Patapan inscriptions. The Rēñēk inscription was not included in Damais' list of dated inscriptions. It contains cyclical calendrical data that cannot be reconciled without assuming there is an error. The date of 1301 Śaka (*śiraḥ* 1) according to Pigeaud (1960-1963:II, 145) was accepted by Damais as probable. This form of dating is also discussed by De Casparis (1978:20, n. 61).
- 3 A *bhaṭara prabhu sang mokta ring amṛtawīśeṣālaya* occurs in the Pēṭak inscription of 1486 A.D. (Muusses 1929). The fact that it is a century younger and the historical context (Noorduyn 1978:248) make it extremely unlikely that there is any connection with the *bhaṭara* of the Mariñci inscription.

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