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The *wadihati* arose amid the gathered crowd standing under a banyan tree (?). The *akudur* began the ceremony; he slit the chicken's throat and smashed the egg, turning to the quarters of the chthonic powers, pronouncing a curse, speaking loudly, cursing as in time immemorial.

Introduction

The passage cited above, taken from the inscription of Tuhañaru, found in Sidoteko, in the district of Mojokerto (AD 1323), marks the beginning of a curse. Curses are so common in Old Javanese royal inscriptions that one might state that they formed an integral part of this type of epigraphic texts. Curses are highly formulaic in their word usage and contain much interesting information about the ceremonies performed in connection with them, the punishments feared, and the gods and spiritual powers involved. Surprisingly enough, they have so far received very little attention.

The only article on this subject, 'Oudjavaansche eedformulieren op Bali gebruikelijk', was published by H. Kern.¹ This author informs us that in 1859 P.L. van Bloemen Waanders, the assistant Resident of Bulèlèng, published the text of a curse that was still in use in Bali in the first half of the nineteenth century. The language of this Balinese curse was Kawi, which name was normally used to refer to Old Javanese at that time. Kern compared the text of this Balinese curse with the curses of two Old Javanese inscriptions, one dating from AD 840, the other from AD 931. To his surprise, they matched each other almost word for word.

To my knowledge, Kern's article is the only one directly concerned with

¹ H. Kern 1917. This article was previously published in two parts, in 1873 and 1874, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*.

Old Javanese curses, although Edy Sedyawati discusses parts of Old Javanese curses in her monograph of 1994 (Sedyawati 1994:103-14). Articles have been published on curses, or oaths, as used throughout the archipelago, but they are all of a general nature.² This does not imply that they do not contain interesting information relevant for Old Javanese curses as well, however. G.A. Wilken informs us with reference to the Minangkabau of Sumatra at the beginning of the 20th century, for example, that:

Bij deze eedaflegging worden allerlei ceremoniën verricht, als het afstroopen met de hand van eene varen, het verbrijzelen van eene pinangnoot of het laten vallen van een ongekokt ei, alle symbolische handelingen doelende op den ondergang van de geheele familie, die als het ei zal uiteenspatten of verstrooid raken als de blaadjes van de varen, bij het niet nakomen van den eed³ (Wilken 1912:497).

It is apparent from this that particular practices in connection with the swearing of an oath in Old Javanese times, such as the smashing of an egg mentioned in Old Javanese curses, still survived in later times.

Royal inscriptions

The curses to be discussed in this article feature in Javanese royal inscriptions from the period 1222-1486. These are edicts characterized by a special system of dating and by the fact that they were issued by a king, or by a high official who apparently was also empowered for this.⁴

Inscriptions of this type, engraved in bronze or stone, always open with a (very) complex date, mentioning among other things the *śaka* year, the month, and the relevant day of the seven-, six-, and five-day weeks, often supplemented with astronomical data. This date is followed by the (complete) title and name of the ruler or high official who issued the edict, followed in turn by the announcement that the order accordingly has been received with all due respect by a group of dignitaries. Then follows a specification of these dignitaries, who in their turn will pass on the order to the

² See, for example, *Encyclopaedie* 1921, under 'eed'; Lasch 1908:79-80; Wilken 1912:497 and 519; Van Vollenhoven 1933:398-401.

³ When this oath is sworn, all kinds of ceremonies are performed, such as stripping a fern by hand, cracking an areca nut, or throwing a raw egg to the ground, all of them symbolic acts referring to the downfall of the entire family, which will be shattered like the egg or scattered like the leaves of the fern if the oath is not fulfilled.

⁴ From the same period we have two other types of inscription. These are, firstly, the minimal inscriptions, engraved on objects like mirrors, coins, and so on, and comprising only one or at most a few words; and secondly, the inscriptions that were not issued by a king, which have a brief date at the end of the text. These are a kind of deed granting a privilege to a beneficiary.

lower ranks. After that comes the name of the beneficiary. This might be a person who had been of service to his ruler, or a religious community within whose boundaries there was a shrine or a temple. In the latter case the edict will also refer to the people living in the precincts of the temple or shrine who are responsible for its upkeep.

This is usually followed by a short passage containing a forceful reminder that the edict for the benefit of the chosen party was issued by order of the ruler. As a rule, the section after this gives a brief summary of the contents of the particular charter or grant conferred. In almost every case this was for the creation of a *sīma*, which term is often translated as 'exempt area', implying that taxes that formerly had to be paid to the king from then on had to be diverted for other purposes, mostly the upkeep of a sanctuary and the like.

In most inscriptions of this type, this is followed by what is called the *sambandha*, which means something like 'occasion, reason'. This states the reason why the decree was promulgated, usually being certain extraordinary services rendered to the sovereign by the beneficiary.

The text of the inscription concludes with various regulations of a practical nature. This part sets out the rights of the beneficiary in more detail, often including a long list of exemptions from taxes and a list of names and professions of people who are to be denied access to the 'exempt area'. In this part mention may also be made of the boundaries of the *sīma* and of the advantages and disadvantages accruing to the inhabitants of that area, known as *sukhaduḥkha*. This may be followed by a description of the actual foundation ceremony whereby the royal decree came into force. First will come an enumeration of the officials and the inhabitants present at the ceremony, also mentioning the gifts which they received according to their status or the part played by them. Then will follow a list of the various offerings and rituals prescribed for the ceremony. As the inscriptions reveal, this ceremony was often enlivened with such entertainments as singing, dancing, and music. The high point of the ceremony was the pronouncement of a curse on all those who would violate the conditions stipulated in the inscription. All *sīma* inscriptions end with this curse.

The present article will focus on the structure of these curses. I have confined myself to published inscription texts. So far twenty-five such texts have been published (see Nakada 1982). Of these, twelve contain a more or less elaborate curse; namely the Sarwadharma (AD 1269), Kudadu (AD 1294), Tuhañarū (AD 1323), Canggal (AD 1358), Bungur A (AD 860) and Bungur B (AD 1367)⁵, Waringin Pitu (AD 1447), and Pamintihan (AD 1473) inscriptions, engraved on bronze plates, and the Pēthak (AD 1486), Trailokyapuri I, II, and

⁵ The Bungur inscription, issued in AD 1367, reconfirms the terms of an inscription issued in AD 860. So this inscription contains two inscription texts, and also two curses.

III/IV (AD 1486)⁶, and Prapañcasārapura (no date, but dateable to the same period) inscriptions, carved in stone. Of the remaining thirteen, the three stone inscriptions that are still complete lack a curse, not being *sīma* inscriptions but inscriptions of a commemorative nature, while ten are so incomplete that it is impossible to say whether they once contained a curse or not.

The curses

When one compares the wordings of the curses, one is immediately struck by the great similarities in word usage and structure between them. These curses may contain the following elements:

1. a description of the preparations preceding the actual pronouncement of the curse;
2. an invocation of particular gods and other supernatural beings, who are believed to be omnipresent and all-seeing, to be witnesses and to watch for any violations of the stipulations of the charter of which the curse forms part;
3. invariably a warning to anyone who might want to change, obstruct or annul the stipulations of the charter, with sometimes a list of potential offenders;
4. invariably a mention, whether brief or elaborate, of the horrible punishments lying in store for offenders;
5. some Sanskrit words or formulaic Sanskrit phrases, which conclude the curse and at the same time the inscription text.

a. The preparations

Three inscriptions, the Kudadu, Tuhañaru and Bungur A ones, give information about the preparations made and the ritual performed before the actual uttering of the curse. The relevant passage from the Kudadu inscription runs:

ri tlasning maweh pasakṣi ri taṇḍa rakryān makabehan mwanḡ rāma tpi siring somilu ri kasusukan i tan sīma ri kudadu pinarṇnah teka saji sang akurug kadyangganing hayām hantiḡa sasiringnya sawidhiwidhānaning manasak [read *manusuk*] siṃa ring lagi ngkāne sorning witāna munggwining pasabhan mamūjā ta sang wiku sahopakara ring dikwidik manglar bhūtabali mwanḡ yajñā ring dewatā ri huwusning mamūjā maṇḍiri ta sang makudur mwanḡ samgēt ryy ayyam tyas huwus motara sanggha makalambi sangke harēp amukamukan bandhana māṇḍelan pāna [read *pāda*, as in the Tuhañaru inscription] hinarēpakning mangheya kurugānak thāni ngkāne sorning turumbukan. ri huwusning mamūjā lumkas tekang makurug manguyutuyut mantēk guluning hayam mamantingakēn hantiḡa humarēp ring krodhadeśa angutu manapathani āmāṅgmāṅ

⁶ Trailokyapuri III/IV actually is one inscription text, which, because of its length, was inscribed on two separate stones, which later were assigned the numbers III and IV.

sumambat ri sang minangmang ring dangu makaprayojana ri kapratisubaddhan
ikanang sīma ri kudadu [...] (plate XI.b-XII.b)

Translation:

After the witnesses' fees had been paid to the gathered officials and to the elders of the neighbouring villages, all participated in the inauguration ceremony of the freehold of Kudadu. The officiating priest's requisites, such as a chicken, an egg, and everything that since time immemorial has been necessary for the prescribed ceremony for establishing a freehold, were put in their proper place. There under the canopy, in the field where all were gathered, the priest paid homage to the gods with all the appropriate rituals, presenting offerings to the demonic powers at all the cardinal points, and also the offerings for the gods. When the appropriate ritual had been performed, the *makudur* and the *samēgēt ryy ayyam tyas*⁷ arose. After they had recited in unison, they put on jackets which fastened in front and a band around their heads⁸, standing on a pedestal⁹, turning to the *patih*, *aku-rug* and villagers there under the *turumbukan*¹⁰ tree. After they had paid homage to the gods, the *makurug* came into action; he pronounced the curse, cut the neck of the chicken, and smashed the egg, turning to the quarters of the chthonic powers, continuously uttering a curse, an imprecation, addressing those that are cursed from time immemorial, having as objective the stability of the freehold of Kudadu.

We learn from this inscription that the inauguration of the freehold, the *kasusukan i tan sīma*, consisted of the uttering of the curse and the performance of a connected ritual. The ceremony was attended by priests, government officials, and the elders of neighbouring villages, and also by the inhabitants of the intended *sīma* area. All gathered at a public meeting-place, the so-called *pasabhan*, where the officiating priests were standing in an open pavilion covered with an awning, the *witana*, or under a tree, named *turumbukan*, perhaps in the absence of such a pavilion.

The ritual and its paraphernalia appear to be the same in all three inscriptions; what differs are the titles of or the terms used to refer to the priests who performed the ritual and uttered the curse. In the Kudadu inscription the requisites, such as a chicken, an egg, and everything that since time immemorial has been necessary for the prescribed ceremony for establishing

⁷ P.J. Zoetmulder's remark that 'This variant of *twas*, which is usual in ModJ, is only found in Kor.' (Zoetmulder 1982:2092) hence is not correct.

⁸ *Mamukha*, 'having a head, face, etc.'; *wandhana* = *bandhana*, 'band, tie, rope, tether'.

⁹ I am not sure that the interpretation of the passage from *huwus motara sanggha to mandēlan pāna* is correct. In the Tuhāñaru inscription we find almost the same words in this place, namely *tlas mottarasangga mamukha wandhana makalambi sangke harēp mandēlan pāda sahawidhiwidhāna ning anusuk sīma ring lāgi hinarēpakning anawaju hanak thani*.

¹⁰ Zoetmulder 1982: 'a part. kind of tree (waringin?)'.

a freehold', are prepared by *sang akurug*. The Tuhañaru inscription says that they are prepared by four officials, namely the *awaju*, *raweh*, *wadihati* and *akudur*. The Bungur A inscription does not mention the preparation of the requisites at all, but starts with the ritual proper, saying that the *samēgēt wadihati* slit the chicken's neck, smashed the egg, and invoked the gods before he pronounced the curse. In the Tuhañaru inscription all this is done by the *akudur* and in the Kudadu inscription by the *akurug*. We do not know either the proper meaning of the terms used for or the position or function of the officiating priests. It seems rather odd that not a single priest, but three different ones, were entrusted with the obviously important task of uttering the curse. Nevertheless, since it is very unlikely that three different titles would have been used to refer to one and the same functionary, this is the only conclusion we can draw from the present texts.

b. The witnesses

The second element in a curse are the witnesses. They may be referred to simply as *sang hyang trayodaśa sākṣi*, 'the thirteen holy witnesses', without further specification, as in the case of the Sarwadharma, Bungur B, Waringin Pitu, Pamintihan, Trailokyapuri I and III/IV, and Prapañcasārapura inscriptions. Or they may be specified in an extensive list, as in the case of the Kudadu, Tuhañaru, and Bungur A inscriptions – the same three inscriptions that give information about the preparations preceding the actual uttering of the curse. In these three inscriptions the curse is presented in direct speech, moreover, whereas in the others it is presented in indirect speech.

Below follows the relevant passage from the Tuhañaru inscription.

IX.a

6. [...] humarēp ing krodhadeśa. mamangmang manapathe. sumawakcang

IX.b

1. minangmang ring lagi. lingnya. om indah ta kita kamu hyang haricandana. agasti maharṣi. pūrwwa dākṣiṇa paścimottara ūrdhwamadhaḥ maddhya.
2. rawi śaśi pṛthiwy āpas tejo bāyw ākāśa. dharmmahorātrā. andhyātraya. yakṣa rākṣasa piśāca pretāsura gandharwwa
3. kinnara mahoraga. yama baruṇa kuwera bāsawa putra dewatā. pañoa [must be *pañca*] kuśika nandīswara mahākāla śadwināyaka nā
4. garaja durggadewi caturaśrama. ananta hyang kalamṛtyu. sakweh ta bhūtagaṇa. kita prasiddha rumakṣang yawadwipamaṇḍala
5. kita sakala sakṣi tumon adoh aparē. ring rahineng kulēm. kita umasuk ing sarwwabhūta. dṛngē teking sāpatha samaya
6. pamangmang mami ri kita kamu hyang kabeh. [...]

Translation:

IX.a

6. [The *makudur*] turned to the quarters of the chthonic powers, pronouncing a curse, speaking loudly,

IX.b

1. cursing as in time immemorial, saying: 'Om, listen ye (gods), thou great sage Haricandana Agastya, (gods of) the east, south, west and north, the Zenith, the lower part and the middle,
2. the sun, the moon and the earth, water, fire, air and ether, the cycle of day and night, morning, afternoon and evening, *yakṣa*¹¹, guardian ogres, ghosts and demons, demigods,
3. *kinnara*¹², great snakes, Yama, Baruna, Kubera, Indra¹³, the five children of the gods, Kuśika, Nandiśwara, god of destruction, Gaṇeśa, the king
4. of the *naga*, the goddess Durga, thou Caturaśrama¹⁴, the snake Śeṣa¹⁵, the god of death, of all living creatures, thou who art commonly known to protect the whole of Java,
5. you are always witnesses, you see all that is far away, as well as all that is near, in the daytime as well as at night, you who penetrate all beings, listen to this curse, this oath,
6. this imprecation of mine, addressed to you, all ye Gods [...].

The function of the witnesses becomes quite clear from this passage. Because the gods and other supernatural beings are omnipresent, present in all that lives, and all-seeing, it would be impossible for anyone to do anything that is detrimental to anything in relation to the royal charter. So the witnesses must prevent anyone with bad intentions from doing harm.

As was noted above, other curses from this period are briefer in their mention of the witnesses. The same formulaic phrases are used over and over again. The phrase *kawulatan de sang hyang trayodaśa sāṅkṣī*, 'it will be seen by the thirteen holy witnesses', is used in the Sarwadharma, Tuhañaru, Bungur B, Waringin Pitu, Pamintihan, and Prapañcasārapura inscriptions. The Trailokyapuri I and III/IV inscriptions here have *kasakṣen denira sang*

¹¹ Name of a class of semi-divine beings, attendants of Kubera (Zoetmulder 1982).

¹² Mythical creatures with a human body and the head of a horse. They were very good musicians.

¹³ *Bāsawa* = *wasawa*: name of Indra as chief of the Wasu.

¹⁴ According to Zoetmulder, this word refers to the four stages in the life of a Brahman, 'he who observes the four stages'. It apparently also designates a group (groups) of religious persons and is usually followed by a specification (Zoetmulder 1982). H. Kern, in his transcription of the Charter of Gr̥ṣik VII and the curse used in Bali, here reads *caturaśra* (H. Kern 1917:308), which is the name of the fourth and eighth lunar mansions.

¹⁵ Kern here reads *anak ta hyang kalamṛtyu*, 'children of the god of death' (H. Kern 1917:308).

hyang trayodaśa sakṣi, with the same meaning. These phrases always occur towards the end of the curse, after the list of punishments awaiting the offenders.

Who these thirteen witnesses were is not clear to me. The interpretation of *trayodaśa* as 'thirteen' is based on Zoetmulder (1982:2034). When we turn to Sanskrit, we find the word *trayodaśa* in many compounds with the value thirteen, such as, for example, *trayodaśadvīpa-vatī* 'consisting of thirteen islands (the earth)' and *trayodaśadhā* 'into thirteen parts'.¹⁶ H. Kern suggests in his article on curses that in this context *tridaśa* should be read, which he translates as 'three times ten, thirty', remarking that this word is also frequently used to refer to the gods (H. Kern 1917:309, 316). When we look for the meaning of *tridaśa* in John Dowson's dictionary of Hindu mythology, we find: 'In round numbers, the thirty-three deities – twelve Ādityas, eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, and two Aswins' (Dowson 1972:319). However, when we count the number of gods invoked as witness in the passage from the Tuhañaru inscription quoted above, we find far more than thirty-three deities. So the gods invoked in that passage do not represent the *trayodaśa sakṣi*. It is clear that this matter needs further investigation.

c. The warning

The curse also contains a warning to the effect that anyone who fails to act in compliance with the charter will be punished. All curses contain highly formulaic phrases to that effect. These include words like *kunang*, *kuněng*, or *muwah*, meaning 'however', 'and also', thus clearly introducing a new topic. Usually they are followed by the conditional conjunction *yan*, 'if, when', in combination with the verb *ana*, 'to be', or, instead of *yan ana*, by the phrase *(ri) sđěnganya*, with a similar meaning. These word groups are combined with verbs like *umulahulah*, 'to change', *angruddha*, 'to impede, obstruct', or *amungkilmungkil*, 'to abolish'. This may then be followed by a list of categories of possible offenders, people who may not comply with the terms of the charter. This usually opens with the word *salwiranya*, *sāwakanya*, or *sahananya*, meaning 'whoever they may be', which will introduce a list of names of people of all kinds of categories in Old Javanese society who are warned to respect the charter. This warning may even extend to future kings! The Kudadu, Tuhañaru and Bungur A inscriptions contain such an extensive list. The other inscriptions are briefer in this respect. To give the reader an idea of the wordings used, I will give below an example of the short version, followed by an example of the extended version.

¹⁶ Sanskrit *trayā*, on the other hand, means 'triple, threefold, consisting of three, of three kinds' (Monier-Williams 1979:457).

In the Pēthak inscription we read:

muwah yan ana mangruddha sarasa ning andikā upalasuprāsāsti sakalwira ning janmanya makādi sang anagata prabhu dadya [...]

However, if anyone should act in conflict with the spirit of the beautiful charter [inscribed] in stone, whoever they may be, but first and foremost future kings, may they be [reduced to ashes ...]

This text contains the core sentence of the type of warning that is found in every curse. Naturally the wording may vary, but the sense is always the same. The more elaborate version of the warning included in the Tuhañaru inscription runs:

IX.b

6. yāwat ikang wwang agēng aḍmit sāwakanya. yadyan caturwarṇna brāhmaṇa. kṣatriya.wai.

X.a

1. śya. śudra. athaca. caturāśramī. brahmacārī gr̥hastha. wanaprastha. bhikṣuka. mwan pinghay awajuhakurug anak thāni. makādi
2. sang prabhu mantry aṇāgata. yāwat umulahulah ri kaswatantranikang sīma i tuhañaru. muang kusambyan. muang ngaruddha mungkilmu
3. ngkila. mari kṣirṇnakna. mne hlēm tka ning dlāha ning dlāha. nguni ngūni yan pangdahuta sang hyang upala sīma. angalihakna ri ta
4. n yogya unggwananya. salwiraning manghilangakna kaswatantranikang sīma i tuhañaru. muang kusambyan. jaḥ tasmāt bwat karmmaknanya

Translation:

IX.b

6. If there are people, be they of high or low rank, whoever they may be, even if they are people from the four castes, whether they be Brahmans, warriors, peas-

X.a

1. ants, people from the lowest caste, or even *caturāśramī*, Brahmans pursuing sacred studies as unmarried students, Brahmans having a household, Brahmans living as anchorites and as monks, as well as high court officials, religious dignitaries, *akurug*¹⁷, villagers, with as foremost among them

¹⁷ The precise meaning of *awajuh* and *akurug* is not clear.

2. future kings and ministers, if they bring about any changes in the special status of the freehold at Tuhañaru and Kusambyan, if they should wish to do anything contrary to the charter, if they should want to cancel the charter,
3. or even destroy it, now or later till the end of days, and most certainly if anyone should pull the sacred *sima* stone out of the ground or move it to a place where it
4. does not belong, or [do] anything that will undermine the special status of the freehold of Tuhañaru and Kusambyan, well then, for these reasons they will be confronted with the consequences of their actions [...].

d. Punishments

In ancient Java people apparently also felt that a warning alone was not sufficient to ensure that everyone abided by the terms of a royal charter. Disobedience was subject to the most severe punishments, and every curse detailed the sanctions to which offenders were liable. To illustrate this, we continue with line 4 of plate X.a of the Tuhañaru inscription:

4. [...] jaḥ tasmāt bwat karmmaknanya
5. patyananta ya kamu hyang dayantat patyani ya yan aparaparan humaliwat ata ya ring tgal sahutēn ing ula mandi ring a
6. las manglangkahana mingmang dmakēn dening wyaghra ring wwai sanghapēn ing wuhaya ring sāgara sanghapēn dening minarodra prangprang ti-minggala ma

X.b

1. hāgila ulā lampe yan turun kapagute luñcip ing paras kagulungeng jurang parangan kasēmsēma rēkrēmpwa [read *rēmēk rēmpwa*] yan huma
2. liwat ri sḍēng ing hudan sambērēn dening glap yan anher ing umah katibānana bājṛāgni tanpanoliha ring wuntat tarung ring pa
3. ngadēgan tumpyal ring kiwa uwah i ri tngēnan rēmē(k) kapālanya bubak baḍanya blah wtēngnya wētwakēn dalēmnya cucu
4. p utēknya inum rahnya mangan dagingnya pēpēdakēn wkas i prāṇāntika wawa ring mahārōrawa weha muktya sangsāra
5. phalanyan angulahaknanyāyaprawṛtti kawulatan de sang hyang trayodaśa sāksī astu o(m) siddhir astu.

Translation:

4. [If anyone should fail to respect the autonomy of the freehold,] well, for that they will suffer the consequences of their actions.
5. You Gods, you must kill them, they must be killed by you. If they set out on a journey, when they pass through open fields, they shall be bitten by poisonous snakes; in the forest

6. they shall step over banyan-tree¹⁸ roots, they shall be attacked by tigers; in the water they shall be devoured by crocodiles; in the sea they shall be bitten by ferocious fish, by swordfish(?), by most horrible

X.b

1. *timinggila* and *lampe*¹⁹ snakes; when they go down a mountain they shall be smashed onto jagged rocks, they shall fall down rocky ravines, they shall go hurtling down, they shall be crushed, broken to pieces. If they go out
2. during a shower of rain, may they be struck by lightning; if they remain at home, may they be struck by the fire of the thunderbolt; may they be unable to glance backward²⁰ when fighting on
3. the battlefield²¹, may they be struck on the left, then again on the right, may their heads be cleaved, their chests torn open, their bellies ripped open, their bowels torn out, their brains
4. lapped up, their blood drunk up, their flesh devoured, their death throes brought to an end; they shall be taken to the great Rorawa hell; they shall be reborn [under miserable conditions].²²
5. That is what will happen to those who misbehave. It will be seen by the holy thirteen witnesses. So be it! Om. Let it be successful!

Although not all inscriptions are as elaborate on this point, they always mention some form of punishment. By and large, offenders are threatened with all kinds of physical harm resulting in death. And their misery will not even end at that point, for once they have died, they will end up in hell²³ and their torments will continue. In the Trailokyapuri IV stone inscription we read on side C, line 22, up to and including side D, line 3:

¹⁸ J.F.C. Gericke and T. Roorda say under *mimang*: '(Old Javanese *mingmang*) name of the roots of the *waringin* (banyan) tree, which put forth new shoots and grow aerially; or, according to others, of the roots of a tree that grow in a tangle under the ground. It is commonly believed that whoever steps over these roots will become *bingung*, confused and lost. Such a person will keep walking in circles, continually attracted by the power of these roots.' (Gericke and Roorda 1901 II:519.)

¹⁹ A kind of fish? According to Gericke and Roorda (1901 II:149) the word refers to a kind of poisonous water snake, blackish in colour and with a very limp, soft body.

²⁰ Perhaps this implies that they would have had no time to see what hit them.

²¹ The meaning of this sentence is not clear. According to Zoetmulder, the word *adëgan* refers either to 'the adversary, who stands opposite to someone, direct opponent (?)', or 'perhaps to the place where so. or st. stands; stand, established position, function' (Zoetmulder 1982). H. Kern remarks about this fragment, from *tanpanoliha* to *tarung ring pangadëgan*: 'they [these words] contain several grammatical errors, from which it is clear that they were inserted at a later stage, as repeatedly the subjunctive affix is lacking where it should have been used' (H. Kern 1917:316).

²² One would expect *wehën* here instead of *weha*!

²³ For a description of hell and the ancient Javanese view of this place see Teeuw and Robson 1981:31-3, and W. Kern 1934.

cumuṇḍukā ring yamaloka simbatēn' ing yamabala sahasrakoṭi lawasing
warṣanya kalēbwing kawaḥ tanpatmuha kajanman

They [the offenders] will end up in the realm of Yama [the king of the realm of the dead], they will be beaten by Yama's army for years innumerable. They will fall in the cauldron of hell, they will not be reborn.

So not only will they end up in hell, but they will stay there, as there is no escape from there, because they will not be reborn and will not get a second chance in a new life. And even if they are reborn, they will be reborn under miserable circumstances, as is said at the end of line 4 of plate X.b of the Tuhañaru inscription.

e. The conclusion

The curse, and at the same time the text of the inscription, ends with a number of Sanskrit words or formulaic expressions, such as *astu*, or *tathā*, or the sacred syllable *oṃ*, 'so be it', or the phrase *siddhir astu*, 'let it be successful'. Different combinations of these are used, as appears from the table below:

Table 1. Concluding expressions of curses

Inscription	Expression
Sarwadharma	āstu astu astu oṃ, namaśiwāya
Kudadu	
Tuhañaru	astu, oṃ, siddhir astu
Canggu	
Bungur A	tathā
Bungur B	siddhir āstu, āstu, astu, astu
Waringin Pitu	astu, oṃ
Pamintihan	siddhir astu
Pēthak	astu oṃ
Trailokyapuri I	
Trailokyapuri II	astu
Trailokyapuri III/IV	astu
Prapañcasārapura	tathā

As this table shows, the Kudadu, Canggu and Trailokyapuri I inscriptions do not end with any Sanskrit words or phrases. The curse of the Kudadu inscription is found on plates XI.b and XII.a and b. The last line of plate XII.b reads *tasmāt karmaknanya parikālanēnta ya wehēn sang*²⁴, 'for that reason [if they interfere with the charter] they will be confronted with the consequences of their actions, they will be pursued by misery'. It is clear that this was not the last line of the inscription: the end of the curse will have occurred

²⁴ A formulaic expression that commonly occurs in this place is *parikālanēnta ya wehēn sangsāra*.

on the now missing plate XIII.²⁵

The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Canggu inscription. The curse breaks off in the last line on plate X.b, which is obviously not the last plate of this inscription.

The Trailokyapuri I inscription, finally, is complete. Unlike the two previous ones, it is a stone inscription, and it is very well possible that a last word like *astu*, for example, has become illegible because the stone has become damaged or weathered as a result of the climate, as is the case with so many stone inscriptions.²⁶

Conclusions

The following table gives a survey of the distribution of the above-described five elements in the various inscriptions. An X indicates that the relevant element is found, and a blank that it is not found, while '-' indicates that the text of the inscription is incomplete in this place, so that we are unable to determine whether the element was used in it or not. The sequence in which the elements occur may differ in each inscription.

Table 2. Distribution of the various elements in the inscriptions

	(a) Preparations	(b) Witnesses	(c) Warning	(d) Punishments	(e) Conclusion
Sarwadharma		X	X	X	X
Kudadu	X	X	X	X	-
Tuhañaru	X	X	X	X	X
Canggu			X	-	-
Bungur A	X	X	X	X	X
Bungur B		X	X	X	X
Waringin Pitu		X	X	X	X
Pamintihan		X	X	X	X
Pëthak			X	X	X
Trailokyapuri I		X	X	X	X
Trailokyapuri II			X	X	X
Trailokyapuri III/IV		X	X	X	X
Prapañcasārapura		X	X	X	-

²⁵ Taking into consideration the last line of this inscription, and comparing its position in other, complete curses, it is very likely that plate XIII was the last plate.

²⁶ The stone needs to be checked for this in this place.

The position of the curse within the inscription text

Invariably we find the curse at the end of the text. This fact is easily established by looking at the complete texts we have at our disposal, namely those of the bronze Sarwadharmā, Tuhañaru, Bungur A/B, and Waringin Pitu inscriptions and the stone Pēthak and Trailokyapuri I, II, and III/IV inscriptions. Also in the Pamintihan inscription, of which plate II is missing, the curse concluding the text must occur on that plate. In the Kudadu inscription, of which plates VII and IX are lacking, we find a large part of the curse on plates XI.b and XII.a-b; the end of the curse, and of the text, must have been on plate XIII, which now is lost. Of the Canggu inscription, of which we know of the existence of five plates – plates I, III, V, IX, and X – plate X is obviously not the final one, as its line five includes some phrases which without any doubt formed the introduction to the curse.

Frequency

All bronze inscriptions from this period except one, the Bendosari inscription, contain a curse. The one exception differs from the other royal inscriptions from this period in that it concerns not the founding of a *sīma* but a lawsuit. Therefore one can safely state that all bronze royal *sīma* inscriptions invariably contain a curse.

With regard to the stone inscriptions the situation is different. The commemorative Kuśmala, Gajah Mada and Camuṇḍi inscriptions do not contain a curse, in contrast to our Pēthak, Trailokyapuri I, II, and III/IV and Prapañcasārapura inscriptions. The Kuśmala inscription commemorates the completion of the work on a dam and the Gajah Mada one the foundation of a *caitya*, a building connected with graveyards, while the Camuṇḍi inscription, inscribed on the back of a Durga statue, commemorates the completion of this statue on 17th April 1292.

The Pēthak and the Trailokyapuri I, II, and III/IV inscriptions, like the bronze royal inscriptions, are in one way or another connected with changes in the (fiscal) situation of the country and the financial implications of this. With regard to the Prapañcasārapura inscription the situation is not so straightforward, as this inscription is damaged and the text at our disposal is incomplete.

Language

The language used in the curses is predominantly Old Javanese. In the Kudadu, Tuhañaru, Pamintihan, Pēthak, and Trailokyapuri I and II inscriptions exclusively Old Javanese is used.²⁷ In the Sarwadharmā, Bungur B, and

²⁷ Sanskrit words like *astu*, *om*, and so on, that conclude a curse are not taken into account in this connection.

Trailokyapuri III/IV inscriptions some Sanskrit is used. These inscriptions contain a limited number of Sanskrit lines, mostly giving a paraphrase of part of the Old Javanese text, in a way we are also familiar with from texts like the *Ādiparwa*, for example.²⁸ The relatively short curse in the Waringin Pitu inscription is about half Old Javanese and half Sanskrit. The Prapañca-sārapura inscription also contains Sanskrit elements, but because only part of this text survives it is impossible to establish the ratio between Old Javanese and Sanskrit in it.

Function

The function of the curse in relation to the text of the inscription seems clear. The stipulations of a charter acquired legal force from the fact that the charter had been issued by order of the king, who was considered to be a representative of the divine power on earth. This way the support and protection of the gods was ensured.

The curse states explicitly what will happen to anyone who changes or disregards the stipulations of the charter. In this way it functioned as a kind of 'deferred trial by ordeal', as C. van Vollenhoven remarked when speaking about the swearing of oaths.

De inheemsche eedsaflegging bestaat hierin, dat de persoon, die den eed aflegt, een verwensching over zichzelf uitspreekt, wanneer hij valschelijk getuigt of verklaart, en hetzij daarbij een voorwerp bezigt, dat met toovermacht behept is en hem dan ook direct zal schaden in geval van meened (de aarde zelf die men aanraakt, een heilig graf, een tijgertand, enz.), hetzij de straf der goden door de een of andere handeling zinnebeeldig voorstelt, zooals door het afsnijden van den kop van een kikvorsch of van een kip, door het uitgieten van een weinig water als symbool van zijn bloed, door het dooden en gezamenlijk opeten van een buffel of rund bij een verbondssluiting, enz. Dien eed kan men dan als een uitgesteld godsoordeel beschouwen. Veelal wordt bij de eedsaflegging in het oosten van den archipel water gedronken waarin voorwerpen gelegd of gestoken zijn, die een zinnebeeldige voorstelling geven van de rampen die den meenedige zullen treffen; alsdan wordt van 'eed drinken' gesproken.²⁹ (Van Vollenhoven 1933:400.)

²⁸ See also on this subject Zoetmulder 1974:89-94.

²⁹ The indigenous swearing of an oath involves the person taking the oath pronouncing a curse upon himself if he should bear false witness or make a false declaration, while either having recourse to an object invested with magic power, which will consequently cause him immediate harm if he should perjure himself (the very earth one touches, a holy grave, a tiger's tooth, and so on), or symbolically representing the punishment of the gods by means of some act or other, such as cutting off the head of a frog or chicken, pouring out some water as a symbol of his blood, killing and communally consuming a buffalo or ox at the conclusion of a treaty, and so on. Such an oath can then be regarded as a deferred trial by ordeal. Usually when an oath is sworn in the eastern part of the archipelago, water containing objects symbolizing the disasters that will befall the perjurer is drunk; in such cases people speak of 'drinking an oath'.

A charter inscribed in bronze or stone proved that one's claims were backed by the king and the gods. In this way the beneficiary was safeguarded against any counterclaim disputing his rights and privileges. The curse can be regarded as a kind of divine sanctioning of the charter. Its function was to ensure oneself of divine support by having it uttered by a specially empowered officiant.

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