

Historical Deconstruction of Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta in the Sukun Inscription of 1083 Śaka

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Article history

Received : 2023-06-01

Accepted : 2025-04-12

Published : 2025-04-24

Keywords

Śrī Jayāmṛta,
Sukun Inscription,
Dharmmawangśā Tguh,
Historiography,
Historical
deconstruction

Abstract: Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta, who issued the Sukun inscription (1083 Śaka), is tentatively thought to be related to the Sukun Village, Sukun District, Malang City, based on the inscription obtained from a trader in Malang. The issue raised is deconstructing the history of the character Śrī Jayāmṛta and his relationship with a place called Sukun. The research method is a five-stage historical method: topic selection, source collection (heuristics), criticism, interpretation, and historical writing (historiography). The research results state that Śrī Jayāmṛta, who issued the Sukun inscription (1083 Śaka), was not the king of the Kadiri Kingdom. He was a king of the Dharmmawangśā Tguh lineage whose original name was Sang Apanji Wijayāmṛtawarddhana. Śrī Jayāmṛta in the Sukun inscription is Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu, who issued the Mruwak inscription and the Sirah Kētēng inscription. Following the discovery of the Mruwak inscription and the Sirah Kētēng inscription in the Madiun-Ponorogo area, the Sukun Village mentioned in the Sukun inscription must be searched for in the Madiun-Ponorogo area. In Ponorogo Regency, there are two areas called Sukun: Kampung Sukun, Kauman Village, Ponorogo District, and Sukun Hamlet, Sidoharjo Village, Pulung District. One of them is, of course, what is meant in the Sukun inscription.

Abstrak: Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta, yang mengeluarkan Prasasti Sukun (1083 Śaka), diduga sementara memiliki keterkaitan dengan wilayah Kelurahan Sukun, Kecamatan Sukun, Kota Malang, berdasarkan keberadaan prasasti yang diperoleh dari seorang pedagang di Malang. Permasalahan utama dalam penelitian ini adalah melakukan dekonstruksi terhadap sejarah tokoh Śrī Jayāmṛta dan hubungannya dengan tempat yang disebut Sukun. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah metode sejarah lima tahap, yaitu: pemilihan topik, pengumpulan sumber (heuristik), kritik sumber, interpretasi, dan penulisan sejarah (historiografi). Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Śrī Jayāmṛta yang mengeluarkan Prasasti Sukun (1083 Śaka) bukanlah raja dari Kerajaan Kadiri. Ia adalah raja dari garis keturunan Dharmmawangśā Tguh dengan nama asli Sang Apanji Wijayāmṛtawarddhana. Śrī Jayāmṛta yang disebutkan dalam Prasasti Sukun adalah tokoh yang sama dengan Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu, yang juga mengeluarkan Prasasti Mruwak dan Prasasti Sirah Kētēng. Berdasarkan penemuan Prasasti Mruwak dan Prasasti Sirah Kētēng di wilayah Madiun-Ponorogo, maka lokasi Desa Sukun yang disebut dalam Prasasti Sukun kemungkinan besar berada di wilayah tersebut. Di Kabupaten Ponorogo, terdapat dua wilayah bernama Sukun, yakni Kampung Sukun di Kelurahan Kauman, Kecamatan Ponorogo, dan Dusun Sukun di Desa Sidoharjo, Kecamatan Pulung. Salah satu dari keduanya diyakini merupakan wilayah yang dimaksud dalam Prasasti Sukun.

INTRODUCTION

In the 1970s, the Mpu Tantular Museum in Surabaya received a new Sukun inscription dated 1083 Śaka. In April 1980, one of the national epigraphers, Boechari, from the University of Indonesia conducted research and reading (Boechari, 2012, p. 403). The results of Boechari's research and reading were given to the Mpu Tantular Museum as archives and used as brief information to support the existence of the Sukun inscription as a collection object at the Mpu Tantular Museum. A brief description of the Sukun inscription obtained from a copy of the transcript of the Sukun inscription from the Mpu Tantular Museum states that the origin of the cop-



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per inscription is unknown, because the trader named Basoeeki from Malang, who sold it to the museum, could not explain its origin. In total, there are 7 plates with inventory numbers: 4166 (plate I), 4167 (plate II), 4168 (plate III), 4169 (plate IV), 4170 (plate V), 4171 (plate VI), 4172 (cover plate). Some of the initial sentences of the Sukun inscription, which relate to this discussion, are as follows:

I. b.

1. || 0 || *swasti śakawarṣātita i śaka 1083 bhadrawāda māsa tithi aṣṭami*
2. *śuklapakṣa pa. wā. ca. ni julun nakṣatra kuna yoga bāṣu dewatā. iri=*
3. *ka diwaśa ajña śrī mahārāja śrī jayāmṛta. uminso[r] i rakryān mapatiḥ*
4. *rakryan kanuruhan. rakryan jayāmṛta. rakryan knēp. aṅrēñē śrī mahā=*
5. *rāja yann ikaṅ i sukun sārabhutāmrihakēn pāduka śrī jayāmṛta. lumaga śatru*

II. a.

1. *kabuyutan. mataṅnyan ḍawuḥ anugraha śrī mahārāja irika i sukun wi=*
2. *neh sām̐ya haji.....* (Boechari, 2012, pp. 517–522).

Translation:

I. b.

1. || 0 || Happy Śaka year has passed, in Śaka year 1083 bhadrawada month 8th day
2. the bright half of the day paniruan, wagai, candra (soma), (wuku) julung, nakṣatra, yoganya kuna (wyatipata), dewatanya basu. On
3. That's when the order of Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta came down to the rakryān mapatiḥ,
4. rakryan Kanuruhan, rakryan Jayāmṛta, rakryan Knēp. Śrī Mahā
5. The king heard that (the villagers of) Sukun (and) their leader devoted their energy to His Majesty Śrī Jayāmṛta fighting (against) the enemy

II. a.

1. confusion. Therefore it was decided to grant Śrī Mahārāja to (villages) breadfruit (and) in-
2. give (to) the sām̐ya haji (citizen leaders)



Figure 1. Sukun inscription, plate I.b (Source: Photo Document of Cultural Staff of the Department of Education and Culture, Malang City, 1994)

In 1982, Boechari's writing about the Sukun inscription appeared, entitled 'Various Notes on Epigraphy and Ancient Indonesian History' in *Archeology Magazine* 5 (1/2), 1982. This article only touched on the figure of Śrī Kahulunan and the gift of Śrī Maharaja Śrī Jayāmṛta to the residents of Sukun Village for his services. Their services helped the king fight enemies from the district, so he received special privileges and exemption from various levies. In the footnotes of his writing, Boechari gives a signal about who Śrī Jayāmṛta is, and will be discussed on another occasion. He connected the figure of Śrī Jayāmṛta with a sacred building in a place which in the Añjukladang 859 Śaka inscription was called sang hyang prasāda kabhaktyan i śrī jayāmṛta (Boechari, 2012, p. 401–407). Unfortunately, this opportunity was never written about until Boechari died in 1991.

In 1984, the Sukun inscription appeared as comparative material for the discussion about the figure of Śrī Kahulunan in the 4th edition of the book *National History of Indonesia II*, 5th edition (Hardiati et al., 2010, p. 123). On the occasion of the IV Archaeological Scientific Meeting in 1986, Boechari once again touched on the Sukun inscription in his article 'Banditans in Ancient Javanese Society'. This article does not discuss who Śrī Maharaja Śrī Jayāmṛta was and the place called Sukun (Boechari & Wibowo, 1986, pp. 159–196).

Meanwhile, on the other hand, based on a brief statement from the Sukun inscription that the origin of the inscription was obtained from a trader in Malang, some assume that the Sukun inscription comes from Malang and is thought to have something to do with the history of the village and sub-district called Sukun. This assumption is proven by the publication of the book *Monograph on the History of Malang City* in 1997, one of the contents of which contains news about the Sukun inscription, whose name is attached to the name of a village in the Malang area, which is now a sub-district city, namely Sukun District (Suwardono, 1997, p. 14). Based on this assumption, around 2006/2007, the Culture Section of the Malang City Culture and Tourism Service asked the Mpu Tantular Museum to duplicate the Sukun inscription. The duplicate is intended as material to strengthen the history of the village or sub-district of Sukun, Malang City, and as an additional collection object at the Mpu Purwa Museum, Malang City.

On September 22, 2022, the Mpu Tantular Museum held a seminar on the results of an archaeological study of the Sukun inscription at the Von Vaber Building, Sidoarjo. In the study seminar, one



Figure 2. Duplicates of 2 tablets of the Sukun Inscription obtained from the Mpu Tantular Museum (Source: Mpu Purwa Museum Document, 2022)

of them stated that the name of the Sukun Village referred to in the Sukun inscription is most likely the current Sukun Village and is one of the sub-district capitals in Malang City (<https://museummputantular.com>, 2022), and once again it has not been studied about who the figure of Śrī Jayāmṛta.

Based on several writings and studies of the Sukun inscription, it can be assumed that the 1083 Śaka Sukun inscription issued by Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta is an inscription that is thought to be related to a place in Malang called Desa Sukun or Kelurahan Sukun. Meanwhile, Boechari only alluded to who the character Śrī Jayāmṛta was, whom he connected with a place in the Añjukladang 859 Śaka inscription, which was referred to as sang hyang prasāda kabhaktyan i śrī jayāmṛta. Departing from this background, this article tries to deconstruct the history of the figure Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta in the Sukun inscription, as well as the relationship between the Sukun inscription and an area called Sukun.

METHOD

This research is historical research that uses historical methods. According to Kuntowijoyo (2001, p. 91), historical research has five stages, namely topic selection, source collection (heuristics), criticism, interpretation, and historical writing (historiography). This research began by choosing a theme related to the Sukun Inscription, which is now in the collection of the Mpu Tantular Museum, East Java. Next, apply the heuristic method, namely collecting several data sources in the form of texts and translations of inscriptions that mention śrī mahārāja śrī jayāmṛta and some information about areas called Sukun. Next is the criticism stage,

where these inscriptions will be selected and grouped based on year of publication, period of reign, and type of inscription. Furthermore, data will also be compared with several data sources outside the object of discussion that provide similar information, both in the form of written source data and other data that support the research. The third step of the research is interpretation by finding elements of regional toponymy called Sukun in several regions in each dataset. The interpretation is based on a set of knowledge about the reign of śrī Mahārāja śrī Jayāmṛta, whether he was king of Kadiri or not, so that he can build a hypothesis regarding the existence of land assignments of sima called Sukun in certain areas, and also correlated with supporting artefactual and literary findings. The fourth step is the historiography method, which compiles the research results that have been obtained to become a complete historical unit in the form of a journal article. The results of studies on several written and other data sources are presented as narrated historical information.

ŚRĪ MAHĀRĀJA ŚRĪ JAYĀMṚTA AS KING OF KADIRI

As mentioned in the introduction, the Sukun inscription was issued in 1083 Śaka (28 August 1161 AD) on the orders of Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta. The reason for the inscription accompanying Sri Maharaja's gift to Samya Haji (community leader) in Sukun, was because Sri Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta heard that Samya Haji and all the residents in Sukun had tried their best to dedicate themselves to Sri Maharaja in their efforts to fight the enemies of the district.

The Sukun inscription clearly states the year the inscription was issued, namely 1083 Śaka. In the chronology of ancient Indonesian National History writing, in 1083 Śaka was during the era of the existence of the Kadiri Kingdom. This era started with the kings who ruled after the reign of King Airlangga, namely the kings of the Janggala Kingdom and the Panjalu Kingdom (Kadiri). As far as is known to date in the history of the Kadiri Kingdom, the name Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta has never been found. Thus, after the discovery of the Sukun inscription, there is a possibility that Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta is a new name in the group of kings who ruled in the Kadiri Kingdom.

Chronologically, the kings who once ruled the Janggala and Panjalu Kingdoms can be traced as follows: Of the kings who ruled in the Janggala Kingdom, it is known that the first was Śrī Mahārāja Mapañji Garasakan, whose name is listed

in the Turun Hyang B inscription, whose year number is only read in units. (Boechari, 1968, pp. 1–26), the Kambang Putih inscription, whose year number cannot be read (Brandes, 1913, pp. 253–254), and the Malenga inscription of 974 Śaka (Boechari & Wibowo, 1986, pp. 168–169). The next King of Janggala was Śrī Mahārāja Mapaṅji Alaṅjung Ahyēs Makoputadhanu Sri Ajnabharitamawakana Pasukala Nawanamaninddhita Sasatrahetajnadewati, who is listed in the only inscription issued by him, namely the Banjaran inscription of 974 Śaka (Krom, 1931, p. 278). The last king of Janggala recorded in history was Śrī Mahārāja Samarotsāha Karnnakeśawa Ratnasangka Kirtisingha Jayāntakatunggadewa, whose name is listed in the Sumengka inscription of 981 Śaka (Damais, 1955, pp. 141–143).

After the reign of King Samarotsaha, there was a period of absence of news for ± 60 years, so what emerged then were the kings of the Panjalu/Kadiri Kingdom. The first recorded king of the Kadiri Kingdom was Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Sirikan Śrī Bameśwara Śakalabhuwana Tustikārana Sarwāniwāryawīrya Parākrama Digjayottunggadewa, who issued the Padlegan I inscription in 1038 Śaka, the Panumbangan I inscription in 1042 Śaka (Brandes, 1913, pp. 151–154), Pagiliran inscription in 1042 Śaka (Suhadi & Kartakusuma, 1996, p. 25), Geneng inscription in 1050 Śaka, Tuban Temple inscription in 1051 Śaka, Tangkilan inscription in 1052 Śaka (Damais, 1955, p. 69-70; 143-144), and the Bameswara inscription of 1057 Śaka from Kampung Dalem, Kediri City (Suhadi and Kartakusuma, 1996, p. 47).

The next King of Kadiri was Śrī Mahārāja Sang Mapaṅji Jayabhaya Śrī Warmeśwara Madhusudanāwatārānindita Suhrtsinga Parākrama Digjayottunggadewanāma. His name appears in the Hantang inscription of 1057 Śaka (Brandes, 1913, p. 154-158), the Talan inscription of 1058 Śaka (Suhadi and Kartakusuma, 1996, p. 27-30), and the Japanese inscription of 1066 Śaka (Damais, 1955, p. 145; Suhadi and Kartakusuma, 1996, p. 26).

After King Jayabhaya, a king emerged with the title Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Sirikan Śarweśwara Janārdhanāwatāra Wijayāgrajasama Singhanādāniwāryawīrya Parākrama Digjayottunggadewanāma. From this king, only two inscriptions were found, namely the Padlegan II inscription in 1081 Śaka (Abast, 2005, pp. 36–48), and the Kahyunan inscription in 1082 Śaka (Damais, 1955, p. 73). Not long after, an inscription appeared from the new king who had the title Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Hino Śrī Aryyeśwara Madhusūdanāwatārārijaya Mukha ... Śakalabhuwana (tustikarana)niwaryya

Parakramottunggadewanāma, namely the Mleri inscription dated 1091 Śaka (Damais, 1955, p.146-148) and the Wind inscription in 1093 Śaka (Damais, 1955, p. 74; Suhadi and Kartakusuma, 1996, p. 39).

The next king who later appeared after Sri Aryyeswara was Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Kroṅcaryadipa Handhabhuwanapālaka Parākramānindita Digjayottunggadewanāma Śrī Gandra. There is only one inscription related to this king, namely the Gurit inscription from Jaring Hamlet, Kembang Arum Village, Sutojayan Blitar District, which is dated 1103 Śaka (Brandes, 1913, p. 164-168; Damais, 1955, p. 74). One year later, a king appeared named Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Kāmeśwara Triwikramāwatarā Aniwaryawīrya Parākrama Digjayottunggadewanāma, who issued the Semanding inscription in 1104 Śaka (Damais, 1955, p. 75) and the Cêkêr inscription in 1107 Śaka (Brandes, 1913, p. 169-172; Damais, 1955, p. 75).

The last King of Kadiri was King Kertajaya, whose title was Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Sarweśwara Triwikramawatarānindita Srenggalañcana Digjayottunggadewanāma. Quite a lot of inscriptions were issued, namely the Sapu Angin inscription in 1112 Śaka (Crucq, 1929, pp. 271–272), the Kamulan inscription in 1116 Śaka (Brandes, 1913, p. 172-177; Damais, 1955, p. 76), Palah inscription of 1119 Śaka (Brandes, 1913, p. 177-179; Damais, 1955, p. 107-108), Pertapan temple inscription of 1120 Śaka (Brandes, 1913, p. 179-180; Damais, 1955, p. 77), the Pamotoh inscription of 1120 Śaka (Suhadi and Kartakusuma, 1996, p. 8-12), the Galunggung inscription of 1122 Śaka (Damais, 1955, p. 77), the Biri inscription of 1124 Śaka (Brandes, 1913, p. 181-183; Damais, 1955, p. 159-161), the Sumberringin Kidul inscription of 1126 Śaka (Damais, 1955, p. 148-149), the Lawadan inscription of 1127 Śaka (Brandes, 1913, p. 183-187; Damais, 1955, p. 150), and Merjosari in 1138 Śaka (Djafar et al., 2019, p. 145).

From the explanation of the chronology of the reign of the Kadiri kings, the year the Sukun inscription was issued in 1083 Śaka is in the period between the reign of Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Sirikan Śarweśwara, whose inscriptions are marked as dated 1081 Śaka and 1082 Śaka, and the reign of Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Hino Śrī Aryyeśwara, who marked with numbered inscriptions in 1091 Śaka and 1093 Śaka. The closest to the time when the Sukun inscription was issued was during the reign of Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Sirikan Śarweśwara, because the Kahyunan inscription was issued, which had the meaning of 1082 *māghamāsa tithi dwādaśi*

Table 1. Several differences in the government structure

No	Prasasti Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Sirikan Śarweśwara	Prasasti Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta
1	the position of rakryān mahāmantri i hino does not exist	the position of rakryān mahāmantri i hino was held by Mapanji Amawa Rat
2	the main position in the taṇḍa rakryān is in the rakryān kanuruhan	the main position in taṇḍa rakryān is held by rakryān mapatih
3	the position of rakryān mahāmantri i halu was held by Mapanji Madasingha	the position of rakryān mahāmantri i halu was held by the Apanji Ragadaha
4	-	there are special positions, namely Rakryan Juru Jayamerta and Kabayan ing Jayamerta
5	the Kadiri era never involved Sri Parameswari and Sri Kahulunan receiving offerings from the sima ceremony	involving Sri Parameswari and Sri Kahulunan to receive offerings from the sima ceremony

kr̥ṣṇapakṣa (pa). p.o. wṛ. wāra brass grahacāra bāyabyastha śrawananakṣatra brahmādevata śi-wayoga kolawakārana yamaparwweśa mahendramaṇḍala minaraśi, equivalent to February 23, 1161 (Damais, 1955, p. 73) with the Sukun inscription which means *prey śaka 108 3 bhadrawāda māsa tithi aṣṭami śuklapakṣa pa. wā. ca. ni julun nakṣatra kuna yoga bāṣu dewatā*, equivalent to August 28, 1161 AD, only 6 months later.

Looking closely at this paragraph, two possibilities emerge. The first possibility is that Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Sirikan Śarweśwara is the same person as Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta. The second possibility is that Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Sirikan Śarweśwara and Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta were different people. To determine one possibility rationally, several differences in the government structure of each of the inscriptions issued are presented in Table 1.

From these differences, doubt can be raised that Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Sirikan Śarweśwara is not the same as Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta.

The second possibility is that Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta was the king who replaced Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Sirikan Śarweśwara in the Kadiri Kingdom and ruled from 1083 Śaka until the end of 1091

Śaka. It could be that the 6-month gap between the Kahyunan inscription and the Sukun inscription saw a change of power in the Kadiri Kingdom from Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Sirikan Śarweśwara to Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta. Although what is commonly known in Ancient Indonesian History material, the king of the Kadiri Kingdom after Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Sirikan Śarweśwara was Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Hino Śrī Aryyeśwara, who issued the Mleri inscription in 1091 Śaka and the Angin inscription in 1093 Śaka. If this thought is inserted into the chronology of the kings who ruled the Kadiri Kingdom, then the chronology will look like the following Table 2.

This possibility is indeed reasonable; however, if you look at the structure of the Sukun inscription issued by Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta and the inscriptions issued by the kings of the Kadiri Kingdom, doubts also arise. This doubt is based on several significant differences in the structure of the content of the inscriptions, namely:

The first difference is the difference in the title of the king's name. In the Sukun inscription, it is written quite briefly, namely *Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta*. Meanwhile, the inscriptions issued by the kings of the Kadiri Kingdom contain quite long titles, for example, the title of King Sarweswara,

Table 2. Chronology of the kings who ruled the Kadiri Kingdom

No	King's Name	Inscription Source	Alleged Reign Period
1	Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Sirikan Śarweśwara Janārdhanāwatāra Wijayāgrajasama Singhanādāniwāryawīrya Parākrama Dig-jayotunggadewanāma	Padlegan II 1081 Śaka, Kahyunan 1082 Śaka	Dari 1166 Śaka (prasasti terakhir dari Śrī Mahārāja Sang Mapanji Jayabhaya) s.d. 1082 Śaka
2	Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta	Sukun 1083 Śaka	1083 Śaka s.d. 1091 Śaka (first inscription from Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Hino Śrī Aryyeśwara
3	Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Hino Śrī Aryyeśwara Madhusūdanāwatārījaya Mukha—Śakalabhuwana (tustikarana) niwaryya Parakramottunggadewanāma.	Mleri 1091 Śaka, Angin 1093 Śaka	1091 Śaka s.d. 1103 Śaka (the appearance of the Jaring inscription from Śrī Gandra).

namely *Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Sirikan Śarweśwara Janārdhanāwatāra Wijayāgrajasama Singhanādāniwāryawīrya Parākrama Digjayotung-gadewanāma*.

The second difference, in the Sukun inscription, the royal government positions involved in receiving offerings are written quite completely, including the rakryan mahamantri katrini, which consists of rakryan mantri i hino, and rakryan mantri i halu, and rakryan mantri i sirikan, empress, *śrī kahulunan*. In the inscriptions of the Kadiri Kingdom's kings, the offerings' recipients are never complete, including the position of rakryan mantri katrini, which is always incomplete. In this case, Boechari once emphasized that there had never been a rakryan mahamantri i hino position in the Kadiri Kingdom. It is not known whether the kings of the Kadiri Kingdom who had the titles Rakai Hino or Rakai Sirikan ever served as rakryan mahamantri (i hino, i halu, i sirikan) during the reign of the kings before them (Boechari, 2012, p. 79).

The third difference is that in the Sukun inscription, the main position in the *taṇḍa rakryān* group is held by the *rakryān mapatih*. This can be seen from the formulation of the inscription to whom the order was revealed (*umiṅsor i*) to the *taṇḍa rakryān*, the highest of which is the *rakryān mapatih*. Meanwhile, in the inscriptions of the king of the Kadiri Kingdom (Damais, 1955, p. 68-77), the main position in the *taṇḍa rakryān* group was held by the *rakryān kanuruhan*. This can be seen in the formulation of the inscription, namely *umiṅsor i para taṇḍa rakryān riṅ pakirakirān makabehan makādi rakryān kanuruhan* (Boechari, 2012, p. 75).

The fourth difference, the Sukun inscription in detail mentions the giving of *pasěk-pasěk* (offerings) to officials interested in determining the sima in Sukun, as mentioned on plates Va-Vb, VIa-VIb. Meanwhile, in the inscriptions of the kings of the Kadiri Kingdom, giving *pasěk-pasěk* is barely mentioned. There is 1 inscription slightly touches on *pasěk-pasěk*, namely the Panumbangan Inscription. At the back of lines 17-18 it is called: *tlas pinasangakēn pirak kā 1 su 10 i śrī mahārāja su 5 i taṇḍa rakryān rangga su 4 i rakryān samudāya tke | wātama su 2 mā 8 i samgat tirwan su 1 mā 4 wḍihan salawō i rakryān mahāmantri i halu su 1 mā 4 i rakryān rangga su 4 i rakryān kanuruhan* (Brandes, 1913, p. 162).

From these differences, the assumption arises that *Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta*, who issued the Sukun inscription, was a king from another kingdom, and not the group of kings who ruled the Kadiri Kingdom. If this is the case, it is necessary to

look for a region outside the Kadiri Kingdom's territory with autonomous government rights.

DECONSTRUCTION OF ŚRĪ MAHĀRĀJA ŚRĪ JAYĀMṚTA

In fact, in 1982, Boechari already gave a signal about who the character *Śrī Jayāmṛta* was in the Sukun inscription, which Boechari linked to a sacred building in a place which in the Añjukladang 859 Śaka inscription was called *sang hyang prasada kabhaktyan i śrī jayāmṛta* (Boechari, 2012, p. 403). Following Boechari's thoughts, the discussion about *śrī jayāmṛta* is connected to an area in the western part of Kediri. During the existence of the Kadiri Kingdom, other places that gave rise to inscriptions whose structure was different from the inscriptions of the Kadiri kings were the Madiun and Ponorogo areas. Two inscriptions are contemporary with the Kadiri era but are identified as not originating from the Kadiri Kingdom, namely the Mruwak inscription and the Sirah Kētēng inscription.

The Mruwak inscription, dated 1108 Śaka, was found in Mruwak Village, Dagangan District, Madiun Regency. Old Javanese script and language are carved around the stone. The shape of the letters is rough, irregular, and worn; however, on the front, the number 1108 Śaka can still be read (Suhadi and Richadiana, 1996, p. 41). Contains the decree of Mruwak Village by *Śrī Jayaprabhu*, who is also called *Śrī Jayamantra*, because there was a sudden attack on Mruwak Village, which came from the river by boat. A war broke out, which killed Sri Kanuruhan and his army in large numbers. Finally, Mruwak village was moved some distance from the river, namely close to the mountain. Because of a sudden attack, *prince ṅwara Nusa śarwwenayāpala* was ordered to guard the village of Mruwak. He was ordered to guard around the big river because attacks from outside could enter through the river route (Nasoichah, 2007, p. 117). The Mruwak village referred to is a small village located at the western foot of Mount Wilis, precisely in Dagangan District, Madiun Regency. Its position is south of Madiun City, and conditions are still relatively quiet because it is far from the city center. Not far from this village, there is a river which the local residents call Kali Catur (Nasoichah, 2008, p. 23).

The Sirah Keting inscription (read: Sirah Kētēng) was found in Sirah Kētēng, Beding Village, Arjawinangun District, Afdeling Ponorogo, dated to 1026 Śaka (Knebel, 1907, pp. 82-83). This area is now the Sirah Kētēng Neighborhood, Krajan Hamlet, Beciri Village, Sambit District, Ponorogo Regency. The year number 1026 Śaka is the result of

reading by Brandes (1913, p. 149), which was followed by Stutterheim (1940, p. 346), but based on the dating elements, Damais proposed the year number 1126 Śaka (Damais, 1955, pp. 123-124). Contains the gift given by Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Sastraprabhu, who is also called Śrī Śāstraprabhu, also Śrī Jayadrta Prabhu, and Śrī Jayaprabhu, to an *atitih* (?) named Marjaya in the form of special rights, including the right to use the *dampa blah karajyan* (palanquin for dividing the kingdom), because Marjaya had shown his devotion to the king. Apart from that, the *manggala* part of the Sirah Kētēng inscription contains praise for Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Sastraprabhu as the incarnation of Vishnu, who is worshiped by the whole world, who gives happiness to all his people. It is also stated that this inscription was made to commemorate the king's reign, which lasted 1000 months. One thing that attracts more attention is the statement of Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Sastraprabhu as the 'grandson' of the 'son' of Sang Apanji Wijayāmrtawarddhana, who has the title of abhiseka Śrī Isāna Dharmawangsa Tguh Anantawikramatonggadewa (Setya Wardhani, n.d., pp. 83–84). It should also be noted that apart from being listed in the Sirah Kētēng inscription, the name Śrī Dharmawangsa Tguh Anantawikramatonggadewa is also listed in Old Javanese literary books, including Adiparwa (Juynboll, 1906, p. 2), and in the Bismaparwa book, it is called Śrī Dharmawangsa Dēguh Anantawikrama (Gonda, 1936, p. 9).

Returning to the figure of Śrī Jayāmṛta, which Boechari linked to a place called Śrī Jayāmṛta in the Añjukladang inscription. Here, the opinion is put forward that like Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Sastraprabhu, Śrī Jayāmṛta is suspected of having a blood relationship with the figure Sang Apañji Wijayāmrtawarddhana, whose title is Śrī Isāna Dharmawangsa Tguh Anantawikramatonggadewa. In his opinion, this relationship lies in the similarity of the names, which both use 'jayāmṛta'. The element of the name 'jayāmṛta' in these two kings, as stated by Boechari, is also closely related to a place called Śrī Jayāmṛta in the Añjukladang inscription, namely sang hyang kabhaktyan i Śrī Jayāmṛta. It is possible that the ruler in Sang Hyang Kabhaktyan i śrī Jayāmṛta, whether a rakryan or a samgat, was the ancestor of Sang Apañji Wijayāmrtawarddhana from the mother's side. Meanwhile, from his father's side, the Apañji Wijayāmrtawarddhana was clearly a descendant of Mpu Sindok, because he used the title of abhiseka Śrī Isāna Dharmawangsa Tguh Anantawikramatonggadewa.

The title Śrī Isāna used by kings after Mpu Sindok can be seen from the Pucangan inscription, which is in Sanskrit. It is said that Śrī Isānatungga (Mpu Sindok) had a beautiful daughter because of her purity of heart. She ruled as queen with the name Śrī Isānatunggawijaya and was married to a king named Śrī Lokapāla. They had a son named Śrī Makutawangśawarddhana, a son of the Isāna dynasty, who was very famous for his bravery. Śrī Makutawangśawarddhana had a very beautiful daughter, whose father was named Guṇapriyadharmmapatnī, who was also called Mahendradattā. He married Udayana, who came from a famous family of kings. They had a very handsome son, who was named Airlangga (Hardiati et al., 2010, p. 197; Kern, 1917, pp. 97–99).

From the outline of the contents of the Pucangan inscription, it can be seen that the Isāna dynasty started from Mpu Sindok to Airlangga. However, the name Dharmawangsa Tguh is not included in the Pucangan inscription, because the Pucangan inscription was written in connection with King Airlangga to show that he was still a descendant of the Isāna dynasty. However, Dharmawangsa Tguh's use of the title Śrī Isāna shows that he was a direct descendant of Mpu Sindok, and it is possible that he was the son of Śrī Makutawangśawarddhana, thus Guṇapriyadharmmapatnī's brother.

Returning to the relationship between the Apañji Wijayāmrtawarddhana and his ancestors in *sang hyang kabhaktyan i śrī jayāmṛta*. This red thread relationship can only be understood if Makutawangśawarddhana, who is the son of Śrī Isānatunggawijaya and the grandson of Mpu Sindok, has a wife from a descendant of the ruler of Śrī Jayāmṛta, and has a son, Apañji Wijayāmrtawarddhana. In this case, of course, we still remember the background of the granting of Sima land in Añjukladang by Mpu Sindok, which was intended for the *hyang dharma i śrī jayāmṛta*, which is implied in the *sambadha* section of the Añjukladang inscription, line 9, which contains the word *manglaga* (war) (Brandes, 1913, p. 85), which suggests that there was a war. Apart from Casparis' opinion about an attack from the Malays near Nganjuk (Casparis, 1985, p. 8). It is possible that the rulers (*rakryan* or *samgat*) in Śrī Jayāmṛta, together with the Añjukladang samgat, made a great contribution to Mpu Sindok in fighting the enemy. Because of their services, Mpu Sindok gave the Sima land to the *Sang Hyang Dharma i śrī jayāmṛta* and to the *Añjukladang samgat*.

In this case, it is necessary to underline and

draw attention to the fact that the name Śrī Jayāmṛta was originally the name of a place. This assumption is also strengthened in the Sukun inscription that there is a position whose duties are closely related to a place, namely '*rakryan interpret-er jayāmṛta*' and '*kabayān iṅ jayāmṛta*', which can be interpreted as Rakryan Juru in Jayāmṛta and Kabayan in Jayāmṛta. It is also very necessary to pay attention to why the Mdang palace in the Dharmmawangśā Tguh era was again placed in the western region, namely around Maospati-Madiun, while Mpu Sindok at the beginning of his arrival in eastern Java had a palace around Jombang, and the transfer of the royal center from the Jombang area to the Maospati area -Madiun has absolutely no sources that can provide an explanation (Hardiati et al., 2010, p. 202). It is possible to assume that the placement of Dharmmawangśā Tguh's palace in the western region was based on the consideration of bringing closer the influence of power from the maternal line of the family as descendants of the rulers (*rakryan* or *samgat*) in Śrī Jayāmṛta, thus, the influence of his power as king of the Iśāna dynasty became stronger because it was in the domain (*rakryan* or *samgat*) in Śrī Jayāmṛta.

Based on this argument, it can be understood why the name '*jayāmṛta*' is attached to the name of the garbopati Dharmmawangśā Tguh, namely the Apaṇji Wijayāmrtawarddhana. The '*jayāmṛta*' element is taken from the name of his mother's territory as a descendant of *rakryan/samgat* in Śrī Jayāmṛta, while the '*warddhana*' element is taken from the name of his father (Makutawangśawarddhana), and after ascending the throne, his abhiseka name uses the name of his father's dynasty, namely Śrī Iśāna Dharmmawangśā Tguh Anantawikramotunggadewa. Thus, the element of the name '*jayāmṛta*' remained attached to the descendants of Dharmmawangśā Tguh, namely a king with the title Śrī Jayāmṛta who issued the Sukun inscription in 1083 Śaka. Maybe the name is just a title, not the name itself. At this point, it can be understood that both Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta and Śrī Jayaprabhu or Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu are both descendants of the Apaṇji Wijayāmrtawarddhana or Śrī Iśāna Dharmmawangśā Tguh Anantawikramotunggadewa.

Judging from the date of the inscription issued by Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta, namely 1083 Śaka, the Sukun inscription is 25 years older than the Mruwak inscription of 1108 Śaka, and 43 years older than the Sirah Kētēng inscription of 1126 Śaka. Based on this chronology, it is possible that Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta ruled for around 25 years

from around 1083 Śaka until he was succeeded by Śrī Jayaprabhu or Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu, who occupied the throne around 1108 Śaka based on the release of the Mruwak inscription.

Another possibility stems from the statement of Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu in the Sirah Kētēng inscription, which scholars often doubt, and it seems that this statement needs to be considered. It is stated that when the Sirah Kētēng inscription was issued in 1126 Śaka, Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu had ruled for 1000 months (83 years 4 months). If it is estimated that he was 16 years old when he ascended the throne, then in 1126 Śaka Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu was already ± 99 years old. Thus, Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu ruled from 1043 Śaka until 1126 Śaka (1000 months), and during that time, he was irreplaceable. If this is the case, then when Śrī Jayāmṛta issued the Sukun inscription in 1083 Śaka, Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu was still in power. In the sense that Śrī Jayāmṛta ruled the kingdom ruled by Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu.

Based on this last possibility, it seems impossible for two descendants of Apaṇji Wijayāmrtawarddhana to become kings and rule simultaneously in the same area. Based on these thoughts, in this case the opinion is put forward that Śrī Jayāmṛta who issued the Sukun inscription in 1083 Śaka is another name for Śrī Jayaprabhu or Śrī Jayamantra who issued the Mruwak inscription in 1108 Śaka, or Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu or Śrī Śāstraprabhu or Śrī Jayadrtaprabhu or Śrī Jayaprabhu yang issued the Sirah Kētēng inscription in 1126 Śaka. Judging from several names listed in the Mruwak inscription and the Sirah Kētēng inscription, there is a tendency that Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu had many aliases. If this idea is accepted, all these names belong to only one person. If this is the case, then the statement of Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu in the Sirah Kētēng inscription, who had ruled for 1000 months in 1126 Śaka, does not need to be doubted. In 1083 Śaka, when he issued the Sukun inscription with the name Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta, he had ruled for 40 years 4 months with an age of ± 56 years. This can be chronicled in detail in the Table 3.

TOPONYM OF 'SUKUN' IN THE SUKUN INSCRIPTION

As mentioned in the introduction, the Sukun inscription is in the form of 7 copper plates. Objects in the form of copper plates with inscriptions are

Table 3. Chronology of King from 1043-1126 Śaka

No	Name/Title of the King used	Inscription	Year	The Reign of the King	Age of Kings
1	?	-	1043 Śaka	Early years	± 16 years
2	Śrī Jayāmṛta	Sukun	1083 Śaka	40 years 4 months	± 56 years
3	Śrī Jayaprabhu/Śrī Jayamantra	Mruwak	1108 Śaka	65 years 4 months	± 81 years
4	Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu/Śrī Śāstraprabhu/Śrī Jayadrtaprabhu/Śrī Jayaprabhu	Sirah Kētēng	1126 Śaka	1000 months (83 years 4 months)	± 99 years

light and easy to carry everywhere. For example, the copper inscription of King Kertanagara from the Tumapel Kingdom, namely the Pakis Wetan inscription of 1188 Śaka, found in Pakis Village, Tegalejo District, Magelang Regency (Boechari & Wibowo, 1986, p. 109). The Wurudu Kidul A and B inscriptions of 844 Śaka, which were around the Kediri area, it was found in Singosari, so they were inventoried as the Singosari III and Singosari IV inscriptions (Nakada, 1982, p. 31). The Cunggrang II inscription in 851 Śaka, which had problems in the Bangil-Pasuruan area, was found on the slopes of Mount Kawi (Nakada, 1982, p. 33). Therefore, care is needed in determining the toponym mentioned in the inscription if the inscription is made from copper plates, because it is not certain that the toponym mentioned in the inscription refers to the place where it was found or where it was obtained. Likewise, with the case of toponymy in the Sukun Inscription. In East Java, at least 10 areas can be identified called Sukun, namely:

1. Sukun Village, Sukun District, Malang City
2. Sukun Hamlet, Kepanjen Village, Kepanjen District, Malang Regency
3. Sukun Hamlet, Candirenggo Village, Singosari District, Malang Regency
4. Sukun Hamlet, Bakalan Village, Purwosari District, Pasuruan Regency
5. Sukun Hamlet, Muneng Village, Sumberasih District, Probolinggo Regency
6. Sukun Hamlet, Pendil Village, Banyuwangi District, Probolinggo Regency
7. Sukun Hamlet, Klenang Kidul Village, Banyuwangi District, Probolinggo Regency
8. Sukun Hamlet, Pegalangan Kidul Village, Maron District, Probolinggo Regency
9. Sukun Village, Kauman Village, Ponorogo District, Ponorogo Regency
10. Sukun Hamlet, Sidoharjo Village, Pulung District, Ponorogo Regency

Based on the data above, 10 areas are named Sukun, 8 of them, namely no. 1 to no. 8, are in the

eastern area of Gunung Kawi, while no. 9 and 10 are in the western area of Gunung Kawi.

From inscription and ancient manuscript sources, the area east of Gunung Kawi indicates remains dating from the Kadiri Kingdom era, such as the Hantang inscription of 1057 Śaka (Brandes, 1913, pp. 154–158), the Pamotoh inscription of 1120 Śaka (Suhadi & Kartakusuma, 1996, pp. 8–12), and the Kertajaya/Merjosari II inscription of 1138 Śaka (Djafar & Trigangga, 2019, p. 145). Thus, it can be ascertained that the eastern area of Gunung Kawi during the existence of the Kadiri Kingdom was within its territory. The Pararaton and Tantu Panggelaran literature indicates that the area east of Gunung Kawi to Mount Hyang (Argopuro) was Kadiri's domain. Pararaton tells of the area on the eastern slopes of Gunung Kawi as the place of Ken Angrok's adventures in the XII-XII century AD, during the reign of the king in Daha (Padmapuspita, 1966, pp. 13–16). In Tantu Panggelaran, it is told that in the Kalyvasem hermitage on the slopes of Mount Hyang, there was a powerful brahmin of the tantric tradition. The king in Daha heard and was displeased. He sent two brahmins to get rid of him (Pigeaud. Th.G.Th, 1924, p. 105). Kalyvasem Hermitage is mentioned in the Batur inscription (Gading-Probolinggo) together with Sagara Hermitage, which is located on the slopes of Mount Hyang (Argopuro) (Pigeaud. Th.G.Th, 1960, pp. 113–114). In reality, no inscription or ancient manuscript sources have been found that mention the existence of lungguh areas during the Kadiri era in the area east of Gunung Kawi to Banyuwangi. The only area suspected of being a lungguh area during the Kadiri era was the western area, namely the Madiun-Ponorogo area, with the Mruwak inscription and the Sirah Kētēng inscription as indicators.

Based on this fact, the Sukun Inscription referred to in the Sukun area must be sought in the Madiun-Ponorogo area. In the Madiun-Ponorogo area, as already mentioned, it has been identified



Figure 3. Position of the village/hamlet of Sukun Ponorogo with the Mruwak inscription and the Sirah Kētēng inscription (Source: Google Maps with modifications, 2023)

only in Ponorogo Regency, namely Kampung Sukun, Kauman Village, Ponorogo District, Ponorogo Regency (± 600 m west of Ponorogo Square), and Sukun Hamlet, Sidoharjo Village, Pulung District, Ponorogo Regency, around ± 14 km east of Ponorogo City.

As far as is known, the existence of the Sukun Village, Kauman Village, Ponorogo District, Ponorogo Regency, in the village to the east, is the grave area of the Regent of Ponorogo, namely K.R.M.A. Tjokronegoro, which is west of the Ponorogo Jami Mosque. Meanwhile, no archaeological remains are indicated in Sukun Hamlet, Sidoharjo Village, Pulung District, Ponorogo Regency. Thus, it is unknown which Sukun Village can be connected to the Sukun Inscription.

Even though there are no indications of archaeological remains in the two Sukun areas in Ponorogo Regency, their position is in the middle of an area of archaeological remains found scattered throughout the Ponorogo Regency area. From records of archaeological finds in the Ponorogo area reported by the Dutch in ROC-1905-1906 (Knebel, 1907, pp. 73–90), ROD. 1915 (Verbeek, 1915, p. 125), and OV. 1937 (Stutterheim, 1938, pp. 28–29).

Most of the archaeological finds are objects related to religion. Of course, these objects are the remains of residential activities in an area called *kabuyutan*, as intended in the Sukun inscription. The term *kabuyutan* is a holy place of worship, a sacred place (Mardiarsito, 1986, p. 121; Zoetmulder & Robson, 2004, p. 146), in the general sense it is a residential area of a hermitage or priesthood which is not too far from Sukun Village, located on the outskirts of the forest or in the middle of the forest. Paying close attention to the context of the sentence of the Sukun inscription on plate I.b. 4-5, the words *aṅrēṇē śrī mahā//rāja yann ikaṇ i sukun.....* (Listen to sri maharaja if the people of Sukun Village.....), indicate that the location of the *kabuyutan* is not that far from Sukun Village, while the capital, the center of Śrī Jayāmṛta's kingdom, was quite far from *Kabuyutan*.

CONCLUSION

Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayāmṛta, who issued the Sukun inscription 1083 Śaka, was not a king from the group of kings who ruled in the Kadiri Kingdom. The period of reign, which was almost the same as that of Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Sirikan Śarweśwara from the Kadiri Kingdom, who issued the Padlegan II inscription in 1081 Śaka and the Kahyunan inscription in 1082 Śaka, was hampered by differences in the structure of his government. This shows that Śrī Jayāmṛta was a king who ruled outside the territory of the Kadiri Kingdom. Judging from the elements of Jayāmṛta's name, which are the same as elements of Dharmmawangśā Tguh's garbhopati name, namely Wijayāmrtawarddhana, it is assumed that Śrī Jayāmṛta is also a descendant of Dharmmawangśā Tguh, besides a king who claimed to be a direct descendant of Dharmmawangśā Tguh, namely Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhū.

There are two possible interpretations. The first possibility is that Śrī Jayāmṛta was the king who ruled before Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu, who issued the Mruwak inscription in 1108 Śaka and the Sirah Kētēng inscription in 1126 Śaka. The second possibility is by adhering to Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu's statement that he had ruled for 1000 months (83 years and 4 months) when the Sirah Kētēng inscription was issued, thus the reign of Śrī Jayāmṛta coincided with the reign of Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu in one kingdom. This is impossible; therefore, in his opinion, Śrī Jayāmṛta is Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu, who in the Mruwak inscription and the Sirah Kētēng inscription is indeed referred to by various aliases.

If it is true that Śrī Jayāmṛta is Śrī Jayawarsa Digwijaya Śāstraprabhu, then, following the location where the Mruwak inscription and the Sirah Kētēng inscription were found in the Madiun-Ponorogo area, it is certain that the Sukun inscription must be related to the Madiun-Ponorogo area. Areas with the name Sukun in the Madiun-Ponorogo region are only found in Ponorogo Regency, namely Kampung Sukun, Kauman Village, Ponorogo District (\pm 600 m west of Ponorogo Square), and Sukun Hamlet, Sidoharjo Village, Pulung District, about \pm 14 km east of Ponorogo City. The two areas called Sukun are relatively close to the city center, while the archaeological remains found in Ponorogo Regency are in areas some distance from the city center. In this case, if it is correlated with news from the Sukun inscription about the existence of a kabuyutan, the areas of the site that are far from the city center could possibly be one of the kabuyutans referred to in the Sukun inscription.

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