

# Appendix

## References to Debt and Debt Bondage in the Epigraphic Record from Early Island Southeast Asia

Since the publications in which many of the inscriptions cited in Chapter 2 appear have limited circulation, translations of the relevant passages are provided below. Bibliographic references refer to the literature list at the end of Chapter 2.

### A. Debt-Clearance Documents: Java and Luzon

1. Bulai. Java, 860 A.D. (De Casparis 1956, pp. 330–37; Sarkar 1971, no. xxi).  
(1) ... 2 *kati* 7 *suwarṇa* 8 *māṣa* of gold and 1 *māṣa* of silver in the safekeeping of the community council of Air Ha .... (6) ... *ḍapunta* Anggada spoke of his desire to finish at once the matter of that gold .... (8) ... the senior *rakarayān* declared *ḍapunta* Anggada the loser [in the court case]. (9) ... that *śuddhapātra* written on copper plate ....
2. Kurungan/Wurutunggal. Java, 885 A.D. (Stutterheim 1940, pp. 29–32; Machi Suhadi and Soekarto 1986, no. 2.5.2).  
(I.a.1) ... At that time *ḍang ācāryya* Munīndra bought wet-rice land [of] the community council of Parhyangan in the apanage of Wurutunggal. Kurungan is the name of the wet-rice land [that is to] become benefice for the sacred offering place. The purchase price of it [was] 1 *kati* (768 grams) of silver. Gifts to the community council [were]: 3 *dhāraṇa* (115.2 grams) of silver; there was [also] the interest (*panganak*), [totalling] 7 *dhāraṇa* (268.8 grams of silver), [owed by] the community council on their debt (*hutang*), which was included as a gift, along with 1 goat worth 4 *māṣa* of silver. The total silver expended was 1 *kati* 10 *dhāraṇa* 4 *māṣa*. The aim of the [transaction

involving the] silver was the repayment (*panahur*) of the debt of the community of Parhyangan .... (9) ... Thus the householders [of Parhyangan] gave their wet-rice land [to the] benefice [created by] *ḍang ācāryya* Munīndra. Completely cleared and acquitted (*huwus śuddha pariśuddha*) [is their debt] ....

3. Laguna. Luzon, 900 A.D. (Postma 1991).

(I.a.2) ... That was the time when *dayang* Angkatan, together with her sibling named *si* Bukah, (3) children of *dang hwan* Namwran, were given the esteemed gift of a document of complete clearance (*wiśuddhapātra*) [of debt] by the *sang pamgat senāpati* of Tuṇḍan, (4) represented by the *dang hwan nāyaka tuhān* [of] Pailah, Jayadewa. In this manner, *dang hwan* Namwran, through the *dang kāyastha*, (5) [received] clearance (*śuddhā*) and discharge (*diparlappas*) of the debt (*hutang*), the amount of it being 1 *kati* 8 *suwarṇa* [in gold], in the presence of the *dang hwan nāyaka tuhān* [of] (6) Puliran, Kasumuran; the *dang hwan nāyaka tuhān* [of] Pailah, represented by Gaṇaśakti; [and] the *dang hwan nāyaka tuhan* (7) Binwāngan, represented by Bīśruta. Thus, all of [*dang hwan* Namwran's] relatives were discharged (*kaparāwis*) [of debt] — by the *sang pamgat dewata*, (8) represented by the *sang pamgat* of Mḍang — because of his loyalty as subject of the *sang pamgat*. Thus, all of the children (9) [and] grandchildren of the *dang hwan* Namwran were cleared and discharged (*śuddha ya kaparāwis*) of the debt (*hutang*) of *dang hwan* Namwran to the *sang pamgat dewata*. This [document was issued] in case (10) there is anyone in the future, young or old, [who claims that] the debt has not yet been discharged (*wlung lappas hutang*) of the *dang hwan* [Namwran] ....

4. Guntur. Java, 907 A.D. (Brandes 1888; Sarkar 1971, no. lxxiii).

(I.a) ... That was the time when *pu* Tabwěl, resident of Guntur, a dependency of the monastery of Garung, received the legal judgement (*guṇadoṣa*) by *samagat* Pinapan *pu* Gawul and his wife *pu* Gallam, residents of Puluwatu. The reason for the judgement was that [a person] named *sang* Dharma, father of Manghampig, originating from Wurakung, made a claim against (*tumagih*) *pu* Tabwěl, demanding [repayment of] 1 *suwarṇa* of gold. This was not the debt (*hutang*) of *pu* Tabwěl; it was the debt of his wife, named *si* Champa, a relative of *sang* Dharma. *Si* Champa having died, a claim [for repayment] was made against *pu* Tabwěl by *sang* Dharma. [Since] there were no children

of *pu* Tabwēl and *si* Champa, and [since] *pu* Tabwēl denied knowledge of the debt, he approached *samagga*t Pinapan. *Sang* Dharma did not attend the arranged meeting (court session). Therefore judgement was given against (*inalahakan*) him by *samagga*t Pinapan; also because a debt may not be inherited (*tumibā*) by a husband without the knowledge of that husband, and certainly not if there are no children of the union .... Thus was the number of witnesses verifying the complete clearance from debt (*śuddhapariśuddha*) in the court judgement .... To prevent further representations, in perpetuity, is the reason for [the inscribing of] this record of victory in the lawsuit (*jayapātra*).

5. Wurutunggal. Java, 912 A.D. (Sarkar 1971, no. lxxxii; Christie 1996, p. 282).  
(A.2) ... [That was the] time when [*ḍang*] Nawī repaid (*sumahur*) the debt (*hutang*) of his/her father to *mpu guru* (3) Dhayā, the repayment [totalling] 16 *suwarna* 10 *māṣa* 2 *kupang* 5 *saga* of gold. The gold was received (4) by *pu* Lāti, father of Bayal, resident of the community of Wurutunggal, (5) who signed [the document] along with *pu* Wijah, father of Bhūmi, resident of the community of Wurutunggal. The debt of [*ḍang*] Nawī to *mpu guru* Dhayā is cleared (*śuddha*) ....

## B. Land-Pawn Documents: Java

1. Panggumulan II. Java, 903 A.D. (Sarkar 1971, no. lxiv; Titi Surti Nastiti et al. 1982, pp. 16–17, 34–35).  
(3.b.9) ... At that time the *rakryān* of Wantil — husband *pu* Pālaka and wife *dyah* Prasāda, and their three children — *pu* Palaku, *pu* Gowinda, [and] *dyah* Wangitamuy — redeemed (*tumbus*) land of the community council of Panggumulan, [that is], the pawned (*kasanda*) orchard land called Siddhayoga, and, in addition, wet rice land at Panilman was bought for 3 *kati* of silver from *ḍapunta* Prabhu and *ḍapunta* Kaca ....
2. Mpu Mano. Java, 966 A.D. (Brandes 1913, no. lv; Damais 1955, p. 183).  
(I.a.3) ... That was the time when *mpu* Mano presented, as a meritorious gift [to act as] benefice (*sīma*), land belonging to his family, inherited by him from his ancestors .... (I.b.2) Further, in connection with the wet rice land to the south of the sanctuary [measuring] 3 *tampah*, that had been pawned (*sinanda*) by the *mpungku* [of] (3) Susuk Pagēr and the *mpungku* of Nairāñjanā for 2 *kati* of gold, [for the benefit of] the

religious foundation of the *mpungku* of Susuk Pagĕr and the *mpungku* of Nairañjanā: it was requested that (4) that land be joined to the wet rice land to the north for the use of the sanctuary. For that reason the pawned wet rice land was redeemed (*tinbus*) by *mpu* Mano for 3 *kati* of gold, intended for the (5) enjoyment of the holy sanctuary by the grace of *mpu* Mano ....

### C. Regulation of Debt and Debt Bondage: Bali and Java

#### *Tenth-Century Charters from Bali, written in Old Balinese*

1. Bangli Pura Kehen A. Bali, early tenth century (Goris 1954, no. 005). (I.a.4) ... If here are temple servants (*hulun dang*), who are *hulun*-servants, [or] temple slaves (*kalula dang*) who are *kalula*-slaves, their debts (*hutang*) are not to be doubled (*kalpihan*) ....
2. Sembiran IA. Bali, 922 A.D. (Goris 1954, no. 104). (III.a.6) ... If in the community there are those held as *hulun*-servants who wish to pay off their debts (*bayrn hutang*), the whole principal (*hamulaña*) only must be paid; [the debt] is not to be doubled (*kadugan*) ....
3. Pengotan AI. Bali, 924 A.D. (Goris 1954, no. 105). (II.a.2) ... If there are any debts owed in gold (*pahutangañña mās*), double is not to be cleared (*tani kasiddhan kadugan*), [only] the principal is to be paid (*hamulan hutangña. me wayarñña*) ....
4. Manik Liu AI. Bali, 955 A.D. (Goris 1954, no. 202). (II.a.2) ... Also, if [there are] debtors (*mahutang*), [their debts] are not to be doubled (*kalpihan*), not to be demanded (*parpatihangĕn*) [all at once]. [Rather], their repayment (*pamuhakyanya*) shall be 4 *māṣaka* per *tahil* each year ....

#### *Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Inscriptions from Java and Bali, written in Old Javanese*

5. Kakurugan. Java, 1023 A.D. (Cohen Stuart 1875, no. v; Boechari 1986, pp. 67–72). (V.b.2) ... [They] shall be allowed to give refuge to insolvent debtors (*ahutang rangang*), [who] shall incur repayment of all of their debts

(*katmu tatalĕn sahutangnya puhakana*) by instalments of 2 *māṣa* per *tahil* each year ....

6. Kambang Śrī/Gandakuṭi. Java, 1042 A.D. (Brandes 1913, no. lxiii; Boechari 1986, pp. 72–75).  
(II.b.4) ... Further, should the occasion arise that respectable people (*parasujana*) fall into debt (*ahutang*), whatever the cause, then the debts of [those] people shall be repaid by instalments (*panatalanya*) of 2 *māṣa* per *tahil* [each year], or, if they are unable [to repay at that rate], then by such instalments as they are able to pay ....
7. Malĕnga. Java, 1052 A.D. (Boechari 1986, pp. 168–69).  
(IV.a.3) ... are allowed to have sexual intercourse with [female] *kawula*-servants in compensation for monetary debt (*anwasdhaṇa utang*) ....
8. Dawan. Bali, 1053 A.D. (Ardika and Sutjiati Beratha 1998, no. 404a).  
(VI.a.5) ... If there are claims against debtors (*pihutangnya*) there — due to theft, [fines for] wrongdoing, destitution, debts of [corvée] assistance (*hutang patulungan*) — [the debtors] shall not pay double the principal [of the debt] (*tan panahura lpih sakawwit*) .... (VI.b.2) ... Likewise, people in Lutungan, if they are debtors through destitution (*pahutang ing krangan*) because of thieves from other communities, or [by their being] wrongdoers [paying off fines], they must repay all of the principal (*nahura sakawwit*) [of their debt] in the temple [under the oversight of] officials, and the recipients [of the payments] there (3) shall not be subject to *papacaksu*-fee .... (VI.b.5) ... Also, if there are dependent servants (*raray hulun*) who borrow money (*nyilih pirak*) from people in Lutungan, they shall not straight away be seized (6) by their creditors (*pradhana*), but only after first reporting to the chief priest and then to the overseer, who both have the right of services of servants. Should those dependent servants not wish to redeem themselves (*tan aharpyanbusa*), they shall be handed over. If, however, they wish (VII.a.1) to redeem themselves, one year shall be agreed in which they shall repay the whole of the principal of their debt (*satahun anahura sakawwitni hutangnya*). The period of time from the borrowing of money to the [agreed] end date shall not be increased (*tan tambĕhana ri kalanyan lungha nyilih pirak*). [If, during that year], they are seized by their masters, in whatever manner, after (2) [their masters] have been informed [that sanctuary has been granted], then they shall cease to be

held as servants. Likewise, masters must allow their dependent servants to redeem themselves by making repayment (*anbusa anahura*) in the presence of the chief priest. The disposition of the repayment shall be as follows: the *pañji* (corvée labour payment) is to be divided into three parts, one third going to the community council, and two thirds going to the holy sanctuary; of that two thirds [going to the sanctuary], one third shall go to the god, one third shall go to the chief priest, and one third shall go to the personnel of the holy place ....

9. Sukawati A. Bali, mid to late eleventh century (Ardika and Sutjiati Beratha 1998, no. 435).

(V.b.4) ... If there are runaway *hulun*-servants, [who are servants due to] borrowing money (*anilih pirak*), who come there, those servants are not to be seized by their creditors (*pradhāna*) (5) without first reporting to the chief priest and then the overseer of the religious foundation. Both of them have the right to the services of servants. If [the servants] wish to repay their debts (*sumahura hutangnya*), two years shall be fixed (6) in which they can repay the whole of the principal (*sawwit*) [of the debt, as well as] all of the content of the *pañji* on it (*sesini pañjinya*). [The debts] are not to be doubled (*tan lēpihakna*). However, those who do not wish to repay their debts shall be handed over as dependent servants to their creditors ....

10. Dausa, Pura Bukit Indrakila AII. Bali, 1061 A.D. (Ardika and Sutjiati Beratha 1998, no. 407).

(IV.b.1) ... Likewise, if there are debtors (*wwang mahutang*) (2) who take refuge there, they are not to be subject to *iwakhyang*, not to be forced to obey [their masters], [and] not to be subjected to mastery. Rather, they shall [be expected to] repay all the principal of their debt only (*anahura sakawwit i hutangnya juga*). (3) [The debt] shall not be doubled (*tan lpihakna*). Further, if respectable people suffer from debts of misfortune (*baritbarit*) through no fault of their own, they shall repay those debts of misfortune in accordance with the law (*sahurn tkap rikang dharmma*) ....

11. Bangkala/Pakwan. Bali, mid to late eleventh century (Tuuk and Brandes 1885).

(V.a) ... Likewise, if there are any debt claims (*pihutang*), any kind of debt claim, including [those involving] debts of [corvée] assistance

(*hutang patulungan*), against people of Pakwan, [the debts] are not to be doubled (*tan lēpihakna*). Rather, they shall only repay all of the principal (*manahura sawwit*) .... Likewise, if there are dependent servants (*rare hulun*) who take refuge (V.b) in the community of Pakwan, they are not to be taken by force/treated with violence or subject to *iwakhyang* [by their masters]. Their debts are not to be doubled (*tan lpihakna hutangnya*); rather, they shall repay (*amuhakana*) [their debts at a rate of] 4 *māṣaka* per *tahil* only each year. They are not to be forced to obey [their masters]; further, if [their masters] use force to impose *iwakhyang*, to take away their servants, without waiting for repayment, they shall be charged with criminal offence under all the regulations concerning imposition of *iwakhyang*, and furthermore, they shall lose mastery [over those servants] ....

12. Pengotan AII. Bali, 1069 A.D. (Ardika and Sutjiati Beratha 1998, no. 431).

(V.b.3) ... If householders of Silihan [and] Kundungan have “broken iron” (incurred debts of misfortune), the whole of the principal of their debts is to be repaid by them (*sawwit hutang juga sahurnya*), [but the debts] are not to be doubled (*tan lpihakna*). This previously-established arrangement shall be regulated for their protection ....

13. Gunun Pai/Pandak Bandung. Bali, 1071 A.D. (Stein Callenfels 1926, pp. 14–18; Ardika and Sutjiati Beratha 1998, no. 436).

(III.b.1) ... In addition, if here are [those who are] *hulun*-servants of others due to borrowing [their] money (*lumakwanilih pirak*) who come there [seeking refuge], they are not to be carried off, not to be subject to *iwakhyang*, not to be ordered. Rather, they shall repay (*anahura*) 4 *māṣaka* per *tahil* of their debt each year, the whole (2) of the *pañji* (*sesini pañjinya*) to be included. If those *hulun*-servants are taken by force, *iwakhyang*, then, at that moment they are seized their masters shall cease to hold them in servitude. [If their debt is repaid], the *hulun*-servants (3) shall consequently, at the correct time, cease to be servants, having succeeded in redeeming their persons/bodies (*tumbusa śarintēnya*). Further, [the *pañji* of] their repayment (*panahurnya*) shall be divided three ways: one third going to the god, one third going to the chief priest, and one third going (4) to the personnel of the holy place .... (IV.a.4) ... If there are those in debt due to [fines for] wrongdoing, to thieves, to destitution, to debts of *patulungan*-labour

duties, (IV.b.1) [these debts] shall not be doubled (*tan palakwana lpih*). [They] shall only repay the whole of the principal (*anahura sawwit*) ....

14. Sawan AII/Bila II. Bali, 1073 A.D. (Ardika and Sutjiati Beratha 1998, no. 441).

(IV.b.1) ... If there are (2) people in debt (*wwang ahutang*) through borrowing money (*inyilih pirak*) who come to Bila, they are not to be taken by force, and are not to be forced into servitude. Rather, they shall repay (*amuhakana*) [their debts at a rate of] 4 *māṣaka* per *tahil* only each year of their lives. [The debts] are not to be doubled (*tan lpihakna*). (3) Further, if any [masters] impose *iwakhyang*, their servants shall be freed, [and the masters] shall pay a fine (*doṣa*) for their offence of 1 *suwarnā* 4 *māṣaka*. Likewise, all of those who are in a state of servitude, [but] living in their own household, shall offer up *rot-tax* of 2 *kupang* each year (4) per head ....

15. Srokadan B/Sukawati C. Bali, 1077 A.D. (Ardika and Sutjiati Beratha 1998, no. 446).

(VI.a.1) ... If there are any who use force, [or] impose *iwakhyang*, [or] trample on the spirit of the protection of the grant of His Majesty, they will be subject to the regulations of the holy religious foundation. In addition, if there are (2) [those who are] servants of people through their having borrowed money (*huluning wwang lumakwanilih pirak*), [who] come there, they are not to be seized by force without first reporting to the chief priest and then the overseer of the holy place, [who] have the right of services of (3) servants. If [those debt-servants] wish to repay their debts (*sumahura hutangnya*), one year shall be fixed before they must repay the whole of the principal (*anahura sawwit*), the whole content not to be doubled (*sesini tan lpihakna*). However, those who do not wish (4) to repay their debts shall be handed over as dependent servants to their creditors. Further, if there are people who wrongfully seize their servants, after having been informed [that sanctuary has been granted], (5) then [the servants] shall cease to be held in bondage. Likewise, at the proper time, they shall cease to be held in bondage, [for if] there are relatives or friends of their who wish to redeem (*aharp tumbusa*) them, they shall be allowed (VI.b.1) to redeem their persons/bodies (*tumbusa śarintēnya*). Further, dependent servants



(*rarai hulun*) shall be allowed to redeem [themselves] by repaying the whole of the principal of their debt (*atbusa sakawwit ihutangnya*) at the holy religious foundation, in the presence of the chief priest. [The *pañji*] shall be divided as follows: two thirds (2) going to the holy religious foundation at Air Kanakāntarālaya, and one third to the community council of Bwah. The two thirds going to the holy religious foundation shall be subdivided as follows: one third going to the god, one third going to the chief priest, and one third going to the [personnel of the sanctuary] ....

16. Klandis. Bali, mid to late eleventh century (Ardika and Sutjiati Beratha 1998, no. 448).

(V.a) ... Likewise, if there are debt-claims (*pihutang*) against people of Pakwan, [the debts] shall not be doubled (*tan lēpihakna*), shall not be subject to overseer-levy ... Likewise, if there are dependent servants (*rare hulun*) who come to take refuge (V.b) in the community of Pakwan, [they] are not to be subjected to force, [and] their debts are not to be doubled (*tan lpihakna hutangnya*). Rather, [they] shall repay 4 *māṣaka* per *tahil* only [of their debts] each year ....

17. Gobleg Pura Desa III. Bali, 1115 A.D. (Stein Callenfels 1926, pp. 1–6).

(III.a.4) ... 1037 ... (IV.b.3) ... Likewise, if there are dependent servants (*rarai kawula*) who take refuge in Er Tabar — no matter what sort of person — because the religious foundation is a place of sanctuary, they are not to be seized precipitately, not to be subject to *iwakhyang*, (4) not to be carried off as captives bound in rattan. Rather, [they] shall only repay 4 *māṣaka* [per *tahil*] each year of their debts, as is customary (*tarakramani hutangnya*). [The debts] are not to be doubled (*tan lpihakna*). Further, if there are those who seize their servants by force, after having been informed [that sanctuary has been granted], (5) a fine of 3 *suwarna* 2 *māṣaka* of gold shall fall upon them. Likewise, if those taking refuge — having been named twice, thrice — are still unwilling to repay (*tan anggāmuhakana*), [their debts] their creditors (*sang pradhana*) shall be able to seize them as servants without committing an offence. Further, (6) if there are descendants of servants of any kind who have households there, they shall only pay *rot*-tax of 2 *kupang* each year for *sari*-performance ....

18. Paradūwan i Padlĕgan. Bali, 1116 A.D. (Brandes 1913, no. lxvii; Machi Suhadi and Richadiana K. 1996, no. 2.4.9).

(1) ... 1038 ... (6) ... shall repay (*apuhaka*) two *māṣa* per *tahil* each year ....

19. Kuñjarāsana. Bali, 1155 A.D. (Ginarsa 1973).

(I.b.7) ... not including the (II.a.1) *Ūttara Widhi Bālawan*, [and] above all, the royal words/edicts .... (III.a.4) ... Likewise, if there are records of debt-claims (*tulistulisan pihutang*) against people that have been stolen, [these matters] must be taken up by the overseer [of the holy place], [and] must immediately be brought into the open by the overseer, and discussed in front of the community council. Proof from those who are familiar with the debt-claims [must be produced]. [If] the overseer does not bring these matters to the notice of the community council in a (5) timely manner, slander and violence could result .... (7) ... In addition, if there are people of Sābhaya who are in debt (*ahutang*) who have been robbed — all kinds of debts, including corvée labour-duty debts (*hutang patulungan*) for the *mulakarrya*-rituals — [their debts] are not to be doubled (*tan lpihakĕna*), [and they] shall have a year to repay only the whole of the principal (*manahura sa[w]wit*). They shall not be subject to the (III.b.1) overseer-tax .... (V.a.4) ... Further, (5) if [the community members] succeed in capturing thieves, or even in killing thieves, of any kind, [if they are debt-servants], no debts or *kuñcir* (compensation) can be demanded [of the community] by their masters .... (V.b.4) ... Likewise, if there are dependent servants (*raray kawula*), including those in debt to creditors (*ahutang pradhana*), who take refuge in Sābhaya, they are not to be seized by their masters, not to be carried off bound in rattan, not to be subject to *iwakhyang*, not to be (5) forced to obey. Rather, [they] shall repay only 4 *māṣaka* per *tahil* [of their] debts each year, as is customary in the case of debts (*tarakrama ning hutang*). [The debts] shall not be doubled [or] subject to periodic interest payments (*tan lpihakĕna kna kālantara*). If there are those who forcibly (6) carry off their servants, after having been informed that sanctuary has been granted, [and] disregarding the import of the edict of his majesty the king, there will, without fail, fall upon them a fine of 3 *suwarna* 2 *māṣaka* of gold. In addition, their (7) debt-claims will be annulled (*kahilangan ri pihutangnya*) .... (VIII.a.1) ... Likewise, if

there are people of Sābhaya (2) who are in debt — any kind of debt — they are not to be carried off bound in rattan, or to be subject to *iwakhyang*, or to have their movements restricted, except with the permission of the chief priest at Kuñjarāsana. The chief priest shall give full attention to the case of [each] debtor. (3) If there are any who act precipitately, without asking permission of the chief priest at Kuñjarāsana, without speaking outside [the precincts of the holy sanctuary], without obtaining an interview at the proper time, or (4) obtaining permission, or likewise speaking in the interior of the holy sanctuary with the chief priest, or meeting together (5) to put their case, then their debt-claim shall fly away, shall be annulled. Further, at the behest of the chief priest, there shall fall upon them a fine for their transgression of 3 *suwarṇa* 2 *māṣaka* of gold ....

20. Sukun. Java, 1161 A.D. (Boechari 1988).  
 (II.b.4) In addition, if there are debtors (*wwang ahutang*) who take refuge in this *sāmya haji* community, [they] shall incur repayment by instalments (*katēmwa tatalēn*) of 1 *māṣa* each year per *tahil*. Further, if violence [is used against those who] have not repaid (*tan sahurēn*), at that time, that week, [they] shall not [be required] to complete repayment of that debt ....
21. Buyan-Saṅḍing-Tamblingan. Bali, 1181 A.D. (Sukarto K. Atmodjo 1970).  
 (VI.b.3) ... In addition, if there are dependent servants (*rare kawula*) who come to take refuge in Buyan, Saṅḍing [and] Tamblingan, they are not allowed to be seized, or carried off bound in rattan, or subject to *iwak[h]yang*. If there are [those who] seize by force [and] carry off [their servants] bound in rattan, then the community council is allowed to resist them by force without incurring [fines for] crimes or misdemeanours ....
22. Duhan i Jaring. Java, 1181 A.D. (Brandes 1913, no. lxxi; Machi Suhadi and Richadiana 1996, no. 2.4.1).  
 (A.19) ... Also [may obtain] profit (*kapanggih[a]*) from (20) interest (*putra*); are allowed to *talyatdakan*; [Debtors] who take refuge in that [community of] Jaring (21) [...] shall incur repayment (*katēmwa puhak*) of one *māṣa* per *tahil* each year ....

23. Buwahan. Bali, 1181 A.D. (Stein Callenfels 1926, pp. 40–45).  
 (IV.a.3) ... Likewise, if (4) there are children or descendants of servants, including those in the service of aristocratic officials, who have households in the community, they are not to be subject to levies for guarding or corvée labour at the residence of the district head. Rather, they shall pay only a *rot*-tax of 1 *kupang* per door each (5) year .... (V.b.1) ... In addition, with regard to the members of the whole community council, (2) there shall be limits on debt-claims (*pihutang*), royal taxes, householder duties, interdictions, confiscations, tasks assigned to servants, people called up for corvée duties, above all on royal orders, (3) as well as on written [orders] of high officials concerning tasks of all kinds — the limits shall be regulated. [They] shall pay 1 *kupang* in *taḍah*-contribution [and] 3 *sāga* in *sowegöng*-contribution .... (V.b.6) ... Likewise, if there are members of the whole community council in debt (*ahutang*) to anyone — including labour-duty debts (*hutang patulungan*) — [who are] subject to written contracts and the whole of the *pañji* (*ktmu tulistulisnya mwang papañjanya*) — (VI.a.1) [and these documents] are robbed by thieves, the theft of the written contracts must be brought before the community council straight away. Due to the harm caused by the theft, [their debts] are not to be doubled (*tan lpihakna*), (2) are not to be subject to periodic interest payments (*tan kna kalantara*). Rather they shall repay only the whole of the principal (*manahura sawwit*), [and] not to be subject to periodic *pañji* (*tan kna sbit pañji*), including writing/decorating-levies and purchase of alcohol levies [for temple ceremonies]. [Also], they are not to be subject to *pacakṣu*-fee [or] *pangiwö*-contribution. If there are (3) those who plunder/demand through menace (*sang angrampas*) debt-claims (*anaginagiha pihutang*) of anyone, who are not brought before the community council, through having caused fear, [there shall still] without fail fall upon them a fine of 3 *suwarna* 2 *māṣaka* of gold ....
24. Gobleg Pura Batur. Bali, late twelfth century. (Stein Callenfels 1926, pp. 8–12).  
 (VI.a.2) ... Moreover, if there are people — all sorts of people, including those who serve as *kawula*-servants, (3) temple servants, royal servants, and especially those coming from other lands, from other islands (*paradeśa sakeng dwīpāntara*) — sojourning with people in Tamblingan and in Jumpung, who experience bereavement, their

hosts must not act violently towards them (4) at the time when they are suffering from that bereavement. [However], their hosts may dispose of the corpses without reporting to all of [the proper authorities], the foremost being his majesty the king. Also, with respect to the masters of [deceased sojourning] *kawula*-servants, [the hosts] shall not incur (5) fines, and shall not be responsible for the debts [of the deceased servants]. Likewise, regarding the people of Tamblingan, including both members of the community council and those who pay *rot*-tax — there shall be a fixed limit on all royal taxes; on householder duties, including debt-claims (*pihutang*) or fines for crimes and for misdemeanours; (6) on interdictions, confiscations — all types of these shall be regulated. They shall pay 2 *kupang* towards the *gēṅḍing*-player fee, but are not to be subject to *pangiwö*-contribution or *taḍah*-contribution, and they are not to be subject to *pabaru*-levies, and all kinds of royal taxes, including householder-duties of all types. (VI.b.1) Likewise, if there are dependent servants (*rare hulun*) and those in debt to creditors (*ahutang pradhana*) who take refuge in the community of Tamblingan, they are not to be seized by their masters, not to be disciplined, not to be subject to *iwakhyang*, not to be carried off bound in rattan, (2) [and] not to be forced into servitude. Rather, they shall only repay (*amuhakana*) 4 *māṣaka* per *tahil* of debt each year, as is customary for debts (*tarakrama ni hutangnya*). [The debts] are not to be doubled [or] to be subject to periodic interest payment (*tan lpihakna tan kna kalantara*). (3) They are not to be subject to writing/drawing contribution [or] alcohol-purchase levy [for ceremonies]; [they] are not to be subject to *pañcaginan*. If there are those who seize their servants by force, after having been informed [that they] have been granted sanctuary, [there shall] without fail fall upon them *langka*-fines of 3 *suwarṇa* 2 *māṣaka* of gold, and also, the community council (4) shall be allowed to resist them without incurring fines for crimes ....

25. Kēmulan. Java, 1194 A.D. (Brandes 1913, no. lxxiii).

(A.1) ... 1116 ... (22) ... Thus [allowed] the taking by them, when found, debtors (*mahutang*) .... (B.6) ... reduce the division by two of *māṣa*, the division by three of *atak*; ask for respite [from] corvée-debt collector (*tulung hutang*) ....