

Original article. Historical science

UDC 94(594)

DOI: 10.31696/2072-8271-2023-5-4-61-206-216

ALCOHOLIC DRINKS IN OLD JAVANESE INSCRIPTIONS: PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Anton O. ZAKHAROV¹

¹ Institute of Oriental Studies RAS, Moscow, Russia,
zakharov_anton@mail.ru, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3654-9551>

Abstract: Though alcoholic culture of pre-Islamic Java was thoroughly examined by Jiří Jákł in his seminal monograph *Alcohol in Early Java*, there are blank spots in epigraphic research of Old Javanese inscriptional evidence. There is no list of Old Javanese inscriptions which mention alcoholic drinks and their consumption. My article aims at enlisting and examining available references to alcohol drinks in Old Javanese epigraphy. The main sources are Old Javanese inscriptions published in the printed and online catalogues while the latter are still in progress while the former are obviously incomplete. I found ten Old Javanese inscriptions which contain references to alcoholic drinking. Nine inscriptions date from 901 CE to 939 CE. The current text of the Watukura A inscription seems to be a multilayer copy of its original text of 902 CE: it was re-written in the middle tenth century and re-written again in the middle fourteenth century. The phrases *mañinum siddhū*, *ciñca*, *kilam*, *tvak* 'drank a fruit wine *siddhu*, a fruit wine *ciñca*, sugar cane wine and palm wine', and *parka ciñca tvak* 'mead(?), a fruit wine *ciñca*, palm wine' date from 929–930 CE and, perhaps, may serve as dating markers but it needs further investigations.

Keywords: *alcohol, drinks, Old Javanese, inscriptions, Watukura Charter, palm wine, fruit wine, terminology*

For citation: Zakharov A.O. Alcoholic Drinks in Old Javanese Inscriptions: Preliminary Remarks. *Yugo-Vostochnaya Aziya: aktual'nyye problemy razvitiya*, 2023, T. 5, № 4 (61). Pp. 206–216. DOI: 10.31696/2072-8271-2023-5-4-61-206-216

Научная статья. Исторические науки

АЛКОГОЛЬНЫЕ НАПИТКИ В ДРЕВНЕЯВАНСКОЙ ЭПИГРАФИКЕ: ПРЕДВАРИТЕЛЬНЫЕ ЗАМЕТКИ

Антон Олегович ЗАХАРОВ¹

¹ Институт востоковедения РАН, Москва, Россия,
zakharov_anton@mail.ru, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3654-9551>

Аннотация: Несмотря на фундаментальное исследование алкогольной культуры Древней Явы, предпринятое Иржи Яклом в монографии *Alcohol in Early Java*, данные древнеяванской эпиграфики об алкогольных напитках остаются ещё не до конца изученными. До сих пор не составлен список древнеяванских надписей, упоминающих алкогольные напитки и их потребление. Данная статья содержит предварительный перечень упоминаний алкогольных напитков в древнеяванской эпиграфике. Основными источниками выступают древнеяванские надписи, опубликованные в различных каталогах, включая онлайн-издания. Все эти каталоги неполные, хотя онлайн-издания постепенно заполняются. Мне удалось найти десять древнеяванских надписей, которые упоминают алкогольные напитки и их потребление. Девять надписей относятся к периоду 901–939 гг. н.э. Текст десятой надписи – Ватукура А – представляет собой многослойную позднюю копию первоначального документа 902 г. н.э. Этот документ сначала скопировали в середине X в. н.э., а затем снова в середине XIV в. н.э. Такие предложения надписей, как *mañinum siddhū, ciñca, kilam, tvak* «пили пальмовое вино сидху, фруктовое вино чинча, вино из сахарного тростника и пальмовое вино» и *parka ciñca tvak* «мед(?), фруктовое вино чинча, пальмовое вино» датируются 929–930 гг. н.э. и, возможно, могут служить датировочным признаком, но это требует дальнейших исследований.

Ключевые слова: алкоголь, напитки, древнеяванский язык, надписи, надпись Ватукура, пальмовое вино, фруктовое вино, терминология

Для цитирования: Захаров А.О. Алкогольные напитки в древнеяванской эпиграфике: предварительные заметки // Юго-Восточная Азия: актуальные проблемы развития, 2023, Том 5, № 4 (61). С. 206–216. DOI: 10.31696/2072-8271-2023-5-4-61-206-216

Introduction

Alcohol culture of the humankind has a long history despite all problems caused by its consumption. Alcohol functioning and cultural symbolism in Early Java was studied in detail by Jiří Jákl (2021). His fundamental monograph gives a broad picture of various drinks which were in use in pre-Islamic Java. But Old Javanese inscriptions which mention alcohol and its consumption seemingly need a new examination: Jákl made use of some of them but he—perhaps, unconsciously—missed several others. I would like to sum up all references to alcoholic drinks in Old Javanese epigraphy while I understand well that the results may be incomplete as many inscriptions are still unpublished or published only in parts.

Nowadays there are two basic online catalogues of Old Javanese inscriptions. The first is the *Inventaris Daring Epigrafi Nusantara Kuno*, or IDENK, or *Online Inventory of Ancient Nusantara Epigraphy*¹ which aims at making a comprehensive catalogue and inventory of all inscriptions found in Insular Southeast Asia. The second is the project *Domestication of 'Hindu' Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and Southeast Asia*, or DHARMA, which includes a section on the Nusantara inscriptions.² Both projects are still in progress but they open new perspectives on early history of Southeast Asia as they contain many new inscriptions which were unknown earlier. The IDENK project is edited by Daniel Perret, Titi Surti Nastiti, and Arlo Griffiths. Main contributors in the DHARMA project are Arlo Griffiths, Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan, Eko Bastiawan, Marine Schoettel, Titi Surti Nastiti, and Tyassanti Kusumo Dewanti. At the same time, previous epigraphic studies and catalogues by Abraham Benjamin Cohen Stuart (1875), Jan Laurens Andries Brandes (1913), Frits Herman van Naerssen (1941; 1971), Johannes Gijsbertus de Casparis (1950; 1956), Louis-Charles Damais (1951; 1952; 1955; 1970), Himanshu Bhushan Sarkar (1971–1972), Nakada (1982), Boehari (1985–1986), Sergei Kullanda (1984)³ and many others are still relevant for the field.

Old Javanese terminology for alcoholic drinks, their consumption, their perceptions and the tools used for keeping and serving drinks was examined by Jákl (2021). Jákl (2011; 2013; 2014; 2015a–b; 2017; 2019; Jákl & Hoogervorst 2017; 2019) and Hedi Hinzler (2000: 8–11; 2010: 1–40; Hinzler⁴) investigated Old Javanese cuisine. Petrus Josephus Zoetmulder (1982, in collaboration with Stuart Robson) compiled a great Old Javanese-English Dictionary which has remained a primary reference vocabulary for Old Javanese studies despite being a bit outdated due to modern research (for example, Griffiths 2020; Jákl 2021).

¹ <http://idenk.net/>

² <https://erc-dharma.github.io/tfc-nusantara-epigraphy/>

³ Sergei Kullanda offers a new interpretation of the Old Javanese inscription of Pengging which usually dates to 741 year of the śaka era, i.e. 819 CE. Kullanda argues that this inscription is a copy made in the late ninth or early tenth century CE. He finds discrepancies between the dating in the śaka calendar and the terminology of the text which is obviously later than the vocabulary of the early ninth century inscriptions. Kullanda's article, while in Russian, is available online: https://www.vostlit.info/Texts/Dokumenty/Suedostasien/IX/800-820/Aufschrift_Pengging/text.phtml

⁴ Hinzler H.I.R. Food and Drinks in Ancient Central Java. Verre Culturen Delft: Etnografische vereniging. URL: <https://verreculturendelft.nl/inhoud/eten-bali/food-and-drinks-in-ancient-central-java/>

Epigraphic evidence

There is a list of Old Javanese inscriptions mentioning alcoholic drinks as one may find checking the online and printed catalogues:

The Taji Copper-Plates of 901 CE (6r1–2) found in the Ponorogo Regency, East Java: *tinaḍaḥ...|...tuAk len-sankā Im̄ jnu* ‘received...| palm wine and a flower unguent *jēnu*’ (Sarkar 1972: 11; Boehari 1985–1986: 44; Brandes 1913: 30).⁵

The Paṅgumulan/Panggumulan Charter of 902 CE (3r20) found in the Sleman Regency, Central Java: *mañkanam̄ madya Ininum̄ hana tvak-siddhu, hana jātirasa* ‘thus, they drank wine (*madya*), drank a lot of palm wine and a fruit wine *siddhu*, a lot of fruit juice’ (Sarkar 1972, 29, 37; Zavadskaya 2004: 216; cf. Hinzler – ‘jasmine wine’).⁶ Double usage of the word *hana* ‘many, a lot’ may reflect a contradistinction of alcoholic drinks, on the one hand, and non-alcoholic beverages, on the other hand, in the Paṅgumulan Charter. Hinzler (Hinzler) supposes that *jāti* may be a Sanskrit loan denoting ‘wine flavoured with jasmine flowers’ whereas *rasa* ‘may stand for an extract of sugarcane.’

The Watukura A inscription of 902 CE which is actually a copy made in 1348 CE in the kingdom of Majapahit (5v2): *pāṇa siddhu mastava kiñca kilam̄ tvak-paripūrṇa Ikā kabeḥ* ‘drank a fruit wine *siddhu*, a potent sugar cane wine *mastava*, a fruit wine *kiñca*, sugar cane wine *kilam̄*, and palm wine, all in abundance’ (Naerssen 1977: 61, with another translation ‘rum, distilled beverages, syrup, mead, wine (fermented drinks)’).⁷ Arlo Griffiths, Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan and Marine Schoettel follow van Naerssen (1941) who thought that the copyist made use of a later copy of the 902 Watukura inscription which was made during the reign of Siṅḍok in the middle tenth century. Jákl (2021: 73) interprets *kiñca|ciñca* as an alcoholic beverage, contrary to Zoetmulder’s (1982: 329, 873) glosses of both words as ‘a part[icular] kind of drink’.

The Lintakan Charter of 919 CE (3r12) found in the area of Yogyakarta, Central Java: *Ininum tuAk-siddhu, ciñca* ‘drank palm wine, a fruit

⁵ Taji. Eds. Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan & Arlo Griffiths. *ERC-Dharma*. Draft, 2023-10-25. https://erc-dharma.github.io/tfc-nusantara-epigraphy/workflow-output/html/DHARMA_INSIDENKTaji.html. The Taji copper-plates are kept in the National Museum, Jakarta, no. E.12.

⁶ Paṅgumulan. Draft, 2023-09-22. Eds. Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan and Arlo Griffiths. *ERC-Dharma*. https://erc-dharma.github.io/tfc-nusantara-epigraphy/workflow-output/html/DHARMA_INSIDENKPanggumulanA.html

⁷ Watu Kura I (824 Śaka): Draft, 2023-09-22. Eds. Arlo Griffiths, Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan and Marine Schoettel. *ERC-Dharma*. https://erc-dharma.github.io/tfc-nusantara-epigraphy/workflow-output/html/DHARMA_INSIDENKWatuKural.html

wine *siddhu*, a fruit wine *ciñca*’ (Sarkar 1972: 168; Boehari 1985–1986: 51, but reading is *piñca*).⁸

The Saṅguran/Sangguran Charter of 928 CE (B.43–44), possibly found in the Batu Area, the Malang Regency, East Java, and since the nineteenth century onwards kept in the Minto-House in Scotland: *maṇinum siddhu, ciñca, kilam̃|(tu)ak* ‘drank a fruit wine *siddhu*, a fruit wine *ciñca*, sugar cane wine and palm wine’ (Sarkar 1972: 234; Zavadskaya 2004: 233; Zakharov 2023: 13).⁹

The Gulung-Gulung inscription of 929 CE (E.10–11) found in Singasari, the Malang Regency, East Java (Trigangga, 2003: 15): *ma|nahap pa(r)ka ciñca tva(k) pā(nā)di, tka|riṃ piṇḍva pimtiga* ‘They drank mead(?), a fruit wine *ciñca*, palm wine, they drank a second and third time each’.¹⁰

The Linggasuntan inscription of 929 CE (C.25–27) found in the hamlet Lowokjati, the village of Baturetno of the Singasari Area, the Malang Regency, East Java (Trigangga 2003: 24, cf. Brandes 1913: 69–70, no. XXXIX – missing): *maṇinu|m-siddhū, ciñca, kilam̃, tvak, pimtiga sovaṃ* ‘They drank a fruit wine *siddhū*, a fruit wine *ciñca*, sugar cane wine, palm wine three times each’.¹¹

The Jeru-Jeru inscription of 930 CE (D.9–10) found in Singasari, Malang, East Java (Trigangga 2003: 32, cf. Brandes 1913: 80, no. XLIII – missing): *manadaḥ mana(ha){p} parka ciñca tvak pāñādi tka riṃ piṇḍa pimtiga* ‘They ate and drank mead(?), a fruit wine *ciñca*, palm wine, they drank a second and third time [each]’.¹²

The Masahar inscription of 930 CE (D.20–22) found in the site Gemekan in the village Gemekan, sub-district Sooko, Mojokerto, East Java, in 2022: *ma|ṇinum-siddhu, ciñca, tuAk, pimtiga sovaṃ* ‘They drank a fruit

⁸ Lintakan (841 Śaka, 919-07-12). Draft, 2020-09-22. Eds. Tyassanti Kusumo Dewanti, Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan and Arlo Griffiths. ERC-Dharma. https://erc-dharma.github.io/tfc-nusantara-epigraphy/workflow-output/html/DHARMA_INSIDILintakan.html. The three Lintakan copper-plates are kept in the National Museum, Jakarta, as E.13a–c.

⁹ The Saṅguran Charter. Draft, 2023-09-22. Eds. Arlo Griffiths & Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan. ERC-Dharma. https://erc-dharma.github.io/tfc-nusantara-epigraphy/workflow-output/html/DHARMA_INSIDENKSangguran.html

¹⁰ Brandes (1913: 69, no. XXXVIII) read *mahaḍaḥ| ...tka| ri piṇḍwa...winuwḥan sira* only. The Gulung-Gulung inscription is held in the National Museum, Jakarta, as D. 88 {Om Doyok 2013: 50}.

¹¹ Linggasuntan (851 Śaka). Eds. Eko Bastiawan & Arlo Griffiths. Draft, 2023-10-25. https://erc-dharma.github.io/tfc-nusantara-epigraphy/workflow-output/html/DHARMA_INSIDENKLinggasuntan.html. The Linggasuntan inscription is preserved in the National Museum of Jakarta as D. 103 {Om Doyok 2013: 55}.

¹² Jeru-Jeru (852 Śaka). Eds. Eko Bastiawan and Arlo Griffiths. https://erc-dharma.github.io/tfc-nusantara-epigraphy/workflow-output/html/DHARMA_INSIDENKJeruJeru.html

wine *siddhū*, a fruit wine *ciñca*, sugar cane wine, palm wine three times each¹³.

The Alasantan inscription of 939 CE found in the village Bejijong, Trowulan, East Java (Wibowo 1979): 4r15 *Añinum siddhu, tvak·kila(m) pintlu ...* 4r16 *dva-dval· maduluLr malarih...* 4r17 *linarihan piñđuA sovañ...* *lina-*(4r18)*ri[ha]n* ‘They drank a fruit wine *siddhu*, palm wine, sugar cane wine three times each... Side by side, they took drinks... and given drinks a second time each... ...while being given drinks again’ (translation by Arlo Griffiths, with corrections: Griffiths leaves words *siddhu*, *tvak·kila(m)* untranslated but he changes their spelling into correct forms *sidhu*, *tuak*, *kilañ*).¹⁴

Discussion

There lists of drinks were made during the feasts which took place during the *sīma* ceremonies, or establishments of freeholds/immunities (Barret Jones 1984). While my list of the inscriptions given above is very likely incomplete, it nevertheless opens ways for some preliminary considerations. The majority of inscriptions mentioning drinks are copper plates whose provenance cannot be taken as a place of their production and functioning. So there is no need to connect the enlisting of alcoholic drinks in Old Javanese inscriptions with East Java. But what seems more interesting, is a relatively short time of these mentions: the earliest reference in the Taji copper-plate dates to 901 CE, the latest in the Alasantan inscription—to 939 CE. Certainly, it is not a firmly established fact as new online catalogues are still in progress, and other texts may be published.

Be that as it may, one of the most intriguing things in these list of alcoholic beverages is a difference in terminology between the inscriptions obviously issued in the early tenth century and the Watukura A Charter which is a 1348 CE re-issue of the 902 CE text. First, the Watukura A includes the words *pāṇa*, *māstava* and *paripūrṇa* which are absent in all other lists of drinks cited. Second, a usual verb for drinking in early tenth century inscriptions was *inum* while *tahap* and *larih* were also used. Tahap

¹³ Masahar (852 Śaka). Eds. Eko Bastiawan, Arlo Griffiths and Titi Surti Nastiti. Draft, 2023-10-25. https://erc-dharma.github.io/tfc-nusantara-epigraphy/workflow-output/html/DHARMA_INSIDENKMasahar.html. It is noteworthy that the Indonesian epigraphists Ismail Lutfi and Andi Muhammad Said translate this sentence in a different manner using the term *arak* which stands for strong rice liquor: ‘they drink rice wine, cinca, coconut wine, each of them drinking three times’ (*mereka minum minuman arak beras, cinca, arak kelapa masing-masing mereka minum tiga kali, dan mereka menambah minuman lagi*). See Prasasti Masahar. Wikipedia. https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prasasti_Masahar

¹⁴ Alasantan. Ed. Arlo Griffiths. Draft, 2023-10-25. https://erc-dharma.github.io/tfc-nusantara-epigraphy/workflow-output/html/DHARMA_INSIDENKAlasantan.html

occurs in the Watukura A inscription after the list of drinks in the form *tahapan* (5v2–3). The Watukura list of drinks seems the most elaborated, contrary to other texts mentioned above. Van Naerssen’s hypothesis that the Watukura re-issue was compiled from a middle tenth century copy of the 902 text, seems plausible as it would account for an elaborated list of drinks better than the earlier date does. As one may see, other texts of 902 CE mention *tuak* only (Taji) or *madya*, *tuak*, *siddhu* and *jātirasa* while the latter seemingly was not an alcoholic beverage (Panggumulan).

But the Watukura A inscription mentions *amahat* ‘palm-tappers’ (3v4; Jákl 2021: 30). This term occurs in the incomplete and damaged inscription of Tira (1r6) which was translated by Marine Schoettel.¹⁵ The term *amahat* also can be found in the Waringin Pitu inscription (XII.b.3) of 1447 CE which is kept in the National Museum of Jakarta as E. 67 (Boehari 1985–1986: 134); in the Balawi inscription (VII.b.4) of 1305 CE which is E. 80a–f of the same Museum (Boehari 1985–1986: 168); and in the Biluluk II inscription (b.4) of 1393 CE, which is E. 85 in the Museum (Boehari 1985–1986: 175). It may mean that the Watukura A inscription was not a simple copy of a previous middle tenth century copy but its text was changed by a Majapahit scribe/editor again. It would explain the usage of the words *pāna* and *māstawa* in the Watukura A inscription as, for example, the term *pana* ‘alcoholic drinks’ occurs in Mpu Prapañca’s *Deśawarṇana* 90.3 composed in 1365 CE (Pigeaud 1960). But the term *māstawa* occurs in the ninth century *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* 8.65 (Robson 2015; Molen 2015), therefore the word was probably known in the early tenth century. At the same time, I find it a bit risky to treat the Watukura text as composed at one time. I think it was re-written and re-composed at least two times when it was a need to reproduce the donation of 902 CE: the first time was in the middle tenth century and the last time was in 1348 CE.

The most common drink was palm wine *tuak/tvak*. The phrase *maninum siddhū*, *ciñca*, *kilam*, *tvak* occurs twice (Sangguran and Linggasuntan) as well as *parka ciñca tvak* (Gulung-Gulung and Jeru-Jeru). All these four cases date from 929–930 CE. Perhaps, these phrase may serve as dating markers but it needs further investigations.

¹⁵ Tirah. Ed. Marine Schoettel. Draft, 2023-10-25. https://erc-dharma.github.io/tfc-nusantara-epigraphy/workflow-output/html/DHARMA_INSIDENKTirah.html

Conclusion

Old Javanese inscriptions are a valuable source of information about alcohol drinks and their consumption in Early Java. The texts of Old Javanese inscriptions show a strong connection between the feasts praising the free-hold (*sīma*) foundation and alcohol drinking. While there are ten inscriptions enlisted in this article, they shed light to various drinks and their place in various times. Some phrases with drinks, perhaps, may be dating markers. The Watukura A inscription seems to be a multilayer text which cannot be dated from 902 CE where it was officially compiled for the first time. It was re-written in the middle tenth century and it was probably re-composed again in the middle fourteenth century.

I also suppose that the verb *inum* refers to alcoholic drinking when it occurs in the descriptions of the *sīma* feasts. If it is true, then there are many inscriptions mentioning it. The Taji inscription (6.8) says *rāma i taji mamañan-maninum* ‘the elders of Taji ate and drank’. The phrase *manaḍaha, mañinum maparimvani* ‘ate, drank and decorated with incense’ occurs in the Mulak I/Ngabean I of 878 CE (Sarkar 1971: 208, 210), in the Telang I/Wanagiri inscription (1.10) of 904 CE (Sarkar 1972: 44)¹⁶ and in the Lintakan inscription (III.10) of 919 CE mentioned above. A connection between the verb *inum* and alcoholic consumption seems very likely as it can be traced in the Taji and Lintakan inscriptions which both explicitly mention particular drinks.

In any case, alcohol terminology in Old Javanese epigraphy needs further research as other texts may change hypotheses expressed above, and both online catalogues of inscriptions are in progress.

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¹⁶ Telang I / Wanagiri I (825 Ś, 904-01-11). Eds. Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan and Arlo Griffiths. *EDC-Dharma*. Draft. 2023-10-25. https://erc-dharma.github.io/tfc-nusantara-epigraphy/workflow-output/html/DHARMA_INSIDENKTelangI-Wanagiril.html

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ИНФОРМАЦИЯ ОБ АВТОРЕ

ЗАХАРОВ Антон Олегович, доктор исторических наук, Институт востоковедения РАН, Москва, Россия

Статья поступила в редакцию 27.11.2023; одобрена после рецензирования 04.12.2023; принята к публикации 11.12.2023.

INFORMATION ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Anton O. ZAKHAROV, DSc (History), Leading Research Fellow, IOS RAS, Moscow, Russia

The article was submitted 27.11.2023; approved 04.12.2023; accepted to publication 11.12.2023.