

Wine in Ḥadīth – from Intoxication to Sobriety*

STEFANIE BRINKMANN

فأوحى الله عزّ وجلّ إليه أن كل العنب الأسود ليذهب غمك

[...] and God, the Glorious, Almighty, revealed to him:
Eat the dark grape so that your sadness might vanish.¹

In fact, the traditions in Kulaynī's "al-Kāfī fī 'Ulūm al-Dīn" from the tenth century² A.D. present the grape ('*inab*) as a medicine against sadness, stimulating happiness. Even though grape and raisin can't compete in the Kāfī with the apparent all-rounder, the pomegranate (*rummān*)³, it is worth noting that grape and raisin have a positive psychological effect – if eaten with moderation.⁴ This positive evaluation ends abruptly when it comes to the fermented juice – wine.

Several traditions (sg. *ḥadīth*, pl. *aḥādīth*) state that the prophet cursed the wine (*khamr*), the one who drinks it, who pours it, who sells it, who buys it, who presses the grape, who transports it⁵ – in short: wine is the key to all

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¹ Al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-aṭ'ima*, bāb al-'inab, no. 2. In this paper, eulogies are, for practical reasons, not quoted but implied whenever God, his prophet or messenger, an Imām, or one of the previous prophets is mentioned. The quotation refers to Noah who was said to be worried and anxious.

² Al-Kulaynī died in 941 A.D..

³ In fact, it is said that the pomegranate is the master of all fruits, and that the prophet did not want to share it whenever he ate it (al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-aṭ'ima*, bāb al-rummān, no. 2 and 3).

⁴ As recommended for all fruits. On the general stress on moderation when eating in Islamic scriptures see Gelder 2000, pp. 22–38.

⁵ Abū Dāwūd, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb 2, no. 3676; with variations see also Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Muwatta'*, *kitāb al-ashriba*, no. 1554; Ibn Māja, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb 6.

evil (*al-khamru miṭṭāhu kulli sharrin*).⁶ But for the people in Arabia in the seventh and eighth centuries,⁷ this prohibition was obviously something new, and they didn't know how to handle it. Numerous traditions tell about insecure fellowmen⁸ approaching the prophet, or, in the case of Shī'ī collections, one of the Imāms, describing how they prepare their specific beverage, asking the prophet or one of the Imāms if this would still be permissible. What to do with left-over intoxicating drink? What to do with vineyards previously used for wine production? Or what to do when wine was spilled on clothes before going to prayer? Two examples might give an impression of the insecurity permeating a number of traditions on wine. Ibn 'Abbās narrates:⁹

A man gave a skin (*rāwiyata*¹⁰) filled with wine (*khamr*) to the Messenger of God. He [the Messenger of God] said to him: Don't you know that God has made it *ḥarām*? He answered: No. A man at his side whispered [something] secretly to him. He [the Messenger of God] asked him: What have you whispered to him? The man answered: I told him to sell it. The Messenger of God said: The One who made its drinking *ḥarām*, has made its selling *ḥarām*, too. Then, the [owner of the wine skin] opened the two water skins and poured out what was in them.

One of the few indications about wine-making either in Iran or carried out by Persians¹¹ can be found in the chapter on beverages in al-Nasā'ī's (d. 915

⁶ This statement can often be found in all Ḥadīth collections, mainly at the beginning of the chapters on beverages (*kutub al-ashriba*) in connection to the Qur'ānic prohibition and the statement that everything intoxicating is forbidden, in large but also in minimal amounts.

⁷ The paper does not investigate the authenticity of the traditions, instead presupposes the time frame of Muḥammad's life time till the era of the Ḥadīth collections. It will be shown however, that the content of the chapters on beverages in the Sunnī collections primarily reflect geographical references of Arabia at the advent of Islam.

⁸ In fact, this mainly concerns men asking; information about vessels and different kinds of *nabīdh* is sometimes mentioned in the context of the prophet's wives, above all 'Ā'isha.

⁹ Mālik ibn Anas, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb 5, no. 1551.

¹⁰ *Rāwiya*, like *mazāda*, was a two part leathern water bag, sometimes specified as carried by a camel or another animal; *mazāda majbūba*: two part leather bag for the preparation of *nabīdh*, mentioned among the forbidden vessels, e.g. in Abū Dāwūd, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb 7, no. 3695.

¹¹ The influence of Persia through trade, military conquests and raids, as well as its influence via al-Ḥīra and allied tribes in pre-Islamic times and at the advent of Islam are well known (see e.g. Kister 1968). For our purposes here, this included culinary influences and the diffusion of new crops (see Watson 2008 [1983] – even though partly outdated – on the spread of a number of crops from China, India and/or Southeast Asia via Persia to the West, or crops of genuine Persian origin such as spinach). It should be noted however that a number of crops were spread only after Islam, altering thereby culinary traditions only

A.D.) collection: ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Daylamī tells of his father Fayrūz, who said that they were owners of a vineyard (*innī aṣḥābu karmin*); now that God had revealed the prohibition of *khamr* he asked:

“What are we supposed to produce [now] (*fa-mādhā naṣna’u*)?” He [the Messenger of God] answered: “Use them as raisins (*tattakhidhūnahū zabīban*).” Fayrūz asked: “And what should we do with the raisins (*fa-naṣna’u bi-al-zabībi mādhā*)?” The prophet said: “Pour water to them in the morning (lit.: your mornings) and drink it in the evening (lit.: in your evenings), or pour water to them in the evening and drink it the [next] morning.” Fayrūz asked: “Then we do not keep it longer until it gets stronger (*vashtadda*)?” And Muḥammad answered: “Don’t put it in *qulal* (sg. *qulla*, a jar) but in *shinān* (sg. *shann*, large leather bag, skin) because if it ages it will turn into vinegar.”¹²

The prophet’s observation is correct, confirmed by today’s microbiology: ceramic pottery, glazed and sealed, allows no (or hardly any) diffusion of oxygen, the alcoholic fermentation will start and, in the best-case scenario, its product can be stored as wine for a long period.¹³ On the other hand, leather bags or skins do allow for the diffusion of oxygen, necessary for the multiplication of acetic acid bacteria. Therefore the liquid preserved in the skin will slowly but steadily turn into vinegar. The problem: there is no acetic acid without previous alcoholic fermentation. The alcohol turns completely into acetic acid only after a certain period. The question whether vinegar made of wine is permissible, was in fact discussed in *ḥadīth* alongside Islamic law (*fiqh*), a discussion still apparent in today’s fatwas. The conflicting answers actually depend on whether they stress potential intoxication and drunkenness – in this case vinegar is no danger and does no harm

from the Umayyad and above all the Abbasid period on. On Persian culinary influences see the Abbasid cooking books, such as 10th century al-Sayyār ibn al-Warrāq or *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* by Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Baghdādī (d. 1239 A.D.). (Al-Warrāq, Ibn Sayyār, ed. Ohrnberg and Mroueh 1987; translation with glossary: al-Warrāq, Ibn Sayyār, ed. Nasrallah 2010; al-Baghdādī, ed. Chelebi 1939 and ed. al-Bārūrī 1964; translations: Arberry 1939; Perry 2005.) Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 995 A.D.) mentions in his *Fihrist* older cooking books with the name *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, e.g. written by a half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīds, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (779–839 A.D.), and works of Aḥmad al-Barmakī (d. 938 A.D.), *Kitāb al-ṭabīkh al-laṭīf* und *Kitāb faḍā’il al-sikbāj*. These and other works have been lost but they were partly adopted by later cooking books and give evidence for the Persian influence.

¹² Al-Nasā’ī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, abwāb 55–56, no. 5753.

¹³ The repeated reference to “old wine” in poetry, *adab* and other classical texts needs a further interdisciplinary in-depth-study. It is not clear what time span such references do actually intend.

– or whether they stress the wine as a negative substance in itself – in this case a product of wine must be negative and *ḥarām* as well, even though not necessarily intoxicating. Most scholars agree(d) that it is forbidden for a Muslim to take part actively in the production of wine for the sake of making vinegar. If wine turns into vinegar by itself, then the vinegar is permissible to some scholars.¹⁴ Ayātullāh al-Sīstānī stresses that vinegar is not impure, since not intoxicating, opinions already formulated by his predecessors like al-Ṭūsī (d. 1067 A.D.) and Ibn Bābūya (d. 991–992 A.D.).¹⁵ In fact, vinegar has been used extensively in the culinary tradition.

WHERE IT ALL BEGAN

The Qurʾānic text is at first sight ambivalent about wine, an ambivalence that has caused scholarly dispute – a dispute still alive today in part – and it was only in the course of the first centuries that the relevant verses were widely accepted as having come down in a chronological order reflecting God’s wisdom.¹⁶ Whereas the wine in paradise flows alongside rivers of milk and honey¹⁷ and is of a different nature from earthly wine – it apparently causes neither intoxication, nor headache¹⁸ – the wine on earth does pose a problem. Still praised in Sura 16, verse 67 (as *sakar*, intoxicating beverage¹⁹), its posi-

¹⁴ But cf. al-Tirmidhī, *kitāb al-buyūʿ*, bāb 59.

¹⁵ Al-Ṭūsī 1363 (1944), vol. 4, bāb 59, pp. 93–94; Ibn Bābūya (Bābawayhi) 1361 (1942–43), vol. 4, bāb 11, no. 3, p. 40. On modern fatwas see Brückner 2001, pp. 82–83. Kathryn Kueny 2001, p. 35, wonders in her study on wine in Ḥadīth why vinegar made of wine (*khall khamr*) is not strictly forbidden in Shīʿī texts. This seems justified when thinking of the apparently very strict alcohol prohibition in the Shīʿī texts, even in times of *taqiyya*, but in legal terms these things refer to intoxicating wine, not necessarily non-intoxicating vinegar. See also the review of Waines 2003.

¹⁶ On gradually altering regulations see Bar-Asher 1999, pp. 69–70.

¹⁷ Sura 47, 15

¹⁸ Such is the classical interpretation in Tafsīr for Sura 56, 18–19; compare Tafsīr on Sura 37, 45–47.

¹⁹ *skr* usually refers to “intoxication”, *sakar* as an intoxicating beverage. This Semitic root caused, in the context of Hebrew, some discussion – does the biblical *shkr* (*shekar*) refer to beer or wine, or just any kind of strong drink? Frederick Lutz states that it is impossible to determine this question in each instance with security, and that in certain contexts it could mean beer (Lutz 1922, p. 93). Carey Ellen Walsh argues that the beer was not strong enough to match with *shekar* as “strong drink”, and suggests, with others, that it was more likely date wine (Walsh 2000, pp. 200–202).

tive characters, or benefits (*manāfiʿ*, said of *khamr*) cannot outweigh its sinfulness (*ithm*) in Sura 2, verse 219. Reflecting the danger of disorder inherent in (too much?) wine, a potential disorder in society and towards God, Sura 4, verse 43 forbids believers to perform the prayer in the state of drunkenness. But it is in Sura 5, verses 90–91, where the final prohibition is expressed, stating that wine (*khamr*), among other things from pre-Islamic Jāhiliyya, is a creation of the devil (*min ʿamali al-Shayṭān*).²⁰ Alongside the establishment of this chronological order by means of abrogation (*nāsikh wa-mansūkh*), there were fierce debates held about how to define the Qurʾānic *khamr* and if it was drunkenness that came to be forbidden or even the smallest amount of wine. Abū Ḥanīfa allowed some specific types of alcoholic beverages, though not if it led to a state of drunkenness.²¹

In this situation of insecurity concerning the “wine prohibition” at the advent of Islam, Ḥadīth played a decisive role in interpreting (ambivalent) Qurʾānic material, adding information and guidelines in order to set up a net of regulations for the young Muslim community, partly adopting, partly modifying and partly proscribing what had existed before. It is in Ḥadīth where we find an obvious negative attitude towards wine and, in part, detailed regulations on how to produce a beverage without fermentation, what to do when wine dropped into a well, or in how far wine could be taken as medicine. In this sense, Ḥadīth is seen here as a reaction to the new challenges, a medium to respond to the questions people had in confronting the new creed, a medium that reflects the dynamic negotiating of attitudes in the “kulturelle Resonanzraum” of Late Antiquity.²² Such a dynamic process becomes rather obvious in the context of the chapters on wine and beverages in Ḥadīth, and must therefore be treated differently from the function of a much later collection such as the Ṣafavid “Bihār al-anwār” by Muḥammad al-Bāqir al-Majlisī (d. 1698 A.D.), which Rainer Brunner studied in the scope of the cultural memory, thus stressing the aspect of preserving a past in the context of cultural identity.²³

²⁰ For the exemplary Qurʾān commentaries of al-Ṭabarī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on this topic see McAuliffe 1984.

²¹ Though, definitions such as that a drunken person can’t distinguish between sky and earth, or his mother and his wife, do reveal a rather “generous” definition of drunkenness. See al-Khuyūn 2003, pp. 337ff.; on the discussions al-Muqrī 2007, pp. 47–72.

²² This approach follows Neuwirth 2010; Neuwirth, Sinai and Marx (eds.) 2010.

²³ Brunner 2005.

The following article examines wine as presented in the chapters on beverages (*kutub al-ashriba*) in Sunnī and Twelver Shī'ī collections²⁴ later defined as canonical²⁵. It poses the principal question of what kind of historical information on wine as material object (*Sache*) – ingredients, preparation, consumption, geographical references and the like – is preserved in the texts, and what is *not* or very sparsely included owing to the principal selective and norm-giving character of the genre.

Before I continue, I have to make an excuse for this limitation, especially to all those passionate wine drinkers with a sensitive palate who move among the lofty spheres of wine aesthetics: there will be much talk about beer as well, beer and mead, alcoholic date beverages that do not necessarily reveal a great deal of fine taste, beverages prepared in hollowed-out gourds or tree stumps. It is not necessarily the fine taste that shines through these texts, but the need to prepare an intoxicating drink, in order to, well, intoxicate, to cheer up in hard times or to keep warm in cold areas.²⁶ Daylam al-Ḥimyarī, for example, complains to the prophet that he and his people live in a cold place (*bi-arḍin bāridatin*) where they have to endure hard labour, and that they prepare a beverage (*sharāb*) of wheat (*qamḥ*²⁷) in order to strengthen themselves for the work and against the cold. The prophet asks him if this *sharāb* would be intoxicating to which Daylam al-Ḥimyarī answers positively. Then the prophet orders him that he and his people should stay away from it, otherwise they would be killed (or harmed).²⁸

A certain “culinary simplicity” is clearly distinguished from the manifold presentations of wine in poetry (*khamriyya*), usually referring to the grape wine, praising not only its taste, but also its colour, clarity, perfume, or, in mystical terms, its very essence of divine insight. But: comparing the Sunnī

²⁴ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Sunan Abī Dāwūd, Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī, Sunan al-Nasā'ī, Sunan Ibn Māja, al-Muwatta' of Mālik ibn Anas, Furū' min al-Kāfi of al-Kulaynī, al-Istibṣār of al-Ṭūsī, Man lā yaḥḍuru al-Faqīh of Ibn Bābūya (Bābawayhi). On the editions see the bibliography.

²⁵ See Brown 2007; idem 2011. Much less research has been carried out in Western scholarship on Shī'ī Ḥadīth.

²⁶ Wine in this paper reflects the Arabic term *khamr* in the sense of intoxicating beverages. When specified, it will be mentioned as honey wine, date wine, barley beer, and the like.

²⁷ *Qamḥ* is used rarely for wheat in Ḥadīth, different from the papyri. See below on “wheat”.

²⁸ Abū Dāwūd, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 5, no. 3685. Some blogs do discuss whether vodka would be permissible in very cold areas, e.g. in Russia, but this is usually neglected in relevant fatwas with reference to the tradition that everything intoxicating is simply forbidden.

collections referring back to the prophet and compiled mainly in the ninth century with the Shī'ī collections referring back to the prophet as well as to the Imāms (especially Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, eighth century) – therefore more pertinent to the period between the eighth and tenth centuries – we can note the agricultural development in the decades in between. We can also note an advancing (urban) culinary appreciation in al-Kulaynī, giving recipes in order to prepare a well-tasting beverage (non-alcoholic, of course), adding different kinds of fruit and spices. Even though we know of spiced wines in Mecca at Muḥammad's lifetime,²⁹ it is certainly true that we encounter less elaborate recipes in the chosen Sunnī chapters.

A RATHER SOBER STATE OF RESEARCH

Despite the popularity of the so called Islamic wine or alcohol prohibition, the lack of research astonished Peter Heine already in his 1982 published “Weinstudien, Untersuchungen zu Anbau, Produktion und Konsum des Weins im arabisch-islamischen Mittelalter”:³⁰

“Obwohl die Problematik des Alkohols in der islamischen Welt einer breiten Öffentlichkeit bekannt war, muss es auf den ersten Blick verwundern, dass kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu diesem Thema und speziell über den Wein so selten sind. Zwar haben viele bedeutende Wissenschaftler seit den Anfängen der Orientalistik dem Wein im Islam ihre Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. [...] Aber die Entwicklung der Orientalistik hin zu einer Diversifizierung in zahlreiche unterschiedliche Fächer und die Erweiterung der Kenntnisse durch verbesserten Zugang zu den Quellen hat es mit sich gebracht, dass der Wein immer seltener Gegenstand von kulturgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen war. [...] Die Frage, warum die Forschung bei diesem Thema so zurückhaltend blieb, kann wohl nicht eindeutig beantwortet werden.”

Rudi Matthee also refers to this rather paradoxical situation in his study on drugs in Ṣafavid and Qājār Iran.³¹ And it seems it even has a parallel in Biblical Studies: Carey Ellen Walsh wonders in her “The fruit of the vine: Viticulture in ancient Israel”, published in 2000, that even though the Bible has numerous references to wine, comparatively little research is being car-

²⁹ Maraqtan 1993; al-Muqri 2007, pp. 37–43.

³⁰ Heine 1982, pp. XI–XII.

³¹ Matthee 2005, p. 3.

ried out on historical viticulture: “The issue of viticulture as a feature of Israelite culture has, surprisingly, received scant critical attention by biblical scholars.”³²

But viniculture³³, and much more so, production and consumption of beer, in the Middle East and North Africa does not only seem to be widely ignored by scholars of Islamic Studies – it is also only moderately if not sparsely dealt with in general studies on wine history written by specialists of viniculture and its history. Talking about grape wine, they all mention the apparent origin of viniculture of *vitis vinifera* in the area southeast of the Black Sea, with oldest findings in today’s Armenia, Georgia, Iran and Anatolia, and an existing wine culture in the Ancient Near East and Ancient Egypt, wine history seems to have moved exclusively westwards, to Greece, Rome, and other parts of Europe.³⁴ It is Patrick McGovern who shows a focus on alcoholic beverages in the Middle East, as well as early findings in China, owing to his main interest in tracing back the origins of wine and beer making.³⁵ Because of this scarcity of studies on wine in the Middle East, François Clément and Edgard Weber still note in their 2008 publication “Les Vins d’Orient”:³⁶ “Vins d’Orient: voici, assurément, un titre qui a de quoi surprendre, parce qu’on imagine les pays d’Orient comme un désert du point de vue vinicole [...]”.

³² Walsh 2000, p. 4. It should be stressed, however, that research from Biblical times up to the Byzantine period is much more active than in the scope of Islamic Studies, among the leading scholars to be mentioned Frankel 1997 (with further literature references). For the Talmudic time see Krauss 1910–1912 (Reprint 1966).

³³ Viticulture generally refers to the cultivation of grapes, while viniculture includes wine making as well. Sometimes both terms are used synonymously. This paper speaks of viniculture when cultivation and wine making are the topic, and of viticulture when talking merely about the cultivation of grapes.

³⁴ Johnson 1989; Varriano 2010; Unwin 1996. Unwin’s work refers maybe most to the Middle East, it mentions the ancient civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria and Anatolia on 14 pages, and “Islam, wine and the vine” five pages, out of a total of 363 pages. But Unwin is very much aware of a wine culture under Islamic rule as evident from Saeidi and Unwin 2004. Also in thematically limited publications, like the following article on wine made of raisins, we find nothing more than a few hints to Egypt: Belfrage and Loftus 1993. However, it should be mentioned that the latest Oxford Companion to Wine by Jancis Robinson (2006) has for the first time an entry on “Islam”, including references to Ḥadīth.

³⁵ McGovern 2009 and 2007 [2003]; McGovern, Fleming and Katz (eds) 1996; Badler, McGovern and Michel 1990.

³⁶ Clément 2008, p. 7.

A different path has been taken in academic disciplines dealing with the ancient cultures of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Iran, also in Byzantine and South Arabian Studies. Much more interwoven with archaeology and therefore questions of material culture, these academic disciplines dedicate decisively more attention to wine (and beer) culture than Islamic Studies.³⁷ That viniculture has remained an underrepresented field of study in Islamic Studies is due to a variety of factors, mostly because Islamic Studies have hitherto mainly focused on scholarly discourses and ruling elites based on text material. With the background of Oriental Studies as a philological discipline, wine and wine culture were witnessed first and foremost in literature – wine poetry (*khamriyya*) testifies to a wine culture that included drinking for intoxication's sake, for refined leisure time, and the court, or courtly ceremonies.³⁸ Apart from lacking substantial cooperation with archaeology³⁹, it was the debate of "Orientalism" that principally inhibited scholars from writing about cultural and anthropological topics such as humour, youth and age and the like, since they could be accused of essentialism.⁴⁰ Such studies, also

³⁷ See the articles with further references in: Bottéro in RIA, pp. 302–306, idem 1994, idem 1995; Brubaker and Linardou 2007; Maraqtan 1993; Mayerson 1985; McGovern, Fleming and Katz 1996; Milano 1994; Sima 2000.

³⁸ Encyclopaedia of Islam on "*khamriyya*"; al-Ḥāwī 1969; Wagner 1988, pp. 34–46. Apart from poetry, wine in *adab* literature was studied closer in the course of the twentieth century, even though this field is still more marginal than studies on wine poetry. First works on wine are from the tenth century, among them 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 908 A.D.), *Fuṣūl al-tamthīl fī tabāshīr al-surūr*, or *Adab al-nadīm* by Kushājīm (d. ca. 961 A.D.); from the 11th century *Qaṭb al-surūr fī awṣāf al-khumūr* written by al-Raqīq al-Nadīm (Abū Ishāq al-Kātib al-Qayrawānī, d. 1026 A.D.), *Kitāb ḥalbat al-kumayt* and *Kitāb al-ṣabūh* by 'Uthmān al-Nawājī (d. 1455 A.D.), or *Kitāb Rāḥa al-arwāḥ fī l-ḥashīsh wa-l-rāḥ* by Abū al-Tuqā Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Badrī (d. 1489 A.D.). From a sociological and anthropological point of view, these works are especially important because they contain information not only on wine(s) as beverage, but on the social structure and habits of wine ceremonies.

³⁹ John Daxton was active from the 1960ies on (see on conferences <http://www.arabianseminar.org.uk/history.html>), but, concerning the Arabian Peninsula and above all Central Arabia, research was only intensified from 2000 on, and we hope this will be emphasized more on account of the increased possibilities for excavations in this region; Hoyland 2001; Johns 2003; Milwright 2006.

⁴⁰ Caution also evident in Rudi Matthee's introduction, see Matthee 2005, pp. 3–5. In fact, as late as 2007 Stephan Conermann calls for "Islamic Studies as Cultural Studies", see Conermann and Hees 2007. A pioneer for anthropological research in twentieth-century Islamic Studies was Franz Rosenthal.

those on aspects of material culture, have rarely used religious texts as source material.⁴¹ But an academic discipline focusing on scholarly discourses works at the expense of other topics and approaches: daily life, agriculture and people involved, popular preaching, material culture including culinary traditions in Islam and the history of drugs (apart from the field of medicine).⁴² This is where wine as a material product comes in.

Wine as *Sache* has aroused the interest of Oriental scholars of the nineteenth century such as Alfred von Kremer, Adam Mez, Edward Lane or, in the scope of Islamic law, by Ignaz Goldziher.⁴³ Travellers observed the paradoxical phenomenon of wine consumption in Islamic regions despite the official alcohol prohibition. But it was in the twentieth century that wine received more attention as an exclusive object of study. The works published in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries do differ of course in terms of source material, geographical reference and the definition of wine. In 1922, Fredrick Lutz published his “Viticulture and brewing in the Ancient Orient” from a historical perspective⁴⁴; it was mainly concerned with ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, but discussed wine and beer in the early Islamic period as well. He uses – albeit scarcely – al-Bukhārī as a source. An even wider perspective with regard to time and source material is presented in the edition “Les vins d’Orient, 4000 ans d’ivresse”, published 2008 by François Clément⁴⁵, ranging from Mari texts to wine in Judaism and Islam⁴⁶, wine in

⁴¹ In Stephan Conermann’s “Islamwissenschaft als Kulturwissenschaft” it is only one article that makes explicitly use of a religious source text: Syrinx von Hees article on concepts of youth in Qur’ān commentaries, Conermann and Hees (eds.) 2007, pp. 139–176. Compare the publications of Ze’ev Maghen.

⁴² On daily life see Waines 2002 (concentrating on material culture); Bauer 2005 (less material culture, more ritual and literature); on agriculture Cahen 1971, idem 1949–51, idem 1982; Hämeen-Anttila 2006, idem 2005; Fahd 1969, idem 1993–1998; Watson 2008 [1983]; on agriculture and economy see Feldbauer 1995; on drugs Gelpke 1966; Matthee 2005; Rosenthal 1971; as well as a number of publications on food culture and cooking books.

⁴³ Goldziher 1917, pp. 66–70 (legal discussion); Kremer 1875–77; Mez 1922 (reprint 1968); Lane 1978 (1. publication 1860).

⁴⁴ Lutz 1922.

⁴⁵ Clément 2008.

⁴⁶ In his article “Le vin dans la tradition arabo-musulmane” Edgar Weber presents wine in Arabic poetry, in Qur’ān and, briefly, in the traditions (though only in legal terms and exclusively referring to al-Bukhārī), legal aspects and wine in Islamic mysticism, see Clément 2008, pp. 53–83.

Muslim Spain in the novel attributed to Baybar's, and wine in contemporary Lebanese poetry. With a geographical stress on Iran, respectively Persia during the Ṣafavid and Qājār period, Rudi Matthee broaches the issue of wine in Islam, though dealing mainly with its consumption – as that of other drugs – in Iran at the given times.⁴⁷

Ḥadīth as a source for wine – not only in legal terms, but as material object – is surveyed perhaps for the first time in Western scholarship by Arent Jan Wensinck. In 1928 he published an article on “Wine in Islam”, which presented graphic information on material wine culture in Sunnī Ḥadīth. (Later he published the entry “*ḵhamr*, 1. Juridical aspects” in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.) The article is far from dealing extensively with the topic and does not go beyond several descriptions as presented in Sunnī collections, but it provides insight into wine and beer production and consumption in early Islam. Fredrick Lutz and Mohammed Maraqtan make scant use of Ḥadīth material.⁴⁸ In 2001, Kathryn Kueny published an innovative analysis on wine in Ḥadīth titled “The rhetoric of sobriety, Wine in early Islam”, taking a purely intertextual approach to Sunnī and Shī'ī traditions as discourses (prophetic, analytical, narrative). Kueny stresses that her focus is on concepts of order, not the historical material culture.⁴⁹ “This approach, which highlights interpretive rather than social, political, historical, or theological concerns is not meant to replace these more traditional studies, but to complement them.” Her work is innovative not only owing to the discourse analysis, but also because she includes Shī'ī Ḥadīth for the first time. Unfortunately, the exclusion of material culture and historical references do lead to some misunderstandings.⁵⁰ It has to be pointed out that Ḥadīth has as yet received only little attention as a source for cultural studies, above all daily life and material culture.⁵¹

With wine as material culture in Arabic-Islamic history, in 1982 Peter Heine published the hitherto unparalleled “Weinstudien, Untersuchungen zu Anbau, Produktion und Konsum des Weins im arabisch-islamischen Mittelalter”. Using a vast range of sources, the most crucial being history, geogra-

⁴⁷ Matthee 2005; on Hashish in Islam see also Rosenthal 1971.

⁴⁸ Wensinck 1928; Lutz 1928; Maraqtan 1993.

⁴⁹ Kueny 2001, p. XVII.

⁵⁰ See the review of David Waines 2003.

⁵¹ Among the few examples: Arazi 1976; Waines 1987 (quotes Bukhārī); Maghen 2008, idem 2004.

phy, treatises on wine and agriculture, poetry, and *adab*, it offers information on wine – here basically grape wine and viticulture, wine production and consumption – in Umayyad and Abbasid times, the latter better known owing to the sources. However, he hardly deals with religious sources and other kinds of alcoholic beverages in Central Arabia.

‘Alī al-Muqrī’s “Al-khamr wa-l-nabīdh fī l-Islām” has as main concern to illustrate the different attitudes to wine (*khamr* and *nabīdh*) in the formative period of Islam, in the context of an existing wine culture. Because of his stress on wine in Islam, he makes use of legal and religious source material alongside historical, geographical and literary works. Al-Muqrī had started to publish a series about wine in Islam in the magazine “al-Jumhūriyya” in Yemen in 1997, discussing the different interpretations of early scholars on the term *khamr* and the apparently ambivalent Qur’ānic verses, but massive protests caused this publication to be shelved. His study was published later in 2007, in Beirut.⁵² Several articles add significantly to our knowledge of viniculture under Islamic rule. Paulina Lewicka, for example, has demonstrated the diversity of consumption patterns in medieval Cairo and Baghdad.⁵³

Al-Muqrī’s problem in publishing on wine reflects the growing taboo during the past centuries on talking about wine in Islamic societies. While wine and restrictions in wine consumption and production were still discussed in the formative period of Islam, since the Middle Ages one can observe a growing caution in dealing with this topic.⁵⁴ The same is valid for the wine consumption itself. On the basis of the Geniza documents, Shelomo D. Goitein says that while the Fāṭimid period (tenth-twelfth centuries) still displayed a “sound balance” between wine consumers and non consumers, the attitudes and actions restricting viniculture became much stronger from the thirteenth century on.⁵⁵ This does not exclude, of course, early evidence of an awareness that wine consumption was un-Islamic (apart from legal writings) – as preserved in a papyrus from ninth- or tenth-century Egypt: A person wrote a complaint to the governor of al-Fuṣṭāṭ, mentioning that not only improper elements were included in the *ādhān*, but that a jar with wine

⁵² al-Muqrī 2007.

⁵³ Lewicka 2005 and 2011.

⁵⁴ This also becomes obvious in the article on al-Nawājī by Geert van Gelder 1995.

⁵⁵ Goitein 1983, p. 253.

(*nabīdh*) was kept in the mosque.⁵⁶ But as a general phenomenon, Peter Heine notes that the prohibition had become stricter by the eighteenth-nineteenth century than it had been in early and medieval times. Apart from Muqrī's study on wine in Islam, another example of the much stricter taboo in the twentieth century is the new edition in 1985 of the medical work by Abī Zayd Aḥmad ibn Ṣahl al-Balkhī's (d. 934 A.D.) "Kitāb maṣāliḥ al-abdān wa-l-anfus": the chapter on positive effects of wine on health and social wellbeing was simply cut, apart from the heading.⁵⁷

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF VINICULTURE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Grape wine was a known and widespread product in the pre-Islamic Middle East, with the assumed origin of viticulture southeast of the Black Sea dated as early as 6000 B.C.⁵⁸ The highly developed wine cultures in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, and the Syrian-Palestinian region created a trade route network not only in the Middle East but westwards to Europe – the Gazetum for example – and eastwards to India.⁵⁹

There is a scholarly discussion on how far and when the Islamic wine or alcohol prohibition has caused a decline of viticulture in Islamic regions. Several sources give witness of an existing viticulture far into medieval times, among them poetry, *adab* literature, lexical works, treatises on wine, agriculture, geography, history, and travel reports. Book painting and vessels are among the material items proving wine consumption. But especially poetry and book painting have to be treated with care in terms of their histor-

⁵⁶ Rāghib1978. Yūsūf Rāghib translates *nabīdh* with date wine: "À l'encontre des autres boissons fermentées, l'absorption du vin de datte est autorisée par certains juristes, en particulier les disciples d'Abū Ḥanīfa." *Nabīdh*, though, could designate different kinds of alcoholic (and nonalcoholic) beverages, and one might hesitate to identify the *nabīdh* mentioned in the papyrus straightaway and exclusively with date wine in the context of Ḥanafī law, though it obviously was alcoholic.

⁵⁷ Waines 1994 (republished 2002). Concerning al-Balkhī's work see Biesterfeldt 2005.

⁵⁸ Archaeobotanical and archaeological findings for wine making go back to the 6th millennium B.C., see McGovern 2007 [2003], pp. 1–84; Unwin 1996, pp. 63–68; Charters 2006, pp. 10–17. On the extension of the region of origin of *vitis vinifera* see Zohary 1996, and Zohary and Hopf 2000. On latest findings in Armenia see Marc Kaufman in Washington Post, January 11, 2011, and the chemical analysis in Science Daily January 12, 2011. On wine in pre-Islamic Arabia see Maraqtan 1993; al-Muqrī 2007, pp. 31–43.

⁵⁹ On Phoenician wine and Gaza as center for wine trade for Egypt and Syria Lutz see 1922, pp. 31–32.

ically informative value: because of the conventionality and intertextuality of classical Arabic poetry, wine descriptions do not necessarily reflect the wine culture of the poet's lifetime. Wine was a topos, repeated and described in constantly new words. A wine from Palestine could be praised in verses without the poet ever having been there or drunk such a wine. The poet might actually never have taken a sip of wine in his entire life. Even Great Ayatollah Khomeini wrote verses on wine.⁶⁰ We must beware of similar dangers in the scope of formalized miniature painting. On the other hand, poetry is still one of our most important sources for wine culture under Islamic rule.⁶¹ The mentioned sources support the idea of a vigorous wine culture under Islamic rule and agree with those views supporting a certain continuity of viticulture after the advent of Islam.⁶²

Other voices suppose a certain decline, to whatever degree, partly based on non-fictional source material such as papyri or archaeological findings such as wine presses. Among the voices assuming an earlier decline of viticulture is Philip Mayerson, who has observed that a number of wine presses in Gaza and the Negev region ceased to be used at the advent of Islam.⁶³ After a preliminary survey for *khamr* and *nabīdh* in edited Arabic papyri (mainly from Egypt, partly Palestine and Khurāsān, eighth-eleventh centuries A.D.), no overwhelming amount of information on a vigorous viniculture could be found, but at least these texts do give evidence that wine was still being produced, consumed and traded up to the eleventh century. And: the limited amount of information should not lead to any general conclusion – considering the caution in writing about wine and the fact that from approximately 130.000 papyri fewer than 2000 have been edited so far. A further difficulty is that whenever *karm* (pl. *kurūm*, or: *karmrāt*, *kurūmāt*) is mentioned, mainly in the context of taxation, it would be too hasty to suggest a flourishing viticulture – grapes could have been used as food in the form of raisins (as suggested in a Ḥadīth of the prophet to a former wine grower, see above) or in order to prepare *ḥalāl* beverages; according to Nabia Abbott, *karm* could also signify “land where any kind of trees or vines are so closely

⁶⁰ Reinert 2007.

⁶¹ On source material see Heine 1982, pp. XV-XIX; on a specific poet Kračkovskij 1932.

⁶² Müller-Wodarg 1957.

⁶³ M. Schnebel supposes a decline of viticulture in Egypt after the advent of Islam: Schnebel 1925. On (Byzantine) vine presses Mayerson 1985; Khalil and al-Nammari 2000; Dar 1986.

planted as not to allow of the sowing of the land in between.”⁶⁴ Some papyri do speak of *khamr* and *nabīdh* as merchandise, some mention it in household lists.⁶⁵ At the same time, a single papyrus can give evidence that viniculture under Islamic rule did not only involve women but also some kind of “cooperation” between Muslims and Christians.⁶⁶ Apart from professional wine growers (*karrāmūn*), wine was largely produced and partly consumed in Christian monasteries, an increasing phenomenon after Islamic wine prohibition gained a foothold in society.⁶⁷ Jews did not only cultivate wine but were known as major wine traders.

However the situation might have been – and it is a field still requiring more in-depth study – we can follow Marcus Milwright’s general statement that “changes in agricultural practices or rural settlement patterns usually occur relatively slow, often over the course of centuries. These are phenomena that frequently exhibit little observable correlation with wars, dynastic changes, or the major events in historical record.”⁶⁸

At the advent of Islam (and even later), Syria and Palestine were considered to be the (grape) wine countries per se, producing high quality wines, and Syrian and Palestinian wine was traded south to the Arabian Peninsula, as is verified as well by Ḥadīth.⁶⁹ Excavations and text research in Byzantine Studies testifies to the wine making tradition in this area.⁷⁰ Wine drinking and wine trade were popular in Palmyra.⁷¹ Gaza was an important place for the production of (clay) vessels, and a trade centre for wine into the Mediterranean or southern and northern trade routes.

⁶⁴ Abbott, Nabia: Arabic papyri from the reign of Ḡaʿfar al-Mutawakkil ʿala-llāh (A. H. 232–47/A. D. 847–61), in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 92 (1938), pp. 113–114.

⁶⁵ Abbott 1938, pp. 88–135, no. 1; David-Weill 1971, pp. 1–24, no. 15; Diem 1996, no. 47, plate 44–45; Dietrich 1955, no. 8 and no. 12; Dietrich 1937, no. 13; Grohmann 1935, pp. 437–472; pl. LII–LVII, no. 18; Grohmann 1934, pp. 125–149; 377–398, no. 3; Grohmann 1952, pp. 144, 155; Karabacek 1882, no. 1; Khan 1992, no. 7; Khan 2007, no. 12 and 24; Rāghib 1978, pp. 15–35, no. 5 and 6.

⁶⁶ Reinfandt 2011.

⁶⁷ On the monasteries and wine consumption see Shābūshtī 2008.

⁶⁸ Milwright 2006, p. 60.

⁶⁹ On the impact of Islam on Syrian and Egyptian agriculture see Anawati 1975. On wine trade to Arabia from Syria, Palestine, and Iraq see Maraqtan 1993, p. 105.

⁷⁰ See with further references Mayerson 1985 and Hirschfeld 1997.

⁷¹ Maraqtan 1993, pp. 104–105.

Even though parts of Iraq were known in pre-Islamic times and in Abbasid sources as regions of viniculture⁷², Ḥadīth shows fewer references to Iraq when compared to Yemen, Syria and Palestine. We meet a similar state of affairs with respect to Persia. Even though it has been famous for its wine and it is known that wine from Persia was imported to the Arabian Peninsula already in pre-Islamic times, we very rarely come across a reference to Persian regions in the Ḥadīth chapters on beverages. As the papyri have shown, Egypt, too, continued its wine production – to whatever degree – after the advent of Islam, and from there, fields of vine stretched out to Muslim Spain.⁷³ Egypt has long been known to have produced its own wine⁷⁴, and its viticulture seems to have been intensified under Greek influence.⁷⁵

However, wine was also produced on the Arabian Peninsula, even though it remained a not very productive agricultural area, and grape wine a comparatively rare product of consumption:⁷⁶ “The truth is that the ancient Arabs were acquainted with wine, though tasting it only on rare occasions such as inter-tribal fairs.” Although I assume that it was imbibed in other contexts, it was certainly much less common than date wines.

South Arabia was, with regions such as Shibām, known already in pre-Islamic times for viniculture.⁷⁷ “The fertile valleys of al-Yaman produced at least sufficient wine for home-consumption”, and the poet al-A’sha, famous for his wine verses, is said to have had his own wine press there.⁷⁸ Alexander Sima stresses, however, that the existence of viniculture in this region is based mainly on epigraphic proof since archaeo-botanical research has rarely been carried out so far. Therefore, while we know little about the beginnings of viniculture in this region, texts do indeed supply evidence from the eighth century B.C. on.⁷⁹ Yemen was the most fertile stretch of land on the Peninsula, cultivating different kinds of grain and fruit, including grapes used for

⁷² Heine 1982, pp. 2–3.

⁷³ On the regions of viticulture in medieval Islam see Heine 1982, pp. 1–6 (mainly referring to Abbasid times).

⁷⁴ McGovern 2003, pp. 85–147.

⁷⁵ Goitein 1983, p. 257.

⁷⁶ J. Sadan in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

⁷⁷ Maraqtan 1993, pp. 97–101.

⁷⁸ Lutz 1922, p. 33.

⁷⁹ Sima 2000, pp. 260–262.

wine.⁸⁰ The tenth century geographer Ibn Rusta mentions 78 grape varieties for the region of Ṣan‘ā’ alone, and the geographer al-Ḥamdānī (d. ca. 945 A.D.)⁸¹ mention several places in Yemen where grapes were grown (even though only two for wine production, *mawāḍi‘u al-khamri*), or wine was produced, such as Wādī Dahr or Thāt. Most important ingredients for wines in Yemen were grapes, dates, and honey, while the cultivation of different kinds of grain allowed for beer production.

Apart from Yemen, the cultivation of plants, among them grapes, was possible in Oman, some coastal regions and along the chain of oasis cities from south to the north. Beside different types of beer, most wines in Arabia were date wines, with Medina being one of the cities famous for its dates and, before Islam, known for date wine. Also Ṭā‘if produced date and grape wine which was partly traded to Mecca – Muḥammad is said to have destroyed its vineyards.⁸² The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* writes in the 1st century about an Arabian wine that was enjoyed alongside Italian and Syrian wine (Latakiyya) exported to India – Mikhail D. Bukharin assumes that the “Arabian wine” refers to wine from Ṭā‘if.⁸³ According to F. Lutz, wine was also produced on the island of Kīsh.⁸⁴ But the largest amount of grape supply cultivated on the Arabian Peninsula came from Yemen.

THE CHAPTERS ON BEVERAGES

What information do the chapters on beverages in Ḥadīth offer? In short, they are dealing with religious and legal aspects⁸⁵, topics we do not further dwell upon. They are concerned with wine and medicine, and, rather seldom,

⁸⁰ On Yemen see Lutz 1922, p. 33–34; al-Muqrī 2007, p. 37–39, al-Ḥamdānī 1990. On viniculture in pre-Islamic South Arabia see Sima 2000, pp. 258–262.

⁸¹ See al-Ḥamdānī’s “*Ṣifat Jazīrat al-‘Arab*”.

⁸² On the other hand, 10th c. al-Balādhūrī reports that Muḥammad offered a peace treaty to the people of al-Ṭā‘if as long as they accept his rule and refrain from wine drinking. Ibn Sīdā mentions in his *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, in the chapter *ṣifat al-karm wa-nabātihi*, a grape called al-Ṭā‘ifiyya respectively a raisin from the *ḍurū‘*-grape, also called al-Ṭā‘ifiyya; and he lists al-Ḥamnān, al-Ramādī and Ḥalbat ‘Amr as grapes species from al-Ṭā‘if (see Ibn Sīdā 1319, vol. 11, pp. 65, 71–72).

⁸³ Bukharin 2010, pp. 115–134 (on Arabian Wine for India, pp. 129–131); see also Lutz 1922, p. 34.

⁸⁴ Lutz 1922, p. 34.

⁸⁵ These do include commentaries on the relevant Qur’ān verses and legal consequences for the wine drinker.

wine and food. From an anthropological perspective they give – even though to a limited extent – insights into drinking manners and the wine drinker. From the perspective of material culture they offer information on ingredients, wine preparation, vinegar, and vessels.

From juice to wine

The fact that fruit starts to ferment after a period of time takes us back to the beginnings of alcoholic beverages, also that the exposure of the fruit or juice to sun and warmth enforces fermentation as well. Even in Islamic times, such wines could be called *shamsī* – an attribute that refers not only to colour as found in lexical wine lists. This is why we find plenty of traditions that do usually limit the mixture of water and fruit to one day (from the morning to the evening or from evening to the next morning), recommendations to store the beverage in a cool place, and advice to drink juice as long as it is fresh.

Put straight: *ʿaṣīr* (juice in general, in Ḥadīth also in the sense of grape juice) is permissible as long as it doesn't ferment (*ḥattā yaghālī*).⁸⁶ Fermentation was indicated by the beverage *yaghālī* (to ferment), *yashtaddu* (become stronger), or to bubble, boil (*yahdiru*). It was also known that there were substances working as ferment, such as wine dregs. In Kulaynī we find the directive not to cultivate the *khamīra*, explained as *al-ʿakīra* (sediment, dregs).⁸⁷

Khamr – symbol of intoxication

The definition of *khamr*⁸⁸ touches on a key problem of the Islamic alcohol prohibition: for decades and centuries, this word, mentioned in the context of the Qur'ānic prohibition, has caused discussions on how to define it. The

⁸⁶ Found in numerous versions, among others al-Nasāʾī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 54–55, no. 5750–5752.

⁸⁷ Kulaynī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb inna rasūlu llāhi ṣallā llāhu ʿalayhi wa-ālihi ḥarrama kulla muskirin qalīlahu wa-kathīrahu, no. 8.

⁸⁸ On Hebrew *khmr*, *khamer* see, Walsh 2000, pp. 199–200. For some biblical references it was identified as fresh wine, just at the end or after fermentation (the root can simply mean “ferment” or “boil”). Psalm 75, 9 has a *yayin khamer*, a “fermenting (i.e. fresh) wine”, *yayin* being the common word for grape wine. On *khamr* see also Maraqtan 1993, p.101.

later consensus by the majority of legal scholars was simply that *khamr* designates everything that intoxicates, that “covers [the mind]” (*kullu mā khāmara l-‘aql*), and alters consciousness. In short: *kullu muskirin khamrun*, everything intoxicating is *khamr* and is forbidden, in the largest and the smallest amounts.⁸⁹ So this definition could cover the totality of fermented beverages and later other kinds of drugs.

The ingredients mentioned in Ḥadīth in order to specify *khamr* can be considered as the most known ingredients during the rise of Islam. Some traditions state that when the alcohol prohibition came to be formulated, *khamr* was made of two trees (*shajaratayn*): the date palm (*al-nakhla*) and the vine (*al-‘inaba*, or *al-karm*)⁹⁰ (on the vine and the grape see below). The more extended lists, found in all Ḥadīth collections, mention the following ingredients: *‘inab* (grape, rarely *karm*; sometimes *‘aṣīr* as grape juice), *tamr* (date, in general), *ḥinṭa* (wheat), *sha‘īr* (barley), *‘asal* (honey), *zabīb* (raisins) and *dhura* or *dhurra* (sorghum). Usually, the traditions enumerate five substances and there are only some minor variations found throughout the collections.

The following table gives an impression of some chosen lists of the classical five (date is usually mentioned as *tamr*):

Table 1

Al-Bukhārī	grape, date, wheat, barley, honey raisins, date, wheat, barley, honey
Al-Tirmidhī	raisins, date, wheat, barley, honey
Abū Dāwūd	grape, date, wheat, barley, honey juice (<i>‘aṣīr</i> , namely of grapes), raisins, date, wheat, barley, sorghum (exception of six substances)
Ibn Māja	raisins, date, wheat, barley, honey
Al-Kulaynī	raisins, grape (<i>karm</i>), date, barley, honey
Al-Nasā’ī	grape, date, wheat, barley, honey

⁸⁹ Among the numerous quotations: al-Nasā’ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 22; or variations such as *al-sakaru khamrun*, the intoxicating beverage is *khamr*, al-Nasā’ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 19, no. 5592; Abū Dāwūd, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 5 (including topics like punishment, small and big amounts of *khamr*); al-Tirmidhī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 1–3; Ibn Māja, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 9–10.

⁹⁰ Al-Nasā’ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 19, no. 5591; al-Tirmidhī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 8, no. 1995. On these two trees see also Kueny 2001, p. 31.

To quote a typical example from al-Bukhārī:⁹¹

“nazala taḥrīmu l-khamri wa-hiya min khamsatin: al-‘inabi wa-l-tamri wa-l-‘asali wa-l-ḥinṭati wa-l-sha‘īri wa-l-khamru mā khāmara l-‘aql.”

As can be seen from the table, the main variations occur between grape-raisins-grape juice, and sometimes sorghum (*dhura*) is added to wheat and barley or substitutes one of them; very seldom grape might be mentioned instead of wheat. Some lists do combine the ingredients with the names of the beverages, for example *naqī’* of raisins, *bit’* of honey, *mizr* of barley (or another grain), *nabīdh* of date (*tamr*). These beverages will be discussed in the following.

Other traditions in return limit the importance of grapes, and stress that at the advent of Islam the common wine, *khamr* was made of dates. This is not surprising, if we consider the climatic conditions in Central Arabia – most oases were known to cultivate dates, Medina was famous for it. Al-Bukhārī gives the following information in a chapter titled “*khamr* made of grape” (*al-khamr min al-‘inab*): That wine made of grapes was not or only very limited known in Medina. From Ibn ‘Umar it is transmitted that when wine (*khamr*) became prohibited, it was not common in Medina (*wa-lā bi-l-Madīnati minhā shay’*). And, al-Bukhārī (and others) quotes Anas, who is supposed to have said that at the time when *khamr* became prohibited they did not find wine made of grapes in Medina except a very limited amount, and that the common *khamr* was made of young dates (*busr*) and ripe dates (*tamr*).⁹² On the whole, al-Bukhārī’s material seems to stress the substances of *busr* and *tamr* as main substances for *khamr*, adding *ruṭab* and *zaww*.⁹³

⁹¹ “When the prohibition of wine was revealed, it was made of five [things]: grape, date, honey, wheat, barley, and *khamr* is everything that alters the mind (consciousness)”; Abū Dāwūd, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 2, no. 3676, bāb 4, no. 3678, 3679; al-Bukhārī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 2, no. 5640; see also bāb 2, no. 5639, bāb 5, no. 5647–48; al-Tirmidhī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 8, no. 1992.

⁹² *ḥurrimat ‘alaynā l-khamru ḥīna ḥurrimat, wa-mā naḡidu - ya’nī bi-l-Madīna – khamra l-a’nābi illā qalīlan, wa-‘āmmatu khamrinā al-busr wa-l-tamru*, see al-Bukhārī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 2, no. 5638, 5639; see also al-Nasā’ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 2, no. 5559–63.

⁹³ See al-Bukhārī no. 5154–5156, and also with additional substances nrs. 5172 and 5173.

Table 2

busr	Full grown, but still fresh, crunchy and juicy dates that just have become coloured, dates that begin to ripe before becoming ruṭab
balāḥ	Still green, small date, slightly sour, sometimes compared to a green sour grape; it is just about to turn yellow, but still firm and by no means sweet
zahr	<i>al-busr al-mulawwanu</i> , shows just the first redness and yellowness
ruṭab	Ripe but still fresh, more firm than tamr, but, compared to busr, softer and moist, with a certain sweetness
tamr	General term for date, also: ripe, sweet, soft date; it could also designate a dried date
‘ajwatun	Firm, juicy, meaty date, known as high quality Medina date

Date terminology: The names for dates given in Ḥadīth texts do generally refer to their state of ripeness, not to different date varieties.

Wine at its finest – grape (‘inab) and vine (karm)

Even though viniculture has a very long history in the Near East, and was practised south in Yemen and some other fertile regions on the Arabian Peninsula, even though we know that there are by far more than hundred names for wines in Arabic, as manifested in lexical wine lists such as the one from Fīrūzābādī (d. 1414–15 A.D.), Ibn Sīda’s eleventh-century chapters on vine and wine, geographical works such as from tenth-century al-Ḥamdānī, and Arabic poetry, and even though we know that a wine culture flourished far into the Islamic era, grape and grape wine do not play a major role in Ḥadīth. This does not come as a surprise, since the date was the much more common crop and the climate didn’t allow viticulture in many places.

The usual term for grape in Ḥadīth is *‘inab*. Sometimes, we read *‘aṣīr* (grape juice). *‘Inab* is the common word in the classical list of the five substances constituting *khamr*. In some instances it could mean vine, for example in Sura 18, 32, where the *jannatayni min a’nābin* are two orchards of vines. Alexander Sima stresses that in the Sabeian language *‘nb* does not designate grape or vine, but vineyards, places of wine cultivation.⁹⁴ This mirrors slightly *krm*, *karm*, in the Ḥadīth and early Islamic texts: It usually denotes the vine, in the sense of *shajarat al-‘inab*. Only sometimes was *karm* used synonymously with *‘inab*, grape(s), as e.g. in Abū Nuwās’ poetry. In the older Semitic languages, *kerem* (Hebrew), *karma* (Aramaic and Syri-

⁹⁴ Sima 2000, pp. 193–196; Maraqtan 1993, p. 98.

ac), *krm* (Ugaritic), mainly has the meaning of vineyard. Papyri do refer to vineyards or orchards when mentioning *karm* (with plural forms *kurūm*, *karmāt*, *kurūmāt*⁹⁵). While the Sunnī collections speak quantitatively more about *ʿinab*, when speaking about the grape as an ingredient of wine, we find comparatively more *karm* in al-Kulaynī’s Shīʿī tenth-century collection, apparently also implying the grape. But Ḥadīth definitely does not dwell upon grape species.

Even though we read about *karm* in the traditions on beverages, there were warnings in Ḥadīth already during the prophet’s time against using *karm* synonymously to *ʿinab*. The reason: the root *krm* means generosity, magnanimous, being referred to one of the qualities and names of God, or to a believing Muslim (*karīm*). In a Ḥadīth by Abū Hurayra the prophet is supposed to have said:

“Don’t designate the grape (ʿinab) as vine (karm) because the karm [the generous] is the Muslim (lā tusammū l-ʿinaba l-karma fa-innamā l-karmu l-rajulu l-muslimu).”⁹⁶

Thereby Muḥammad is said to have forbidden the use of *karm* for *ʿinab*, implying the intoxicating beverage prepared of it, while a

“Muslim has more right to be designated with this quality (*ṣifa*) than this tree, or: plant (*al-rajulu l-muslimu aḥaqqu bi-hādhihi l-ṣifati min hādhihi l-shajara*).”⁹⁷

However, it seems more likely that *krm* in the sense of generosity is a homonym since most Semitic languages do signify vine or vineyard with it.

The all-rounder: Nabīdh

Much more ambiguous than the negative and intoxicating *khamr* is *nabīdh*. Since *nbdh*, *nabadha*, basically means to add (“throw”) fruit to water, it was open to both alcoholic and alcohol free beverages. It is here that we find the maybe most interesting material concerning wine or juice preparation, since directives had to be given on how to avoid fermentation and how to prepare a *ḥalāl nabīdh*. That the prophet drank *nabīdh* and that, among others, ʿĀʾisha prepared *nabīdh* is told by numerous traditions.

⁹⁵ *Kurūmāt* in papyrus P.CtYBR. inv. 2718r at Yale’s Beinecke Library. See the results for *karm* on The Arabic Papyrology Database (<http://orientw.uzh.ch/apd/project.jsp>).

⁹⁶ Lisān al-ʿArab (under *karm*) adds that al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741–42 A.D.) stressed that *krm* belongs to Gods attributes (*ṣifāt*) or to someone who believes in it and adheres to it.

⁹⁷ See Lisān al-ʿArab under *karm*.

Nabīdh was the commonest drink in early Islam and people queried how far they were allowed to continue with its consumption or not.⁹⁸ Permissible *nabīdh* has been produced generally by adding fruit to water, leaving it for a certain time to get mingled. Raisins or dates would give off sugar and a slight fruity taste to the water, often done to improve its taste. Instructions usually stress that a certain time limit must be observed in order to avoid the beginning of fermentation. Therefore, avoiding direct sun was considered to be better. One recipe even mentions that the vessels should be sprinkled with water for the effect of cooling by evaporating water. *Nabīdh* could be refined by adding honey and/or spices. Recipes of this kind are rare in Sunnī collections. On the other hand, we find a number of refined *nabīdh* recipes, adding honey and spices, sometimes boiling down the liquid in between, in the Shīʿī collection of the Kāfī. N. Nasrallah states in her amendments to the translated cookery book of al-Warrāq Ibn Sayyār, that “varieties of *nabīdh* prepared by boiling the juice down on actual fire are permissible.”⁹⁹ As far as Ḥadīth texts are concerned, this is only valid when the liquid has been boiled down to one third of its original volume (see on *ṭilāʾ* below). Ibn Sayyār has a recipe for a permitted drink: raisins are soaked in water over night, the following morning this mixture is boiled on fire (in two stages) down to one third of its volume.¹⁰⁰

Forbidden *nabīdh* was based on fruit and water as well, but left over a longer period, sometimes in a warm surrounding, or even exposed to direct sun, in order to ferment. In some cases, yeast or wine dregs (*ʿakar*, *khamīra*, *durdī*) were added to strengthen fermentation. In reference to the Ḥadīth material, alcoholic *nabīdh* could be made of dates (*tamr*), raisins (*zabīb*), honey (*ʿasal*), wheat (*ḥinṭa*), barley (*shaʿīr*) and other ingredients. Such lists are to be seen analogous to the definitions of *khamr* (see above). For the *ḥalāl nabīdh*, the general rule was as follows: add fruit to the water in the morning and drink it in the evening, or prepare the *nabīdh* in the evening and drink it the next morning. One such example was already given at the beginning of the article, where the prophet advises the former wine grower Fayrūz to switch to raisins and follow the mentioned recipe. There are plenty of

⁹⁸ On *nabīdh* see Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawarī, *al-ashriba wa-dhikr ikhtilāf al-nās fihā*. He stresses the ingredients date and raisins for the *nabīdh*.

⁹⁹ Al-Warrāq, Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2010, p. 554.

¹⁰⁰ Al-Warrāq, Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2010, p. 461–2.

other examples in the traditions.¹⁰¹ A tradition in Ibn Māja narrates that ‘Ā’isha used to prepare *nabīdh* for the prophet:¹⁰²

“We prepare the *nabīdh* in the morning and he drinks it in the evening, or we prepare it in the evening and he drinks it in the morning (*fa-nabidhuhu ghudwatan fa-yashrabuhu ‘ashiyyatan fa-nabidhuhu ‘ashiyyatan fa-yashrabuhu ghudwatan*).”

Less common are in fact traditions saying that the prophet used to keep *nabīdh* for up to three days.¹⁰³ In the chapter on ‘*aṣīr* in al-Kulaynī’s *Kāfī*, all four traditions are referred to the Sixth Imām Ja‘far al-Šādiq and contain one basic statement: ‘*aṣīr* is as long allowed as it does not ferment. Only the second tradition has some kind of a practical hint: Ja‘far states that it is permissible to drink ‘*aṣīr* for 6 days. Ibn Abī ‘Umar explains: Implying that it did not undergo the process of fermentation.

Nevertheless, that people were insecure about *nabīdh* is manifest in the following example from Kulaynī’s *Kāfī*¹⁰⁴: A man (*rajuḷ*) asks the Sixth Imām Ja‘far al-Šādiq if it is correct that he recommended Abū Maryam to drink *nabīdh*. Ja‘far answers that Abū Maryam said the truth, because he, Ja‘far, talked about *ḥalāl nabīdh*, not something intoxicating. The man goes on asking the Imām:

“[...], this *nabīdh* that you allowed Abū Maryam to drink, of what kind was that?” Ja‘far answers: “My father used to call for the servant and he came with a drinking bowl (*qadah*) and put raisins in it and washed them with clear water. He then put them into a vessel (*inā*) and added water to it, three or four times the amount of the raisins. He prepared it in the night time (*bi-l-layl*) and drank it in the daytime (*bi-l-nahār*), or he prepared it in the early morning (*bi-l-ghadāt*) and drank it in the evening (*bi-l-‘ashyī*). He used to advise the servant to wash the vessel every third day in order to avoid fermentation (*ka-ya-lā yaghtalim*). So if you want *nabīdh*, then this is *nabīdh*.”

Another time, Ja‘far al-Šādiq has to make clear that yeast should not be added to *ḥalāl nabīdh*.¹⁰⁵ Again, he is asked about *nabīdh*, and he answers that it is permitted. The man asking admits, though, that they add yeast (‘*akar*) to it, and the Imām rejects this kind of drink. The man asks the Imām: “But of what kind of *nabīdh* do you talk then?” Ja‘far answers that the people of

¹⁰¹ Al-Tirmidhī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb 7, no. 1991; Abū Dāwūd, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb 10.

¹⁰² Ibn Māja, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb 12, no. 3524.

¹⁰³ Abū Dāwūd, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb 10, no. 3715; Ibn Māja, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb 12, no. 3525.

¹⁰⁴ Al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb al-nabīdh, no. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb al-nabīdh, no. 3.

Medina complained to the prophet about flat and badly tasting water, and that the prophet recommended them to make *nabīdh* (*fa-amarahum an yanbidhū*).¹⁰⁶

Of a meeting between a Yemeni “delegation” and Muḥammad reports the following rather long and narrative tradition: A Yemeni tribe met the prophet, left again and discovers on its way back that they forgot to ask the prophet about *nabīdh*. So they sent a delegation back to him. The prophet wanted them to describe their *nabīdh*, and they explained their way of preparing the beverage: Dates (*tamr*) are put into a vessel (*inā*), and water is added until it is filled. A fire is lit under it until it starts to boil (*hattā yanṭabikhu*). At this point, they put the drink into a new vessel and add more water. Then they clarify it with a piece of cloth and put it to [another] vessel. Then yeast (*‘akar*) is added which starts to bubble (*yahdiru*) and ferment. They let it settle and rest on the yeast. The Messenger of God asked: “Did this (the yeast?) multiply (*aktharat*) and did it then become intoxicating?” – “Yes”. – Muḥammad ordered hereupon: “Any intoxicant is *ḥarām*.” The delegation went back to its people, reporting about the messenger’s statements. But they (*al-qawm*) decided to go back all together to the Messenger of God, hearing his advice directly from him without a mediator. Having reached the prophet, they told him: “Our land is vast, arid and flat (*dawiyya*) and we are people cultivating [this] land. But we are not able to perform this work without the *nabīdh*.” Then the messenger ordered them: “Describe it [the *nabīdh*] to me”, and they did as their companions had done before. The messenger asked: “And is it then intoxicating?” They confirmed. The messenger repeated his dictum that all intoxicants are *ḥarām*, and added that God will give *ṭīnat khibāl* as drink to every consumer of intoxicants. [...] ¹⁰⁷

All these examples illustrate that time limits, the avoidance of sun and warmth, and no addition of yeast are the basic directives for preparing a *ḥalāl nabīdh*. Two kinds of beverages bearing specific names are basically nothing other than some kind of *nabīdh*: *naqī’* and *faḍīkh*. *Naqī’* (or *naqū’*) is usually a beverage of raisins that have been added to water, which is then filtered and drunk. But according to the philologists, *naqī’* does not have to

¹⁰⁶ The Encyclopaedia of Islam has 401, 674 g (according to others 397,26 g) for a so called Baghdādī *raṭl*. It was the most common weight and used from the early days of the caliphs on. On the Baghdādī *raṭl* (pl. *arṭāl*) in other regions see the entry on *mawāzin* (weights).

¹⁰⁷ Al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb al-nabīdh, no. 7. On *ṭīnat al-khibāl* see at note 243.

be prepared of raisins exclusively (*shay'un yunqa'u fīhi l-zabību wa-ghayruhu*).¹⁰⁸ The way of preparing the drink parallels the regulations for *ḥalāl nabīdh*: prepare it in the morning, drink it in the evening, or: prepare it in the evening, drink it the next morning. In this way, fermentation was to be avoided and the beverage remained permitted. In this sense, *naqa'ahu* is synonymous to *nabadhahu*.¹⁰⁹ *Faḍīkh* was a beverage made of dates, in Ḥadīth usually made of two kinds of dates differing in their ripeness. Al-Maraqten mentions the vessel used for *faḍīkh* production, *mafḍakh*, according to him “used in Yathrib and East Arabia”.¹¹⁰ Preparing a *nabīdh* of dates involved caution: dates can contain up to 60% sugar, much more than the grape, and the date's skin has wild yeasts – optimal preconditions for transformation into a powerful intoxicating drink.

What is most interesting is that the prophet is said to have forbidden mixtures of different types of dates or one type of date and raisins. There are numerous examples of forbidden combinations, and all speak of two ingredients, either two kinds of date, or date and raisin. In al-Bukhārī we find, among other things, the prohibition against mixing *zabīb* and *tamr*, *busr* and *ruṭab*, *tamr* and *zahw*, *tamr* and *zabīb*.¹¹¹ Al-Nasā'ī has plenty of references to such prohibited combinations, for example:

Don't prepare *nabīdh* of *zahw* and *ruṭab* together, and don't prepare *nabīdh* of raisin and *ruṭab* together.¹¹²

Among the forbidden mixtures are furthermore the following combinations¹¹³: *tamr* and *zabīb*, *zahw* and *tamr*, *zahw* and *ruṭab*, *zabīb* and *ruṭab*, *zahw* and *busr*, *busr* and *ruṭab*, *busr* and *tamr*, *busr* and *zabīb*. Kathryn Kueny has observed that apart from the majority of traditions prohibiting the

¹⁰⁸ Lisān al-'Arab

¹⁰⁹ Lisān al-'Arab

¹¹⁰ Maraqten 1993, p. 96.

¹¹¹ Al-Bukhārī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 11, no. 5662. In all collections, these mixtures often get mentioned in combination with common vessels for their preparation: *dubbā'*, *ḥantam*, *muzaffat* and *naqīr* (see below).

¹¹² *lā tanbidhū l-zahwa wa-l-ruṭaba jamī'an wa-lā tanbidhū l-zabība wa-l-ruṭaba jamī'an*, al-Nasā'ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 6, no. 5569. All traditions no. 5565–5579 deal with such mixed wines.

¹¹³ Abū Dāwūd, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 8, no. 3705–3709; al-Bukhārī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 3, no. 5642 and above; Ibn Māja, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 11; al-Nasā'ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 2, no. 5558–5560; Mālik ibn Anas, al-Muwatṭa', kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 3, no. 1547; al-Tirmidhī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 9, no. 1997–1998.

mixture of two fruits, those traditions that in fact (positively) describe the preparation of a mixed *nabīdh* are often traced back to women, above all ‘A’isha. (At the same time we find her citing traditions that such mixtures would be forbidden.)

The question concerning the prohibition to mix certain fruits is: Why?¹¹⁴ Is it because a wine made of two ingredients was generally forbidden, maybe in the context of purity concepts? How, then, can one explain those recipes in Ḥadīth where we do find “legal” mixtures? Is it because of microbiological processes? It could be assumed that, since often a young, fresh date is combined with a ripe date, the higher sugar content of the ripe date might enforce the fermentation. But we have traditions rejecting the mixture of two ripe dates or two young dates, as well. Furthermore, we find a number of *ḥalāl* mixed date beverages in the Kāfī, indicating that the prohibition did not have an absolute character. While generally, prohibitions against mixing raisins with dates, or different types of dates, remain unexplained, we find a hint of an explanation in al-Nasā’ī: In a chapter on the reason for the prohibition of mixed date and date-raisin-drinks one reads:¹¹⁵

And this is so because one of them could dominate the other (*wa-hiya li-yaqwā aḥaduhumā ‘alā ṣāhibihi*).

In fact, it is stated in several places that a beverage made of one ingredient alone, e.g. *busr*, is preferable.¹¹⁶ What the comment in al-Nasā’ī might stress is that the prophet personally didn’t like it, simply because the taste of one date would suppress the other.

Cooked wines (maṭbūkh):
ṭilā’, bādhaq (bādhiq) and bakhtaj (bukhtuj, maybakhtaj)

To cook wine has been known already since the ancient wine cultures. Boiling down wine (or juice) served mainly the following purposes: In an age before widespread sugar plant plantation, syrups were a mean to sweeten, alongside honey. Syrup, though without the conserving agent alcohol, could

¹¹⁴ Kueny 2001, pp. 37–38.

¹¹⁵ Al-Nasā’ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 13, no. 5580, 5581.

¹¹⁶ Abū Dāwūd, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 8, no. 3706; al-Bukhārī, kitāb al-ashribap, bāb 11, no. 5662; Ibn Māja, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 11, no. 3522; al-Nasā’ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 14, no. 5584–5589;

be stored relatively long due to its high sugar content. Such syrups were often filled up with water to gain an alcohol-free beverage.

In Ḥadīth, boiled wine is named mainly *ṭilā'*, a kind of *ṭilā'* is also mentioned as *bakhtaj*.¹¹⁷ In addition, we encounter *bādhaq*, and the usage of all terms is often synonym. As Ibn Qutayba al-Dīnawarī points out, it was usually grape juice (*'aṣīr al-'inab*) that was boiled down.¹¹⁸

According to Ḥadīth and Islamic law, a wine has to be boiled down to one third of its original volume in order to be classified as *ḥalāl*. But it seems that wines were not always cooked in such a way that the alcohol evaporated¹¹⁹; *bādhaq*, e.g., is said to have originally been a wine just briefly cooked over fire¹²⁰ – such wines could then be more intense, as alluded to by Lucio Milano with reference to the Mari texts, mentioning a “maggiore concentrazione alcoolica”¹²¹. (A longer cooking process would, of course, lead to the gradual evaporation of alcohol.) But beside a briefly cooked *bādhaq*, this wine was apparently also boiled down to half of its volume (*munaṣṣaf*) and to one third of its volume (*muthallath*).¹²²

The name *bādhaq* (or: *bādhiq*) is identified by several traditionists and lexicographers as being of Persian origin, according to Ibn Athīr it is related to the Persian *bāda*, wine.¹²³ Ḥadīth states that it was hardly known in Arabia at the prophet's time.¹²⁴ *Bakhtaj*, or *bukhtuj*, or *maibakhtaj*, is also said to be of Persian origin, referring to *mey pokhte*, cooked wine. Even though Lisān al-'Arab stresses that it is like *ṭilā'* – grape wine or juice boiled in by two thirds – one can expect that, as in the case of *bādhaq*, other stages of cooking the wine had been in use as well.

¹¹⁷ In Kulaynī's *Kāfī* we find the use of *ṭilā'* and *bakhtaj* synonymously: See the chapter *bāb ṭilā'* with *ṭilā'* in no. 1, 3, 9, and *bakhtaj* in no. 4, 6, 7. No. 8 mentions *nabīdh makhmūr*. Sometimes only *'aṣīr* is mentioned (no. 2), twice specified though: once, a recipe with raisins is given (no. 10), while the next tradition mentions the juice of grapes (*'inab*, no. 11).

¹¹⁸ See Ibn Qutayba al-Dīnawarī on www.alwarraq.com.

¹¹⁹ See Lewicka 2011, p. 496.

¹²⁰ See e.g. Steingass 2006.

¹²¹ Milano 1994, p. 428.

¹²² See Dihkhudā on *bādhaq*.

¹²³ See Lisān al-'Arab and Dihkhudā.

¹²⁴ Al-Bukhārī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb 10, no. 5658; al-Nasā'ī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb 24, no. 5624, bāb 48, no. 5705.

The most common name for cooked wine in Ḥadīth and other sources is *ṭilā'*, referring mainly to grape wine or juice reduced to one third of its original volume. A typical regulation is¹²⁵:

Do not drink from this *ṭilā'* until two thirds of it have evaporated and one third is left, because everything intoxicating is forbidden.

Ṭilā' is often mentioned in the context of Syria and Iraq, with reference to the third caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (ruled 633-644). In the *Muwaṭṭa'*, a report states that 'Umar came to Syria (al-Shām) and met farmers complaining about the hardship of their work. When rejecting a beverage made of honey, one of the farmers suggests to 'Umar: "Should we prepare you something of our beverage without it being intoxicating?" 'Umar agrees, and subsequently, they boil down their wine by two thirds. 'Umar puts his finger into the syrup-like liquid and says: "This *ṭilā'* is like the pitch for the camel!" (*ṭilā' al-ibl*, used against mange), and he orders them to drink it.¹²⁶

Due to the ambiguity of cooked wines – do they contain alcohol or not? – people consuming an intoxicating beverage called it sometimes *ṭilā'* in order to hide that what they drank was actually *khamr*. We find something similar with reference to *nabīdh* and *dādhī*.¹²⁷

Some practical advice is spoken out in al-Kulaynī's chapter on *ṭilā'*, namely to avoid drinking *bakhtaj* from someone who considers intoxicants as permitted (because he might not have prepared it in the proscribed way), while it can be bought and consumed from someone who rejects alcoholic beverages.¹²⁸

Apart from this more or less sober material – what should you do, what should you avoid – we get evidence in Ḥadīth for the influence of narratives with Jewish-Christian background (*Isrā'īliyyāt*), reminding us that the new guidelines of the young Islamic religion had to be communicated to the common population by other means than scholarly debates and juridical pedantry. A milieu of popular preachers and story tellers, whose importance for the communication between official directives and the average, often

¹²⁵ Al-Nasā'ī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb 23, no. 5618. See, among others, also: al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb al-*ṭilā'*, nos. 1,3,4,6,7,10,11; Ibn Bābūya, bāb ḥadd shurb al-khamr wa-mā jā'a fī l-ghinā' wa-l-malāḥī, no. 3.

¹²⁶ Mālik ibn Anas, al-Muwaṭṭa', *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb 5, no. 1553.

¹²⁷ Lisān al-'Arab on *ṭilā'*; al-Warrāq, Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2010, p. 556.

¹²⁸ Al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb *ṭilā'*, no. 4.

illiterate population has been demonstrated by Jonathan P. Berkey.¹²⁹ The order to boil down juice or wine to one third of its original volume is recalled in the following tradition found in the *Kāfi*:¹³⁰ After Noah had left his Ark, he planted a vine. Iblīs pulls out the plant or has the plan to do so (two versions), and Noah tries to find a compromise, offering him at first a share of one third. Iblīs rejects. Then Noah offers him half. Iblīs rejects again. Finally Jibraʿīl intervenes. In one version he sets fire to the vine until two thirds had burnt down and one third was left. He said:

What the fire has burnt is his [Iblīs'] share and what has remained is for you, o Noah, permissible (*ḥalāl*).

The transfer of the point of the story – two thirds of the vine are the share for Shayṭān, one third for Noah – to boiled wine in general is carried out in the other version by the Sixth Imām:

If you have juice (*ʿaṣīr*), boil it down by two thirds, then drink it, because the two thirds evaporating are the share of Shayṭān.

Sweet intoxication: honey and bit'

Honey wine is maybe one of the oldest wines of mankind. It was consumed by later famous grape wine cultures¹³¹ – “[e]he die Griechen den Weinbau erlernten, haben sie den Met getrunken”¹³² –, and the Greeks and Romans enjoyed oenomeli and mulsum. Much earlier, though, concurrence to mead was established due to the development of systematic agriculture during the 8th millennium B.C. With the cultivation of grains, fruits and, among them, the grape, beer and wine became widely spread consumer goods. Mead was still prepared and drunk, but honey came to be used much more as a sweetener for other beverages, above all the different kinds of wine. Adding honey to the fermenting juice (or before fermentation) generated a much stronger beverage (up to 15, partly even 18%).¹³³ Furthermore, honey was added to beverages where the development of acetic acid already had started, trying to improve the taste of such a vinegar-like wine. Such an involuntary develop-

¹²⁹ Berkey 2001.

¹³⁰ Al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb aṣli taḥrīmi al-khamr, no. 3, 4.

¹³¹ Maurizio 1933 (reprint 1970), pp. 30–59; McGovern 2009.

¹³² Maurizio 1933, p. 48.

¹³³ Fruit fermenting spontaneously in water creates generally wines up to 10%.

ment of vinegar was partly due to storage, and, in connection with this intent, partly to wine traded over long distances.¹³⁴

In Ḥadīth *bit'* is commonly defined as wine (*khamr*) made of honey and always treated as intoxicating. It could have a rather syrupy consistency (*khamr ṣalāba*), like several wines at that time, among them the *ṭilā'* versions, or (pers.) *mey pokhte*. Such syrupy wine was yet again often mixed with water before consumption – one of the most beautiful imageries in wine poetry, stars lightning in the glass, cold that meets heat, silver and gold.

Another name for honey wine, *fuqqā'*, is certified in a number of papyri documents with reference to Egypt. But in Ḥadīth, *fuqqā'* is usually treated as wine made of grain (barley, sorghum, or wheat), only al-Bukhārī quotes once the term *fuqqā'* in his chapter on beverages made of honey – though without any further explanation how this could be related to the majority of traditions speaking of a beer. (See on *fuqqā'* below.)

The geographical reference for *bit'* in Ḥadīth is mainly Yemen.¹³⁵ In the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī it is said that *bit'* is a *nabīdh* of honey, and that the people of Yemen use to drink it (*huwa nabīdh al-'asali wa-kāna ahlu l-yamani yashrabūnahu*).¹³⁶ Yemen was known for the honey wine, therefore it is also called Yemeni wine, *khamr yamāniyya*, or the wine of the Yemenites, *khamr ahli l-yaman*.¹³⁷ The classical enumeration of five (seldom six) ingredients that constitute *khamr* always include honey, sometimes specified as *bit'*, wine made of honey: *wa-al-bit' min-al-'asal*. Or it was mentioned as *ammā al-bit'u fa-nabīdh al-'asali*, here with *nabīdh* as synonym for *khamr*.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ See also Milano 1994, pp. 421–440, 431; McGovern 2009, p. 238.

¹³⁵ Abū Dāwūd, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 5, no. 3684; Muslim, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 7; al-Nasā'ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 23, no. 5614. This tradition refers to the father of Abī Burda and Mu'ādh being sent to Yemen on the prophet's order, observing the preparation and consumption of *mizr* and honey wine, *bit'*. In this version in al-Nasā'ī, the beverages are not explicitly mentioned by name, see for the detailed version al-Nasā'ī, bāb 24, no. 5622, observing the same al-Nasā'ī, bāb 24, no. 5621 (see the Mu'ādh-version also in Muslim, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 7, no. 5334, and the paragraph on “grain & beer” in this article).

¹³⁶ See al-Bukhārī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 4, no. 5645.

¹³⁷ Lisān al-'Arab

¹³⁸ Chosen examples (references to *bit'* are numerous, and sometimes only state that it is an intoxicating beverage without mentioning the honey): Abū Dāwūd, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 5, no. 3684, 3686; al-Bukhārī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 4: *al-khamru min al-'asali wa-huwa al-bit'*; as intoxicating drink forbidden (5644), *bit'* as *nabīdh al-'asal* (5645); al-Kulaynī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb mā yuttakhadhu minhu al-khamr, no. 1, 3; Muslim, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 7; al-Nasā'ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 23, no. 5610–5612, bāb 24, no. 5621.

Kathryn Kueny assumes in her study on wine and Ḥadīth that the prophet must have had a dislike against honey since it could potentially be used for *bit'*.¹³⁹ Numerous traditions, though, state clearly that the prophet liked honey very much, as he liked sweets in general. It is only the intoxicating beverage made of honey he disliked.

Mysterious dādhī

Possibly the most problematic term in our texts, though seldom mentioned, is the *dādhī* (or *dādī*, *dāḍī*, *dāzī*). It is not only problematic because Ḥadīth generally does not define it – with one exception as we shall see below – but also because Arabic literature in general can't make up its mind what *dādhī* actually is. This state of affairs is not unusual if we consider the often varying and imprecise terminology of spices, plants or even geographical references in sources of different languages. The task is made no easier in that *dādhī* can refer to both a wine called *dādhī* (maybe a strong date wine) as well as to a substance called *dādhī*, which is added to wine. This is not the place to trace the records for *dādhī*, and a few examples might be enough to show that its definition varied obviously from region to region. In the end, Ḥadīth only adds to the confusion. We do not dwell upon all the traditions where *dādhī* is said to intoxicate and is therefore prohibited; where the *umma* is accused of having drunk it calling it by another name; or where *dādhī* is simply called the beverage of the scoundrels (*sharābu al-fāsiqīna*).¹⁴⁰ Instead, we ask what kind of substance *dādhī* might have been.

Turning north-westwards, from Arabia to Egypt and the Maghrib, we already get a number definitions for *dādhī*: in his Mediterranean Society, Shelomo D. Goitein bases this supposition on the Geniza documents and Maimonides:¹⁴¹ “The *dādhī*, an edible lichen, with which it was mixed, is frequently mentioned in the letters and accounts of the India trade, and one Muslim author asserts that wine could be made with that lichen alone.” Max Meyerhof who edited Maimonides’ “Glossary of drugs” has several references to *dādhī*. Under the entry for *dādhī*, Maimonides defines it as

¹³⁹ Kueny 2001, p. 55.

¹⁴⁰ For example in: Abū Dāwūd, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 7, no. 3690–91. Such quotations are taken up in Tāj al-ʿArūs and the Muḥīṭ.

¹⁴¹ Goitein 1983, p. 260, in n. 51 he quotes a reference to wine made by that lichen alone: Ibn Mujāwir, Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis, ed. O. Löfgren (Leiden 1919, I, 51).

[...] the name of Indian earth that one mixes with honeyed wine; *dādī al-qatrān* (“tarred *dādī*”) is its pure species. It is also said that *dādī* is a tree.

Meyerhof adds in his commentary that “*dādī* is the Maghribinian name of a substance which was considered as earth by Arabs and Persians but is in reality a plant, the edible lichen (*Lecanora esculenta* EV.). [...] In Spain one used it as a ferment to make wine from honey. This is described by Idrisi [...] who states that the best quality *Lecanora* was imported from Khorassan (Eastern Persia); however an inferior quality thereof is found in Spain [...]. Ghafiqī [...] gives us the description of a tree called *dādin* or *dādī* that I have clearly been able to identify as the Judas tree (*Cercis Siliquastrum* L.) [...]. The seed of this tree was used in Spain as a ferment and aromatic of artificial wine.”¹⁴²

Turning eastwards, we come across *dādhī* wine(s) in Ibn Sayyār’s tenth-century cookery book. Nawal Nasrallah who has translated and edited it collected material and references on *dādhī* for the glossary. A lot of her information can be found in Ibn Bayṭār’s pharmaceutical work (d. 1248).¹⁴³ As beverage *dādhī* was a strong wine, apparently famous in Iraq. Its strong effect, partly even damaging, is stressed by physicians.¹⁴⁴

As a substance added to wine it designated an ingredient to enhance date wine. It has “astringent, tannic, bitter, and aromatic qualities.”¹⁴⁵ The sources differ about what kind of ingredient, especially what kind of plant or substance it might be: pine resin is called *dādhī al-qaṭirān*. The addition of resin (as well as hops) has served both, the wine’s taste as well as its conservation, and it is a technique known in numerous regions and cultures. In addition, Nasrallah associates *dādhī* with the female hop plant, carrying the designation *ḥashīshat al-dīnār* (or *junjul*), or *ḥashīsha*, marijuana, but with a less narcotic effect.¹⁴⁶ If *dādhī* does not only contain a tannic aromatic oil, but a narcotic effect as well, the general characterisation of *dādhī* as a very strong date wine, damaging and causing dizziness, headache, intestinal pain or delirium, seems comprehensible. Furthermore it might designate certain kinds of seed: a *dādhī Rūmī*, resembling barley but slightly elongated with a smell

¹⁴² Maimonides 1979, p. 68; see further references pp. 55, 56, 84 (*dādī rūmī*), 225, 236.

¹⁴³ Al-Warrāq, Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2010, p. 545–551; Ibn Bayṭār 1291/1874, vol. 1, pp. 86ff. See also Dihkhudā.

¹⁴⁴ See al-Warrāq, Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2010, p. 546.

¹⁴⁵ See al-Warrāq, Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2010, p. 546.

¹⁴⁶ See al-Warrāq, Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2010, p. 547.

like pine resin (*rātināj*); or seeds from the wormwood (*shīḥ*), an aromatic plant added to wine with positive medicinal effects in part, in part damaging owing to thujone, a chemical compound in wormwood, which is toxic for the brain and the liver. Wormwood enhances the wine, adds a tannic taste and preserves it.¹⁴⁷

Most sources stress that *dādhī* is an intoxicating plant resembling barley, slightly longer in shape, darker, and bitter in taste. *Dādhī rūmī* is often identified as St John's wort (*hīyūfārīqūn*, Hypericum).¹⁴⁸

What does Ḥadīth offer concerning *dādhī*? Two clues, but no real clarification. The first one supports the above-mentioned allusion to the Indian region and the fact that *dādhī* is some kind of seeds: 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 644 A.D.) is supposed to have called it *khamr al-Sind*, and in a Ḥadīth, Muḥammad claims it is seeds brought from India. With reference to India, one might think of Sanskrit *dādhī*, but a connection to Indian languages does not seem probable and as some kind of sour milk product used in ritual ceremonies, Sanskrit *dādhī* is apparently not intoxicating.¹⁴⁹ Nasrallah suggests, though, a connection to the Soma drink in Indian mythology.¹⁵⁰

The second allusion, or rather definition, can be found in the collection of al-Kulaynī. A wine with *dādhī* appears in the chapter on *nabīdh*.¹⁵¹ Someone¹⁵² demands water from a female servant in the presence of the 5th Imām. The Imām says:

"Bring him to drink from my *nabīdh*". She brings in the *nabīdh* made of fresh, nearly unripe dates (*busr*) in a cup of brass. The man says: "Verily, the people of Kufa would not be content with this." The Imām asks: "And what is their *nabīdh*?" – "They add *al-qa'wa*." – "What is *al-qa'wa*?" – "[It is] *al-dādhī*." – "What is *al-dādhī*?" – "It is the *thuf*l of the date. [He says] that they stir (*yudarrī*) [the drink] in the vessel until the *nabīdh*

¹⁴⁷ See for possible interpretations al-Warrāq, Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2010, p. 548–551. See also "the recipe for wine (*nabīdh*) made from dates (*tamr*) and *dādhī*", p. 468 (chapter 119).

¹⁴⁸ Lisān al-ʿArab; Ibn Bayṭār, vol. 1, p. 86; Freytag 1837; Lutz 1922, p. 95; Steingass 2006 mentions *dādī* as name of a small bitter grain. A manuscript on (medical) herbs by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shāṭirī from the 18th century still mentions a *dādhī rūmī* and a *dādhī hindī*, see www.refaiya.uni-leipzig.de (Vollers 0772, f. 23).

¹⁴⁹ I thank Marcos Albino for this information.

¹⁵⁰ Al-Warrāq, Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2010, p. 548.

¹⁵¹ Al-Kulaynī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb al-nabīdh, no. 4.

¹⁵² It is reported from Ibrāhīm ibn Abī al-Bilād, from his father [from someone else who was with him]

whooshes (*yahdiru*) and ferments (*wa-yaghli*), then it gets intoxicating and they drink it.” The Imām says: “This is forbidden.”

This text confirms the apparent popularity of a wine with *dādhī* (or called *dādhī*) in Iraq, here in Kufa. It supports the assumptions that it is a strong wine. But instead of referring to *hashīsh*, an edible lichen or pine cone, it simply states that *dādhī* is *thufl al-tamr* – the sediment or wine dregs of the date. These serve the fermentation and increase the alcohol content. So far, no parallel of such an interpretation is known to me, and therefore, one can do no more at this stage than propose that it either reflects a specific local use in Iraq (or Kufa?), generally designating a wine enhanced and strengthened by the date wine dregs called *dādhī*; or that the person in the tradition identified the added substance wrongly as *thufl al-tamr*, or that it is a malapropism, mixing up *dādhī* (perhaps heard somehow by the person) and *durdī*, sediment, wine dregs. Ibn Sayyār’s cookbook also has a *durdī nabīdh*, a wine with added wine dregs to encourage fermentation. In this sense, a tradition in al-Nasā’ī says: *Al-nabīdhū khamruhu durdiyyuhu*, the *khamr* of *nabīdh* is its *durdī*, meaning: what turns *ḥalāl nabīdh* into *khamr* is *durdī*, the wine dregs, the yeast that works on the juice.¹⁵³

Grain & beer

In his book “Uncorking the past”, Patrick McGovern ties in with the question if bread or beer came first.¹⁵⁴ At this point we leave the question of origin aside, as well as the stuff of life: bread.¹⁵⁵ But it should be remembered that beer has been made of bread, and that this custom was still common in Islamic times. In al-Nasā’ī, we find an allusion to this practice, otherwise not dealt with at length in the chapters on beverages: ‘Ā’isha stresses that in contrast to a *ḥalāl nabīdh*, prepared in the morning, drunk in the evening, or prepared in the evening, drunk in the morning, she does not allow for intoxicating beverage made of bread (*khubz*).¹⁵⁶

When reading about beer in Ḥadīth, we unfortunately do not come across recipes. Barley, wheat and sorghum are repeatedly mentioned as ingredients. While grape wine was praised in poetry, beer has been much neglected in

¹⁵³ al-Nasā’ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 55–56, no. 5763, also 5767.

¹⁵⁴ McGovern 2009, pp. 71–72.

¹⁵⁵ On bread see the entry on *khubz* in the Encyclopedia Islamica; Waines 1987, pp. 255–285.

¹⁵⁶ Al-Nasā’ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 48, no. 5698.

Islamic Studies, whether in its literary representation or in terms of research.¹⁵⁷ This difference becomes even more obvious when we consider the decisive role beer has played in works on the beginnings of alcoholic beverages¹⁵⁸, as well as in the academic disciplines of Egyptian Studies and Ancient Near East Studies, where beer was the drink of the common people as opposed to wine, which often was used for ritual purposes and consumed by the social elite. Beer was food, wine a luxury product.¹⁵⁹ In Ḥadīth we encounter basically five different types of alcoholic beverages made of grain: *mizr*, *fuqqā'*, *ghubayrā'* (or: *sukurka*, *suqurqa'*), *sawīq*, and *ji'a*. While *ghubayrā'* seems to have been prepared exclusively of sorghum (*dhurra*, *durra*, *dhura*), there seem to have been some varieties as regards other beers. And while *mizr* and *ghubayrā'* are known as alcoholic beverages and therefore treated like *khamr* (not only in Ḥadīth), there was some kind of confusion concerning *fuqqā'* and *sawīq*. Generally, *fuqqā'* dominates in Shī'ī collections while *mizr* does so in Sunnī collections, revealing most probably the geographical background of transmitters and information transmitted.

Barley (*hordeum vulgare*) seems to have been the first cereal domesticated in southwest Asia, in the Middle East already around 8000 B.C. It can adapt to several climates (it is grown from the Arctic circle to tropical climate) and has a short growing season. Barley was the primary cereal in ancient Babylon, Sumeria, Egypt and the Mediterranean world, as well as in India. Common beer in ancient Egypt and Babylonia was made of barley.¹⁶⁰ It is especially suited to making beverages because, when malted, its starch can easily be converted into sugar. Barley beer was normally drunk from large jars with straws. As other cereals, it was furthermore used for porridge, bread, or other dishes. Barley remained the most common cereal in early and medieval Islam. And it was the basic ingredient for a condiment in medieval Arab cookery: fermented barely was used, after a rather long procedure, for the preparation of *murri*, a soy sauce-like condiment.¹⁶¹ *Sha'ir*, barley, is always mentioned in the classical list of five of the *khamr* definition (see above), giving evidence of its wide spread use and cultivation.

¹⁵⁷ See, though, Biesterfeldt 2012; Gouchani and Adle 1992 have references to Persian poems, a lot of them taken from Dihkhudā.

¹⁵⁸ Maurizio 1933 (reprint 1970); McGovern 2009.

¹⁵⁹ Milano 1994, pp. 421–440; Bottéro in RIA (Getränke); Lutz 1922.

¹⁶⁰ McGee 2004, pp. 469–470; Lutz 1922, pp. 74–82; 86, 89.

¹⁶¹ Al-Warrāq, Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2010 (see index p. 862); Perry 2005, p. 107; Perry 1988; Zaouali 2007, pp. 54–56.

Sorghum (*sorghum bicolor*) is mentioned as *dhura* (*dhurra*) in Ḥadīth. It evolved in the steppes and savannas of central and southern Africa, and has remained the most important crop in sub-Saharan Africa until today. McGovern traces its domestication back to 6000 B.C.¹⁶² According to Andrew M. Watson, it reached India during the second millennium B.C. and then China, maybe between 1100 and 800 B.C. He assumes that the sorghum which became widespread in the Middle East came in return from India, being a tetraploid sorghum instead of the diploid African sorghum. This leads, according to him, to a relatively late introduction of sorghum in the regions of early Islam: “[I]f it was pre-Islamic at all, it perhaps was initiated only a century or two before the rise of Islam.”¹⁶³ More recent research follows these rough lines, stresses though that far too little archaeobotanical research is carried out in the relevant areas.¹⁶⁴ However that may be, the traditions clearly give evidence of a certain familiarity with sorghum in Central Arabia in early Islam – if simply imported from Africa, or cultivated in parts of the Arabian Peninsula (Yemen¹⁶⁵) and the Middle East. The connection to African sorghum as perhaps one source of many is probable, if we consider that the Red Sea as a “cross roads” for trade between Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. Later, sorghum became widely cultivated in the Middle East and North Africa, because of its tolerance to drought and heat.

The exact development of different kinds of wheat from prehistoric times is not exactly known. The first wheat species einkorn has been traced back to the region Karacadağ.¹⁶⁶ Neither einkorn nor the tetraploid emmer is ideal for beer production, in contrast to barley. Therefore, barley malt is added even today during beer preparation to promote the saccharification of the wheat polysaccharides.¹⁶⁷ In early Islamic times wheat was to a large extent imported to Mecca (totally dependent on food imports) and Medina from Egypt, to a lesser extent from Syria. The Red Sea trade played a decisive role in this context, with Jidda as the port of Mecca, and al-Jār as the port of

¹⁶² McGovern 2009, pp. 253–256. Compare McGee who dates it back to 2000 B.C., McGee 2004, p. 482. It is noteworthy that neither Wensinck (1928) nor Kueny (2001) do treat beverages made of sorghum.

¹⁶³ Watson 1983, p. 12.

¹⁶⁴ Van der Veen 2011.

¹⁶⁵ On references to Yemeni *dhura* beer, see Maraqtan 1993, p. 98.

¹⁶⁶ McGovern 2009, pp. 84–85.

¹⁶⁷ McGovern 2009, p. 85.

Medina.¹⁶⁸ The main wheat in Egypt in Roman times and early Islam was *triticum durum*, hard wheat, which was better suited to semiarid climates than emmer. Nearly all traditions on beverages name wheat as *ḥinṭa*, very rarely does one find *burr* or *qamḥ*.

Mizr

The classification of *mizr* is connected to both *khamr* and *nabīdh*. Most of the Ḥadīth material mentions either barley (*sha'ir*) or *dhura* as main ingredient, but here, as in so many other cases, local usages seem to have had slight variations. In Kulaynī's "Kāfī", *mizr* is defined two times explicitly as wine made of barley: *al-khamru min khamsatin: al-'aṣīri min al-karmi, al-naqī'i min al-zabībi, al-bit'i min al-'asali wa-l-mizri min al-sha'iri wa-l-nabīdhi min al-tamri.*"¹⁶⁹ He is followed in this by Ibn Bābūya.¹⁷⁰ Other sources often stress wheat as main ingredient (Lewicka, Biesterfeldt, Goitein, Lutz), but these deal mostly with *mizr* in Egypt, where wheat was an important crop. Lisān al-'Arab states generally that *mizr* is *nabīdh* of barley, wheat or other grains.

Made of *dhura*, *mizr* is known alongside the barley beer from South Arabic sources.¹⁷¹ A synonym for this kind of *mizr* is *sukurka* (*ghubayrā'*): Abū 'Ubayda refers to Ibn 'Umar who classifies the types of *nabīdh* as follows: *al-bit'* is made of honey, *al-ji'a*¹⁷² is made of barley, *al-mizr* of *dhura*, *al-sakar* of dates (*tamr*), *al-khamr* of grapes (*'inab*), and the word *al-sukurka* refers to a wine from the Abyssinians (*al-ḥabash*). And Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī adds that *mizr* is from *dhura*, and is also called *al-suqurqa'*, like the arabized *sukurka*.¹⁷³

That *mizr* could be made of barley and/or *dhura* is also attested by a tradition in Abū Dāwūd: Abū Mūsā asked the prophet about a [alcoholic] beverage (*sharāb*) of honey (*'asal*), and he answered: "This is *bit'*." Abū Mūsā

¹⁶⁸ Mayerson 1996, pp.125–126.

¹⁶⁹ Al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb mā yattakhadhu minhu al-khamr, nos. 1 and 3. See also al-Muqri 2007, p. 38, where *mizr* is made of barely, not of *dhura*.

¹⁷⁰ Ibn Bābūya (*Bābawayhi*), vol. 4, bāb 11, no. 3, p. 40.

¹⁷¹ Al-Maraqten 1993, p. 98. In addition, he mentions a Sabaic inscription where *mzr* was made of dates.

¹⁷² *al-ji'a* is mentioned in the wine list of Fīrūzābādī, but not *mizr*.

¹⁷³ Fīrūzābādī's wine list mentions both forms, *sukurka* as well as *suqurqa'*.

continued to ask, saying that a *nabīdh* is prepared (*yuntabadhu*) of barley (*sha'īr*) and sorghum (*dhura*), and the prophet answers: “This is *mizr*.”¹⁷⁴

The traditions show that an alcoholic beverage made of *dhura* in Abyssinia was usually called *ghubayrā'* or *sukurka* (see below), but in Yemen also *mizr*. As in the case of honey wine (*bit'*), we find a number of geographical references to Yemen. The following example from Yemen has *mizr* made of barley or sorghum: Abū Burda relates from his father, that he and Mu'ādh were sent to Yemen by the Messenger of God. There they encountered two beverages: *bit'* made of honey and *mizr* made of *dhura* and *sha'īr*. Both of them are prepared in a way that makes them ferment and get strong (*yunbadhu ḥattā yashtadda*).¹⁷⁵ In the following tradition, *mizr* is made exclusively of sorghum, again referring to Yemen: The prophet meets someone from the Yemenite Jayshān who asks him about a beverage made of sorghum called *mizr* which they drink in his region (*bi-arḍihim*). The prophet asks:

“Is it intoxicating?” The man says: “Yes.” Then the messenger of God says: “Every intoxicant is forbidden (*kullu muskirin ḥarāmūn*).”¹⁷⁶

The last tradition is also mentioned in al-Nasā'ī.¹⁷⁷ *Mizr* was apparently the most popular beer in Yemen.

While Ḥadīth shows a clear geographic relation to Yemen¹⁷⁸, Fredrick Lutz refers to Ibn Baytar (d. 1248) who states that *mizr* would be prepared of wheat, *dhura* and barley, and that it “was the national drink of Egypt long after it had embraced Islam.” Lutz though adds that “Bokhary mentions the use of this beer also in South Arabia” and refers later to *mizr* beer as a typical drink of South Arabia.¹⁷⁹ We meet Ibn Baytar's reference to Egypt again when reading in the Geniza documents. Here, the Egyptian beer made of wheat is called *mizr* and was apparently popular among the Jews. Shelomo Goitein says: “We hear again about *mizr* from Acre (Akko) in Crusader times when [...] shellfish gatherers from Alexandria were reported there for drinking it in a tavern of bad repute. [...] I have not found that beverage mentioned elsewhere; it was probably popular in circles not much represent-

¹⁷⁴ Abū Dāwūd, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 5, no. 3686.

¹⁷⁵ Muslim, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 7, no. 5334.

¹⁷⁶ Muslim, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 7, no. 5335.

¹⁷⁷ Al-Nasā'ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 49, no. 5727.

¹⁷⁸ See al-Muqrī 2007, p. 38.

¹⁷⁹ Lutz 1922, pp. 95, 155.

ed in the Geniza.”¹⁸⁰ We can follow P. Lewicka’s assumption that *mizr* beer maybe came to Egypt with Yemeni troops in early Islam.¹⁸¹

Ghubayrā’ / sukurka (suqurqa’, suqurqu’)

Lisān al-‘Arab explains: *sukurka*: also *suqurqu’*, “is the wine (*khamr*) of the Abyssinians and it is made of *dhura* and intoxicating”¹⁸²; it is an arabicised Abyssinian word. *Ghubayrā’* is mentioned as a synonym for *sukurka*, again: an intoxicating beverage made by the Abyssinians on the basis of sorghum. Others state that *ghubayrā’* would be the fruit of a tree called *ghabrā’*, Abū Ḥanīfa called also the tree *ghubayrā’*. The philologist Tha‘lab (d. 291/904) said, that it is a wine (*khamr*) made of [the fruit of] *ghubayrā’*.¹⁸³

In Ḥadīth, *ghubayrā’* or *sukurka* (both are often mentioned together) is usually made of *dhura*.¹⁸⁴ It simply can be called *the* Abyssinian beer and was apparently traded to Yemen, and/or had its past in Yemen due to the Aksumite Empire. An example from Ḥadīth: In Abū Dāwūd, *ghubayrā’* (or *sukurka*) is made of *dhura* by the Abyssinians (*al-ghubayrā’u l-sukurkatu tu’malu min al-dhurati sharābun ya’maluhu al-Ḥabasha*).¹⁸⁵ That the terminology – *mizr*, *ghubayrā’*, *sukurka*, all possibly beers made of *dhura* – caused confusion in Central Arabia, shows the following tradition:

[...] The Messenger of God was asked about *ghubayrā’*, and he said: There is no good in it and he forbade it. Mālik narrates that he asked Zayd ibn Aslam: What is *ghubayrā’*? He answered: It is *al-sukurka*.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁰ Goitein 1983, p. 261.

¹⁸¹ Lewicka 2011, p. 487.

¹⁸² [...] *huwa khamru l-ḥabashati wa-huwa min al-dhurati yuskiru*

¹⁸³ See the entry in al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-aṭ’ima*, *abwāb al-fawākih*, *bāb al-ghubayrā’*. The editor notes in a footnote that this plant would be called *sinjid* (according to Steingass the jujube-tree and fruit).

¹⁸⁴ References to wheat in connection with *ghubayrā’* are very seldom encountered.

¹⁸⁵ Abū Dāwūd, *kitāb al-ashriba*, *bāb 5*, no. 3687.

¹⁸⁶ Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Muwatṭa’*, *kitāb al-ashriba*, *bāb 4*, no. 1549. The translation of Aisha Abdurrahman Bewley 2004, p. 356, has for *sukurka* at the end: “It is an intoxicant”. In my opinion, the answer may also refer to the synonym for *ghubayrā’*, and should be left as name in the translation.

Fuqqā'

Lexically, *fuqqā'* seems to designate bubbles in a beverage, sometimes creating some kind of foam on the surface. It is discussed in how far the Arabic *fuqqā'* and its Persian variant *fuqā'* are arabicised forms of the Persian *fūgān*, or if it is viceversa. *Fuqqā'* was apparently drunk from round clay vessels (kūz/kūza, pl. kīzān) whose narrow opening was covered with skin. Before consumption one would prick a hole into it and the carbonic acid gas would escape.¹⁸⁷ It seems to have been a famous beer in the Iraq-Iran region,¹⁸⁸ and is relatively prominent in Shī'ī Ḥadīth. *Fuqqā'* beer was usually prepared of barley, but apparently certain other ingredients could be added, among them wheat, spices such as mint, pepper, fruits such as raisins or dates, or parsley.¹⁸⁹

Fuqqā' is treated sometimes as alcoholic, sometimes as non-alcoholic. Maybe it was a rather light beer that could have been fortified by the addition of other fermenting ingredients. N. Nasrallah stresses that *fuqqā'* is an alcohol free beer, "a bubbly drink made from barley. It is usually served before the meal, unlike wine, which is served after the meal."¹⁹⁰ Al-Ṭūsī reports from a *fuqqā'* that had not started to ferment, and in his *Istibṣār*, we find the general recommendation to buy *fuqqā'* on the market only if one knows how the seller has produced it.¹⁹¹ Alcoholic *fuqqā'* was, of course, forbidden. Historical works have recorded *fuqqā'* prohibitions, e.g. by the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amrillāh (ruled 996–1021), the Mamluk ruler al-Zāhir Baybar (d. 1265), and Nāṣir Khusraw observed its illegality in 1048.

In al-Kulaynī's *Kāfī*, *fuqqā'* is treated exclusively as alcoholic and therefore forbidden, something which is reflected in the Shī'ī-Ja'farī law school which classifies this beer as ḥarām. In the *Kāfī*, all traditions stress that *fuqqā'* is like *khamr* and that the punishment for its consumption equals the

¹⁸⁷ Gouchani and Adle 1992.

¹⁸⁸ Dihkhudā, *Farūkhfāl* 1988, Ṣādiqī 1988.

¹⁸⁹ Ṣādiqī 1988, p. 38, 40; Steingass 2006; on spiced *fuqqā'* see Lewicka 2011, p. 468, referring to Ishāq ibn Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī (9th–10th century); on *fuqqā'* as known pre-Islamic beer, fogga and zythos, see Maurizio 1933, p. 122; Lutz 1922, p. 93.

¹⁹⁰ See al-Warrāq, Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2010, p. 551; al-Dīnawarī, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār (<http://www.alwaraq.net>), 374; Ṣādiqī 1988, p. 38.

¹⁹¹ Al-Ṭūsī, *al-Istibṣār*, bāb taḥrīm shurb al-fuqqā', no. 11 (p. 96), no. 13 (p. 97).

punishment for wine (*khamr*) consumption. That alcoholic *fuqqā'* is to be treated like *khamr* is also made clear by al-Ṭūsī in his *Istibṣār*.¹⁹²

Apart from the prohibition of its consumption, a tradition states that even the contact of al-*fuqqā'* with one's clothes causes contamination. Abū Jamīla al-Baṣrī was with Yūnis in Baghdād and they were just passing the market when the *fuqqā'*-seller opened his vessels. In this moment, splashes of his *fuqqā'* hit Yūnis' clothes. He worried until sunset. Abū Jamīla asked him:

“Don't you have to perform the prayer, o Abū Muḥammad?” – “I don't want to pray until I'll have returned home and have this *khamr* washed from my clothes.” Abū Jamīla asked him if this was his own opinion or something he based on transmission, and Yūnis referred to a tradition of Imām Ja'far, who said, when asked about the *fuqqā'*: “Don't drink it, it is indeed *khamr majhūl*, and if it gets in contact with your clothes, then wash it.”¹⁹³

While al-Ṭūsī supports the necessity to wash the clothes, otherwise the prayer would be invalid, Ibn Bābūya stresses that, if wine hits clothes by accident, one can perform the prayer nevertheless (*lā ba's*) because “God has forbidden drinking it, but has not forbidden the prayer in clothes that are contaminated by wine.”¹⁹⁴

While *fuqqā'* appears usually as beer made of grain, it is suddenly mentioned in Bukhārī in the connection to honey wine: In the chapter on *al-khamru min al-'asali wa-huwa al-bit'* (bāb 4), the first tradition quoted does not mention *bit'* at all, but instead *fuqqā'*:

Ma'n asked Mālik ibn Anas about the *fuqqā'* and he answered: If it does not intoxicate, it is accepted (*fa-lā ba's*). [...] ¹⁹⁵

That *fuqqā'* in fact could be used to designate a honey wine leads back to observations done by Shelomo Goitein in the Geniza documents. Here he quotes a *dādhī* – honey wine recipe: ¹⁹⁶

Take fifteen pounds of honey and put on it one pound of *dādhī*. Stir it up every day until it loses the taste of honey. Then take it, clarify it, put it into a [glass] vessel [and pour] over each pound of honey three pounds of water.

(The recipe is said to come from Aden in Yemen.) He adds: “This alcoholic honey wine is the honey sherbet, the *fuqqā'*, which God has permitted [to

¹⁹² Al-Kulaynī, bāb al-*fuqqā'*, no. 8; al-Ṭūsī 1363 (1944), vol. 4, bāb 60, pp. 94–97.

¹⁹³ Al-Kulaynī, bāb al-*fuqqā'*, no. 7. See also al-Ṭūsī 1363 (1944), vol. 4, bāb 59, no. 10.

¹⁹⁴ Ibn Bābūya (Bābawayhi) 1361 (1942–43), vol. 4, bāb 11, no. 4, p. 41.

¹⁹⁵ Al-Bukhārī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 4.

¹⁹⁶ Goitein 1983, p. 260.

drink]”.¹⁹⁷ This *fuqqā'*, mentioned in papyri, was apparently famous among Jews who sold it in Egypt and produced it among others in Tunisian al-Mahdiyya. It was so popular that even the vessel which contained the beverage was called *fuqqā'*.

Sawīq

Sawīq was some kind of beer, though rarely mentioned in the chapters on beverages in Ḥadīth. One reason is that even though *sawīq* surely had an alcoholic version¹⁹⁸, it was apparently much more common as an alcohol-free drink and was therefore no huge problem in the Muslim societies. Lutz identifies it as barley beer and traces it back to ancient Near Eastern civilizations where it was imbibed with straws out of a huge jar.¹⁹⁹ In tenth-century Iraq, Ibn Sayyār offers a number of recipes for *sawīq*, which is by the editor, Nawal Nasrallah, identified as “refreshing drink made with finely crushed roasted seeds and sweetened with sugar”.²⁰⁰ In this cookery book, *sawīq* is usually made of wheat, one recipe has almonds as ingredient, something also to be found in Ibn Qutayba’s ‘Uyūn al-akhbār. One also can find grapes or lentils, but all these variation might reflect a later stage of development. The basic recipe is to soak (wheat and/or barley) grain for a while, roast them, grind them, add water (alternative: milk) and sugar. It could be refined with additional spices or fruits such as pomegranate. Since the ground grain could be kept for a long time, *sawīq* was a favorite drink on travels. The alcohol-free version seems to have been most common in the context of Ḥadīth transmitters. But still, some people had questions about it, and Abū ibn Ka’b clarified that water, honey, *sawīq*, and milk are permissible to drink.²⁰¹ A second reason for the comparatively rare mentioning of *sawīq* as beer is the very fact that it was food, namely some kind of porridge made of barley and/or wheat (or other ingredients).²⁰² It is mentioned as food, as a dish, in several chapters in the Ḥadīth collections, among them the chapters on

¹⁹⁷ Goitein 1983, p. 261, quoted from A. Grohmann; see the footnote where he has further references.

¹⁹⁸ Lisān al-‘Arab, under *sawīq*: al-sawīqu al-khamru

¹⁹⁹ Lutz 1922, p. 95.

²⁰⁰ Al-Warrāq, Ibn Sayyār/Nasrallah 2010, p. 126. *Sawīq* recipes pp. 126–127.

²⁰¹ Al-Nasā’ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 56–57, no. 5773.

²⁰² See, e.g., al-Kulaynī, kitāb al-aṭ’ima, abwāb al-aswiqa wa-faḍl sawīq al-ḥinṭa and sawīq al-‘adas

aṭ'ima, ṭahāra, wuḍū', nikāḥ, ṭalāq, maghāzī, and jīḥād. Alongside the culinary refinement under Umayyad (661–750), but above all Abbasid rule (750–1258), formerly simple dishes as *sawīq* or *tharīd* became more complex, ending up as refined, luxurious dishes at the caliph's court.

Not common at that time: rice wine

Coming from the Far East, rice (*ruzz*) reached the Near East in pre-Christian times, and we find references to its cultivation in Babylonia by the second century B.C., in parts of Persia, Egypt, Palestine and maybe in the area of the Jordan valley, but “[i]ts cultivation in these regions, however, was probably limited”²⁰³. It was apparently not widely grown until after the rise of Islam, as part of the intensification of agriculture under the Umayyads and the Abbasids. Travelling westwards, there are references to rice in south Morocco, Sicily and Spain from the tenth century onwards. Southwards, rice most probably began to be distributed throughout Africa by the tenth century. It is mentioned in Abyssinia in the twelfth century. Even later, it became a “national dish” in Iran.

Ḥadīth does not speak about *Sake* or a similar alcoholic beverage where rice would be used as ingredient, making the early date of the traditions likely (as other arguments in the chapter on beverages in Ḥadīth). But either owing to trade contacts or in the context of a later origin of the tradition, we hear about rice wine somewhere in the East: In the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī, a man refers, in the context of beverages, to *shay'un yuṣna'u bi-l-Sind min al-ruzz* (something prepared of rice in Sind), a rather interesting reference to a drink from a faraway place.²⁰⁴

Vessels

The sheer quantity of traditions linked to vessels, above all in the context of the prohibition against using certain vessels for wine making, is striking, here and there it seems to exceed the information on the beverages. The second noteworthy thing is that we come across vessels representing the luxury version of consumption on the one hand and basic, rustic vessels for wine

²⁰³ Watson 1983, p. 15.

²⁰⁴ Al-Bukhārī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 5, no. 5647. See also Watson 1983, p. 17, who mentions that rice “was also found in Sind, where it was a very important crop”.

preparation on the other. The repeated prohibition of gold and silver cups, mentioned alongside silk and brocade, can be counted as evidence for luxurious, “urban” life and wealth (among traders and the tribal elite), as well as for the often discussed luxury trans-Arabian trade route.²⁰⁵ On the other hand we meet less refined customs for wine preparation still in use today: the hollowed out gourd for example.

When reading through the traditions forbidding the use of certain vessels, in the end we are left with the question: what in fact would be permissible for use at all? It seems that Muḥammad, and with him the Imāms, had a definite preference for leather bags or skins. Most other vessels, from hollowed out gourds or tree stumps to the clay jar, vessels treated with pitch, are forbidden. Glass as a vessel for consumption is allowed, however, and the prophet is said to have drunk from a cup of glass.²⁰⁶ But texts also make it clear that the vessels specifically used for wine preparation were those that came to be forbidden. While the prohibition of gold and silver has to be seen in the context of a “pietistic” movement²⁰⁷, calling for moderation, the other vessels must be seen in the context of wine production – even though this is by far not always mentioned explicitly in Ḥadīth. In addition, the pores of clay vessels allowed impure substances to enter – today’s microbiologists’ treasure trove was a nightmare for those watching out for purity regulations in the past.

The following vessels are declared forbidden: gold and silver vessels, *dubbā’* (or: *qar’*, hollowed out gourd), *naqīr* (piece of wood or stump of the lower part of the palm tree which is hollowed out to prepare *nabīdh*), *muzaffat* and *muqayyat* (generally either vessels treated with pitch, or a special kind of basket made of palm leaves that is smeared inside with pitch), *maḥbūba* (kind of leather bag for *nabīdh* production), and *jarr(a)* or *ḥantama*. *Ḥantam(a)* is a synonym for green jar (*jarr akḥḍar*, inclining to redness), or: a wine jar, glazed or varnished green. While gold and silver vessels were meant for consumption, the other vessels serve mainly the preparation or the storage of beverages. *Dubbā’* and *naqīr* are often mentioned with reference to Yemen and *nabīdh* preparation; the jar is often specified as *jarr nabīdh* (there are special chapters on *nabīdh jarr*, *nabīdh* prepared in a *jarr*), and such *jirār* (pl.) filled with wine and carried to Medina were famous.

²⁰⁵ Crone 2004; Donner 1977, pp. 249–66; Heck 2003, pp. 547–576; Kister 1965, idem 1972.

²⁰⁶ Ibn Māja, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 27.

²⁰⁷ I use the term in dependence on Donner 2010.

Maḥbūba was known to have served for *nabīdh* production as well; and the vessels treated with pitch indicate that they have been hermetically sealed, which means: good for the development of wine, bad for the further development into vinegar.²⁰⁸ Instead, the prophet recommended the use of *siqā'* (skin, leather bags). But when made aware of the fact that not all people have *siqā'*, the prophet is said to have permitted jars that are not smeared with pitch (*ghayr muzaffat*).²⁰⁹ Vessels should be kept neatly, covered or placed upside down in order to prevent contamination.

How to drink

From an anthropological point of view, there is some useful information on drinking habits, even though they will not be treated in detail here. The general advice was not to drink while standing – even though the prophet was said to have done it himself under certain circumstances – and in a round of drinkers to pass the cup to the right. The communal character is stressed by sayings of the prophet that it is better to drink in company than alone. The *sāqī*, the server, should drink last. However, we find no hint about the wine shops and taverns existing since pre-Islamic times, whether in an urban context or mobile, in tents, as part of the caravan trade.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTINGS

All the so far mentioned information contained in Ḥadīth with reference to the material culture of wine and beer can lead us further to draw a rough sketch of geographical and social settings.

The amount of geographical references found in the chapters on beverages is not overwhelming. But those that clearly refer to a specific region do basically show the following pattern: Central Arabia and its connections to Yemen (and Ethiopia), and up to the north, to Syria and Palestine.

²⁰⁸ Abū Dāwūd, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 7, no. 3692, 3694, 3695, 3697–99, 3702, 3704, bāb 10, no. 3713, bāb 17; al-Bukhari, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 4, no. 5646, bāb 8, no. 5654–56, abwāb 27–28; Ibn Māja, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 12, no. 3526, bāb 13, no. 3527, 3528, 3530, bāb 15, bāb 17; al-Kulaynī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb al-zurūf, no. 1, 3; Mālik ibn Anas, al-Muwatta', kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 2, no. 1544–45.

²⁰⁹ Al-Bukhari, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 8, no. 5654. Mentioned as *jild* in Abū Dāwūd, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 7, no. 3697.

For Central Arabia, one of the references leads us to Khaybar and the information that people there produced an alcoholic beverage, but the text leaves open what ingredients it was made from and what it was called.²¹⁰ People from Fadak are mentioned as well. By far most numerous are references to Yemen. Most of the traditions speak of Yemeni traders coming to the prophet, most probably on their trade routes up north, while we also read about deputies Muḥammad had himself sent to Yemen. A number of these traditions has been quoted above.²¹¹ In the context of Syria, we mainly hear about trade, as the tradition reports on a group of traders coming from Syria with thick, dark alcoholic beverage.²¹² Apart from the dominating Yemen and, to a lesser extent, Syria (al-Shām), we find references to Iraq, mainly in Shīʿī collections.²¹³ There is hardly anything on relations to Egypt²¹⁴ or Iran, and it is a single voice that speaks about a beverage known from Sind. Beside “the north” (al-Shām), and “the south” (Yemen), we come across several references to “Abyssinia”, mainly in the context of *ghubayrāʾ*.²¹⁵ But with the Axumite kingdom in Yemen ruling until power was taken over by the Persians during the second half of the sixth century, we might also include in our considerations Abyssinian traders (or others) coming from Yemen, or having had an influence in Yemen before and in early Islam. In fact, when the geographical reference is given, we read about the people, “the Abyssinians” (*al-ḥabasha*, or *ḥabash*), not the country.²¹⁶

Syria (al-Shām) with its strong Christian and Jewish population remained a wine country long after the rise of Islam. People involved were tradesmen or farmers. Fredrick Lutz has pointed out that because the prohibition of wine “falls within the time, when Muhammad was engaged in a warfare of extermination of the Jews, i.e., in the fourth year of the Hedjra, it is probable

²¹⁰ Al-Nasāʾī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 21, no. 5599: *yantadhibūna sharāban min kadhā wa-kadhā wa-yusammūnahu kadhā wa-kadhā*, bāb 55–56, no. 5770.

²¹¹ Abū Dāwūd, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 5, no. 3684; al-Nasāʾī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 55–56, no. 5770; al-Kulaynī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb shāribu al-khamr, no. 9, bāb nabīdh, no. 7.

²¹² Al-Nasāʾī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 53, no. 5734, bāb 55–56, no. 5770; also Mālik ibn Anas, al-Muwattaʾ, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 5, no. 1553.

²¹³ Abū Dāwūd, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 6 (on *dādhī*), no. 3690 (ahl al-Wāsiṭ). See for example also the tradition on *dādhī* in al-Kulaynī (above).

²¹⁴ Al-Nasāʾī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 55–56, no. 5770.

²¹⁵ See on the paragraph about *ghubayrāʾ* and, for example, Abū Dāwūd, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 5, no. 3687.

²¹⁶ On Meccan trade see Crone 2004, pp. 141–145.

to suppose that this law was primarily directed against the Jews, in order to undermine their flourishing wine-trade in Arabia.”²¹⁷ It should be pointed out that the texts on beverages in Ḥadīth do not support any obvious plausibility in this argument. Traditions do not stress the symbolic value of wine in Judaism and Christianity, a motif often mentioned when the so called Islamic wine prohibition is talked about. Instead of assuming the motivation for the prohibition as part of a process of differentiation on a religious level one could also argue that the early Islamic movement proceeded parallel to other religious and social movements that refrained from alcohol.²¹⁸ The Jewish Rechabites were known not to drink alcohol, Christian ascetic movements rejected it, early Nabateans seem to have refrained from it, as well as Manichaens and Gnostics, all groups eventually known or heard of in Central Arabia, Yemen and Syria-Palestine.

Much more likely is a more complex interplay of economic, social and religious reasons for the prohibition, the pure religious reasoning seems of a later date.²¹⁹ To what extent the alcohol prohibition was directed (mainly) against the importance of Jews in the trade, cannot be answered here and seems far too single-tracked. Attitudes against wine can also be motivated by using the soil for (faster growing) crops meant for food, in times of scarce supplies²²⁰, instead of producing intoxicating beverages, and as a protection of the society.

On a social level, the texts do indeed reveal a cross section through society. We hear of gold and silver cups, of silk and brocade, of grape wine, all pointing out to wealth and, maybe, a luxurious life. Grape wine, good grape wine, could act here as a social indicator. Steve Charters has shown in his research on social implications of wine consumption that wine, quality wine, works very much as indicator for social status.²²¹ But above all, we meet tradesmen, mainly from Yemen and Syria, and hear voices of farmers, complaining about hardship and partly rough weather conditions during their work.

One striking fact is that we hear very little of women. It is known that women took a great part in wine and beer production in the past, from Euro-

²¹⁷ Lutz 1922, p. 155.

²¹⁸ See Maraqtan 1993, pp. 109–111.

²¹⁹ Compare the analysis of Fuller 1996 with respect to the US temperance movement.

²²⁰ Medina, for example, suffered from famine in 642 A.D.

²²¹ Charters 2006.

pean cultures to the Near and Middle East. And apparently, one of the above mentioned papyri refers to a female vineyard owner in Egypt;²²² but the role of women in viniculture at the advent of Islam still has to be studied further. For now it is sufficient to note that even though one can assume an active role of women in wine making also at the advent of Islam, these voices are not heard. The female figures in the texts are either female transmitters or servants.²²³

QUALITY – QUANTITY

We know from pre-Islamic poetry (among other things) that the awareness about a good wine did in fact exist. But we don't know yet exactly what factors make up a "good wine" in this area, at this given time, maybe apart from its clarity, maybe a certain sweetness and a non-vinegar-like taste. Needless to say, that Ḥadīth does not dwell on the quality of a forbidden drink.

What emerges from the texts is much more an issue of quantity. It has to be stressed however that quantities are not referred to with detailed specification – how much beer did the average person in seventh-eighth-century Medina drink? – but in general terms. It is intoxication that lies at the bottom of all texts; not so much a jolly tipsiness but instead a state of intoxication that potentially leads to criminal acts, a disrespect of religion, including the wrong recitation of Qur'ānic verses,²²⁴ a danger for society. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn is supposed to have asked 'Alī if he really has stated that wine consumption would be worse than (*ashaddu min*) adultery (*zinā*) and stealing (*sariqa*). 'Alī confirms this by saying that he who commits adultery commits a single misdeed, but he who drinks wine is led to further deeds, such as committing adultery, stealing, killing himself (something God has

²²² Reinfandt 2011.

²²³ A lot of material on *nabīdh* recipes and vessels to be used and to be forbidden is traced back to the prophet's wife 'Ā'isha.

²²⁴ See the commentaries on Sura 4, 43–46; 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf had invited some people, they drank until they became intoxicated, and one of them recited Sura 109, verse 1, in a wrong manner, stating that he would worship what the unbelievers (*kāfirūn*) worship.

made forbidden), and abstaining from prayer.²²⁵ Kathryn Kueny has stressed in her study this danger of disorder. It might be added that wine drinking was not only a potential danger for criminal acts, but also for a “non-functioning society” – in Abū Dāwūd, we find the order not only to refrain from everything that intoxicates but also from everything that makes weak and feeble.²²⁶

On the other hand, the picture we gain from Ḥadīth is much more multifaceted than presenting the two extremes of sobriety and drunken stupor: Large amounts might have been consumed in jolly meetings where wine was served out of golden and silver cups. It might have been drunk in large amounts when, as one of the famous *asbāb al-nuzūl* on Sura 5, verses 90–91, reports that a group of Anṣār gathered together, among them Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, drinking and reciting poetry in some kind of flaunting Bacchanalian manner. When Sa’d recited an invective poem (*hijā’*) on the Anṣār, he got hit with the chin bone of a camel causing a severe head injury. But there are nuances. It is especially the farmers who do confess to drink because of hard labour, to ease life, to enjoy maybe some calm pleasure in between; for health and a longer life; and: to keep warm.

Talking about large quantities, one also has to keep in mind that such things are relative. We can assume that the consumption of alcohol in the past in general, in Europe as elsewhere, was not modest in comparison with today’s ideas. In fact, we should keep in mind that the alcohol consumption was much higher in the past than it is today.²²⁷ And even in Islamic history, we know of a number of rulers, apart from the general population, who were known to be heavy drinkers. Despite the argument that alcoholic beverages were considered to be cleaner, less contaminating than water in the past, the vast amount of alcoholic liquid was consumed with the purpose of having a merry, joyful time, to forget the hardships of life (as e.g. during the industrialization in Europe), simply to show off, or for the sake of religious ecstasy. The potential danger of alcohol was known at all times, and all temperance movements were at first motivated by excessive alcohol consumption leading to the damage and destruction of social life, economic efficiency, reli-

²²⁵ Al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb inna l-khamra ra’su kulli ithmin wa-sharrin, no. 8 (wa-inna shāribu l-khamri idhā shariba l-khamra zanā wa-saraqa wa-qatala l-naḥsa allatī ḥarrama llāhu ‘azza wa-jalla wa-taraka l-ṣalāt).

²²⁶ Abū Dāwūd, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb 5, no. 3688.

²²⁷ Paczensky 1994, pp. 173–180. On consumption in ancient Israel see Walsh 2000, p. 211.

gious observance, and individual health. It is from here, that the question of smaller quantities arose. A discussion very obvious in Ḥadīth: Again and again it is stressed that *khamr* is not only forbidden in large but also in small amounts. The legal discussions why not only intoxication should be forbidden, leaving a moderate consumption permissible, reminds of the following statement of Reverend Dorchester, a supporter of the nineteenth-century American Temperance Movement: alcoholic beverages should be completely forbidden “because there seems no safe distinction between moderate and the immoderate use of intoxicating drinks; the transition from the moderate to the immoderate use of them is almost as certain as it is insensible; indeed, it is with us a question of great moral interest, whether a man can indulge in their use at all and be considered temperate.”²²⁸ The person drinking even only a sip of alcohol was considered to be “morally infectious”.²²⁹

SOME NOTES ON DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SHĪ‘Ī COLLECTION OF THE KĀFĪ AND THE SUNNĪ COLLECTIONS

In Kulaynī’s Kāfī, wine prohibition seems much more total, encompassing and strict compared to the Sunnī collections (and Abū Ḥanīfa’s legal directives).²³⁰ Even though he includes a chapter on wine stating that it is the wine’s (negative and harmful) effect is actually what has led to the prohibition and what is meant when speaking about *khamr*²³¹, the Kāfī nevertheless shows some material that sets the reason for the prohibition in mythological pre-history and supports its eternal validity.

To begin with, God has included in each revelation to all previous prophets a prohibition of *khamr*, an eternal order that does not cease to be valid.²³² Second, the origin of the wine prohibition (chapter *aṣlu tahrīmi l-khamr*) is in contrast to the chapter stressing the effect of wine consumption, traced back to mythological pre-history, to Adam²³³, Eve and Noah. In a number of traditions in connection to Adam and Eve, the vine became mixed with Iblīs presence and therefore became forbidden. The following are shortened ver-

²²⁸ Fuller 1996, p. 82, quotes Reverend Dorchester from: Dorchester, Daniel: The Liquor problem in all ages, New York 1884, p. 260.

²²⁹ Fuller 1996, p. 87.

²³⁰ This is also stressed by Kueny 2001.

²³¹ *Inna al-khamra innamā ḥurrimat li-fi’lihā fa-mā fa’ala fi’lu al-khamri fa-huwa al-khamr*

²³² Al-Kulaynī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb inna l-khamra lam tazal muḥarrama, no. 1, 2, 3.

²³³ On the legendary material about Adam see also Kister 1993.

sions of texts that do stretch partly over one page and would be too long to be quoted here:²³⁴

God gave plants from Paradise to Adam that he may cultivate them: the date palm (*nakhl*), the vine (*'inab*), the olive tree (*zaytūn*), and the pomegranate (*rummān*). Adam plants them until they blossom and carry fruits. Then Iblīs appears on the scene asking Adam what kind of plants these were, unknown to him. Adam says that he received the right to eat from them and refuses to give part of them to Iblīs. One day, Adam is not present, Iblīs comes back and approaches Eve, complaining about hunger and thirst, asking if she could not give him something from those fruits. Eve refuses because Adam had told her so. Iblīs accepts finally that Eve will not allow him to have access to the fruits, but he convinces her that she should give him some fruits he will not eat, but instead only sip the juice. Eve serves him some grapes, but instead of sticking to the agreement, Iblīs bites finally on the fruit, and Eve pulls it out of his mouth. Then, God reveals to Adam that his enemy Iblīs has now drunk from the pressed juice of the grape (*'inab*) and that therefore, from now on, the (grape) wine (*'aṣīrat al-khamr*) will be forbidden for him. *Khamr* came to be forbidden because of Iblīs deception of Eve. In fact, if he had eaten the grape, than the whole vine (*karma*) would have become forbidden, from the beginning to the end, and all its fruits.

What follows is a similar story about the date (*tamra*), and that grape and date have lost their purity, their beautiful scent and sweetness because Iblīs has pressed their juice. And another version, still transmitted in this context, tells about Iblīs who came and urinated against the vine (*karma*) and the date palm (*nakhla*). Since his urine reached the plants' roots, the process of fermentation of grape and date began (*fa-min thumma yakhtamiru al-'inabu wa-al-tamru*). From then on God forbade all descendants of Adam to consume intoxicating beverages. Everything fermented has become *khamr* (*wa-ṣāra kullu mukhtamirin khamran*), and the smell of fermenting liquid is the smell of Iblīs' urine.

This report, which can be traced back to Ja'far al-Šādiq, obviously has to be seen in the context of circulating narratives, and of the story tellers and preachers who tried to transmit to the common people the guidelines of the Islamic creed, in part new and still in its formative period. Instead of ongoing scholarly debates on the alcohol-, or grape wine-, or intoxication-prohibition, such stories as quoted above, served well to create on an emo-

²³⁴ Al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb aṣlu taḥrīmi l-khamr, no. 2.

tional level a negative attitude to wine which made people refrain from it. Apart from legal regulations, put into effect alongside institutions imposing sanctions, it is such material that serves to internalise dislike of wine, changing (or: completing) a purely *Rechtsnorm* into a *Sittennorm*.²³⁵ It also provides evidence of the circulating, in part syncretistic Jewish-Christian-Hellenistic narratives, including Isrā'īliyyāt. Adam is perhaps the most important figure when it comes to agricultural cultivation. He is said to have received and cultivated a number of plants, as exposed among others in Ibn Waḥshiyya's "al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya" (d. 931 A.D.).²³⁶

In addition, the above-quoted tradition shows aspects of the temptation of Adam and Eve, who were forbidden to eat from the Tree of Knowledge. The Qur'ānic version²³⁷ and most of the Qur'ān commentaries do in fact include this story of the forbidden tree and it is both Adam and Eve who were tempted and ate the forbidden fruit. In the Ḥadīth it is Eve who is tempted even though the story does not speak of a prohibition for her to eat from the fruit. Among the commentators (*mufasssirūn*) some identified the tree with a plant bringing forth wheat (bread as "staff of life"²³⁸), figs or grapes.²³⁹ That it was the vine that tempted Adam is also preserved in the apocryphal Baruch II, chapter 4, verses 5–12. An angel shows Baruch the vine planted by the angel Sama'el and which diverted Adam from the right path. The text adds that wine drinking causes man to commit sins and should be punished. The statement that wine drinking brings forth further sins is reflected in the above mentioned tradition in the Kāfi where 'Alī says that wine drinking is worse than adultery and stealing.²⁴⁰

The story of Noah and the necessity to boil down wine by two thirds has been quoted above.²⁴¹ The eagerness of Iblīs to get hold of Noah's vine as shown in that tradition, runs parallel to the Jewish Midrash called Yalqūṭ

²³⁵ Setzwein 1997, pp. 29–78; on the development of legal regulations in the formative period see also Cook 1981, idem 2001.

²³⁶ Hāmeen-Anttila 2006. Jaakko Hāmeen-Anttila analyses several text layers, tracing them back to Syriac text material from approximately 600 A.D. revealing narratives of Pagan Late Antiquity. See also Fahd 1969, idem 1993–1998.

²³⁷ Sura 2, verses 35–39; Sura 20, verses 120–121.

²³⁸ See on cereals and the role of bread Waines 1987, pp. 255–285.

²³⁹ See Gelder 2000, p. 38.

²⁴⁰ Al-Kulaynī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb inna l-khamra ra'su kulli ithmin wa-sharrin, nos. 8 und 9.

²⁴¹ Al-Kulaynī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb aṣlu taḥrīmi l-khamr, no. 4, see also no. 3.

Shim'ōnī (Noah, paragraph 61). Here, Satan came and asked Noah what he was planting. He answered he was planting a vineyard with sweet fruits that would produce a wine rejoicing the heart. Satan offered Noah to become his partner and have a share in the vineyard and Noah agrees. Then Satan brought a lamb and slaughtered it on the vine, then he slaughtered a lion, then a pig and then a monkey, sprinkling their blood throughout the vineyard. Thereby, the blood became mixed with the wine. In doing so, Satan hinted to man that when a person begins drinking alcohol, he is timid and innocent like a lamb, when he drinks just enough he is strong like a lion. But when someone drinks too much, he acts first like a pig polluting himself in his urine, then like a monkey who dances around uttering vile words, completely out of control.

In addition to the narratives on Adam, Eve and Noah, apparently from the *wu'āz*-milieu, we get the impression that the punishment for the drinker is described more vividly in the *Kāfī* than in the *Sunnī* collections. Apart from legal consequences on earth, the wine drinker will have to face a number of quite unpleasant punishments in hell: with a blackened face, protruded tongue, salivating, he has to drink from *ṭīnat khibāl*, or: *bi'r khibāl*. When Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the 5th Imām, is asked what *bi'r khibāl* is supposed to mean, he answers that it is a well out of which the pus of an adulteress flows, in another version it is the pus that flows out of the vulva of a prostitute.²⁴² The images of punishment in hell, the blackened faces, the thirst, being urged to drink boiling water and the like, do remind the system of punishment as exposed in Dante's *Divine Comedy*. It should be noted though, that the punishment to drink *ṭīnat al-khibāl* is known in the *Sunnī* collections as well. It is mentioned in al-Nasā'ī that the wine drinker has to drink *ṭīnat al-khibāl* in hell, but here, it is explained less repulsive as the '*arāqu ahli al-nār* or '*aṣīratu ahli al-nār*.²⁴³ Comparing the scenarios of hell punishment, we can observe that altogether they are more in number in the *Kāfī*, more vivid in their literary presentation, sometimes like a complete story with dialogue and suspense,²⁴⁴ and more repulsive, with the wine drinker presented as *kāfir*.

²⁴² Al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb shāribu l-khamr, no. 3, 14.

²⁴³ Al-Nasā'ī, no. 5728 (the sweat of the people in hell, or the juice of the people in hell).

²⁴⁴ See e.g. al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb shāribu l-khamr, no. 16.

The intention to cause a strict dislike among the population goes alongside the prohibition to drink wine even in the case of *taqiyya*²⁴⁵. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq says:

There is no *taqiyya* for the drinking of *nabīdh* (*laysa fī shurbi l-nabīdhi taqiyya*).²⁴⁶

A possible exemplary case is told by ‘Amr ibn Marwān who asks Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq what he should do in a group of people when offered *nabīdh*, because he fears they might call him *fulānī* (thereby pointing out that he is Shī‘ī or Ja‘farī) when he rejects the drink. Ja‘far advises him to add water to the drink. But when ‘Amr asks if he is allowed to drink it then, Ja‘far says: No.²⁴⁷ The strictness of the wine prohibition in the Shī‘ī texts reflects the then ongoing debates among legal scholars and the definition of Ja‘farī law, above all against Abū Ḥanīfa and his more “liberal” interpretation of the Qur’ān verses and the traditions with reference to *khamr*.

CULINARY ART

Beside the aspects of the sinfulness of wine and the punishment of the wine drinker, we encounter a much more pleasant aspect in completing this article, the refined art of food and beverages in the Kāfī in comparison with the Sunnī collections.

The culinary culture in Central Arabia during the seventh and eighth centuries was relatively simple.²⁴⁸ Basic crops such as dates, raisins, dishes

²⁴⁵ Concealing the religious affiliation in situations of danger for the community or one’s own life.

²⁴⁶ Al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb man uṭṭurra ilā al-khamri li-l-dawā’ wa-l-aṭash aw li-l-taḳiyya, no. 11. It is repeated together with *mash’ alā al-khuffayn* and *mut’at al-ḥajj* by the 5. Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir in no. 12.

²⁴⁷ Al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, inna rasūla llāhi ṣallā llāhu ‘alayhi wa-ālihi ḥarrama kulla muskirin qalīlahu wa-kathīrahu, no. 14. The context of this text is yet not clear, see also the editor’s remark in the Kāfī: Muḥsin al-Fayḍ comments: Maybe ‘Amr wanted to get the permission to drink without being in a state of constraint (*durūra*). Al-Majlisī reports from his father that ‘Amr’s question was apparently not related to a state of constraint. Still though, Ja‘far’s instruction to mix the *nabīdh* with water, doesn’t seem to make sense here. Al-Majlisī, relying on his father, assumes that it was an answer in another context, namely the prohibition to join the company of those people ‘Amr mentioned in the beginning. One could add that the reason might have been to distract the others in that specific moment.

²⁴⁸ See Krüppner 2012.

made of sorghum, barley, much less wheat and meat, were apparently prepared with simplicity. A widespread, refined use of spices was not common in Late Antiquity Central Arabia, even though they were traded in the area and used by a few. Ḥadīth gives the impression that Muḥammad rarely ate bread.²⁴⁹ In the main – and this applies to Europe as well – grain was prepared as porridge. According to David Waines, the relatively limited menu changed drastically within the centuries after the conquests, with Umayyads and early Abbasids promoting the intensification of agriculture and the trade of crops. The cookery books from tenth-century Baghdad illustrate a refined, innovative and creative cuisine (of course for the higher social classes). Food, in fact, becomes a social marker.

In early Muslim Arabia such social differentiation in the context of food is not evident as a general phenomenon. Personalities of influential positions could generously offer food, slaughter tens of camels and more for the poor or guests, but it was the quantity that was important here, not so much the quality and the elaborate way of preparing the dish. This naturally does not exclude that some of the more powerful and wealthy people did not eat different food. Pre-Islamic poetry mentions festive meetings with wine and good food, and even in Ḥadīth, we find hints of a rather “pleasure-oriented” culture, even though here in the context of urban surroundings such as Mecca. The prophet is said to have complained that people from his community declared as permitted unlawful intercourse with women (*ḥirrun*, or *ḥirun*, lit. vulva of a women), silk, wine, and musical instruments.²⁵⁰ Still, such habits were too minor to be counted as structuring social strata. In general, food as social marker, its complex ingredients and ways of preparing, became a genuine phenomenon in Abbasid Iraq.²⁵¹

This general picture of a culinary development from Arabia in the seventh and eighth centuries to tenth-century Baghdad, where al-Kulaynī resided later in his life, is reflected in the traditions on beverages. It is in al-Kulaynī’s collection where we find a number of fruits not mentioned in Sunnī collections (see his chapter in *ḥubūb*), and detailed recipes for *ḥalāl* beverages. Such fruit juices became popular after the Islamic alcohol prohibition, and the Geniza documents show that they were also widely consumed

²⁴⁹ Waines 1987, p. 265.

²⁵⁰ Al-Bukhārī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 6, no. 5649. On luxury food see also Waines 2003, pp. 571–580; on the definition of luxurious food Veen 2003, pp. 405–427.

²⁵¹ Waines 1987.

by the non Muslim population.²⁵² Wine, fruit juices and any kind of food and drink was tightly connected to medical treatment. The following alcohol free recipe is given in the Kāfī against stomach complaints, but reflects at the same time a quite elaborated taste – compared to dates just added to water:²⁵³

Take one *ṣāʿ* (cubic measure of varying magnitude) of raisins and remove the seeds from them. Wash them well with water. Soak them in the same amount of water [as they are] or cover them with water, and leave them standing, in winter for three days and nights, in summer for one day and one night. Clear it [filter it], take the water and pour it into a vessel (*ināʾ*) and take its measure with a wooden stick (*ʿūd*). Boil it mildly until two thirds of its original volume has been boiled down and one third is left. Add half of a *raṭl* of honey to it and measure the amount of honey. Let it boil, until the extra amount of honey is gone (has been boiled down). Then, take ginger (*zanjabīl*), galangal (*khūlanjān*) cinnamon (*dārṣīnī*), saffron (*zaʿfarān*), cloves (*qaranful*, also *qaranfūl*) and mastic (*maṣṭakā*)²⁵⁴, and crush it and put it into a fine cloth. Add it to [the drink] and let it boil with it. Then lower the temperature and after it has cooled down, filter it and take yourself from it for your breakfast and dinner.

And, as the story goes, the patient was healed.

²⁵² Goitein 1983, p. 254: “Yet the proliferation of wine substitutes, and, in particular, of soft drinks made with fruits, flower petals, vegetables, or spices, or combinations of some of them, appearing in the Geniza as daily diet of the middle class proves that wine had been largely replaced by other beverages, not only in Islam but also in a minority group living in its midst.”

²⁵³ Al-Kulaynī, *kitāb al-ashriba*, bāb *ṣifāt al-sharābi l-ḥalāl*, no. 3.

²⁵⁴ Mastix, apparently equal or similar to the usage of resin for the Greek Retsina wine which is spiced and preserved with the resin of the pine tree. The recipe is known since antiquity.

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