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Bert G. Fragner, Ralph Kauz and Florian Schwarz (eds.)
With the editorial assistance of Bettina Hofleitner

Wine Culture in Iran and Beyond

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Introduction

BERT G. FRAGNER, RALPH KAUZ, FLORIAN SCHWARZ

Young man, don't drink, but if you drink, repent, and don't drink on Fridays, and here is how you drink in the proper manner. This is the advice of a 15th-century Persian manual on good manners.[1] It contains, in a nutshell, the challenges which students of the culture of wine in Iranian and Persianate culture are facing. When looking at wine consumption from a normative-prescriptive angle, one gains a picture that is difficult to reconsiliate with evidence for banqueting as social practice or with references to wine in literary traditions. This could be said for many cultural phenomona. Yet the apparent paradox of strong historical and literary evidence for a culture of wine in a predominantly Muslim society such as Iran gives this phenomenon a particular twist.

As Bert Fragner puts it in his contribution to this volume, a certain degree of affinity between "wine" and "Iranians" is a widely perceived phenomenon. This perception merits Iran to be put center stage of inquiries into viticulture and wine culture in Asia. A mighty stream of symbolic references to wine and its consumption meanders through Iranian visual and literary art. Solid and continuous evidence underscores the social and economic relevance of the production, trade, and consumption of wine in the Iranian cultural sphere.

The apparent opposition between the omnipresence of references to wine and Irans Islamic heritage and presence has produced certain patterns of interpretation which have proven surprisingly persistent. These patterns share neat distinctions between "Islamic" and "non-Islamic" dimensions of Iranian culture. These argumentations are not altogether unfounded; yet framing the question of wine culture merely within an Islamic discourse bears the risk of missing many shades, or occasionally to be misled entirely. For example, the explanation of alcohol consumption as an inherited extra-Islamic pattern of Turko-Mongol military and court elites, when carried to far, not only isolates this cultural practice from developments of "Islamic" elite milieus in a hardly justifiable way. It has led also to far-reaching and widely accepted conclusions often grounded in modern attitudes to alcohol

[1] Shojāʿ, *Anis al-Nās*, ed. Iraj Afshār (Tehran, 2536/1977), 189–204.

rather than historical evidence. The present volume tries to frame the exploration of Iranian viticulture and wine culture more widely. It assembles spezialized studies and interpretative essays ranging from the question of the origins of viticulture and winemaking and the trade of wine between the Iranian plateau and China to viticulture and wine consumption in 20th-century Kafiristan, from the place of intoxicating bevereges in hadith to the nature and function of wine in classical Persian poetry and Iranian architecture, from the ambiguities of alcohol in pre-modern Persia to the challenges of modernity and colonial penetration. It thus aims at taking the non-simultaneity and interlacing of the different dimensions of this phenomenon into fuller account.

One should therefore not expect an encyclopedic overview of viticulture or of the production, marketing and consumption of alcoholic beverages in Iran and its wider Asian context, nor should one look for systematical comparative studies. Rather the volume turns the spotlights on issues where different aspects of viticulture and wine culture in the wider Iranian cultural sphere meet and intersect. In a more general way one may read the volume as a whole as an attempt to bridge across conventional divides between literary studies and history, between art history and social history, between history, anthropology and archaeology. Even though the majority of contributors may describe themselves as historians, this volume does not represent an attempt to prioritize history over other approaches to Iranian culture. If the "historical" writ large runs through the volume, it does so in an engaged conversation with philology, literature, art and anthropology.

What is Iran's place and role in the early history of the cultivation of grape-vine? The initial motivation to rethink the history of viticulture, wine production, and wine consumption in Iran in a wider Asian context came from important new archaeological findings and insights. Patrick McGovern discusses the archaeological evidence for the emergence of viniculture and of alcoholic beverages based on grapes in the Caucasus/Taurus/Zagros region and in China. Peter Kupfer follows with an interpretative essay on the place of grape wine in Chinese culture. Ulf Jäger looks at the role of Sogdian traders in the communication of viticulture and wine culture between the Iran, Central Asia and China. Max Klimburg's discussion of wine culture in 20th-century Kafiristan is an example for the persistence and adaptation of traditions of viticulture, winemaking and wine consumption in the Iranian sphere.

This leads to another general question: How were cultural patterns of alcohol production and consumption accommodated into Iranian society in the

processes of Islamization? Stephanie Brinkmann studies materials from Qur'an and hadith not primarily from a normative or lexicological point of view, but keeps a close look on the dynamic formation of the corpus and its interpretation in the historical process. How far reach alcoholic consumption patterns socially and culturally in the course of Iranian history? Each focusing on a different period of the Islamic history of Iran – one might conventionally call them medieval, early modern and modern –, Willem Floor, Rudi Matthee and Bert Fragner map the social practice of alcohol consumption and the cultural reactions (in the sense of a process, not a response) it entailed. Dariush Borbor approaches the same fundamental question from the intersection of the social, cultural and physical spaces of wine consumption in his cross-epochal study of the influence of wine culture on architecture. How does cross-cultural contact and non-Muslim political domination affect the production and consumption of alcoholic beverages in Persianate societies? Florian Schwarz tries to disentangle the intriguing dialectical processes triggered by the Russian conquest of Central Asia. How do alleged severe alcoholism and successful military and political leadership go together? Giorgio Rota and Morris Rossabi, in their respective studies of the Safavid and Mongol imperial courts, recreate a multifaceted picture of royal drinking and banqueting that challenges the simple link between elite alcoholism and political decline. What do we make of the abundant imagery of wine in Persian poetry? Undoubtetly the most conspicuous locus of wine in Iranian culture is literature, more specifically poetry, the focus of the two concluding contributions. Mehr Newid sets the stage with a tour d'horizon of the place of wine in Persian poetry. With his considerations on the nature and functions of wine in classical Persian poetry, Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak returns the quest for the ambiguous place of wine in Iranian culture to where most of us may first have met it: in the aesthetic – but by no means a-historical – realm of literature.

The tensions between the historical and the aesthetical appraisal of references to wine in Iranian literature, art and material culture which have haunted students of history, religion, art history and literature alike for so long remain evident in this volume. These should be, however, fruitful tensions, as different approaches to the study of Iranian and Persianate culture increasingly open up to engaged conversations.

The present volume is the outcome of a symposium held at the Institute of Iranian Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna on 16th-17th September 2010. The editors of the volume are grateful to the Soudavar Memorial Fund, Geneva, whose generous support made the symposium pos-

sible. We are obliged also to the Department of International Relations of the Austrian Academy of Sciences for its support of the symposium. We wish to thank all participants for their contributions and discussions which have enriched the symposium and are reflected in this volume, and the authors for agreeing to thoroughly revise their papers for publication. We also thank the anonymous reviewers for their useful comments. All remaining shortcomings of the volume are ours. These acknowledgements would not be complete without a word of thanks to the Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, the book production team of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and Bettina Hofleitner of the Institute of Iranian Studies without whose tireless efforts this book would never have been published.

Iranian Wine at the "Dawn of Viniculture"

PATRICK E. MCGOVERN

My recent book on *Uncorking the Past* (2009/2010) provides a good starting point as well as a summary of the interdisciplinary research on ancient wine that my laboratory and others have been engaged in over the past twenty years. This book is more than just about wine – it traces alcoholic beverages around the world as far back in time as possible. It tries to show how far we've come in understanding the origins and biocultural importance of alcoholic beverages world-wide since our species came "out of Africa" some 100,000 years ago.

In dealing with ancient wine, the main lines of evidence are:

(1) Archaeological evidence, with the emphasis on well-excavated, well-preserved, and well-published sites. Scientific analyses of the pottery sherds, grape seeds, and other remains that survived the millennia are essential;
(2) Organic or biomolecular archaeological evidence, which is the focus of my laboratory at the Penn Museum;
(3) Textual and artistic evidence, whether an ancient Egyptian fresco or the writings of a Roman or Greek writer such as Pliny the Elder or Columella, who devote nearly half of their works to wine and the vine, demonstrating the importance of this subject. Literary statements or artistic motifs cannot be accepted at face value, since they are not written or composed after the fact, unlike archaeological and chemical data, and sometimes incorporate legendary and fanciful elements;
(4) Ethnographic and ethnohistorical evidence. Traditional viniculture provides interpretative insights into how best to interpret the archaeological, textual, artistic, and chemical data.
(5) Experimental archaeology. After developing a scenario of how an ancient wine was made, we can process modern natural products, which are genetically as closely related to the ancient ingredients as possible, by the hypothesized ancient methods. We can then assess the extent to which these techniques work, and, perhaps most importantly, discover whether

the wine tastes any good. Our ancestors had much the same sensory organs and brains as we do, and would have had similar predilections to ours, even if cultural preferences (sweet, sour, etc.) change from time to time.

Experimental archaeology provides an entree into the past not only for the archaeologist and scholar, but also for the general public who gain an appreciation for innovative (and sometimes) tasty accomplishments of our ancestors. In collaboration with Dogfish Head Brewery in Delaware and other individuals and microbreweries, we have carried out a variety of experiments on ancient wine, including vinifying in goat wineskins and adding herbs, spices and tree resins, which are described in ancient literary works and inscriptions and have been attested in our chemical analyses, to wine made from cultivars genetically close to the Eurasian grape (*Vitis vinifera*).

The earliest alcoholic beverage that we have thus far chemically confirmed and re-created is from the early Neolithic site of Jiahu in the Yellow River Valley of China, dated around 7000 B.C. It combined a native Chinese grape species, along with hawthorn fruit, honey, and rice. Although more archaeological and chemical evidence is still needed to bolster the theory that Middle Eastern grape wine dates back this early (see below), it can be proposed that a kind of "prehistoric silk road" ran across Iran and Central Asia during the Neolithic period. Such a route might well have provided a conduit for ideas to flow in both directions, however fragmentary the process and however short the distances involved from oasis to oasis. That in turn might have led to the domestication of grains (barley and wheat in the west, and rice in the east) and the production of fermented beverages on a large scale at about the same time.

This hypothesis might help to explain the marked similarity between the ancient Chinese "alcoholic beverage" pictogram, showing a jar with three drops falling from its rim, and the proto-Elamite/Sumerian sign for "beer" in ancient Mesopotamia, which incorporates a similarly shaped jar with pointed base. A prehistoric connection between western and east Asia might also help to account for why some ethnic groups in China still drink their cereal beers through multiple drinking-tubes from a single large jar, like the ancient Mesopotamian peoples did thousands of years ago.

PREHISTORIC WINES FROM IRAN

In a very real sense, my research into ancient wine begins with Iran. I organized a conference on "The Origins and Ancient History of Wine" at the Robert Mondavi Winery in the spring of 1991 (McGovern, et al., 1995). The star of the show at the conference was a rather nondescript pottery jar (McGovern 2003/2007: fig. 3.1) from Godin Tepe, dated to about 3500–3000 B.C. It provided us with the earliest chemical evidence for wine at the time. That the vessel came from high up in the central Zagros Mountains of Iran, which now outlaws alcoholic beverages, made it all the more intriguing!

Our chemical analyses of a reddish residue inside the jar showed the presence of tartaric acid, the finger-print or marker compound for grapes in the Middle East, and a tree resin. In other words, we had discovered a resinated wine, in which the resin acts as an anti-oxidant to keep the wine from going to vinegar. Although widespread in antiquity, this tradition is only perpetuated today in Greece as retsina.

The then-earliest wine jar came from the so-called Deep Sounding at Godin Tepe, a complex of buildings and rooms, surrounding a central courtyard, which were exposed at the top of the mound and dubbed the "oval". When Virginia Badler, who was preparing a dissertation on the Late Uruk (Chalcolithic) levels at Godin first came to us with the jar, we were skeptical that we could identify preserved organic residues of wine which had been "aged" 5000 years or more. But she proved to be right (Michel, et al. 1993).

Archaeological Chemistry or Biomolecular Archaeology is what made our identification of ancient wine possible. In short, a revolution in scientific techniques over the past forty years has enabled a re-examination and, in many cases, a re-writing of the history of fermented beverages generally and wine specifically. We are just at the beginning of this process, which promises many more discoveries–hopefully in Iran!--and perhaps some new taste sensations.

The principal chemical technique that we now employ to identify tartaric acid, which has been absorbed as a liquid into pottery fabric of vessels, is liquid chromatography tandem mass spectrometry or LC/MS/MS (McGovern, et al. 2009). This acid and its more insoluble potassium and calcium salts readily precipitate out from solution and make up much of the lees that one sees in an unfiltered wine. We employ an array of other instrumentation to detect additives to the wine.

Since tartaric acid is found in large amounts only in grapes in the Middle East, its dominant presence in the Godin sherd and residue pointed to a grape product, most likely wine since once the grapes have been expressed as a liquid (obvious from the narrow mouth on the vessel and the accumulation of residue on the bottom of the jar), it will quickly ferment to wine in the warm climate of the Middle East.

The Late Uruk period is important because the earliest development of a complex society of city-states in the southern Tigris-Euphrates valley and adjoining lowland areas occurred then – that of the proto-Sumerians and proto-Elamites – based on irrigation agriculture of cereals, dates, and other plants. The first writing with pictographic signs appeared in which the signs depict the thing or concept that was being conveyed. For example, one clay tablet at Godin Tepe from the oval had incised on its surface the sign for "pottery vessel" or *dug* in ancient Sumerian; this jar sign also forms the basis for the "beer" sign (*kaş*). Three circles, each representing the number 10, and three vertical stokes, representing 1, accompanied the *dug* sign on the tablet, and indicated that altogether thirty-three jars were recorded. We might also ask what these vessels contained – perhaps a wine, barley beer or something more exotic – but this information is not provided on the tablet.

The finding of the Godin tablet is one indication that the oval was in fact built by lowlanders. The symmetrical layout and well-constructed niched and recessed walls of the buildings in the oval, as well as a considerable amount of lowland pottery excavated there, also support this hypothesis.

But why should lowlanders be interested in living up in the mountains of Iran at Godin Tepe? It is known that extensive trade ties developed between the lowland and highland regions in the Late Uruk period. And semi-precious stones such as lapis lazuli from Afghanistan, metals including copper, silver and gold, even such mundane goods as wood which were unavailable in the Tigris-Euphrates valley, were exploited in the uplands. Godin is located along a major ancient trade route, what later became the famous Silk Road going from China to the Mediterranean – indeed, it lies on the hypothesized "prehistoric silk road" which I mentioned above. It was thus ideally situated to serve as a proto-Sumerian or proto-Elamite administrative and trade center.

Raw materials, such as lapis lazuli, were put to good use in lowland Mesopotamia. One amazing artifact referred to as the Royal Standard (see McGovern 2003/2007: 159–160, pl. 7), for example, was made of lapis lazuli and shell. It comes from the Early Dynastic Royal Cemetery at Ur in the Lower Tigris-Euphrates Valley of southern Iraq, dated to about 2600–2500

B.C. One side of the piece, called the "Peace Standard," depicts the victory celebration following a military conquest, the so-called "War Standard" shown on the reverse. The peace scene shows the king sitting placidly on his throne, goblet in hand, facing six of his generals or high officials who salute the king with their goblets raised. Can we know what he and his comrades were drinking? Our chemical analyses (Badler, et al. 1996) have shown that the beverage in the cups or goblets and the long-spouted jugs, such as that seen on the lower image of the Peace Standard, was wine.

Cylinder seals from the Ur cemetery of the same period also show what at first appears to be a rather strange vessel – a large, wide-mouthed jar seemingly sprouting branches. Our chemical analyses have borne out that we are witnessing barley beer-drinking here. The "branches" are drinking-tubes or "straws", actual examples of which have been excavated from the Ur tombs, made of lapis lazuli, gold, and silver. The straw enabled the drinkers to penetrate through an accumulation of grain hulls and yeast, floating on the surface of the liquid, and reach the beverage below.

Our discovery at Godin led to a spate of new ancient analyses over the past two decades, including two wine jars (McGovern, et al. 1996) from another important site in Iran, Hajji Firuz Tepe, which predate the Godin jars by 2000 years, going back to ca. 5400–5000 B.C.

Hajji Firuz, farther north in the Zagros Mountains from Godin Tepe, was among the first permanent, year-round settlements of the Neolithic period in the Near East. These villages were a direct result of humans taking control of their food resources by domesticating a variety of plants and animals. The invention of pottery around 6000 B.C. gave more impetus to the process, since special vessels for preparing and storing wine and other foods and beverages in stoppered jars could now be easily made. What can be termed a Neolithic cuisine emerged. A variety of food processing techniques – fermentation, soaking, heating, spicing – were developed, and Neolithic peoples are credited with first producing bread, beer, and undoubtedly an array of meat and cereal entrées that we continue to enjoy today.

What better place to look for evidence of wine dating to the Neolithic period than my home-base at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, which has one of the best collections of well-documented excavated artifacts in the world. After the Mondavi conference, I simply asked a Neolithic archaeologist, Mary Voigt, if she had ever noted intriguing residues on any of the Neolithic pottery she had excavated in 1968 at Hajji Firuz. She remembered some yellowish residues on the bottom of a narrow-mouthed jar. This jar and five others (fig. 1) had been set into recesses in the clay floor and lined up

along the wall of a kitchen, where an oven and cooking vessels were also found. Each jar had a capacity of about nine liters when full. Mary had thought the residue might be from a dairy product, such as milk or yogurt. A chemical analysis at a time when chemical techniques were less sensitive, however, was negative. The sherds then lay in museum storage for twenty-five years.

Once we re-excavated the sherds from storage, we went to work using more modern methods to solve the archaeological puzzle of what the jars originally contained. Again, we were able to show that the Hajji Firuz jars held a resinated wine.

Of course, if oxygen remains available, fermentation can continue and eventually the acetic acid bacteria will convert all the wine to vinegar – this is called "wine disease," which any competent winemaker, even one living in the Neolithic period, wants to avoid. Although cork was not yet available, raw clay stoppers function the same way, absorbing liquid and expanding to seal off the mouth of the jar. Such stoppers were found in the vicinity of the wine jars at Hajji Firuz. The tree resin additive, which also fends off wine disease, made it virtually certain that the jar originally contained wine.

Although we first analyzed a jar sherd with a yellowish deposit, another jar had a reddish residue that also tested positive – perhaps, it was the red to go with the white, although we are yet to prove this chemically.

The "Wine Cultures" of the Mountainous Near East, and Beyond

On current evidence, the northern mountainous region of the Near East, including the northern Zagros Mountains where Hajji Firuz is located, the Caucasus and the Taurus Mountains of eastern Turkey, was a "hotbed" of experimentation during the early Neolithic period from about 8500 B.C. down to 6000 B.C. (for details, see McGovern 2009/2010: Ch. 3). For example, excavations at Çayönü on the upper Tigris River yielded wild grape seeds, dating back to around 9000 B.C. and associated with a long sequence of monumental cult buildings which had been "ritually" buried during the Neolithic.

Most recently, the construction of dams along the Tigris and Euphrates have led to an ambitious salvage archaeological program, and the results have been truly astounding at sites such as Göbekli Tepe and Nevali Çori, which date as early as ca. 8500 B.C. Today, the barren terrain of calcareous hills and valleys might not appear to be conducive to viticulture. But excavations paint a different picture of a *terroir* generally characterized by an iron-

rich red loam, so-called *terra rossa*, whose porosity and mineral content would have been ideal for growing grapes in antiquity.

What are believed to be religious shrines or temples Göbekli Tepe and Nevali Çori are amazingly adorned with 3-dimensional sculptures and architectural elements, including birds of prey serving as headdresses for female figures or deities, a male with a snake slithering down the back of his head, and an array of naturalistic depictions of animals, e.g., an aurochs (wild ox), fox, and crane which adorn a pillar.

Most important for the issue of early viniculture, many stone goblets and bowls have been recovered from these sites and others in the region. One carved goblet depicts a male and female dancing with a turtle on a festive occasion, perhaps a wine celebration? Schematic snake and bird motifs are also very common on such goblets.

The stone used to make these bowls was chlorite, a clay mineral with highly adsorbent properties. We are now in the process of analyzing the copious amounts of ancient organics retained in pores of this mineral, to determine what the vessels originally contained. Grape wine, based on positive results for tartaric acid using two of our chemical techniques, is the best possibility, but LC/MS/MS confirmation is required to be certain.

These bowls could well be important as the earliest evidence for wine having been prepared, drunk, and offered to the gods. Such vessels led on to the earliest pottery, beginning around 6000 B.C., which included larger jars and sieves, ideal for processing and storing wine, and decorated with clay appliqués like those on jars from Georgia, dated around 6000 B.C. or some two thousand years later than the chlorite bowls and goblets from eastern Turkey. One appliqué shows a stick-like figure apparently dancing beneath a vine which is festooned with grapes, perhaps in celebration of the grape harvest or another occasion.

In short, the upland region of the Caucasus, Taurus, and Zagros Mountains are all possibilities for the earliest domestication and the beginning of winemaking. These areas comprise the so-called "world center" of the Eurasian grape where its greatest genetic diversity is found. And this is where a "wine culture" consolidated itself in the Neolithic period and progressively moved southwards to Egypt through Lebanon, Syria, and Israel/Palestine, and to Shiraz in southwestern Iran along the spine of the Zagros Mountains.

A "wine culture" is self-evident to most southern and central Europeans, as well to Georgians in the Caucasus who have likely carried on their traditions for at least 8000 years. It can be defined as a culture in which everyday meals, social events and special celebrations from birth to death, including

rites of passage and major festivals, are marked by the drinking or offering wine. With time, viniculture comes to dominate the economy, religion, and society as a whole.

An excellent illustration of such a culture in antiquity is the Hittite empire of central Turkey. This great Indo-European power of central Turkey was still unknown until the beginning of the 20th c., aside from several mentions in the Bible. Yet, it was an equal to ancient Egypt and Assyria in the mid- to late 2nd millennium B.C. Near East. Based on excavations and texts, we know that the Hittites had vast royal vineyards surrounding their capital city of Boğazkale, ancient Hattusha, which produced an unending flow of wine, enjoyed by the king, his retinue, and, of course, the gods. Row upon row of gigantic wine jars or *pithoi*, which stood between 1–2 meters tall, filled the storage rooms of the palaces. Exquisite rhyta or drinking-horns in silver and gold were used to present wine to the gods at festivals throughout the year.

THE NOAH HYPOTHESIS

With evidence of very early wine from Hajji Firuz and elsewhere in the mountainous Near East, it was starting to look likely that the winemaking industry took off in the Neolithic period, and if this were true, then it was likely that the wild Eurasian grapevine (*V. vinifera sylvestris*) was taken into domestication then, like so many other plants and animals at this time. Six jars in the Hajji Firuz kitchen, assuming they all contained wine—some fifty-five liters – were the "smoking gun". The house with the six jars of wine was an ordinary residence, and if the amount of wine in it was multiplied many times over by houses throughout the settlement, then a lot of wine, much more than could be produced by gathering wild grapes, must have been produced.

What makes the domesticated vine so desirable is that it is hermaphroditic, i.e., the male (stamen) and female (pistil) parts are located on the same flower – so the plant produces much more fruit on a predictable basis than the wild vine. This self-fertilizing plant could then be selected for larger, juicier and tastier fruit and fewer seeds, and cloned by transplanting branches, buds, or rootings. This assumes further that humans had discovered how to propagate the vine horticulturally, since its seeds are genetically too variable. But how early was the vine domesticated and did it happen in only one place, perhaps at Hajji Firuz or somewhere else in the upland region of the Near East where the wild grape thrives? DNA studies of ancient and modern grape are now in progress, and the answer has begun to emerge.

Any debate about the Noah Hypothesis boils down to whether the Eurasian grapevine was domesticated in only one place at one time and then transplanted from place to place, or whether it was domesticated in many different places and times, including Europe. The Noah Hypothesis is an apt phrase to describe a one-time origin of viniculture in one place, because the biblical patriarch's first goal, after his ark came to rest on Mount Ararat, was to plant a vineyard and then make wine (Genesis 8.4 and 9.20). Like the Eve Hypothesis, which claims to trace all of humanity to an original human "mother" in East Africa (whether 2 million or 200,000 years ago) on the basis of mitochrondrial DNA lineage trees, a DNA investigation of the Eurasian grape would seek the ultimate progenitor of modern domesticated grape varietals.

To test the Noah Hypothesis, we have focused on the three mountainous areas where the wild grapevine thrives: the Caucasus Mountains where a "wine culture" had emerged by at least 6000 B.C. and grape seeds of the domesticated type have been found in Neolithic villages; the Taurus Mountains of eastern Turkey where stupendous Neolithic sites have been found recently (above), predating those in the Caucasus, and where einkorn wheat and probably chickpea and bitter vetch – so-called founder plants for the Neolithic period – were first domesticated; and, of course, the Zagros Mountains. You might say that we're looking for the vinicultural Garden of Eden. There's a lot of territory to cover in these mountains, and we've only been sampling archaeological materials and grapevines for about ten years.

Our search for wild vines in eastern Turkey in 2005 illustrates how arduous the process can be. Climbing steep cliffs above the raging torrent of the Tigris in spring, we sought out our prize and were rewarded. In one locale, a hermaphroditic plant was positioned between a wild male and female vine, exactly the situation that an early viticulturalist would have needed to observe and select for.

There now appears to be very good evidence from our investigation (Vouillamoz et al. 2006) and a recently published paper by Myles et al. (2011) that the great grape of Burgundy, Pinot Noir, and other important European cultivars are related to the wild Eurasian grapevine of the mountainous Near East. In other words, *Vitis vinifera* must have been first taken into domestication somewhere in that extended region. It was then transplanted one step at a time southwards through the Fertile Crescent and westwards across the Mediterranean to France and other Mediterranean countries. Because the grapevine is highly promiscuous, it crossed with wild vines as it went and produced the thousands of grape cultivars and wine

which we know and enjoy today.

Conclusion

We already know a lot chemically and archaeologically from Neolithic sites in eastern Turkey and the Caucasus. What we really need, going forward, is have similar research carried out in Iran.

Iran in antiquity was preeminently a "wine culture" with its Persian kings and Bacchic poets like Omar Khayyam or Hafiz, who hailed from Shiraz. Recently, I happened upon an Iranian, Mitri Faravashi, making wine for David Bruce, one of the best producers of Pinot Noir in the Santa Cruz region of California. Mitri told me that "yes, wine is still made in Shiraz," using traditional techniques of stomping the grapes on the roofs by only virgin women and running the juice to fermentation jars in the basement. He claimed that one wine he had tasted there recently, made from a native clone, was the best that he had ever had, and that is saying a lot coming from someone who makes excellent Pinot. Perhaps, someday, we will know how the true Shiraz grapevine was established there, the extent to which it harbors the DNA of other great varietals such as Pinot Noir, and how it became synonymous with the finest wine in the world.

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Rethinking the History of China's Grape Wine Culture

PETER KUPFER

IN SEARCH OF THE ORIGINS OF EURASIAN WINE CULTURE

During the past hundred years and especially within recent decades the research on the so-called "Silk Road" reveals more and more evidence about the significance of this giant Eurasian network for the material and immaterial exchange between prehistoric societies and ancient civilizations. Ideas and know-how have been transferred across large distances between an unparalleled complexity of ethnic groups, cultures, nations, religions and languages. In spite of intensified ongoing research in China and Central Asia within the past few years, it seems that plenty of spectacular discoveries and new insights are still waiting to be brought to light.

One of the areas hardly explored as yet is the development and history of fermentation technologies and production of alcoholic beverages since prehistoric times across the Eurasian continent. Having had the chance to meet leading representatives of the rapidly developing grape wine world in China and to visit several Chinese wine areas and companies during the past years, I first started to take a keen interest in Chinese wine culture under the aspect of the current awareness of wine and wine consumption as a new cultural phenomenon in China's modernizing and globalizing society. Subsequently, turning to the historical aspect, I started to research China's ancient wine culture, discovering that startling connections and parallels can be found between China and Central Asian and also Middle Eastern Cultures – not only two or three millennia ago, but even as early as the Neolithic period, i.e. dating back 10,000 years or more. On the other hand, it is a fascinating fact that in many ways the history of Chinese wine culture is unique and one of the oldest or most probably even the oldest in the world.

It is amazing that recent discoveries on wine production in the Neolithic period were made simultaneously on the two ends of the Silk Road, i.e. in the Caucasus and in Central China. During a research expedition along the Silk Road across 16 countries undertaken in 2008, I found interesting indica-

tions that in different periods and civilizations along this network – from today's Georgia, Armenia, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan to Western and Central China – grapes and grape wine acted as an incentive in using natural fermentation processes and in the production of alcoholic beverages for magical, religious and social purposes. In certain societies, as in Old Persian and Central Asian Zoroastrism and in China's Shang and Zhou Dynasties, grape wine and fermented beverages occupied a predominant position in religious and daily life. There are many analogies in wine production and consumption in the ancient societies living along this large belt between Eastern Europe and China. It seems very likely that there must have been connections and most probably an intensive exchange along this Eurasian network since at least as early as Neolithic times; thus it existed long before the Silk Road, and perhaps could be labelled *Ancient Wine Road*. Nevertheless, much research still has to be done, especially from an interdisciplinary perspective, combining evidence from archaeological, historical, anthropological, religious, linguistic and philological studies.

There are several examples which apparently need more investigation in the future:

Somehow puzzling is the rich variety of so-called rhyta, i.e. drinking horns, produced from different material, like horn, ceramic, glass, silver, gold, jade, glass, ivory, wood, bamboo etc., and in all kinds of artistic forms, mainly human and animal heads, often with vine tendril and grape ornaments. They have been found between Europe and China, and even as far as Korea, since the fourth or third millennium BC until the Middle Ages. The most elaborate rhyta were produced in Persia during the Achaemenid Empire (sixth to fourth centuries BC), from where they spread to the West to the Middle Eastern and Mediterranean Cultures and also to the East reaching their high-tide in China during the Tang Dynasty (seventh to tenth centuries) – the period of the busiest exchange with Central Asian empires. One of the richest collections of prehistoric and ancient rhyta and wine vessels can be seen in the National Museum in Teheran (Iran Bastan). We might conclude that in all ancients cultures where grape wine was prominent the use of rhyta became common, probably in most cases for libation purposes within quite different religious contexts – in Shamanistic, Zoroastrian, Greek-Bactrian, Roman, Christian, Manichaean as well as Buddhist cults. Though many articles have been published about single pieces and archaeological finds, never-

theless, cross-cultural and interdisciplinary approaches are still lacking, especially from the viewpoint of grape wine history.[1]

The case is the same with wine vessels, goblets, bowls, jugs and jars which were found more or less in all wine cultures along the Silk Road, such as huge jars called *kvevri* in Georgia, *kara* in Armenia and *hum* in Central Asia. Also the wine goblets found in Mediterranean, Persian, Bactrian, Sogdian, Turkish, Gandharian-Indian and Chinese hemispheres show startling similarities, which will be a challenge for detailed comparative investigation. And ancient wines presses, too, usually carved in rocks or built with stones, have almost the same shape all along the Eurasian wine culture belt – from Eastern Europe, especially Georgia and Armenia, to Central Asia and Western China – and were operated in the same traditional manner of mashing the grapes by foot. Another universal feature can be found in the architecture of wine cellars, the so-called *Madustan* in Central Asia. Obviously, there is still much potential for future research to be done from this perspective.

Another interesting field is mythology, in which creators of wine and wine gods or goddesses play an important and even similar role in cross-cultural and cross-religious contexts, e.g. Noah in the biblical tradition, Dionysos in Greek, Bacchus in Roman and Osiris in Egyptian culture, Dukang 杜康 or Yidi 仪狄 in China and many others as well as their hybrid forms, sometimes symbolized in the ornaments of the rhyta.

Finally, it is well documented that the Iranian-speaking Sogdians who spread their influence mainly as tradesmen in the whole of Central Asia and China between the sixth century BC and the ninth century AD cultivated wine production and consumption mostly in connection with their religious Zoroastrian cults. Hardly any research has been done as yet concerning their crucial function in Eurasian wine history.

Oldest Wine Culture in China?

New light on the history of grape wine production not only in China but also in human history in general was shed by spectacular discoveries of the renowned wine archaeologist and wine culture expert Patrick McGovern and his American-Chinese team at the end of 2004 and the beginning of 2005, revealing that traces of such production dating back to as early as 9,000 years ago could be confirmed in the central areas of the later Chinese em-

[1] See Jäger (2006).

pire. This discovery obviously revolutionizes the view of the development of viniculture in several ways.

His chemical and spectrum analysis of ceramic vessels from the Neolithic site of Jiahu (贾湖), 7000 to 5600 BC, in the central province of Henan brought to light humanity's oldest traces of alcoholic beverages (tartaric acid and tartrate), most probably produced mainly from grapes used as fermentation catalyst. This discovery dates almost 2,000 years earlier than the hitherto oldest wine residues found by McGovern himself in 1994 in Hajji Firuz Tepe (5400–5000 BC) in today's Northwest Iran and much older than the grape wine culture in Egypt and Mesopotamia (3500–3000 BC) and Crete (about 2200 BC).[2]

What is still more interesting, the Neolithic site of Jiahu proves to be the most evident and perhaps oldest paradigm of the entanglement of wine and fermentation culture with the emergence of human creativity and civilization. In Jiahu not only China's oldest residues of wine production and fermentation technology has been found, but also the first traces of the use of rice and recently most probably the oldest music instruments (bone flutes) as well as the earliest prototypes of Chinese writing on tortoise shell. The connection with shamanist and burial ceremonies is evident.[3] From the technical point of view, the proof of grape wine residues like tartaric acid in an epoch when agriculture and more sophisticated fermentation methods were not yet developed shows that grapes had an important function in initiating fermentation processes and in the production of alcoholic beverages. Owing to increased archaeological activities and findings in China in the past few years, it does not seem impossible that new discoveries concerning the culture of fermented beverages, and especially of grape wine, will be made in the near future.

No doubt these discoveries made in China are going to shake the conventional *Noah Hypothesis*, which follows the legend of the Old Testament and former archaeological and historical evidence in supposing that the origin of wine culture lies in the Middle East, therefore excluding parallel developments in different parts of the world. The fact of the production and use of ceramic vessels for some kind of proto-wine almost 10,000 years ago in East

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2 See McGovern (2003), pp. 14–15; McGovern (2009), pp. 28–42, 74–76; McGovern et al. (1997), pp. 5–16; McGovern et al. (2004 and 2005); Bower (2004); CIIC (2004); ORF (2004), University of Pennsylvania (2004) and Zhongguo Kexueyuan (2005).

3 McGovern (2009), pp. 31–36.

Asia may as well lead to the conclusion that not only one of the first civilizations began to flourish in Central China, but also that Central China was the origin of fermented beverages, including grape wine. In light of this, the two alternative conclusions could be drawn, that (1) the history of the production of fermented beverages in China was an independent and isolated process, or more probable, (2) there must have been an exchange of products as well as know-how and technology across the Eurasian continent already in prehistoric times, i.e. some kind of prehistoric Silk Road, or better, "Wine Road".

A few thousand years later Chinese written resources convey the oldest evidence of grape wine production in the Western regions. Such passages can be found in the *Records of the Historians* (*Shiji* 史记) compiled around 100 BC and in the *History of the Han Dynasty* (*Hanshu* 汉书) compiled in the first century AD. For the first time in Chinese history, the Western Han Empire (206 BC to 23 AD) expanded its sphere of influence to as far as Central Asia and cultivated diplomatic and trade relations with the Western empires. In the latter source, it is recorded that General Zhang Qian (张骞, ?–114 BC) returned in the year 126 BC from one of his extensive expeditions on a mission started by the Han Emperor Wudi (汉武帝), which led him as far as the Central Asian empire *Dawan* (大宛) in the Ferghana Valley, the Persian Empire and the Caspian Sea, whence he brought back vine samples of a widespread kind of *Vitis vinifera* from which all modern species of cultivated vines in Western Asia and Europe are derived. In fact, the population of Dawan were the descendants of the Macedonian army under Alexander the Great two centuries before, and they had brought with them their Greek wine culture. One explanation of the name "Dawan", in another pronunciation "Dayuan", of which the first morpheme simply means "great", is that the second part of the name is derived from the "Ionians". The vine samples brought back by Zhang Qian and his men were planted und cultivated in the gardens of the imperial court in the capital of Chang'an 长安 (today's Xi'an 西安) and probably from there spread over the central empire.

The *Records of the Historians* testify that grape wine was produced on a large scale in Dawan and that large volumes of wine could be stored for ten years and more without deterioration. This recording supports the hypothesis suggested by the archaeological evidence that the professional and extensive production of grape wine had already developed to a rather high level in the

Western regions of China during the *Spring and Autumn Period* (春秋时代), i.e. around the middle of the first millennium BC.[4]

In Chinese literature and poetry, especially in the Pre-Tang and Tang period, i.e. around the third to the ninth centuries, thousands of examples of praising the enjoyment of alcoholic beverages (*jiu* 酒) and among them particularly referring to "grape wine" (*putao* 葡萄) can be found. Until today the most popular poem is "Song of Liangzhou" (*Liangzhou ci* 凉州词) from the eighth century:

葡萄美酒夜光杯
欲饮琵琶马上催
醉卧沙场君莫笑
古来征战几人回

Drinking the magnificent wine of grapes in the night shining cups with desire
But the lute rushes for departure on our horses
Comrades, don't laugh when we lie drunken in the sand
Since ancient times, how many did ever return from the battle fields[5]

Today Chinese people usually still recite the first one or two lines when drinking a glass of tasty grape wine. But, strangely enough, only few of them know more about the poem, for instance its title, its age, and its author Wang Han (王翰), who lived around 1300 years ago during the Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD), the "Golden Age" of Chinese literature. Neither do most Chinese realize the often forgotten tragic end of these verses describing solders preparing for a desperate battle far in the West and contrasting with the delightful beginning. The most interesting fact about this hymn glorifying the beauty of grape wine is that it reveals that rice wine, spirits and tea were not the only cultural beverages in ancient Chinese tradition and also refutes the widespread opinion in the West and in China itself that grape wine had no tradition in China itself and that later on it became just another import product from Europe. The place Liangzhou mentioned in the title of the poem was a strategically important point in the middle of the Gansu corridor where all the economic and cultural exchange between China and Central

[4] See the contributions of Wei, Si "试论唐代以前葡萄种植及葡萄酿酒在我国西域地区的传播与兴起" / "Grape cultivation and winemaking in the Western Regions of China" and Su, Zhenxing "论古代中西交流中的葡萄和葡萄酒文化" / "On the exchange of ancient Chinese and Western grape and grape wine culture", in: Kupfer (ed.) (2010), pp. 89–104 and pp. 163–174.

[5] The translations from Chinese are by myself.

Asia up to Europe took place. Since more than two thousand years and until the present the Gansu valleys have offered favorable soil and climate conditions for viticulture.

Wang Han, like many other literati of his time who not only received inspiration from grape wine but also engaged personally in viniculture and wine production, was a native of Taiyuan 太原, the capital of today's Shanxi Province. According to several reports, the area around Taiyuan and central Shanxi was presumably the largest wine-cultivating region in the heart of the ancient Chinese Empire during the Middle Ages. Today no traces can be found of this formerly flourishing culture, which reached its peak during Tang times.[6]

I may present as another example probably the very first poem in Chinese history describing grape wine, entitled "The delight of wine drinking" (*Yinjiule* 饮酒乐). It is one of the most magnificent poems describing wine in all its aesthetic and fascinating facets. But strangely enough, in spite of its beauty and unlike the first poem, it is not as well known among the Chinese. Also, hardly anyone is familiar with its age and its author. Its way of describing the delight of wine drinking together with friends in an exhilarating atmosphere bears a strong resemblance to the topics to be found in European and Persian poetry in later centuries:

蒲萄四时芳醇，琉璃千种旧宾。
夜饮舞迟销烛，朝醒弦促催人。
春风秋月恒好，欢醉日月言新。

Fragrant grape wine through the four seasons
Thousand glittering goblets for familiar guests
Drinking the whole night, the dances slowing down, the candles extinguishing
Awakening in the morning with the shaking sound of the lute
Ever delicious wine in the spring breeze and under the autumn moon
Intoxicating happiness, never-ending new conversations

[6] During my visit at the wine company "Grape Garden" in Qingxu, south of Taiyuan, I was told about centuries-old vines still to be found in remote parts of the province and about tools and equipment for wine production in farmers' houses, as well as about autochthonous vine varieties mentioned in local historical records.

The poet, Lu Ji (陆基, 261–303), was a government official in his late years, i.e. around 300 AD during the Western Jin Dynasty in the capital Luoyang.[7] The motifs centered around the description of grape wine in this seventeen-centuries-old poem can be repeatedly found in later literary works: the extraordinary, transparent beauty and fragrance of grape wine which – unequalled by any other alcoholic beverage at that time – can be enjoyed through the whole year; the matching precious drinking vessels – perhaps resembling those common in Persia and Greece, the inspiring und communicative effects of grape wine and the easy, enjoyable awakening in the morning without a hangover. All these characteristics are often repeated in the literature of other cultures where grape wine plays a central role. And it is worth recalling the fact that this poem was written during the time when the Romans were exporting their wine culture to Central Europe.

Obviously, the Chinese word for "grape", *putao* (葡萄), which also referred to "grape wine" and became popular since the beginning of the Han Dynasty, was borrowed from the Persian language (*bāde*). In the old records, different writing variants of this word can be found with the same pronunciation (蒲陶, 蒲萄, 蒲桃, 葡桃). In modern times the word for "grape wine" has been modified by adding the general term *jiu* (酒) for alcoholic drink, i.e. *putaojiu* (葡萄酒). Korea and Japan also adopted this word formation with the pronunciations *podoju* and *bodōshu*, respectively. The double meaning of *putao* in ancient times shows that the grapes being imported from the West were automatically associated with the product of grape wine.[8]

Experts proved that around 40 species of wild grapes have developed in China's temperate zones since the Tertiary period. This makes this part of the world, together with the Caucasian region, quite unique.[9] Hence it could be assumed that the Paleolithic population in these latitudes should already have been able to produce a fermented drink simply by collecting and storing grapes long before engaging in agriculture and grain growing. This so-called *Paleolithic Hypothesis* mentioned in McGovern's books (2003, 2009) is supported by legends from Southwest China and other regions that even

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7 See Zeng (1980), p. 100; Ying (1999), pp. 41–45. It is possible that only the first four lines are from Lu Ji, and that 300 years later a poet named Lu Qiong 陆琼(537–586) added the last two lines. The sources give no definite answer to this question.

8 See Zeng (1980), p. 100; Fei (1987), p. 36; Löwenstein (1991), p. 16; Ying (1999), pp. 39–41.

9 See for instance Wan et al. (2008, 77): "China is one of the major gene centers of *Vitis* species origination. More than 35 *Vitis* species have their origin in China."

monkeys are able to produce primordial variants of grape or fruit wine in this simple way for their nutrition and enjoyment.[10]

There are more than enough evidences that, parallel to Mesopotamia, the Caucasus, Asia Minor, Crete and Egypt, China had already developed sophisticated skills and techniques to produce alcoholic beverages by systematic fermentation in prehistoric times, and that these beverages played a prominent role in the religious and social life of primeval communities as well as during the Shang- and Western Zhou-Periods (sixteenth to eighth centuries BC). This fact is abundantly documented by archaeological findings, such as the highly developed variety of differently shaped and named vessels for ceremonial, festive or daily use, which were first manufactured as pottery and later on as bronze vessels and can be admired in any Chinese historical museum nowadays. Also, the ancient recordings, like the *Book of the Rites* (礼记), testify to the central status of alcoholic beverages at court and in different life situations.

The significance and symbolism of fermented beverages at the dawn of Chinese civilization is even reflected in the development of the Chinese writing system. Like the general term for "alcoholic", *jiu* 酒, in the historical dictionaries at least 400 characters can be found which are composed with the component *you* 酉, originally representing a pictogram of a wine jar – which by the way resembles the Georgian *kvevri* or the Central Asian *hum* and is quite similar to symbols used in other ancient wine cultures. Nowadays, of course, most of these characters are neither used nor known any longer. But in their semantic complexity, they show how sophisticated the variety, production technology and consumption of alcoholic beverages was in ancient China. One can find plenty of different ideas condensed in individual characters for instance for technically and sometimes geographically distinguished kinds of fermented beverages – altogether more than 60 names being mostly obscure in their meaning today, or for vessels for storing, serving, sacrificing and drinking ceremonies, for official ceremonial posts at the emperor's court in ancient times, for special methods and techniques of pro-

[10] For the *Paleolithic Hypothesis* see McGovern (2003), pp. 7–11 and (2009), pp. 11–13. Also compare Fang/Fang (1993), pp. 103–104, who presume three stages of the development of fermented beverages, produced from 1. fruits (Paleolithic), 2. milk (beginning of animal husbandry) and 3. grain (advanced agriculture). Estreicher (2006), p. 3, is also convinced that grape wine must have been produced before beer and other alcoholic beverages.

ducing alcoholic beverages, and for describing several activities connected with rituals and festivals. In modern Chinese writing one can still find several characters containing the alcohol component but having derived meanings which more or less convey some dim relation to the meaning of fermentation, for instance *suan* 酸 "sour", *ku* 酷 "bitter; cruel; extreme" and, in recent years, also "cool" in youth slang, *chun* 醇 "pure, refined", which in modern times is used as a chemical term for "alcohol", *yi* 醫 "medicine; doctor; cure", *jiang* 醬 "sauce, paste", and words in everyday use which originally characterized the state after drinking: *han* 酣 "(drinking, sleeping) to one's content", *zui* 醉 "drunk, tipsy; fascinated by something" and *xing* 醒 "sober up; wake up".

This linguistic sideways glance might be sufficient to illustrate how deep-rooted the culture of alcoholic beverages was in China's prehistoric and ancient society at least 3000–4000 years ago – during the elaboration of the Chinese writing system. And as already mentioned above, the early historical and literary recordings also reveal the central function of intoxicating drinks in worshipping ceremonies as a spiritual link to the gods and ancestors, as well as at courtly banquets and in daily life.

Recent findings in tombs in Central China confirm the central role of alcoholic beverages in funerary rituals and as burial objects. The oldest brewage of mankind was unearthed in the year 1980 near Anyang in Henan Province at the historic center of the Shang-Dynasty – and not very far from the archaeological site of Jiahu: a more than 3000-year-old bronze vessel with a fermented and filtered liquid made of rice and millet improved with different spices and preservatives, such as herbs, flowers and resin – a remarkable mixture which is amazingly reminiscent of the techniques used to prepare the oldest wines in the Middle East, Egypt and Greece (where today the only remaining resinous wine in the world, *retsina*, is still very common). Another fermented drink from the Western Han Dynasty (second century BC), 26 liters in total, was found in 2003 in a prince's tomb near Xi'an, perfectly preserved in a hermetically closed bronze vessel. It is said that the liquid is of greenish color and still has a fragrant smell, containing about 10 percent alcohol which obviously had not evaporated after more than two thousand years.[11]

[11] See McGovern (2009), pp. 47–49, and the Internet article "26 gongjin lao *jiu* …" and the newspaper publications in *Renmin Ribao (Haiwaiban)*, June 21, 2003, July 31, 2003 and August 1, 2003.

For any visitor of China's historical museums, like the excellent one in Shanghai, it is apparently still a mystery what the contents were of all those differently shaped ceramic and bronze vessels exhibited in the departments of the prehistoric period, the Shang and Zhou dynasties. Simply labeled "wine vessel", it might be thought that 70–80 percent of them were used for storing, serving and consuming alcoholic beverages, especially those with narrow necks. After their first experiences with fermenting grapes, the hunter-gatherers of the Paleolithic age might have learnt to make use of the product for their enjoyment, but also for magic and religious purposes. During the so-called *Neolithic Revolution* and parallel with the emergence of agriculture, the first human settlements and the production of earthenware, they started to initiate and control fermentation processes in a systematic and large-scale way, gradually developing better techniques for brewing beverages made out of grain or rice and the production of a large variety of sophisticated vessels.

Some General Thoughts about Wine and the Rise of Civilization

The findings indicated above and other recent research results from the different fields of archaeology and historical, cultural, social, literary and linguistic studies in China in comparison with Central and Western Eurasia lend credence to the following assumptions in connection with the *Paleolithic Hypothesis*:

1. In general, the discovery and use of fermentation by prehistoric man can be assessed as quantum leap in the history of evolution and civilization, similar to the discovery of fire.
2. The mastery of fermentation processes promoted almost all of the achievements of civilization in a more or less direct way. This concerned the whole range of material transformations in the course of the Neolithic Revolution, from the society of hunter-gatherers to solid settlements with agricultural production collectives developing to primal state communities with social diversification and classification, refined techniques of food production and cooking, as well as basic approaches to industrial and artistic technology. The findings in Jiahu provide excellent evidence in this regard.
3. There seems to be a universal connection between the ritual use of fermented beverages and the creation of writing systems – an area which needs still much more research of course. A prime example for this corre-

lation is the formation of Chinese civilization together with earliest inscriptions.

4. In primeval societies living in temperate zones the natural fermentation of grapes seems to have set off the production of more complex alcoholic beverages and, later on, with the development of granoculture, also of prototypes of beer. The similarity of the developments in the East and the West are somehow striking, as for instance the simultaneous cultivation of barley about 4000 years ago – most probably exclusively for this purpose – in the Middle East and in China in connection with the production of beer-like beverages.
5. In addition to socio-economic progress, spirituous beverages evoked experience of enhanced consciousness by specially assigned persons who had the ability to transcend their individual consciousness in favor of a higher community consciousness, adopting key functions for the self-determination and identification of the group. Consequently, the emergence of magic and religious cultic rituals together with constitutive symbols as well as the demand for the preservation of narrative language and written recordings appeared. There has been perhaps no highly developed culture on earth in which rituals of trance and meditation combined with the consumption of intoxicants, especially alcoholic beverages, did not play an important role. This can also be clearly observed in the case of China.
6. With the further development of the cultic system, the organization and performance of these rituals became an exclusive privilege of certain persons with special abilities who finally constituted the elite class of magicians or priests on the side or even above the political rulers. Their main function was to communicate with deceased ancestors and the metaphysical world and to foretell the life and fate of their community.

It is well documented that ancient Chinese society installed a highly distinctive ancestral worship system together with a pantheon of deities, nature spirits, mythical emperors and heroes. Already in pre- and proto-historic times, there must have been a vastly elaborated complex of rituals and ceremonies for cultivating contacts with ancestors and deities, and we also know that this duty was executed by professional shamans, the so-called *wu(shi)* 巫 (师), who exercised their services on the basis of intoxicating beverages consumed before or during the rituals. This cumulated in the formation of a superstructure of mythological, religious and ideological concepts and doctrines which furthermore produced social and linguistic differences and vari-

eties as well as power and authority systems. The requirement to describe the transcendental and virtual trance experiences to others and to transmit them over long distances of time and space – and this can be recognized clearly at the beginning of Chinese culture – led to the evolution of language from a mere means of communication to an instrument of documentation and narrative fixation, archiving and transmission of magic-religious content, and later, during the constitution of the imperial system, also of political and economic, ideological and literary contents, thus inspiring the invention of scripture and the art of writing as well as the official institutionalization of the historians and archives at court. The hitherto oldest known Chinese texts, the inscriptions on blade bones and tortoise shells (*jiaguwen* 甲骨文) from at least the Shang Dynasty between the sixteenth and eleventh centuries BC, is evident proof of this evolutionary process. It seems that there was a similar development in ancient Egyptian civilization, where a closed interdependence can be seen between wine culture and material progress, the emergence of a religious cosmos and the simultaneous expansion of the function of language together with the creation of a pictorial writing system. The more one approaches China's *jiu* 酒 and wine culture, while focusing on certain related periods and areas, such as technical-material culture, economic and social developments, mythology, religion, language, literature and art from this perspective, the more it can be gradually revealed how deeply Chinese society and civilization has been stamped by the symbolism of *jiu* throughout its long continuous history.

Wine and Alcoholic Beverages as Integral Part of Chinese Culture

As still observable in present-day Chinese society, it can be presumed that the increasingly sophisticated production, ritualization as well as socially conventionalized consumption of alcoholic beverages has strongly influenced the creative achievements in all domains of China's cultural development. The most prominent example of this influence in China's rich history of literature is poetry. From the almost 3000 years old poems in the *Book of Songs* 诗经 to the sophisticated lyrical tradition of the Han Dynasty (second century BC to the second century AD), the nature and hermit poetry of the period of the Six Dynasties 六朝 (third to sixth centuries) as represented by such prominent poets as Lu Ji, the Seven Wise Men of the Bamboo Grove 竹林七贤 and especially Tao Yuanming 陶渊明 (365–427), and reaching the climax in the Golden Age of Chinese lyric poetry during the Tang Dyn-

asty (seventh to tenth centuries), which has left the unique heritage of more than 50,000 poems from more than 2,500 writers, one can find uncountable traces of the influence of *jiu* and wine culture through the millennia.

Especially saturated with the motif of wine are Tang lyrics, and they most probably would not have attained such an outstanding culmination of creativity without it. Besides immortal icons like Li Bai 李白 (701–762) and Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770), whose hundreds of poems are steeped in the spirit of *jiu*, one could cite dozens of highly proliferating poets of this three centuries' period similarly influenced by this subject, among them Liu Yuxi 刘禹锡 (772–842), Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), Wang Han 王翰 (seventh to eighth century), Wang Bo 王勃 (ca. 650–676), Wang Zhihuan 王之涣 (688–742), Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819), Wang Wei 王维 (?–761), Wang Ya 王涯 (?–835) and many others. It is unimaginable that they could have displayed such a life full of creativity and rich with anecdotes without the general inspiration of *putaojiu* and *jiu*. It is even recorded that some of these poets cultivated and produced wine themselves.

To a further extent during the subsequent dynasties of Song (tenth to thirteenth centuries), Yuan (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries) and Ming (fourteenth to seventeenth centuries), wine and *jiu* showed their prominent influence not only in lyrics, but particularly in novels, folk tales and dramas. There is enormous research potential here still waiting to be exploited. To start with, the works of the famous Northern Song scholar and poet, Su Shi 苏轼, better known as Su Dongpo 苏东坡 (1037–1101), and even his whole existence are inextricably bound up with the inspiration of intoxicating beverages, especially grape wine.[12]

Little cross-cultural research has been done yet on the artefacts of bronze mirrors which carry ornaments of vine branches and grapes. In China they were very common especially before and during the Tang Dynasty. The bronze mirror was a kind of handicraft distributed not only along the whole Silk Road, but also in largely dispersed ancient cultures like the Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Etruscan, Greek, Roman, Korean and Japanese ones.

Wine culture has spread its great influence on calligraphy and painting since the Tang period. Repeatedly, the genre of the "drunken ink" (*zuimo* 醉墨) has been transmitted as a special genre in the art of brush writing pen-

[12] For more details about the inseparable connection between Chinese literature and *(putao-) jiu* culture, see Kupfer (2007), pp. 600–613, also Cai (1993) and Lin (1993) and the voluminous collection of sources in Hu (1987), which by far is not complete yet.

etrated by the spirit of *jiu*. Its perhaps most prominent protagonist was the eccentric monk and calligrapher Huaisu 怀素 (737 – ca. 798), also known as the "drunken monk" (*zuiseng* 醉僧). During the thirteenth century, another monk and artist, Wen Riguan 温日观, was nicknamed and revered as "Wine Wen" (*putao-Wen* 葡萄温) because of his ink paintings of grapes. He was called the "crazy monk" (*kuangseng* 狂僧) because of his extraordinary painting technique, which has been described as follows: after drinking much wine, he dipped his long hair into the ink with a loud scream, using his head as brush for the creation of his masterpieces.[13] Cases like these show that Buddhist spiritual life did, indeed, not always mean abstinence from alcohol in China. The obvious connection between the increasing viniculture and wine production even in Central China and the ascent of Buddhism at about the same time is an interesting, but not yet sufficiently researched fact. Together with the large spread of Buddhist monasteries and monks throughout the whole empire, Buddhist monks also seem to have contributed to the expansion of vineyards. During this same period, popular religious movements within Daoism probably inspired the production and consumption of wine in connection with Daoist life-extending and dietary practices.[14]

These few examples might suffice to give an idea of the creative effect of *putaojiu* in Chinese history within the whole context of *jiu* culture, spanning China's most creative millennium. And it is no coincidence that grape wine culture reached its peak of prosperity in the Tang period, when China was the world's largest and most flourishing empire, uniting many different nationalities and cultures, establishing trade routes and manifold contacts and exchanges with Europe, the Middle East, Central and South Asia, as well as with Korea, Japan and Southeast Asia. Grape wine was esteemed highly at that time in China. This was also due to the vivid influences from Persian, Greek-Bactrian and Sogdian cultures, and especially due to its direct promotion by the imperial court. During the Tang period tea had just started under the influence of Buddhism to develop into a common beverage; distilled spirits (*zhengliujiu* 蒸馏酒 or *baijiu* 白酒) became popular only much later,

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[13] See Ying (1999), pp. 107, 156. The same story is told about the Tang calligrapher Zhang Xu 张旭. More about Chinese calligraphy, its great masters since Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (307–365) and their addiction to *(putao-) jiu* is described in Zhang (1993).

[14] Bauer (1989, 229) holds the traditional opinion that wine was the beverage of Daoism and tea that of Buddhism. For the relationship between Daoism and *jiu*, see Hao (1993).

i.e. in the Northern Song Dynasty (tenth to twelfth centuries).[15] Therefore, grape wine was esteemed highly during this time and met the requirements of an aesthetical, precious, enjoyable and inspiring beverage for religious-philosophical as well as social purposes.

In the Yuan Dynasty (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries), during which China became a part of the Mongolian world empire, winegrowing reached a record level in acreage and production quantity.[16] Historical recordings, including Marco Polo's reports, describe the existence of huge vineyards in different parts of the country, where a variety of grapes were harvested on a large scale by state-owned enterprises. At least the first Yuan emperor, Kublai Khan, an enthusiastic promoter of wine, installed a wine cellar at his court for state receptions and banquets.

The question has not been satisfactorily answered as to why grape wine lost its status in Chinese society in later times, i.e. in the Ming and Qing Dynasties (fourteenth to nineteenth centuries), and why it has been given the common status – still applicable today – of a "foreign culture product". There may be a number of economic, fiscal, social and cultural reasons for the decline of wine culture in China. Other factors have played an important role as well hitherto: the old and unique tradition of highly sophisticated *qu*-fermentation used in the production of "yellow wine" (*huangjiu* 黄酒) – *qu* (曲, 麴, 麴) is a fermentation substance produced from grain and soya –[17] and of course the increasing popularity of distilled beverages.

China's wine culture started its revival within globalizing contexts only after the end of the nineteenth century. In 1892 the Changyu Wine Company (张裕葡萄酒酿酒公司) was founded by Zhang Bishi 张弼士, a businessman returning to China from Batavia (Jakarta) to the town of Chefoo 芝罘

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15 Among experts, there is no consensus yet on when in Chinese history distillation techniques were used to produce alcoholic beverages, and not just only for medical purposes. The early terms *shaojiu* 烧酒 ("boiled *jiu*") und *baijiu* 白酒 ("white *jiu*") used in the Tang period are no proof of distilled spirits, they rather indicate the habit of warming up fermented beverages. The oldest clearly identified distillation equipment was used in the Jin Empire in the 12th Century (see Zeng 1980, p. 7; Ying 1999, p. 67).

16 For wine history in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties see Ying (1999), pp. 91–127, and Liu Yingsheng, "蒙元时代葡萄酒文化及其生产与贸易/Wine culture, production and trade in Mongol-Yuan China", in: Kupfer (2010), pp. 105–127.

17 About *qu*-fermantation tradition see Chen, Guangsheng, "从酒麴看中国利用微生物的成就"/"*Jiuqu* fermentation techniques and achievements in using microorganisms in China", in: Kupfer (2010), pp. 79–86.

(Zhifu), today's Yantai 烟台, on the Northern coast of Shandong. He planted vines imported from Austria all around the pleasant Mediterranean landscape along the shores of the Yellow Sea. In modern times, Changyu became China's biggest wine producer, with its red and white wines enjoying an increasing reputation on the national and international markets.

Since the beginning of modernization in the 1980s and especially since the turn of the millennium, an unprecedented boom of the production and consumption of grape wine can be observed in China – with double digit growth rates per year as well as continuous progress in quality production. Lately, a German journalist has characterized this phenomenon as "Cultural Revolution".[18] The Chinese wine-growing area – with around 600 wineries in ten main wine-growing regions spanning 4000 kilometres from east to west – has reached 600,000 ha already which is six times of that of Germany. Although most of the grapes are sold on the market as fresh grapes, China meanwhile produces more than 12 million hectolitres of wine, and surpassed Germany's production of 10 million hectolitres, now ranking in top position in the world. Especially among the fast growing urban middle class grape, wine has captured a new market, and since the 1990s high-proof alcoholic drinks like *Maotai* were officially banished from state and institutional banquets and almost everywhere in the country replaced by mostly red wine from the domestic market. Accordingly, China's grape wine consumption has increased at an almost incredible rate within the past decade, reaching one billion bottles per year, which is equal to about 8 million hectolitres (compared with Germany's 20 million hectolitres). But in fact, the per-capita consumption is still very low in China: just one litre per person a year (compared with Germany: 20 litres, France: 50 litres).[19] So there is still plenty of potential.

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[18] Bader (2006).

[19] Zhai (2005), (Zhang, Junke (2007), p. 22, and Hoffmann, "China on its way into global wine world"/"进军全球化葡萄酒世界道路上的中国", in: Kupfer (2010), pp. 255–268.

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Wine on the Northern Silk Road in Pre-Islamic Times:

An Iranian, in other words, Sogdian import (to China) between the fourth and the eighth centuries AD?

ULF JÄGER[1]

The title of this paper implies that the ancient Sogdians brought viniculture and wine-drinking to the Silk Road countries between modern Xinjiang and Northern China in the period between the later Han Dynasty in the third, and the Tang Dynasty in the seventh / eighth centuries AD, and that the Sogdians were the people who had the greatest influence on wine-drinking.

The Sogdians, an Eastern Iranian ethnic group with a Middle Iranian language, originally came from the region that earlier in the twentieth century was called Western Turkestan. Nowadays it is part of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. The Sogdians and their homelands already crop up in Chinese sources during the Han Dynasty in the third / second century BC as Kangju 康居. They never built up a larger empire for themselves, but lived in smaller, also larger and often fortified cities under local aristocrats, and mainly accepted the rule of stronger powers, such as that of the Hephtalites, the White Huns and the Western Turkish Khaganat, accordingly paying tribute to these stronger powers. The Sogdians were originally believers of a branch of the Zoroastrian faith, but were also early believers of Buddhism, Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity. In their time they were renowned for their flourishing agriculture and also for their craftsmanship in silk production and toreutic metalwork, especially in silver. The Sogdian script, derived from Aramaic script, provided the basis for the script of the Uyghurs. Most famously of all, the Sogdians advanced to become merchants and diplomats, active on an international scale between the Crimea and China at the latest roughly between the fourth and the eighth centuries AD. Furthermore, they acted as early translators of Buddhist texts in the small city-

[1] Gronau-Epe / Westphalia, Germany.

states of the Tarim Basin of modern Xinjiang[2]. It would be impossible here to sum up all the archaeological discoveries and their interpretations concerning the Sogdians in China made within the last 20 years[3] in the above-mentioned regions, and beyond the scope of our interest.

Production and consumption of alcoholic beverages started with agriculture in the Old World, at the latest possibly in the ninth millennium BC; in his paper, Patrick McGovern provides an in-depth introduction and describes the difficulties pertaining to research in this complicated field.

"Beer comes with bread" as Edward Schafer simply says when writing about alcoholic beverages in his famous book *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand. A Study of T'ang Exotics* of 1963[4].

But making wine from grapes, whether white or red, needs more than this, much more. Grapes need to be cultivated under optimal climatic and geological conditions; making wines of high quality was and is an art in itself.

In this essay I cannot and do not wish to relate the history of wine and viticulture in Iran and neighbouring countries from the Neolithic age to Islamization, especially in connection with Iran and Sogdiana. Colleagues far more specialised than I have presented papers relating to wine in Iran, i.e. Persia.

Many facts speak in favour of a developed viticulture in the Near and Middle East, especially under the influence of the Iranian-speaking people, which doesn't mean that other, non-Iranian peoples didn't play important roles in this development.

It was Berthold Laufer in 1919 who, working with Chinese sources, first tried to answer to the question of when China learned about the grapevine

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2 Mariko Namba Walter, Sogdians and Buddhism, Sino-Platonic Papers No. 174, November 2006, Victor H. Mair (ed.), Philadelphia. (Philadelphia 2006); Boris A. Litvinsky, Die Geschichte des Buddhismus in Ostturkestan; Studies in Oriental Relgions 44, Walter Heissig and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (eds.), (Wiesbaden 1999).

3 Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner (eds.), Monks and Merchants. Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China, Gansu and Ningxia, 4th to 7th Century, Exhibition-Catalogue of the Asia Society New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc. and the Asia Society (New York 2001); Etienne de la Vaissiere, Histoire des Marchands Sogdiens, Bibliotheque de L'Institute des Hautes Chinoises, Vol. XXXII, (Paris 2002); both books with rich, extensive bibliographies concerning 'The Sogdians'.

4 Edward Schafer, The Golden Peaches of Samarkand. A Study of T'ang Exotics, University of California Press, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1963), chapter IX: Foods, see: grapes and grape vine, pp. 141–145.

and its cultivation.[5] We know for sure that it was Zhang Qian 张骞, the great traveller of the early Han Dynasty, who during the era of Emperor Wudi 武帝 (141–87 BC) brought back grape seeds to be planted in the capital for early cultivation. The seeds for these grapes seem to have originated in a country west of Ferghana, i.e. Sogdia. As far as we know, the forthcoming grapes were yellow, white and 'black' (dark, i.e. 'blue') in colour and mainly used for eating. In the era of Emperor Cao Pi 曹丕 of the Wei Dynasty (222–264 AD), one of the Three Kingdoms following the later Han Dynasty, this emperor paid an early tribute to wine, again obviously from Sogdia (or made by Sogdians?), by saying: "They (the grapes) can also be used to brew wine, which is sweeter than brewed from ale. One can get goodly drunk from it, but easily recover."[6]

In the fifth century AD, we again hear of grape wine, this time from Dunhuang 敦煌 (Gansu Province)[7]. This is interesting not only because Dunhuang was far away westwards from the Chinese capital, but was also an early location of a Sogdian colony and mentioned in the early fourth century AD in the well known "Sogdian Ancient Letters"[8].

It is interesting that wine in China, which is to say grape wine, is strongly linked to people from Kangju, i.e. Sogdia, especially during the period between the Han and the Tang Dynasties, in the time around 250 BC to the

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5 Berthold Laufer, Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran, with special reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products, Field Museum of Natural History, Publication 201, Anthropological Series, Vol. 15, no. 3, (Chicago 1919).

6 David R. Knechtges, Gradually entering the Realm of Delight: Food and Drink in Medieval China, Journal of the American Oriental Society 117, no. 2 (April–June) 1997, pp. 229–239, p. 238.

7 T'ao Hung-ling, PTKM, 33, 20b (after footnote 23/Schafer/chapter IX)

8 Sir Marc Aurel Stein, Serindia, 5 vols, (Oxford 1921), see vol. IV, pp. 671–677 and plates CLVII–CLIV; W.B. Henning, The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies XII, 3–4, 1948, pp.601–615; Nicholas Sims-Williams (with an introduction by Daniel C. Waugh), The Sogdian Ancient Letters 1, 2, 3 and 5, see: www.depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/sogdlet.html; Frantz Grenet and Nicholas Sims-Williams, The Historical Context of the Sogdian Ancient Letters, Transition Periods in Iranian History, Actes du Symposium de Fribourg-en-Brisgau (22–24. May 1985), (Leuven 1987), pp. 101–122; Nicholas Sims-Williams, The Sogdian Merchants in China and India, in: Alfredo Cadonna and Lionell Lanciotti (eds.), Cina e Iran da Alessandro Magno alla Dinastia Tang, Orientalia Venetiana Vol. V, (Florence 1996), pp. 45–67; Nicholas Sims-Williams, 8. Sogdian Ancient Letter II, in: Juliano and Lerner (eds.), Monks and Merchants, (New York 2001), pp. 47–49.

eighth century AD. It was Wolfram Eberhard who in 1941 analyzed Chinese sources mentioning the contacts to Central Asian and West Asiatic people[9].

In connection with grape wine, Eberhard refers not only to the people of Sogdian culture, but also groups of people from Khotan (his so-called "Khotan-Völker") in the south-west of the Tarim Basin, as well as the Yuezhi 月氏 of Bactria, which is more or less equivalent to modern Afghanistan and NW Pakistan. Today, modern scholarship connects these Yuezhi with the Kushans and their ancestors.[10]

Dating the rulers of the Great Kushans cannot be analysed in detail here; the author still follows Robert Göbl of Vienna in this question.[11]

The Yuezhi, formerly nomads, soon became the ruling power of Bactria but took over many elements of the Hellenised, Greek culture of Bactria. This brings up the question of how, when, and if, grapes and grape-vine and viniculture reached Central Asia with and after Alexander the Great's conquests in the fourth century BC. This is important if we recall that Alexander also conquered Sogdia, and took Roxane, the daughter of the Sogdian king Oxyartes, as his wife in 327 BC. In our context it is perforce of interest that the Greek sources mention the strong and dark grape wines of Bactria and Sogdia. I cannot pursue the history of viniculture in Central Asia during Hellenistic times when Greek and an older, East-Iranian viniculture meet – this is again beyond the scope of this survey.

W. Eberhard makes special mention of wine and viniculture for the following city-states of Central Asia:

Qiemo 且末 on the southern route of the Silk Road, from 550 AD onwards; Yanqi 焉耆/ Karashahr, on the northern route of the Silk Road in modern Xinjiang. He also mentions Yutian 于田/ Khotan, Anxi 安息, the country of the Parthians between the Kushans in the East and the Roman Empire in the West, Chi-pin 罽宾/ Gandhara, but especially Kangju / Sogdi-

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9 Wolfram Eberhard, Die Kultur der alten zentral- und westasiatischen Völker nach den chinesischen Quellen, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 73, 1941, pp. 215–275.

10 Craig G. R. Benjamin, The Yuezhi. Origin, Migration and the Conquest of Northern Bactria, Silk Road Studies XIV, Brepols Publishers, (Turnhout 2007).

11 Robert Göbl, System und Chronologie der Münzprägung des Kusanreiches, (Vienna 1984); Robert Göbl, Donum Burns, Die Kusanmünzen im Münzkabinett Bern und die Chronologie, (Vienna 1993); Robert Göbl, The Rabatak Inscription and the date of Kanishka, in: Michael Alram and Deborah Klimburg-Salter (eds.), Coins, Art and Chronology, Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands, (Vienna 1999), pp. 151–177.

ana. The Sui-shu (Sui-shu 83 = p. 2535b: see Eberhard 1941, pp. 235–236) says that "they like to drink great quantities of grape wine". The T'ang-shu (T'ang.shu T'Y'Yl 793, 4a: see Eberhard 1941, pp. 230–231) again says that "they like to drink wine and they dance on the streets". The Chin-shu (Chin-shu 97 = p. 1337b: see Eberhard 1941, pp. 230–231) says about Sogdia: "The country is warm and produces wheat, wine, sheep, cattle and good horses". Some centuries previously, the Hou Han-shu (Hou Han-shu 118: see Eberhard 1941, p. 231) says: "The earth and the water (of Su-te / Sogdia) are very good, because of this their grape wine is marvellous and famous". When speaking of K'ang-kuo – modern Samarkand – in the Sui-shu (Sui-shu 83 = p. 2535b: see Eberhard 1941, p. 233), it is mentioned that "the wine can be stored for a very long time". For the region called Ta-yüan, that is, Bactria, more or less the area of Afghanistan, we hear: "They produce wine from grapes. Rich people very often have 10 000 Tan of wine and this wine gets older than 10 years. They love drinking."

With regard to grapevine, we should include one more state on the northern route of the Silk Road, not mentioned specifically by W. Eberhard. It is the state of Kucha. Liu Mau-tsai referred to the viniculture in this state[12] in a detailed cultural study The Chinese general Lü Guang 吕光, who conquered Kucha in 384 AD, found 10 000 bushels of wine in the cellars of the Kuchaean houses and it happened quite often that his soldiers became completely drunk. Another time we hear that Zhiyue 直月, a master of the Buddhist Dhyana, forced a young Chinese Buddhist monk to drink 15 litres of Kuchaean wine in order to abandon wine forever afterwards. [13]

It is interesting that we do not hear anything in this context of Sogdian influence on wine-production for Kucha. This could mean that at Kucha we encounter another, maybe autochthonous wine culture along the northern routes of the Silk Road in modern Xinjiang. There have never been any excavations hitherto within the cities of the Kucha Empire, so we cannot say anything about Kuchaean viniculture, or, to be more precise, about the technical facilities of Kuchean wine cellars in detail. This archaeological situation also applies to the Sogdian cities in ancient Sogdia, in Gandhara and in the other city-states of modern Xinjiang along the ancient Silk Roads. The

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[12] Liu Mau-tsai, Kutscha und seine Beziehungen zu China vom 2. Jh. V. Chr. Bis zum 6. Jh. n. .Chr., Asiatische Forschungen vol. 27 (in 2 vols.), (Wiesbaden 1969), pp. 10, 31, 66, 154, 162, 171, 179, 189, 190, 241.

[13] Ibid., pp. 10, 31, 66.

most we can do is analyse the Chinese sources for wine in connection with the Sogdians. Nicholas Sims-Williams is certain that the Sogdians were the prominent importers of viniculture into Late Antique and Early Medieval China[14]. Based on Berthold Laufer in his famous study of 1919[15] and an article of Paul Pelliot of 1916[16] as well as an article by Sir Harold Bailey of 1954,[17] Sims-Williams once more reminds us of a Sogdian city in the Lop-Nor-region of south-eastern Xinjiang, with its Chinese name of 'Putao cheng' 葡萄城, i.e. 'city of wine'.

According to E. Schafer after Tang historical sources,[18] during the early Tang Dynasty of 647 AD we hear of a Turkish yabgu (tribal chief) who sent the first bunch of the large purple-coloured "mare teat grapes" to the Tang court as tribute. It would be interesting to know what kind of contact this Turkish yabgu had with Sogdians.[19] Recent research has shown that the contacts between Sogdians and (Western) Turks were very intensive in Northern China in early medieval times[20]. In 640, Qocho, nearby modern Turfan, was conquered by the Tang, and cuttings of the "mare teat" grapevine were brought to China and planted in the imperial park.[21] Yet again, the relationship as regards wine between the Uyghurs of Qocho and the Sogdians would be of the greatest interest. That the Uyghurs were profoundly influenced by the Sogdians is a well known historical fact.[22] The best and most famous

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14 Nicholas Sims-Williams, The Sogdian Merchants in China and India, in: Alfredo Cadonna and Lionello Lanciotti (eds.), Cina e Iran da Alessandro Magno alla Dinastia Tang, Orientalia Venetiana V, (Florence 1996), pp. 45–66, see p. 61 and footnote 75, p. 61

15 See footnote 4

16 Paul Pelliot, Le "Cha tcheou tou fou t'ou king" et la colonie sogdienne de la region du Lob Nor, Journales Asiatiques XI, 1916, pp. 111–123, see p. 122.

17 Sir Harold Bailey, Madu, a contribution to the history of wine, Toho Gakuho XXV, 1, (Kyoto 1954), pp. 1–11.

18 See footnote 3, Schafer, The Golden peaches of Samarkand, p. 142 with footnote 27.

19 See Wolfgang Ekkehard Scharlipp, Die frühen Türken in Zentralasien, (Darmstadt 1992), pp. 31–34 and p. 39.

20 See footnote 2, Judith A. Lerner, The Merchant Empire of the Sogdians, pp. 220–229, and, Luo Feng, Sogdians in Northwest China, pp. 238–269, in: Juliano and Lerner (eds.), Monks and Merchants, (New York 2001); Markus Mode, Nomadische Türk und sinisierte Sogder begegnen einander in China, on: www.orientarch.uni-halle.de/sfb586/c5/anjia.htm.

21 See footnote 3, Schafer, The Golden Peaches of Samarkand, p. 142–143 with footnote 30.

22 Annemarie von Gabain, Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qoco (850–1250), Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica Vol. 6, two vols, (Wiesbaden 1973), vol. 1, pp. 24–25.

large grapes of China still come from Turfan today. It is not unlikely that the Uyghurs learned to make wine from the Sogdians, but there is no evidence whatsoever for this.

Looking for archaeological traces of the Sogdians and their viniculture is problematical. Recent archaeological finds relating the Sogdians in China have been published in the excellent New York catalogue of 2001, and supplemented in a special volume of the Miho Museum Shirgagaki / Japan in 2004.[23] The reliefs of Sogdian funerary couches in Northern China show that large banquets and feasts were very important for the Sogdians. The consumption of alcoholic beverages like wine was normal during such feasts, also music-making and dancing ("on the streets"). Sogdian-style feasting and banqueting were also brought from Sogdiana to the small city-states of the Tarim Basin and to Northern China via the Silk Road. The wall paintings in buildings of Sogdian cities such as Balalyk-Tepe and Panjikent show us Sogdian banquets where guests hold drinking-vessels of different shapes – high beakers, cups with and without handle, ewers and rhyta. They were obviously made of silver. Which beverages were actually consumed from these silver-vessels is another question. All written sources, especially those in Chinese, speak of the wine-loving Sogdians. Hence, based only on the evidence of the written sources, i.e. 'e silentio', we can assume that the Sogdian banqueters on the wall paintings and reliefs drank grape wine. Boris I. Marshak was the scholar who studied Sogdian silver throughout his academic life.[24] Unfortunately, Sogdian or Sogdian-style silver vessels with Sogdian inscriptions never tell us about the beverages, they only indicate their weight and sometimes their owners' names. The question of the beverages consumed from such vessels is incidental.[25] We have slightly better information

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[23] Bulletin of the Miho Museum 3, 2004, summing up the symposium "Central Asians in China – discoveries in the east of the Silk Road" on November 23rd 2002, presented by and at the Miho Museum Shiragaki, with contributions by Rong Xinjing, The daily life in Sogdian colonies along the Silk Road, pp. 6–15, Boris I. Marshak, The Miho Couch and other Sino-Sogdian works of art of the second half of the 6th century, pp. 16–42, Valentina I. Raspopova, Life and Artistic Conventions in the reliefs of the Miho Couch, pp. 43–89, (Symposium) Central Asians in China – discoveries in the east of the Silk Road, pp. 90–107 and 18 plates.

[24] Boris I. Marshak, Sogdiiskoe serebro, Akademiya Nauk SSSR, (Moscow 1971); Boris I. Marshak, Silberschätze des Orients. Metallkunst des 3.–13. Jahrhunderts und ihre Kontinuität, VEB E.A. Seemann Verlag, (Leipzig 1986).

[25] Martha I. Carter, Preliminary Notes on a Silver-Gilt Ewer with Bird Medallions in a Private Collection, Silk Road Art and Archaeology 9, (Kamakura 2003), pp. 185–211, p.

about Sassanian Iran.[26] In the Zoroastrian religion of Iran, which was professed to a certain extent by the Sogdians, wine played a certain role in the rituals, for example in libation rites.[27]

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

I think we have to concur with Etienne de la Vaissiere and also Jonathan Karam Skaff[28] when endeavouring to draw a vague history of the Sogdians and their influence on viniculture in the city-states of modern Xinjiang and Northern China from Late Antiquity to Early Medieval times, that is, between the fourth and the eighth centuries AD:[29]

At the latest since the third, but certainly since the fourth century AD, Sogdians became the most prominent traders and diplomats on the Silk Roads to China. More and more Sogdian settlers also reached the small city-states of modern Xinjiang and Northern China. Russian archaeologists discovered that in the fifth century the settlements expanded in the vicinity of the main Sogdian cities of Bukhara and Samarkand, and subsequently in the sixth and seventh centuries Sogdian urban architectural styles, and agricultural methods spread to the northeast of Shash (North-eastern Uzbekistan) and Semirechye (Northern Kyrgyzstan). Presumably the settlements in East Turkestan were another aspect of the same phenomenon, as population

186; Amy Heller, The Silver Jug of the Lhasa Johkang: Some Observations on silver objects and costumes from the Tibetan Empire (7th–9th century), Silk Road Art and Archaeology 9, (Kamakura 2003), pp. 213–237, p. 213.

26 A.C. Gunter, The Art of Eating and Drinking in Ancient Iran, in: Asian Art 1, no.2, 1988, pp. 7–52; Richard Ettinghausen, From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic World, (Leiden 1972), p. 7.

27 Guitty Azarpay, Sasanian Art beyond the Persian World, in: J. Curtis (ed.), Mesopotamia and Iran in the Parthian and Sasanian Period, Rejection and revival, c. 238 BC to AD 642. The British Museum, (London 2000), pp. 67–75, p. 74; Markus Mode, Die Religion der Sogder im Spiegel ihrer Kunst, pp. 141–218, in: Karl Jettmar and Ellen Kattner (eds.), Die vorislamischen Religionen Mittelasiens, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, (Stuttgart 2003), pp. 165–166, 168 and 189.

28 Jonathan Karam Skaff, The Sogdian Trade Diaspora in East Turkestan during the seventh and eighth centuries, Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient 46, 4, 2003, pp. 475–524, see pp. 483–484, and: www.upf.edu/materials/huma/central/abast/sogdian.pdf.

29 Etienne de la Vaissiere, Histoire des Marchands Sogdiens, (Paris 2002), pp. 109–130.

growth in established communities encouraged migration to new areas with opportunities in farming and trade. This scenario is supported by the evidence of the trade routes of Sogdian grapes and grapevine production on the way to China. Moreover, we should also keep in mind that the Muslim occupation of Sogdiana in the eighth century must have made it more and more difficult for Sogdian winedressers to produce wine in their homelands. Many of the Sogdian winedressers may have fled to regions in East Turkestan, such as Putao cheng near Loulan 楼兰, where the soil, the climate and also irrigation was excellent for wine-making.

If new finds substantiate this in the future, it would be no surprise that Sogdian silversmiths produced fine goblets, ewers and other wine-drinking-vessels, sometimes gilt, specifically for a growing market in and around the Tang-capital Changan 长安, with its international flair and love for exotica from the West, which of course includes grape vine.

Viticulture in Kafiristan

MAX KLIMBURG

A thriving viticulture among the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush was already known to a certain degree in antiquity, but possibly only through inference. The Greek historians may have failed to report it in the context of their description of the advance of Alexander the Great's army through the southern flanks of the Hindu Kush, i.e. the southern region of "greater Kafiristan", in 327 B.C. Here, the Greeks came across densely wooded areas full of ivy and laurel which they had not seen for a long time, and this – most probably together with the locally encountered viticulture – made them relate the region to Dionysos and to Nysa, his mythical birth place. Accordingly, they suspected Nysa to be located somewhere here, and thought it opportune to raise Dionysos to the position of the Greek army's top guardian deity, replacing Heracles in this function for a certain period.[1]

The next relevant reports cropped up nearly two millennia later, provided by Timur Lang and especially Babur, the first Moghul ruler, who even provided a reference to vine- and wine-rich southern Kafiristan by mentioning "strong yellowish wines ... all brought from up the Kafiristan-water and from Pich-i-kafiristani".[2] Some information on the Kafirs is included in the late eighteenth-century manuscript *Sair al-Bilād* by Moghul Beg,[3] and soon afterwards, in the early nineteenth century, Mountstuart Elphinstone was able

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1 The apparent, related lack of any mention of wine may well have been considered superfluous, as wine cultures were encountered in all the countries the Greeks had passed through, for example in Kapisa to the north of Kabul, famous for its wine already in the Achaemenid times. See also Edelberg 1965, where he discussed briefly the questions of Dionysos in Kafiristan and of wine versus the Vedic soma, and Carter 1992.

2 With the notion "Pich-i-kafiristani", i.e. the Kafirs of the Pech Valley, Babur indicated the centre of the Kafir wine production which was in and near the Pech Valley in southern Kafiristan. Another wine centre was in Dara-ye-Nur Valley, a side valley of the Kunar Valley (see note 12). Babur was also good for absurd statements such as that "wine is so commonly used there that every Kafir has his leathern wine-bag (*khig*) at his neck, and drinks wine instead of water" (1922 I:212). Naturally, wine was carried in goatskin bags for various reasons, such as for sale.

3 The manuscript was translated by Raverty and published in Raverty 1888.

to collect some substantial data when charged with research on the "Kingdom of Caubul". As told by informants sent into Kafiristan, he reported that the Kafirs "drink wine, both pure and diluted, out of large silver cups, which are the most precious of their possessions. They drink during their meals, and are elevated, but not made quarrelsome, by this indulgence" (1839 II:384). The mention of silver cups must have caused much attention and even amazement, but they remained undocumented and thus of doubtful existence until 1953 (see below). Charles Masson, the British adventurer and explorer who roamed through Afghanistan and neighbouring areas in the 1830s, wrote that the "Kâfrs" or, rather, "Síáposh",[4] were "fond of ... singing and drinking wine" out of "drinking cups and bowls [which] are ornamented and embossed in a costly manner", thereby referring certainly to silver cups. He reported that he has seen Kafirs "bringing wine in skins, and so sour as to be undrinkable. It is said, however, that they have good wine, and that the better classes, in default of jars, preserve it in cisterns, hewn in the rocks" (1842 III: 228, 232). Alexander Burnes, the British political agent in Kabul in the late 1830s, heard of Kafirs drinking "light and dark" wine from silver cups and thought them to be "trophies of their spoils in war" (1842: 211). "One would ... in that case have expected that the greatest numbers of cups would have been found among the strongest tribe in Kafiristan, the Kam people in lower Bashgal" (Edelberg 1965: 196).

However, this was not the case, when (Sir) George Scott Robertson, a British Indian government commissioner, in 1890–91 resided one year among the Kate-speaking Kafirs in the Bashgal Valley, in particular in Kamdesh in eastern Kafiristan. He saw mostly wooden cups and occasionally shallow tin bowls (ibid.: 501) used for wine drinking. On festive occasions the "dancers refreshed with wine ladled from a tub with wooden cups. The same not particularly generous fluid was also circulated among the spectators constantly ... The greybeards and seniors, all importance, sat round the dancing platform drinking wine and talking politics" (Robertson: 223 f.). Only at large gatherings "wine is sometimes handed around in shallow tin bowls, but these are rare.[5] Tellingly, as the consumption of mostly watered-

[4] "Síáposh" is a name once given to the Kafirs living in the Bashgal Valley (with the village of Kamdesh) in easternmost Kafiristan.

[5] These tin bowls were certainly different from the eye-catching chalice-like silver cups used in the Waigal Valley and in Wama and the "large silver cups" mentioned by Elphinstone and Burnes.

down wine was probably moderate for lack of sufficient supply and possibly also for reason of status-like behaviour, Robertson did not observe any drunkenness (1896: 559).

Undoubtedly, the Kafir viticulture was part of very old Indo-Iranian customs in a wider region which saw the crossing of Indo-Aryan peoples from Central Asia to India, which has rich vegetation including wild vines.[6] Hidden in badly accessible high mountain valleys of the Hindu Kush und hardly disturbed by outsiders (fig. 1), the Kafirs or "heathens", as they were called by their Muslim neighbours, had managed for millennia to keep to their animistic and polytheistic beliefs together with a large spectre of specific sociocultural concepts and traditions in the midst of a hostile Islamized world, until they had to face the destruction of their civilisation. In the winter of 1895/95 they were subjugated by the Afghan army ordered to Islamize the population. Accordingly, the army and the mullahs in its train saw to a wholesale destruction of the Kafir temples and idol imagery as well as rooting out all the millennia-old beliefs and very rich, multifaceted "heathen" traditions, including their homicidal tendencies which had constantly threatened their lives outside their communities, and, of course, including their viticulture. Soon afterwards Kafiristan was renamed *Nūristān*, "Land of Light (or Enlightenment)", and the formerly militant Kafirs had become comparatively peaceful *Nūristānī*. Only a small, distantly related side branch known as the Kalasha Kafirs survived in Chitral, which then was part of north-western British India, at present in north-western Pakistan. Among them, known under their tourism-stimulating name "Kafirs of Pakistan", one still finds a thriving viticulture (see below).

Robertson was thus the first and last foreign eyewitness of the Kafir culture in the Bashgal Valley with its important role of wine drinking in the local Kafir lifestyle, wherever vines are growing, during the abundant feasting on a variety of secular and religious festive occasions. As status-seeking dominated every aspect of life, attained through elaborate honorific feasts, also called feasts of merit, and, on a minor scale, through homicidal acts affecting potential or real enemies (the victims being other Kafirs or Muslims both male and female), there was ample opportunity for celebrations and singing and dancing – and wine drinking as long as there was any available. Apparently there was a need for more of this in the distant past, as the

[6] For some relevant opinions, see H. F. Neubauer, "Die Nuristanrebe, Herkunft der Edelrebe und Ursprung des Weinbaus", *Afghanistan Journal*, 1974: 32–36; see also Carter 1992.

Waigal Kafirs allegedly paid for some time "a yearly tribute of four cows and four measures of wine" to the Kam Kafirs who had beaten the Waigal before settling down in Kamdesh and the lower Bashgal Valley (ibid: 158).

Unfortunately, Robertson tells us little about the local viticulture and nothing with respect to the growing of vines and the picking of grapes. He describes the wine-pressing in a hamlet near Kamdesh on a flat-topped boulder, with its side walls made by small boulder and stone walls about two and half feet high, with their interstices filled with clay. The somewhat semicircular "press" measured some five and a half feet in length and some four feet at its breadth. "The floor sloped naturally, and at the lower end, in front, an aperture had been left, partly closed by a little brushwood, from under which a deeply-grooved piece of wood ... protruded, and afforded an outlet for the expressed juice". Then a big man was "persuaded" to tread the grapes, after his feet had been washed carefully. "He enjoyed himself thoroughly, treading with so much vigour that he had to be frequently checked to prevent the juice from overflowing the vessel" (fig. 2).[7] Then the juice was collected in "large wooden cups, which, when full, had their contents ladled back into the press .. a necessary custom always observed", as explained to Robertson. Finally it was poured into goatskin bags with the help of a wooden funnel. After 8 to 10 days it became wine, which was "most uninviting in appearance" as it was not strained, and therefore the Kafirs always blew into the cups or bowls in order to remove the scum from near their lips" (Robertson 1896: 556 ff.). Wine was kept in goatskins (ibid: 504) and then poured on festive occasions into "large plain wooden, tub-like vessels … seen in most well-to-be houses. They are capable of several gallons of wine. At large gatherings they are placed in convenient positions for having their contents dipped into, and handed round in bowls and drinking cups" (ibid. 501).

Robertson observed wine drinking on several festive occasions and as a guest of an influential Kafir, who offered him wine which "was strong and good, and was declared to be three years old" (ibid: 234). Normally, however, the wine is "poor and thin, but even then is usually diluted with water" (ibid.: 559). Thus the risk of getting drunk was small, at least in Kamdesh, and Robertson did not notice there any drunken men and even less so women, who "never drink wine" (ibid. 656). That is in contrast to observations made among the Kalasha Kafirs in Pakistan (see below).

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[7] In contrast, the wine-pressing by the Kalasha is mostly done by young, ritually pure boys (see below).

Robertson also observed the pressing of the remaining semi-solid residue with the help of flat stones placed on small heaps of residue and "a long pliable pole used as a lever": one end of it was anchored in the ground and its free end pulled down by a number of men, thereby pressing the underlying stones. "The dried residue is made up into cakes" tasting "most unpleasant", but are "highly appreciated by Kafirs who believe that it possesses most sustaining qualities" (ibid. 559 f.).[8]

Since no proper field research took place during the half-century after the drama of 1896,[9] this was our state of knowledge when the Danes started their field research in 1948,[10] with Lennart Edelberg as their main explorer. Already during his first field trip in 1948, Edelberg made an important discovery when an informant led him into the mythical, community-owned orchard and "vineyard" Indrak'un, the garden of the deity Indr, located at 1.850 m high above the river in the Pech Valley, near the large village of Wama (figs. 3–4). Then, in 1953, in the Waigal village of Zhönchigal, he was the first explorer to see, to his great amazement, two of the "ominous" silver cups, surprisingly large and stemmed and thus resembling big chalices (fig. 11).[11] Clearly, these and the other silver cups which appeared afterwards (figs. 12-14)[12] document the importance wine once had as a status drink especially in central and especially southern Nuristan (see below), where wild vines enjoy favourable climatic conditions for growth and find large trees to climb, and which is the location of Babur's "Pich-i-kafiristani" and of the Indrak'un "garden" or "vineyard".

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8 Among the Kalasha Kafirs in Birir a similar, but simpler method is employed (see below).

9 The Deutsche Hindukusch Expedition of 1935 produced a good survey, but only very few socio-cultural data of any significance except the information on the different calendar systems by W. Lentz. See Scheibe 1937

10 Unfortunately, Edelberg was not a cultural anthropologist, but a botanist by profession, who developed sympathies rather for the oppressed, the *bari* and *šüwala* (see below), than for their often very self-conscious, but more informative former masters, the heirs to the upholders of the Kafir civilisation.

11 Fearing to cause a rush of antique dealers to Nuristan, Edelberg kept the great news secret for 12 years (the rush then promptly followed). See Edelberg 1965, written in Danish (with an English summary), in which he published – between travel narratives – his very important findings during his fieldwork in 1948 and 1953.

12 The three cups owned by the present author were donated, together with his whole Nuristan collection, to the Kabul Museum, but they were stolen during the recent civil war. The total number of known vessels is about ten. Reportedly, there are still a few cups left in Nuristan.

This "garden" constitutes a genuine wine-growing centre, being essentially a small forest of large holly oak, walnut and other trees literally embraced by wild vines and therefore designated as an orchard. Its location on an inclined terrace high above the Pech River, above a high rock facade, is an extraordinary scenic feature in the otherwise very narrow valley. People could be thrown to their death from this rock wall when found guilty of a serious misdemeanour such as grape-picking before the time of its announcement.[13]

Indrak'un is also most noteworthy for its mythical origin owing to the god Indra/Indr, the most popular deity of Wama and of Ashkungal (the region of the Ashkun spoeakers), who was thought to visit Indrak'un each summer. Indr was credited for having founded the garden after he had tricked his brother Giwish/Gish into choosing a piece of land in the Kantiwo Valley at some distance to the north of Wama.[14] When Giwish found out about the great beauty of the orchard created by Indr, he tried in vain to destroy it by rolling large boulders down from the mountain behind the garden. Indr made the best of it, as the story goes, by carving vats into several of these boulders to be used for wine making, as he was thought to be a great wine lover. There are four such vats, with one of them made to press the grapes (figs. 5–6).[15] The other three, holding 840 l, 1,330 l and 3,780 l respectively (Edelberg 165: 171), served to produce wine called *tin* (as also by the eastern Kati) by simply letting the juice ferment under a protective cover against twigs and leaves (fig. 7). According to Edelberg's fieldnotes, several days after the pressing and filling of the stone vats with the juice, men sat on the stone near the vats and drank some of the fermenting juice out of wooden cups. The Indrak'un wine, being community property, had to be distributed

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13 The harvest of all the fruits and crops was strictly regulated in every Kafir community, as is mostly still the case in Nuristan.

14 According to a myth told to Robertson, „Inthr made Badáwan (Ahmad Diwáná) his resting-place, and there created vineyards", but then was compelled, after several fights with "Imrá", the Kafir top deity, to "fly for refuge to the Tsárogul" (1896: 388), referring to the Wama region. However, Ahmad Diwáná's altitude of 2.590 m is too high to allow for vines to grow, and thus Indr's new "resting-place" in Wama was much better located at an altitude of 1,850 m.

15 Karl Wutt photographed similar stone vats in Darra-ye Nūr, also an important wine producing valley in the past. It is inhabited by Pashai whose Indo-Aryan language is only distantly related to the tongues of the Kafirs/Nuristani, but who were certainly classified as Kafirs as well before they were Islamized gradually some time before "our" Kafirs. See Wutt 1981: pls. 152, 153, 159.

among the eligible adult men, numbering some 300 in 1948 (ibid.), according to social criteria, thus most probably not, as Edelberg was told, in equal shares of 10 litres. Clearly, families headed by men of high social standing through feast-giving and acts of heroism had more right to larger quantities of wine than the average households of "free", eligible men. Naturally, socially dependent men and, even more so, those occupying a slave-like and untouchable-like status such as the craftsmen known as *bari* and the even lower classified servant-like *šüwala*, groups redlined as ethnic outsiders, had no access to wine – such as likewise women.

In addition to Indrak'un's role in the viticulture and myths surrounding Indr, there was a major cultic site in Indr's honour known as Indr-tã (fig. 8). Its centre consisted primarily of a small boulder which served as basis for Indr's effigy, and a large juniper tree next to it, already dead in 1948. "On the trunk of this tree (or perhaps on a post nearby – or possibly on three posts, one for each of the main clans of Wama) the Kafirs used to hang ... rings of almond withes on wooden plugs hammered into the trunk or post(s) – presumably one ring (däl) for every Muslim killed" (ibid. 165).[16] Normally the effigy of Indr, most probably represented standing, was kept in his temple, the *Indr-amā*, inside the village, but on the occasion of a large feast in his honour soon after the grape harvest, the figure was carried to the Indr-tã and placed on the said stone block. There it then served as the central cult image honoured by the sacrifice of numerous he-goats and one or two oxen, whose blood was thrown on the sacrificial fire,[17] while men acting as priests and worshippers said thanksgiving prayers and sang hymns. Specific to Wama and possibly also to Zhönchigal (see below), new wine was thrown on the statue, as reported to Edelberg (p. 165). Silver cups were probably used during both blood and wine sacrifices, as was also the case at the other feast in honour of Indr in the winter month Zintseimas, with his effigy standing in his temple, the Indr-ama. This assumption that silver cups were used at these sacrifices is supported by a report of such a use by the Parun Kafirs,

[16] The rings were called *shagere*, while *däl* or, rather, *dal*, denotes large poles mostly standing at pathways near the villages and signalling the number of homicides by the number of wooden plugs hammered into the trunk.

[17] After the pouring of blood on the fire, the severed heads of the goats were placed briefly at the fire and their carcasses were held above it so that some of their hair would burn. All the deities were thought to cherish the smell of burned blood and hair.

wine-less inhabitants of the Parun Valley further upstream,[18] when worshipping a certain deity.

The date of the Indr festival in Indrak'un could not be ascertained, but it must have taken place soon after of the picking of the grapes, lasting four days (followed by that of walnuts, pomegranates and jujubes), starting on the first of the September/October month Drashletr-māS. The most likely date is the end or the last day of this month, when all the flocks, mainly of goats, and their goatherds had returned to the village. The feast must have been particularly merry, with singing and dancing exceeding that of all other feasts, and with some excessive wine-related behaviour with regard to the sexual relations in particular between the unmarried young.[19] A similar, but probably smaller feast, recorded by both Edelberg and this author, took place about the same time in Zhönchigal in honour of the local guardian deity Traskan (1965: 175). His name also appears in that of the local grape- and fruit-picking month called Traskando-māS which is mostly known in Waigal under the name Atau-māS. In default of stone vats, in Zhönchigal, as in all other wine-producing villages except in Wama, the vinification took place in large wooden pots or stone vessels. The wine was then stored in wooden pots or stone vessels or skin-bags,[20] until it was drunk out of wooden or silver cups.

On the occasion of feasts, in particular the often very elaborate feasts of honorification, better known as "feasts of merit", which could include invitations not only to the eligible population of the host's community, but also to that of neighbouring villages, the respective hosts had to care especially for the wealthy and established guests who had to be served food and wine inside the privacy of houses. These celebrations may frequently have been

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18 The Parun River is the eastern of the two main feeders of the Pech River. The culture of the local Kafirs, living surrounded by the Kati Kafirs to the east and west as well as the Wama and Waigal Kafirs to the south, forms the topic of the forthcoming study by this author complementing that on the Waigal and Ashkun Kafirs.

19 This feast must have been the equivalent to the Prun festival of the Kalasha Kafirs in the Birir Valley (see below).

20 A story recorded by G. Buddruss in Nisheigram and then published by A. Degener deals with the grape picking from privately owned vines and the vinification in stone vessels which were then sealed off with clay for three months. In the past the wine, *cükur'a*, was often left to age for three to four years. Old wine, *pra*, mixed with honey, *maci*, was the highly cherished drink *mači-pra*. See Degener 1998: 307 ff.

nothing less than drinking bouts[21] with mainly whitebeards present, each of them sitting on his proper chair of honour known in Waigal, Wama and Ashkun as "horn chairs", *ṣiŋ-niṣä*, or *ṣiŋ-asta*, featuring two backrests set at an angle. At least some of them must have owned a silver cup, which they could have placed on a special stand next to their chairs – if they owned a stand called *urei-taò* (figs. 9–10). Any silver cup present was handed around to all the invited "VIPs". These large, stemmed, chalice-like vessels, rarely cups without a stem, generally known as *urei* in the Waigali language and as *ro* (both terms meaning "silver") and also *watak* in Wama and Ashkungal, held a particular status connotation not only for their very high value which in the 1970s was given as the equivalent of 30–60 goats,[22] but also for the mythical origin of some of them. Stories were told of silver or even golden cups in treasures hidden in small lakes high up in the mountains, whose water would retreat on certain occasions and then expose the glittering objects.[23] Certain *urei* were said to have the capacity of ringing when touched by lower class, ritually impure people like the *bari* and *šüwala*. There was, in addition, the tale of a secret smith named Gauwarkawana somewhere on the southern border of Kafiristan towards the Pech Valley who would produce and magically deliver not only special Kafir daggers known as *kaṭera*, but also *urei*. If someone wished to order such an object, he had to request the local shaman (in Waigali: *dyäl*) to contact the smith, bring 30–60 goats or four to eight cows for an *urei* respectively six to seven goats or one cow for a *kaṭera* to a certain location and then leave. The animals, after having been checked and approved as payment, then disappeared, and several days afterwards the *dyäl* would have informed the purchaser that the paid-for *urei* or *kaṭera* would be seen placed at the same spot or even suspended in the air waiting to be fetched. – Such tales may have been created some time ago for socio-political purposes.

Evidently, the silver cups had important social and probably also religious functions which, unfortunately, are hard to envision with any degree of reliability. Their high value restricted their ownership to the wealthy, but

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21 In contrast to the lack of drunken behaviour among the Kam Kafirs, as Robertson states, drunkenness may have been frequent in the southern parts of Kafiristan, where wine was produced in larger quantities.

22 A female goat aged 2–3 years was/is the basic unit of value at any transaction in southern Kafiristan/Nuristan.

23 See Klimburg 1999: 214 ff. Jones' statement that some of the *urei* could be worth "as much as 240 goats" or "the price of a man" (1974:170) cannot be taken seriously.

their possession was not part of the material-based culture of status merited through social achievements. Such "merited" objects were traditional weapons (especially daggers), chairs of honour, carved decorations on house facades and the standard four posts inside the house, certain insignia worn on caps and stitched into dresses and the like. Similarly, firearms had no particular status value in terms of "merit status". One may argue therefore, that the introduction of *urei*, like that of firearms, may constitute a more recent, accretionary feature, their possession bequeathing more of a material than social value, seen more as an investment in a valuable object that could then be used for the payment of part of the high bride price once calculated in Waigal as up to 200 goats and often even more. As an object also used in bride-price negotiations, the *urei* clearly looks "transferable" and thus did not endow any particular social value on the original owner and his descendants, unless all this is a result of the breakdown of the Kafir social order after Islamization.

As to the origin of these large goblets, informants in Parun, once the religious centre of Kafiristan,[24] claimed that they were traded in from Badakhshan, together with the much coveted and gaudy-looking ikat clothes and coats, as well as much needed salt. Such an origin appears possible, and cups could also have been copied by the remarkably capable *bari* craftsmen of the Kafirs. However, the questions remains whether they may have been made primarily in Badakhshan or somewhere else in northern Afghanistan, then sold in Kafiristan so as to stimulate specific demands or to satisfy already existing ones. In short, the origin of these cups remains a mystery, as is the reason for the close similarity in their appearance to drinking vessels depicted in ancient wall-paintings of the sixth to eighth century AD in Sogdian "Middle Asia", such as in Balalyk Tepe (fig. 15). We have to content ourselves with the possibility of a very long – millennia long – survival in Kafiristan of not only ancient beliefs and traditions but also of some antique-looking objects such as the *urei* and, similarly astounding, three-legged stands of wrought iron, often made and decorated artistically, which served to hold flat wooden bowls or, designed differently, silver cups. Should we think again of Badakhshan as the likely origin at least of the more elaborate-

[24] The Parun Valley constitutes the "heart" of Kafiristan/Nuristan, once centred in the largest temple of Kafiristan, since some ten years housing the provincial capital. Through the valley leads an important path connecting central Nuristan with Badakhshan, the province and historical landscape to the north of the Hindukush. See also note 15.

ly made specimens? Whatever the answer, both objects betray a close relationship to the material culture of Classical Antiquity, which, of course, was present in that part of the world for a millennium after its conquest by Alexander the Great and the ensuing establishment of Hellenistic rule and cultural transfer as reflected later in the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara with its numerous sculptural themes often related to the drinking of wine in cults and even to "Dionysiac" festivals.

Such an astounding survival over the millennia as is assumed here may well have had specific reasons also associated with cultic values. The cups might have played the role also of sacrificial chalices used in religious cults, as has already been noted above. In addition, the red wine, which was/is the general kind of wine in Kafiristan/Nuristan, may have seen as reflecting the blood of sacrificial animals. Its cultic value appears strongly indicated in the information gathered by Karl Jettmar in Punyal.[25] Accordingly, wine may have been drunk in Wama not only for pleasure, but also in honour of that guardian deity, Indr, who cherished wine himself, whose effigy was allegedly spattered with wine, and whose temple in Wama reportedly also served as a community wine storage. Likewise, wine was drunk in other places in the Waigal and Ashkun area, though probably less "conspicuously", during feasts honouring local tutelary deities such as Traskan, the protector of both Waigal Village and Zhönchigal, of Gröshter-panao, the guardian deity of Nisheigram, and of Indr, the tutelary deity of Nakara (Titin Valley).

One may thus surmise that the worship of village tutelary deities, such as of Indr in particular, in comparatively wine-rich southern and southwestern Kafir communities, bordering the densely Muslim-populated lower Pech Valley, had particular wine-related features including the use of silver cups to express special reverence to the deities. Accordingly, there may well have

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[25] Jettmar observed the pressing of wine by Ismailis in a village in Punyal in the northern flanks of the Hindu Kush, north-western Pakistan. A young man had to wash his feet and then, before the treading of the grapes, he and the others present were purified with the smoke of burning juniper. At another place in Punyal Jettmar was told that the treading of the grapes was done by boys (of untold age) after they had taken a bath, put on new clothes and had been purified by the smoke of burning juniper, as were the attendants and the press, and after finally a certain dish was ritually eaten to please the wine-loving *peri* (fairies), who were believed to be present at the pressing. Very probably, but not stated by Jettmar, any boy or young man chosen to tread the grapes had to be ritually "pure" by not having had sexual relations. Women of child-bearing age were not allowed to attend. An animal (goat?) was sacrificed after the pressing. See Jettmar 1973: 192 f. and 198 f.

been much emphasis on the cultic role of wine in southern Kafiristan while in northern Kafiristan wine may have been consumed primarily in the context of private and public feasting. However, during invocations of deities not only sacrificial blood, but also some wine may have been thrown on their shrines or effigies. This was the case at least at a sacrifice of 15 male goats to the "war god" Gish/Giwish at Kamdesh, a rite attended by Robertson (1896: 429[26]

An additional, specifically honorific role of the silver cups was reported in southern Waigal and in Wama/Ashkungal. On the occasion of the funeral feast of an important man, a wooden cruciform structure was celebrated in dance; it was dressed with a woman's shirt and capped by a reversed *urei* or *ro*, in so far as the deceased had owned a silver cup (see Klimburg 1999: 98). Such an object, known in Waigal as *dal-sanka*, represented the dead, and recalls the dancing with wooden ancestor figures in Kamdesh observed by Robertson (see above). All this expressed great respect for the dead person's social merits, especially those honoured for the killing of genuine or imagined enemies, strongly indicated by the use of an *urei* as a shining – otherwise often blood-filled? – helmet. Ancestor figures did not exist among the Waigal and Ashkun Kafirs, and hence such dressed and helmeted cruciform structures might be understood as a local and specifically also blood- and achievement-related object reflecting the ancestor cult of the Kati Kafirs, with its greater emphasis on the preservation of higher social standing than that on particular achievements.

The basic differences assumed here in the viticultures of the Kati versus the Waigal/Ashkun Kafirs indicate more emphasis on private and public enjoyment in the east versus accretional cultic values in the south and south-east of Kafiristan and would complement the numerous other socio-cultural features which distinguish two distinct cultures. Differences in achievement orientation may be credited for many of these variations, thus it is plausible that the wine culture in the highly competitive Waigal/Wama/Ashkun culture had preserved at least some of its former cultic value shared by the entire (eligible) male population. In contrast, among the Kati speakers in the east and primarily in Kamdesh, a more firmly stratified society had made wine

[26] Out of four wooden vessels filled with millet flour, ghee, wine and water, the priest Utah took "a small quantity of the contens of each vessel [and] threw it against the small closed door of the shrine, all the time repeating a certain invocation … The goats were then rapidly seized" and killed. There is no other mention of the wine present in the vessel.

drinking a privilege of the wealthy, who appear to have contented themselves with the less ceremonious use of every-day wooden cups as drinking vessels. The two different types of wine-drinking vessels may thus reflect two diverging cultural backgrounds, as do numerous other features. These vessels have certainly changed much in the course of time, yet, in addition to many other peculiarities, both sorts attest to the millennia-long survival of Indo-Iranian wine-related traditions in isolated mountain societies in the Hindu Kush until their virtual destruction, or, rather, near destruction, as they have survived among the Kalasha Kafirs in Pakistan.

It is in Birir, the southernmost of the three valleys inhabited by these Kafirs, located to the southwest of the town Chitral, that a lively, but little known Kafir viticulture still enjoys the great traditional values attached to wine as a highly esteemed, nearly cultic beverage.[27] It is praised for its "inherent purity revealed by the gods for prayer and rejoicing" (Loude/Lièvre 1988: 68), with ritual "pure", called *onjesta*, in contrast to "impure", called *pragata* (the basic Kafir classification of everybody and everything). The valley is particularly rich in wild growing vines (both red and white), climbing high up on large walnut and other trees, while the other two valleys have few vines or lack them altogether. The picking of grapes (and other fruits), strictly forbidden before[28], starts in late September (on 20 September in 2006) after an evening sacrifice of a goat kid (one for each of the valley's moieties) at each of the two adjoining cult places of the deity Praba, a god closely associated (identical) to the important Indian deity Indra/Indr. Both these gods are seen as protectors of the vines and the health of the Kafirs, and in southwestern former Kafiristan (present Nuristan) Indr even played a much hailed role as the founder of the large "vineyard" Indrak'un (see above). The first of the two sacrifices is at the smaller cult place consisting only of a "roundish whitish stone" (Di Carlo: 54), the second at the god's shrine which features an altar topped by two wooden horse heads. In both

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[27] Good descriptions are only by Loude/Lièvre (1987, based on a visit in 1985) and Di Carlo (based on a visit in 2006), while Staley's report is very short and the information given in the recent book by Fentz is partially doubtful.

I am very grateful to Augusto S. Cacopardo for informing me about that wine culture, which I did not know until recently, and for commenting critically my pertinent discourse.

[28] As already noted above (fn. 13), in the Kafir – and still in the Nuristani – social economy, all the starts of harvesting crops and collecting fruits are strictly regulated by each village, which therefore chooses annually a certain number of men empowered to control and fine trespassers.

cases an *onjesta* virgin boy kills the animal next to a sacrificial fire and sprinkles the kid's blood on the fire – a standard sacrificial procedure. Then, at the first offer, he also throws blood on the faces of the participants, thereby initiating them to the second, more important sacrifice (ibid.), [29] at which the boy also sprinkles blood on the altar and – according to Loude/Lièvre (ibid.) – on bunches of freshly picked grapes. Then the first animal's meat is cooked and eaten while the second kid's "meat is roasted and eaten by the *onjesta suda* 'pure boys', and its bones are then thrown into the fire " (Di Carlo:55) This last act cannot but mean that the whole animal is offered to the deity, as a similar observation was made 21 years earlier by Loude/Lièvre (1987:209): The two French researchers observed a virgin boy killing the first of two goat kids at the Praba shrine (the smaller cult place is not mentioned), then grilling and eating pieces of the kid's meat and then throwing the whole carcass into the fire as a special offer to Praba. This gift of the goat's whole body to the deity was explained as necessary "to reestablish the threatened purity" endangered by the conversion to Islam of members of the Kafir community some time before. The French researchers noticed further that the meat of the second sacrificed kid was then boiled and eaten at the shrine, and that the participants at the sacrifice were also offered, as the valley's privileged first persons, fruits (grapes, walnuts, pears) picked before the general fruit harvesting was allowed to start in the following morning.[30]

After this sacrifice the general picking of fruits starts, undertaken by men and boys climbing the trees and collecting them in small baskets which are then emptied by women below the trees into large carrying baskets. Men carry these baskets to the (still empty) winter stables. The pressing of the grapes not eaten fresh or separated for making raisins then takes place next

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[29] According to Fentz (p. 393), the boy dips his head into the blood. This feature has been documented by others only in the context of the Chaumos feast (see below),

[30] In Fentz' description (pp. 393 ff.) special wine made of grapes picked before in "a sacred protected area in the lower part of the valley" was drunk "during the sacrificing at the Praba shrine". Then, in a nearby winter stable, when the participants ate the (roasted or boiled?) meat of the sacrificed kid, clusters of grapes were brought in, "one for each man ... Finally, each man receives a large cup of wine". However, no other researcher has reported anything like that, and thus the very interesting information of an early sacred wine and the wine drinking at the Praba shrine may be just a story told by Kafir informants with a bent to extemporize. Furthermore, no non-Kafir man, and even less so a woman, is allowed to witness that particularly *onjesta* ritual.

to sheds near the stables. A deity by the name of Warin, also associated to the god Indra/Indr, is invoked to provide for a good wine quality, and virgin boys, occasionally also men, ritually purified for the occasion, squeeze with their feet the grapes heaped in large boxes (up to 3 m long, nearly 1 m wide and up to 1 m high), which are dismantled after use (figs. 16–17). The juice is led through a hole and a conduit into big plastic bins or – hardly seen any longer – into stone vessels kept in the ground or pits in the ground carefully lined and tightened with stone slabs.[31] Protected by lids, the juice will become wine already after some ten days.[32]

Drinking of the new wine is considered at least in theory "illegal" before the beginning of the winter feast Chaumos (see below), when animals are sacrificed to honour a more martial deity by the name of Grimun. However, some wine is drunk already during the Prun festival (Di Carlo: 58), which starts – together with the harvesting of cereals – 10 to 14 days after the picking of fruits and the pressing of grapes.

The Prun feast is a Birir specialty which is variously called an autumn wine or harvesting or fertility festival celebrated with much singing and dancing – actually a feature common to all Kalasha feasts. It has no particular wine connotation except in a wider sense insofar that wine stimulates and reduces inhibitions with regard to sexuality. This used to play an important role until Muslims – virtually all of them Islamized Kalasha – living nearby made the Kafirs reduce markedly all sexually relevant behaviour.[33]

During Chaumos, the long-lasting winter solstice festival of all the Kalasha with the focus on the ritual initiation of boys and girls, purification of men and women and the enhancement of communal solidarity, which in

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31 Cacopardo was told that such a pit's size "is as deep as a man is tall and as wide as his outstretched arms" (personal communication).

32 According to Fentz (p. 385), Birir households "cultivate" (i.e. have rights to?) "an average of 20 to 30 vines producing several hundred litres of wine", and some families are "able to harvest more than 1000 bottles per year" (!). Naturally, much of it is sold to mostly Muslim visitors.

33 Until recent times a goatherd or even several of them, just having descended from the pastures in the high mountains after a long isolation from women, appeared at the Prun festival dressed as he-goats with horns on their heads. Loaded with sexual energy, these *budalak*, as these men were called, were allowed to attack women and girls who were expected to take full advantage of the situation - for the good of progeny.

Birir is in essence a wine festival,[34] much wine is consumed after its drinking has been "authorised" by the deity Grimun. As told to Cacopardo in 2006 (2010:150 ff.), who was not allowed to attend the rite, a sheep and a male goat have to be sacrificed to that deity in the evening of the second day of the feast (in 2006 on 15 December) at a goat's shed located at a distance from the deity's holy place[35] and housing plastic bins or a pit filled with wine.

The wine consumption by both sexes and also children especially during the extensive singing and dancing can be so high that drunken behaviour, even that of women, is common, as noticed by Schomberg in the 1930s,[36] by Topper in the 1960s and again by A.S. Cacopardo in 2006 while participating in the Chaumos (but not allowed to attend all the rituals). This wine drinking by women appears in sharp contrast to basic attitudes among the Kafirs in former Kafiristan, present Nuristan – a difference simply existing or explicable partially by culture change and by the fact that hardly anywhere there the conditions for the growing of wild vines are as favourable as in Birir, resulting in a much smaller production of wine.

Accordingly, in a small Hindu Kush valley in the northwest of Pakistan the Kafir viticulture with its ritually relevant features is still alive, but its survival is certainly in danger in view of the mounting Islamist threat. Its death would mean the end of its last remains in a region where the wine culture as such may have originated many thousand years ago as a culture with "Dionysian" features based on wild growing vines of a special kind whose various descendants then may well have become our vines.

My research of the Kafir cultures in Nuristan and Chitral was generously supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the Austrian Science Fund (FWF).

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34 Personal communication by Cacopardo, who states "che l'ebbrezza da vino è un tema che percorre tutta la festa" (drunkenness of wine is a theme which is present during the whole feast" (2010:151).

35 According to Schomberg, it is a place of peril and power, and nobody dreams of approaching it (1938:198).

36 Schomberg observed that in spite of strict local regulations of gender dichotomy „the women will drink the wine as well as the men, and some of them are even famous topers" (1938:192).

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Wine in Ḥadīth – from Intoxication to Sobriety*

STEFANIE BRINKMANN

فأوحى الله عزّ وجلّ إليه أن كل العنب الأسود ليذهب غمک

[…] 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 ʿUlūm al-Dīn" from the tenth century[2] A.D. present the grape (*ʿinab*) 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 it[5] – in short: wine is the key to all

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1 Al-Kulaynī, kitāb al-aṭʿima, bāb al-ʿinab, 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-aṭʿima, 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-Muwaṭṭa', kitāb al-ashriba, no. 1554; Ibn Māja, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 6.

evil (*al-khamru miftāḥu 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 fellowmen[8] approaching the prophet, or, in the case of Shīʿī 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 ʿAbbās 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 Persians[11] can be found in the chapter on beverages in al-Nasāʾī's (d. 915

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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 ʿĀʾisha.

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: ʿAbd 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 naṣnaʿu*)?" He [the Messenger of God] answered: "Use them as raisins (*tattakhidhūnahu zabīban*)." Fayrūz asked: "And what should we do with the raisins (*fa-naṣnaʿu 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 (*yashtadda*)?" 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

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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-Tabīkh* 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 Isḥāq 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 Qur'ānic 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 honey[17] and is of a different nature from earthly wine – it apparently causes neither intoxication, nor headache[18] – the wine on earth does pose a problem. Still praised in Sura 16, verse 67 (as *sakar*, intoxicating beverage[19]), its posi-

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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 (*manāfi'*, 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 'amali 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 Qur'ānic *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) Qur'ānic 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]

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[20] For the exemplary Qur'ān 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 Shīʿī collections[24] later defined as canonical[25]. 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

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[24] Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Sunan Abī Dāwūd, Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī, Sunan al-Nasāʾī, Sunan Ibn Māja, al-Muwaṭṭaʾ of Mālik ibn Anas, Furūʿ min al-Kāfī 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 Shīʿī 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 Shīʿī collections referring back to the prophet as well as to the Imāms (especially Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaʿfar 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 Maraqten 1993; al-Muqrī 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 viniculture[33], 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 […]".

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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 archaeology[39], 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

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

[38] Enyclopaedia 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 ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 908 A.D.), *Fuṣūl al-tamthil fī tabāshīr al-surūr*, or *Adab al-nadīm* by Kushājim (d. ca. 961 A.D.); from the 11th century *Quṭb al-surūr fī awṣāf al-khumūr* written by al-Raqīq al-Nadīm (Abū Isḥāq al-Kātib al-Qayrawānī, d. 1026 A.D.), *Kitāb ḥalbat al-kumayt* and *Kitāb al-ṣabūḥ* by ʿUthmān al-Nawājī (d. 1455 A.D.), or *Kitāb Rāḥa al-arwāḥ fī l-ḥashīsh wa-l-rāh* by Abū al-Tuqā Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd 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 perspective[44]; 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 Clément[45], ranging from Mari texts to wine in Judaism and Islam[46], 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 "khamr, 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 Maraqten 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 Shīʿī 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 Shīʿī 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; Maraqten 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.

ʿAlī 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-Fusṭāṭ, 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 viniculture in Islamic regions. Several sources give witness of an existing viniculture 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-

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[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-Balkī'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 Maraqten 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 Mayerson1985; 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.

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64 Abbott, Nabia: Arabic papyri from the reign of Ǧa'far al-Mutawakkil 'ala-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 Maraqten 1993, p. 105.

70 See with further references Mayerson 1985 and Hirschfeld 1997.

71 Maraqten 1993, pp. 104–105.

Even though parts of Iraq were known in pre-Islamic times and in Abbasid sources as regions of viniculture[72], 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 wine[74], 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-Aʿsha, 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 Maraqten 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 Ṣanʿā' 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, *mawāḍiʿu 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 aspects[85], topics we do not further dwell upon. They are concerned with wine and medicine, and, rather seldom,

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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-ʿArab".

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 Sīda mentions in his Mukhaṣṣaṣ, in the chapter ṣifat al-karm wa-nabātihi, a grape called al-Ṭā'ifiyya respecively a raisin from the ḍurūʿ-grape, also called al-Ṭā'ifiyya; and he lists al-Ḥamnān, al-Ramādī and Ḥalbat ʿAmr 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 yaghlī*).[86] Fermentation was indicated by the beverage *yaghlī* (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

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[86] Found in numerous versions, among others al-Nasā'ī, 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 Maraqten 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-ʻaql*), 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-ʼinaba*, 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: *ʼinab* (grape, rarely *karm*; sometimes *ʼaṣīr* as grape juice), *tamr* (date, in general), *ḥinṭa* (wheat), *shaʼīr* (barley), *ʼasal* (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 (*ʻaṣīr*, namely of grapes), raisins, date, wheat, barley, sorghum (exception of six substances)
Ibn Māja	raisins, date, wheat, barley, honey
Al-Kulaynī	raisins, grape (*karm*), date, barley, honey
Al-Nasāʼī	grape, date, wheat, barley, honey

89 Among the numerous quotations: al-Nasāʼī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 22; or variations such as *al-sakaru khamrun*, the intoxicating beverage is *khamr*, al-Nasāʼī, 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-Nasāʼī, 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-ʻinabi wa-l-tamri wa-l-ʻasali wa-l-ḥinṭati wa-l-shaʻīri wa-l-khamru mā khāmara l-ʻaql."

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 *naqīʻ* of raisins, *bitʻ* 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-ʻinab*): That wine made of grapes was not or only very limited known in Medina. From Ibn ʻUmar it is transmitted that when wine (*khamr*) became prohibited, it was not common in Medina (*wa-lā bi-l-Madīnati minhā shayʼ*). 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 *zahw*.[93]

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[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 ʻalaynā l-khamru ḥīna ḥurrimat, wa-mā naǧidu - yaʼnī bi-l-Madīna – khamra l-aʻnābi illā qalīlan, wa-ʻāmmatu khamrinā al-busru wa-l-tamru*, see al-Bukhārī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 2, no. 5638, 5639; see also al-Nasāʾī, 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
balaḥ	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
zahw	*al-busr al-mulawwanu*, 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
ʻajwatun	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 (ʾinab) 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 *ʾinab*. Sometimes, we read *ʾaṣīr* (grape juice). *ʾInab* 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 aʿnābin* are two orchards of vines. Alexander Sima stresses that in the Sabean language *ʾnb* 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 *shajaratu al-ʾinab*. Only sometimes was *karm* used synonymously with *ʾinab*, 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; Maraqten 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 *'inab*. 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 ('inab) as vine (karm) because the karm [the generous] is the Muslim (lā tusammū l-'inaba 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, ʿĀ'isha prepared *nabīdh* is told by numerous traditions.

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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 *ṭilā'* 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 fīhā*. 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 ʿĀʾisha 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 ʾashiyyatan fa-nabidhuhu ʾashiyyatan 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 *ʿaṣīr* in al-Kulaynī's Kāfī, all four traditions are referred to the Sixth Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq and contain one basic statement: *ʿaṣīr* is as long allowed as it does not ferment. Only the second tradition has some kind of a practical hint: Jaʿfar states that it is permissible to drink *ʿaṣīr* for 6 days. Ibn Abī ʿUmar 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 (*rajul*) asks the Sixth Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq if it is correct that he recommended Abū Maryam to drink *nabīdh*. Jaʿfar answers that Abū Maryam said the truth, because he, Jaʿfar, 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?" Jaʿfar answers: "My father used to call for the servant and he came with a drinking bowl (*qadaḥ*) 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-ʿashyi*). 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, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq 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 (*ʿakar*) 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?" Jaʿfar answers that the people of

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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 (*ḥattā 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

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[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 (*shayʾun yunqaʿu fīhi l-zabību waghayruhu*).[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, *naqaʿahu* 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-Nasāʾī 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 combinations[113]: *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

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108 Lisān al-ʿArab

109 Lisān al-ʿArab

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*: dubbāʾ*, *ḥantam*, *muzaffat* and *naqīr* (see below).

112 *lā tanbidhū l-zahwa wa-l-ruṭaba jamīʿan wa-lā tanbidhū l-zabība wa-l-ruṭaba jamīʿan*, al-Nasāʾī, 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-Nasāʾī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 2, no. 5558–5560; Mālik ibn Anas, al-Muwaṭṭaʾ, 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 ʿA'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 ʿalā ṣāḥibihi*).

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

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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 evaporated[119]; *bādhaq*, e.g., is said to have originally been a wine just briefly cooked over fire[120] – 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.

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[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 is[125]:

> 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 ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (ruled 633-644). In the Muwaṭṭa', a report states that ʿUmar 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 ʿUmar: "Should we prepare you something of our beverage without it being intoxicating?" ʿUmar agrees, and subsequently, they boil down their wine by two thirds. ʿUmar 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

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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-ʿArab 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 Kāfī: [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 Jibraʾīl 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 bitʿ

Honey wine is maybe one of the oldest wines of mankind. It was consumed by later famous grape wine cultures[131] – "[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-

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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 nabīdhu l-'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-nabīdhu al-'asali*, here with *nabīdh* as synonym for *khamr*.[138]

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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 Muʿādh 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 Muʿādh-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-ʿArab

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 *bitʿ*.[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*, *ḏāḏī*, *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

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[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 dādi") is its pure species. It is also said that dādi is a tree.

Meyerhof adds in his commentary that "dādi 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 […]. Ghafiqi […] gives us the description of a tree called dādin or dādi 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

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142 Maimonides 1979, p. 68; see further references pp. 55, 56, 84 (*dādi 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] Someone[152] 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 *thufl* of the date. [He says] that they stir (*yuḍarrī*) [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-yaghlī*), 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 *ḥashīsh*, 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-nabīdhu 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: ʿĀ'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 beverages[158], 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*, *fuqqāʿ*, *ghubayrāʾ* (or: *sukurka*, *suqurqaʿ*), *sawīq*, and *jiʿa*. While ghubayrāʾ 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 *ghubayrāʾ* are known as alcoholic beverages and therefore treated like *khamr* (not only in Ḥadīth), there was some kind of confusion concerning *fuqqāʿ*and *sawīq*. Generally, *fuqqāʾ* dominates in Shīʿī 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 *murrī*, a soy sauce-like condiment.[161] *Shaʿīr*, 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.

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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 RlA (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 archaebotanical 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 (Yemen[165]) 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

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[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 Maraqten 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'īr*) 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-ʾaṣīri min al-karmi, al-naqīʾi min al-zabībi, al-bitʾi min al-ʾasali wa-l-mizri min al-shaʾīri 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* (*ghubayrāʾ*): 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 (*ʾasal*), and he answered: "This is *bitʾ*." Abū Mūsā

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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-Muqrī 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 (*shaʿīr*) 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 *ghubayrāʾ* or *sukurka* (see below), but in Yemen also *mizr*. As in the case of honey wine (*bitʿ*), 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 Muʿādh were sent to Yemen by the Messenger of God. There they encountered two beverages: *bitʿ* made of honey and *mizr* made of *dhura* and *shaʿīr*. 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 ḥarāmun*)."[176]

The last tradition is also mentioned in al-Nasāʾī.[177] *Mizr* was apparently the most popular beer in Yemen.

While Ḥadīth shows a clear geographic relation to Yemen[178], 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 refence 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-

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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-Nasāʾī, 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 (*suqurqaʿ, suqurquʿ*)

Lisān al-ʿArab explains: *sukurka*: also *suqurquʿ*, "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 Thaʿlab (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 tuʿmalu min al-dhurati sharābun yaʿmaluhu 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]

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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-aṭʿima, 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-Muwaṭṭa', 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.

Fuqqāʿ

Lexically, *fuqqāʿ* seems to designate bubbles in a beverage, sometimes creating some kind of foam on the surface. It is discussed inhowfar the Arabic *fuqqāʿ* and its Persian variant *fuqāʿ* are arabicised forms of the Persian *fūgān*, or if it is viceversa. *Fuqqāʿ* 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 Shīʿī Ḥadīth. *Fuqqāʿ* 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]

Fuqqāʿ 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 fermeting ingredients. N. Nasrallah stresses that *fuqqāʿ* 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 *fuqqāʿ* that had not started to ferment, and in his Istibṣār, we find the general recommendation to buy *fuqqāʿ* on the market only if one knows how the seller has produced it.[191] Alcoholic *fuqqāʿ* was, of course, forbidden. Historical works have recorded *fuqqāʿ* prohibitions, e.g. by the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amrillāh (ruled 996–1021), the Mamluk ruler al-Ẓāhir Baybar (d. 1265), and Nāṣir Khusraw observed its illegality in 1048.

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

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187 Gouchani and Adle 1992.

188 Dihkhudā, Farūkhfāl 1988, Ṣādiqī 1988.

189 Ṣādiqī 1988, p. 38, 40; Steingass 2006; on spiced *fuqqāʿ* see Lewicka 2011, p. 468, referring to Isḥāq ibn Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī (9th–10th century); on fuqqāʿ 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, ʿUyūn al-Akhbār (*http://www.alwaraq.net*), 374; Ṣādiqī 1988, p. 38.

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

punishment for wine (*khamr*) consumption. That alcoholic *fuqqāʿ* 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-*fuqqāʿ* with one's clothes causes contamination. Abū Jamīla al-Baṣrī was with Yūnis in Baghdād and they were just passing the market when the *fuqqāʿ*-seller opened his vessels. In this moment, splashes of his *fuqqāʿ* 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 Jaʿfar, who said, when asked about the *fuqqāʿ*: "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 *fuqqāʿ* 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-ʿasali wa-huwa al-bitʿ* (bāb 4), the first tradition quoted does not mention *bitʿ* at all, but instead *fuqqāʿ*:

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

That *fuqqāʿ* 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

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192 Al-Kulaynī, bāb al-fuqqāʿ, 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 *fuqqāʿ*, 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 *fuqqāʾ*.

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 version[198], 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 ʿUyūn 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 Kaʿb 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

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

198 Lisān al-ʿArab, 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-Nasāʾī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 56–57, no. 5773.

202 See, e.g., al-Kulaynī, kitāb al-aṭʿima, abwāb al-aswiqa wa-faḍl sawīq al-ḥinṭa and sawīq al-ʿadas

aṭʿima, ṭahāra, wuḍūʾ, nikāḥ, ṭalāq, maghāzī, and jihad. 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 *shayʾun yuṣnaʿu 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" movement[207], 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 akhḍar*, 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.

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[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-ashirba, bāb al-ẓurūf, no. 1, 3; Mālik ibn Anas, al-Muwaṭṭa', 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 deputees 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 Egypt[214] 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 *ghubayrā'*.[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

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210 Al-Nasā'ī, 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-Nasā'ī, 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-Nasā'ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 53, no. 5734, bāb 55–56, no. 5770; also Mālik ibn Anas, al-Muwaṭṭa', 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-Nasā'ī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb 55–56, no. 5770.

215 See on the paragraph about *ghubayrā'* 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 extend 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 supplies[220], 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-

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217 Lutz 1922, p. 155.
218 See Maraqten 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 ʿAlī if he really has stated that wine consumption would be worse than (*ashaddu min*) adultery (*zinā*) and stealing (*sariqa*). ʿAlī 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 ʿĀ'isha.

224 See the commentaries on Sura 4, 43–46; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf 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 week 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 Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, drinking and reciting poetry in some kind of flaunting Bacchanalian manner. When Saʿd recited an invective poem (*hijāʾ*) 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-

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225 Al-Kulaynī, kitāb al-ashriba, bāb inna l-khamra raʾsu kulli ithmin wa-sharrin, no. 8 (wa-inna shāribu l-khamri idhā shariba l-khamra zanā wa-saraqa wa-qatala l-nafsa allatī ḥarrama llāhu ʻazza 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 SHĪʿĪ 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 taḥrīmi l-khamr*) is in contrast to the chapter stressing the effect of wine consumption, traced back to mythological pre-history, to Adam[233], 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-

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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 (*ʿinab*), 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 (*ʿinab*) and that therefore, from now on, the (grape) wine (*ʿaṣīrat 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-ʿinabu wa-al-tamru*). From then on God forbade all descendants of Adam to consume intoxicating beverages. Everything fermented has become *khamr* (*waṣāra kullu mukhtamirin khamran*), and the smell of fermenting liquid is the smell of Iblīs' urine.

This report, which can be traced back to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, 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 Isrāʾīliyyāt. 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 Qurʾānic version[237] and most of the Qurʾān 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 (*mufassirūn*) 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 Samaʿel 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 Kāfī where ʿAlī 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

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

236 Hämeen-Anttila 2006. Jaakko Hämeen-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 raʾsu 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''āẓ*-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 *ṭinat 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 *'araqu 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.

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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]. Jaʿfar 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 ʿAmr ibn Marwān who asks Jaʿfar 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 Shīʿī or Jaʿfarī) when he rejects the drink. Jaʿfar advices him to add water to the drink. But when ʿAmr asks if he is allowed to drink it then, Jaʿfar says: No.[247] The strictness of the wine prohibition in the Shīʿī texts reflects the then ongoing debates among legal scholars and the definition of Jaʿfarī law, above all against Abū Ḥanīfa and his more "liberal" interpretation of the Qurʾān 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

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[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-dawāʾ wa-l-aṭash aw li-l-taqiyya, no. 11. It is repeated together with *masḥ ʿalā al-khuffayn* and *mutʿat al-ḥajj* by the 5. Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir in no. 12.

[247] Al-Kulaynī, kitāb al-ashriba, inna rasūla llāhi ṣallā llāhu ʿalayhi 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 (*ḍurūra*). 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 *ṣā'* (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 (*inā'*) and take its measure with a wooden stick (*'ūd*). 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 (*za'farān*), 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.

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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 ṣifat 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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The Ambiguities of Alcohol in Iranian History:

Between Excess and Abstention[*]

RUDI MATTHEE

INTRODUCTION

The advent of Islam in the seventh century CE formally made wine drinking illicit in the lands that fell under its sway. Yet the spread of this new faith following the early Arab expeditions in fact did little to interrupt the long tradition of alcohol consumption in the two most important areas that were conquered in its name, the eastern half of the Mediterranean basin and "greater Iran," encompassing Mesopotamia, the Iranian plateau, the Caucasus, and Central Asia as far as the Oxus River. The Mediterranean tradition of viniculture is so well known as not to need any elaboration. Yet the Mediterranean basin is not where the grape was first cultivated for the manufacture of wine. The earliest world's wine culture – going back some 9,000 years – has been located rather farther to the east, in the eastern Taurus, the Caucasus and the northern Zagros Mountains of Iran.[1] Pre-Islamic Mesopotamia was also the land of wine-soaked royal banquets, of alcohol-induced divination, and of prophecy inspired by intoxicating drinks.[2] In Zoroastrianism, wine symbolized liquid gold and the flowing fire of the radiant sun, and as such had a ritual function, being part of a libation ritual, in which it substituted for blood. Ancient and late antique Iranian elite history could be written as the history of *razm va bazm* (fighting and feasting), with wine at the center.

There are various good reasons why the spread and adoption of Islam did not root out wine drinking, other than that human beings have always been

[*] I would like to thank Willem Floor, Cyrus Schayegh, and Ali Gheissari for providing me with source material.

[1] Patrick McGovern, *Uncorking the Past: The Quest for Wine, Beer, and Other Alcoholic Beverages* (Berkeley, 2009), 82. See also his contribution to this volume.

[2] Jean Bottéro, "Boisson, banquet, et vie sociale." In L. Milano, ed., *Drinking in Ancient Societies, History and Culture in the Ancient Near East* (Padua, 1994), 1–13.

attracted to various forms of vice, especially if they are officially proscribed. One is that wine retained the various presumed medical benefits that doctors in pre-Islamic times had ascribed to it. Another is that its sale and consumption benefited the state by way of taxes. If this ever created a dilemma, the need for fiscal revenue typically won out over any moral objections.

There are yet other, more indirect reasons why alcohol consumption did not disappear from lands where Islam came to rule. If the Prophet of Islam was inspired by alcohol, it was by way of proscription, to be sure. But, in keeping with the moral universe engendered by Islam, it was a reluctant, gradual proscription, one that was at once absolute and relative, providing loopholes, the ability to engage in subterfuge, and the chance to have one's guilt absolved. In the Abrahamic tradition the vine and wine have been linked from the outset, and wine has been connected with drunkenness and impudence as early as the story about Noah in the Book of Genesis 9, 20–21.[3] The Quran is ambiguous about wine, evincing a "progressively negative sequence" in a series of "discreet, evocative statements," with regard to its properties and its consumption, clearly "in response to a particular set of human circumstances."[4] It praises wine as God's gift and recognizes it as a source of enjoyment, but "etherealizes" it by giving it a place in paradise. Reflecting the problems Mohammad had with drunkenness in his entourage, Islam's sacred text ultimately condemns wine for its effect, intoxication, which interferes with faith and the exercise of religious commands.

Yet there is relief for those who transgress. First and most importantly, those who cannot resist drinking in contravention of the Holy Law can find comfort in the Islamic notion that sin can be expiated through repentance. Drinking alcohol is a transgression for which atonement or a specific punishment is prescribed. Drinking is bad, but the act as such does not turn the actor into a heretic. It is heretical, rather, *to consider it permissible* to drink alcohol.[5] It also helps if the alcohol one consumes is manufactured by a non-Muslim, for this absolves the person who drinks at least to some extent.[6]

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3 François Clement and Edgard Weber, *Les vins d'Orient. 4000 ans d'ivresse* (Nantes, 2008), introd., 8.

4 Kathryn Kueny, *The Rhetoric of Sobriety: Wine in Early Islam* (Albany, NY, 2001), 66.

5 Devin J. Stewart, *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy. Twelver Shiite Response to the Sunni Legal System* (Salt Lake City, 1998), 47.

6 Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, and Ancient Babylonia, &c. &c. during the Years, 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820* (London, 1821–22), 347–48.

Secondly, and related, the imbiber is offered a place of refuge of sorts in the form of the respect Islam has always evinced for the privacy of the inner home, the sanctuary of a family's honor. A strong Islamic, prophetically underwritten injunction about the impermissibility of prying into people's private lives for hidden sin – so as not to bring shame on them – has often provided some kind of legal shelter against the intrusion of the state by way of a morality police.[7] In other words, since social solidarity is an important virtue in traditional Islamic culture, as long as drinking and other proscribed activities remained confined to the private sphere, the community tended to "keep up appearances" by pretending that no infringement was taking place.[8]

As a result, many newly converted Muslims continued to consume alcohol, and especially wine, with an alacrity barely dimmed by a guilty conscience. Pre-Islamic poets had drawn their inspiration and pleasure from wine, and the *khamriyya*, a form of bacchic poetry, survived the ban in Islam to thrive in the Umayyad period.[9] Wine drinking was ubiquitous in the secular-minded environment of the ʿAbbasid court of Baghdad. The scene of the caliph and his boon companions engaged in drinking represents a trope. The *bon viveur* image of the cultured courtier included not just the actual quaffing of wine, but presupposed knowledge about when and how to consume it, and, of course, how to come to terms with the fact that it is formally forbidden in Islam. All this is reflected in the Persianate *Ādāb* and *Naṣiḥat*, Mirror for Princes literature. Neẓām al-Molk in his well-know *Siyāsatnāmeh*, written for the Seljuq Sultan Malekshāh, devotes a brief chapter to the rules and arrangements for royal drinking parties. In it Neẓām al-Molk presents good-quality wine as a token of the king's lavishness and hospitality; and advises the ruler to choose his boon companions wisely, arguing that it is imperative that drinking parties be conducted in a relaxed mood, for it is "only through his boon companions that the king's spirit is set free […]"[10]

The *Qābusnāmeh*, an eleventh-century manual written by Qābus b. Vushmgir, a vassal of the Ghaznavids and a boon companion of one of that dynasty's rulers, for his son, is exemplary in its humanism. "I will not tell

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7 Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Princeton, 2000), 481–82.

8 Patricia Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam* (New York, 2004), 316–17.

9 Edgard Weber, "Le vin dans la tradition arabo-musulmane," in Clement, ed., *Les vins d'Orient*, 54–83.

10 Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings. The Siyar al-Muluk or Siyasat-nama*, trans. Hubert Darke (Richmond, Surrey, 1960, repr. 2002), 119.

you to drink," Qābus admonishes his son, "but I can't tell you not to drink either"; after which the author proceeds to give his offspring advice about the etiquette of drinking. A good latter-day example of the same genre, the *Anis al-Nās*, *The Good Companion*, written in Shiraz in the fifteenth century, offers similar advice. In keeping with a common association, the (poorly known) author of this manual for "the honest man" pragmatically calls wine one of the indomitable urgencies of youth. In his chapter on wine, the author turns vice into a virtue by emphasizing, right from the outset, that *towbeh*, repentance, is important, indeed essential, for the drinker, for a "man without repentance is like a fish on dry land". He then proceeds to list the proper rules of etiquette that the drinker should take into account and live by.[11]

A related aspect of wine drinking that scarcely needs mention is the role it has always played in Sufism, Islamic mysticism, much of which is set in the Persianate half of the Islamic universe. Wine, of course, is ubiquitous in Sufi poetry. And it is clear that Muslim mystics did not just celebrate wine as a metaphor, but indulged in it themselves, at times in great volume.[12] Among the tropes found in Sufi poetry are the *kharābāt*, dingy and dark watering holes on the edge of town. From its early manifestations, the mystical ambiance also included the consumption of alcohol as defiance, as a way of thumping one's nose at the strictures of formal religion and social convention. Hafez's poetry in particular is filled with references to wine as a metaphor for dissent against the rigidity of orthodoxy and in particular the cant of the clerics, its self-appointed guardians. Iran's other revered poet, Saʿdi, sums up a prevailing attitude, combining suspicions about and tolerance for, the behavior of "holy men" with an insistence of the right of individuals to privacy, as follows:

هرکه را جامه پارسی بینی پارسا دان و نیک مرد انگار
و ندانی که درنگاهش چیست محتسب را درون خانه چکار ؟

Reckon holy everyone in holy robes you see
View them all as good men;
And if what's in their hearts' unknown to you,
What business within a private house have the police?

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11 Shojāʿ, *Anis al-Nās*, ed. Iraj Afshār (Tehran, 2536/1977), ch. 7, 189–204. For an analysis of this work, see C.-H. de Fouchécour, "'The Good Companion' (Anis al-nās), a Manual for the Honest Man in Shirāz in the 9th/15th Century," in Kambiz Eslami, ed., *Iran and Iranian Studies: Essays in Honor of Iraj Afshar* (Princeton, 1998), 42–57.

12 See Homā Nāṭeq, *Ḥāfeẓ. Khonyāgari, mey va shādi* (Los Angeles, 2004).

WINE IN EARLY MODERN IRAN

Wine drinking remained an integral part of court life in eastern half of the Islamic world beyond the classical period, a custom that, over time, was reinforced by an influx of Turko-Mongol peoples from Central Asia with a reputation for dipsomania. The two major dynasties representing this influx, the Seljuqs and the Mongols, were both known for binge drinking. Subsequent dynasties continued the habit of elites indulging in alcoholic excess in flagrant violation of the Islamic law. This includes the Safavids, the dynasty that, originating as a mystical order from eastern Anatolia, took power in Iran in 1501 to rule the country until the early eighteenth century. In the Safavid period, wine drinking continued to conform to a long-standing shared cultural idiom. Unlike conditions in the Ottoman Empire with its cosmopolitan port cities filled with minorities – especially Christians – for whom wine was part of daily routine or even of liturgical ritual, the ambiance of drinking in Iran, including that of the court, remained tribal and wedded to the open space rather than being urban-centered. Consequently, throughout the early Safavid period and periodically thereafter, alcohol consumption by the elite continues to recall the pre-Islamic *razm va bazm* tradition of hard fighting and hard drinking as the expected pursuit of warriors and the "test of a man."[13]

Alcohol consumption in large quantities by the shah and his entourage also continued to have a spiritual, even sacral dimension reminiscent of the ancient libation rite. The king was supposed to drink, both as a sign of his stature as a "big man," and as a way to demonstrate that he occupied his own autonomous moral space – beyond the strictures of Islam. The first political ruler of the dynasty, Shāh Ismāʿil (r. 1501–24), especially, lived up to this rank and reputation. Portuguese visitors to his court describe raucous scenes of ritualized drinking by him and his acolytes, the Qezelbash chiefs, the Turcoman warriors who brought the Safavids to power and who formed the mainstay of their military until the early seventeenth century.

The character of the Qezelbash as a wild and undisciplined tribal warrior band is epitomized in the terrible defeat the Safavids suffered against the Ottomans on the battlefield of Chaldiran of 1514. The Iranians famously lost

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[13] See Khāndamir, *Tārikh-i ḥabib al-seyar*, 4 vols., ed. Dabirsiyāqi (Tehran, 1362/1984), 4:132, cited in Maria Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition: Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran* (Leiden, 2007), 27, fn. 66.

this decisive confrontation in part because the Qezelbash had engaged in a drunken orgy the night before. Following the debacle, a depressed Ismāʿil gave up on state affairs but not on drinking: He would die a decade later, barely thirty years old, in a drunken stupor.

Wine, moreover, served to mark the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion at the center of power. Who was and who was not invited to join the shah in his drinking parties betokened royal favor and disfavor. That Western visitors might not just be included in these assemblies but were even allowed to share the shah's own cup betrays the emphatically secular make-up of a court that was not just willing to transgress the general Islamic ban on drinking but the more specifically Shiʿi one on ritual purity as well. In this manner, drinking automatically was about power, the power of the dynast to force his underlings to drink, or to make his clerics watch the drinking. The most celebrated of Safavid rulers, Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 1587–1629), was known to touch alcohol, albeit in moderation, and his European observers claim that he never allowed the effect of drinking to get in the way of proper decision-making. Yet he did employ alcohol as a way to assert his power by defying the clerics attached to his court. The Portuguese father António de Gouvea bears witness to this with a story in which he describes how the shah ordered wine to be brought during an assembly where, aside from a delegation of Portuguese missionaries, various judges and clerics, including the *sheykh al-islām* of the realm, were present, and forced everyone to drink to the health of the pope.[14]

With regard to the consumption of alcohol, Safavid Iran evinces some of same impulses as its neighbors, the Ottoman and Mughal states. Various Ottoman sultans, from Süleyman the Magnificent to Murad IV, are known to have imbibed, even if they outlawed public drinking.[15] Sultan Babur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty (r. 1526–30), was notorious for his frequent drinking bouts. And, in keeping with the Central Asian mode, in his autobiography he is quite open and unapologetic about this aspect of his reign and

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[14] António de Gouvea, *Relaçam em que se tratam as guerras e grandes victorias que alcançou o grãde rey da Persia Xá Abbas do grão Turco Mahometto, & seu filho Amethe, as quais resultarão das embaixadas q̃ue por mandado del rey D. Felippe II de Portugal fizeraõ algũs religiosos da ordem dos Eremeitaas de Santo Agostinho a Persia*, (Lisbon 1611), 206v.

[15] Philip Mansel, *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire 1453–1924* (London, 1995), 173–74.

personality.[16] The wine cup remained an integral part of Mughal court culture until the end of the dynasty.[17] Like the Safavid Shahs Soleymān and Solṭān Ḥoseyn, Sultan Nur al-Din Jahāngir (r. 1605–27) kept drinking in private even after banning alcohol in public.[18]

The Safavids nevertheless seem to have retained more of the Central Asian tradition than the Mughals and certainly than the Ottomans. The Italian traveler Manucci claims that Sultan Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707) forced Europeans to settle outside of the port city of Surat on account of their drinking habits. Even before the accession to power of this well-known purist, the status of Westerners is said to have been rather low because of their presumed heavy drinking and polygamous practices.[19] As was true in Iran, in Ottoman lands the consumption of alcohol among Muslims by and large remained the province of the elite, the *khāṣṣ*, with the middling and popular classes drinking little more than water – and, as always, preferring opium as their drug of choice. Ottoman port cities were home to numerous drinking establishments, to be sure, reflecting the large number of their Christian inhabitants. Yet in the Ottoman Empire or at least in Istanbul, the Ottoman elite never seem to have indulged as freely in drinking as its Iranian counterpart. We have one report, dating from 1719, which states that the Ottoman court had switched from wine to coffee during receptions for foreign guests.[20] The custom of organizing drinking session and inviting not just the ruler's boon companions but even foreign guests, diplomats and missionaries, had never been common in Istanbul. The contrast between Iran's military with conditions in the Ottoman army is rather stark as well. Suggesting a measure of social discipline that the Iranians had not (yet) attained, Ogier Busbecq, the Flemish representative of the Habsburg state in Istanbul, in the mid sixteenth century insisted that the army of the sultan did not drink. In-

16 Stephen Dale, *The Garden of the Eight Paradises. Bābur and the Culture of Empire in Central Asia, Afghanistan and India (1483–1530)* (Leiden, 2004), 179–83.

17 Meena Khare, "The Wine Cup in Mughal Court Culture – From Hedonism to Kingship," in *The Medieval History Journal* 8 (2005): 143–88.

18 Prasun Chatterjee, "The Lives of Alcohol in Pre-colonial India," in *The Medieval History Journal* 8 (2005): 202.

19 Nicolai Manucci, *Storia di Mogor*, 4 vols. (London, 1907): 1:4 and 2:4.

20 M.-F. Brosset, ed. and trans., *Histoire de le Georgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIXe siècle*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1856–57), 1:6; Nationaal Archief, The Hague (NA), VOC 1856, Isfahan to Gamron, 17 July 1713, fol. 352; and Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration: The Habsburg Empire Confronts Islam, 1526–1850* (London, 2008, 92.

deed, Busbecq opined that the absence of intoxicating drinks in the Ottoman army contributed greatly to the good order in the sultan's military.[21] And the military was apparently no exception among the governing elite. As said, various sultans are known to have imbibed, even heavily, in private, yet at least sixteenth-century Ottoman court ritual in general stands out for sobriety.[22]

Iranian society eventually was to evolve into a similar direction, even though the path was circuitous and the pace much slower. The evolution of the Safavids from a band of freebooting warriors given to the ways of the steppe, to an urban-based, bureaucratic order professing a more scriptural version of Islam created (clerically inspired) pressure on the tradition of hard drinking in public. This does not mean that the elite gave up on drinking – if anything the influx of Christians – mostly Georgians and Armenians – from the Caucasus, so-called *gholāms*, who were subsequently given high military and administrative positions, gave a new impulse to drinking as an accepted part of life. Georgian *gholām*s came to supplant the Qezelbash, to the point where by the late seventeenth century much of the Safavid military was composed of Georgians, while Armenians were prominently represented in the ranks of the administration. Both groups brought with them a culture in which wine drinking was integral and natural, an attitude that changed but little with the formal conversion to Islam presupposed by their integration into the Safavid elite. The introduction of Georgian and Circassian women into the royal harem, moreover, introduced "Christian" ways into the heart of the political decision-making arena, including, presumably, the consumption of wine. In sum with the exception of Shāh Ṭahmāsb (r. 1524–76), whose famous Sincere Repentance of 939/1532–33, reiterated in 965/1558, included abjuring alcohol, Shāh Ismāʿil's successors all imbibed, although some indulged more than others.

Heavy drinking was and long remained widespread outside the circles of the central court as well. The Ottoman traveler Evliya Chelebi, visiting northwestern Iran in the 1640s, said of the khan of Darband that he was drunk day and night. [23] The unnamed official who governed Yazd in 1666,

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[21] Metin And, *Istanbul in the 16th Century. The City. The Palace, Daily Life* (Istanbul, 1994), 187.

[22] Gülru Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid and Ottoman Palaces," in *Ars Orientalia* 23 (1993): 311.

[23] Evliya Chelebi, *Travels*, trans. and ed. Willem Floor (Washington D.C., 2009), 93.

too, was known for his excessive drinking. The Armenian Bedros Bedik in the 1670s characterized Manṣur Khān, a Georgian who in the 1670s served as *qollar-aqasi*, head of the slave-soldiers, as a devotee less of Islam than of Bacchus.[24]

Yet as much as alcohol permeated early modern Iranian society, wine-drinking retained its dubious status as a custom at variance with religious prescriptions. Alcohol might be ubiquitous in elite circles yet it remained – could not but remain – socially unintegrated. In elite circles, wine served as a social lubricant, enlivening banquets and other social gatherings, but its ultimate fate was simultaneous furtive embrace and public disavowal. It thus could never become part of a public sphere, in the way coffee and later tea became the beverages consumed in the Iranian public space, represented by the seventeenth-century coffeehouse – which, as described by various Western observers and in Persian-language sources, corresponds to Habermas's characterization of the public sphere in that it was autonomous from the state, a venue for the literate and literary classes and a conduit of public opinion, even of dissent and opposition to the state.[25]

Inhibitions and Curbing Measures:

Since the Safavid state manifested itself from its inception as a faith-based enterprise, the inherent tension between Islam's proscription of alcohol and the copious intake by the Iranian upper classes sooner or later was bound to erupt into conflict. As the Safavid state lost its tribal, Turko-Mongol moorings and moved toward greater conformity with a professed Twelver-Shiʿi orthodoxy, if not actual orthopraxis, attitudes toward alcohol indeed began to change, or rather, prohibitionist tendencies began to assert themselves. The first manifestation of this occurred early on. Of crucial importance in the transformation is Shāh Ṭahmāsb's famous Sincere Repentance – his decision to give up on various forms of unislamic behavior, which included the drinking of wine. Shāh Ṭahmāsb issued a first *farmān*, royal edict, outlawing drinking in 1525, possibly under the influence of his *sheykh al-islām*, ʿAli al-

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24 Bedros Bedik, *Chehil sutun, seu explicatio utriusque celeberrimi, ac pretiosissimi theatri quadraginta columnarum in Perside orientis, cum adjecta fusiori narratione de religione, moribus.* (Vienna, 1678), 252.

25 See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, 1989).

Karaki, who a year later made his own contribution to a more *shariʿah*-minded society by issuing a *fatwā* that targeted public singing and recitation, among other activities associated with Sufis and Qezelbash elements.[26] The shah's Sincere Repentance was first proclaimed in 939/1532–33. As the act and its enforcement clearly played itself out over a number of years, it was reiterated in 964/1555–56.[27] Aside from striking a blow at the hard-drinking Qezelbash, this decision marked a phase in the loss of the shah's divine pretensions that had begun with Shah Ismāʿil's defeat against the Ottomans in 1514, and symbolized a switch in the shah's image from incarnation of the divine to that of trustee of the imam, from law-defying force to guarantor of orthopraxis. Later shahs continued to drink, but they no longer drank in the previously unselfconscious manner. Even shorn of its orgiastic dimension, drinking remained a source of raucous fun and rollicking spectacle at the royal court, with rulers amusing themselves as besotted courtiers were carried out horizontally. Wine also continued to serve as a way to pry secrets from the lips of courtiers whose loyalty was in doubt, following a tradition that Herodotus had already commented on in his remarks about the Persians, with sometime deadly results.[28]

Still, guilt – like clerical pressure – was never far from the surface. All shahs beginning with ʿAbbās I periodically banned the consumption of alcohol. Even Shāh Ṣafi (r. 1629–42), who was notorious for his own dipsomania, is now known to have proclaimed a ban on drinking. [29] The reasons varied, and ranged from apparent royal whim to invocations of divine grace preceding a battle or a siege, to clerical incitement and exhortation. The Persian-language sources present Ṭahmāsb's Sincere Repentance as inspired by a celestial dream, but also situate it in the context of a pending expedition against the Ottomans, who had just invaded Iraq. And the chroniclers now felt compelled to justify royal boozing. A point in case is Shāh ʿAbbās II (r. 1642–66), who, still only in his late teens after seven dry years on the throne,

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26 See Rasul Jaʿfariyān, *Naqsh-e Khāndān-e Karaki dar ta'sis va tadāvom-e dowlat-e Ṣafavi* (Tehran, 1387/2008), 278–88.

27 For this, see Rudi Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500–1900* (Princeton, 2005), 74ff.

28 See Herodotus, *Histories*, 4 vols., ed. A. D. Godely (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), The Dutch in 1664 report how Heydar Beg died from exessive drinking forced upon him by Shāh ʿAbbās II. See NA, VOC 1248, Gamron to Batavia, 30 Aug. 1664, fol. 3046.

29 Abu'l Mafākher b. Faẓl Allāh al-Ḥoseyni Savāneh-negār Tafreshi, *Tārikh-e Shāh Ṣafi*, ed. Moḥsen Bahrāmnezhād (Tehran, 1388/2010), 22–23.

in 1649 took up the cup, while celebrating Nowruz on the banks of the Helmand River, during his triumphant return from a campaign that had led to the capture of Qandahar from the Mughals. Vāleh Qazvini Eṣfahāni, who narratives the events, is explicit about the shah's change of heart, and justifies it in two ways. First, he refers to the old adage according to which God as well as the law permit happiness and pleasure, especially in youth. The shah especially enjoys certain rights, including the right to unbounded pleasure as long as he does not neglect his realm and his subjects. For good measure, Vāleh Qazvini Eṣfahāni makes sure to absolve the ruler from any personal responsibility by blaming his courtiers for their alcoholic excess and for urging the shah to take up the cup as well.[30]

Underneath the various proscriptions in the Safavid period we detect tensions between the Turkic, Central Asian and the Tajik, "ethnic Iranian" element in Safavid society. Karaki's opinions reflected sentiments harbored by the Arab immigrant clerics whom he represented, and his rulings targeted not just at Sufis but also the Qezelbash and their wayward ways, which no doubt included drinking (in public and to excess.) Shāh ʿAbbās I issued a ban on drinking in 1603, at a time when his campaign to sideline the Qezelbash was in full swing.[31] A most suggestive hint about "ethnic" tensions involves the accession of Shāh Ṣafi in 1629, in the different ways in which the two main chronicles narrating the event present the various proscriptive measures that were taken following the enthronement. The "pro-Qezelbash" Moḥammad Maʿṣum b. Khvājegi Eṣfahāni, the author of the *Kholāṣat al-seyar*, has Shāh Ṣafi begin the new shah's reign with a proclamation banning smoking and the burning of the existing crop of tobacco. Abu'l Mafākher b. Fażl Allāh al-Ḥoseyni, the "Tajik-leaning" author of the recently edited *Tārikh-e Shāh Ṣafi*, by contrast, does not even mention this proclamation. Instead he presents a ban on the consumption of wine and the destruction of wine houses as the first official act of the newly acceded Shāh Ṣafi.[32]

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30 Mohammad Yusof Valeh Qazvini Esfahani, *Khold-e barin (Iran dar ruzgar-e Safaviyan)*, ed. Mir Hashem Mohaddes (Tehran, 1372/1993), 480.

31 Georg Tectander, *Eine abenteuerliche Reise durch Russland nach Persien 1602–1604*, ed. Dorothea Müller-Ott (Tulln, 1978), 65.

32 See Moḥammad Maʿṣum b. Khājegi Eṣfahāni, *Kholāṣat al-seyar. Tārikh-e ruzgār-e Shāh ṢafiṢSafavi* , ed. Iraj Afshār (Tehran, 1368/1989), 39; and Al-Ḥoseyni, *Tārikh-e Shāh Ṣafi*, 22–23. For this interpretation, see Naṣr Allāh Purmoḥammadi Amleshi, "ʿAṣr-e Shāh Ṣafi," review of al-Ḥoseyni, *Tārikh-e Shāh Ṣafi*, in *Ketāb-e Māh* 149 (Mehr 1389/2010): 34.

Typically and unsurprisingly, the *ulama* were the driving force behind the various bans and the retreat of royal drinking into the private sphere. In early Safavid times, Shiʿi scholars developed the idea that, in the absence of the Hidden Imam, a qualified jurist might undertake the task of leading the community of the faithful in its efforts to uphold the divinely ordained social order. This sanctioning of clerical activism never prompted the *ulama* to foreswear their allegiance to, or cooperation with, the state, but it did put some muscle into their claim to have the right of direct intervention in its affairs. The various bans all bear a clerical imprint. ʿAbbās II, exhorted by his *ulama* to clean up his act and follow the example of his pious forebear, Shāh Ṭahmāsb, foreswore wine in 960/1653, a mere four years after he had held his first *bazm* on the verdant banks of the Helmand River. Yet invariably, such bans were honored in the breach more than in the observation. Their intent was ostensibly to combat and curtail religiously proscribed behavior, but as numerous examples suggest, in reality they typically grew out of a preoccupation with the preservation of public order. Drinking in public rather than drinking per se was seen as a problem, and silence and dissimulation were the mechanisms that kept the latter out of sight.

This explains in part why bans rarely lasted long, and why were they not always comprehensive either. Under ʿAbbās II's successor, Shāh Soleymān (r. 1666–94), wine was officially outlawed several times. Yet public bans did not necessarily entail private abstemiousness. When the Spanish cleric Cubero Sebastian visited Isfahan in 1674, he noted that there was no wine available in the city, yet he insisted that the shah and his nobles consumed it in secret.[33] Drinking clearly retained its status as a prerogative of the *khāṣṣ*.

The long-term trend toward "privatized" tippling culminated during the reign of the last Safavid shah, Shāh Solṭān Ḥoseyn (1694–1722). Upon his accession, the pious Solṭān Ḥoseyn acceded to a request from his tutor, the doctrinaire cleric Moḥammad Bāqer Majlesi (d. 1699), to outlaw all drinking in his realm – as well as other forms of behavior considered to be at variance with the *shariʿa*. This led to the ostentatious smashing of 6,000 bottles of wine found in the royal cellars, and to the promulgation of the most explicit and comprehensive anti-vice proclamation in all of Safavid history, not just

[33] Don Pedro Cubero Sebastian, *Breve relación de la peregrinación que ha hecho de la mayor parete del mundo Don Pedro Sebastian* (Madrid, 1680), 217.

in Isfahan but throughout the shah's realm.[34] Yet in this case, too, the ban did not last, and the first one to break it was the shah himself. In the fall of 1694, mere months after the ban had been proclaimed, the shah resumed drinking upon the medically grounded recommendation of his great-aunt Maryam Begom, who was a noted tippler herself. Public drinking remained taboo for the duration of Solṭān Ḥoseyn's reign, though, and alcohol was henceforth confined to the privacy of the palace.[35]

There is no question that private drinking beyond the palace persisted as well. As has been true for other times and places in Islamic history, all the evidence suggests that in Safavid Iran, this type of consumption was rarely tackled, in part, to be sure, because it was much harder to tackle, but more fundamentally because it did not disrupt the social order and the appearance of conformity that Islamic societies have tended to insist on so emphatically. The *ʿulamā* might inveigh against it but some drank themselves, and they ultimately were powerless vis-à-vis a state with a secular will to power on which they were dependent for positions and emoluments. The *ʿulamā* moreover had a vested interest in the controlled existence of vice. They were mostly interested in maintenance of public order. Sharing a fear of social disorder with the secular authorities, they were pragmatic rather than idealistic and thus spared theory as well as practice by conniving at the relegation of drinking to private sphere and of tolerating the practice of religious minorities purveying wine (to Muslims). All this left ample room for the private sphere as a safety valve and a safe haven, as it has often been and still is in Iranian society.

BETWEEN THE SAFAVIDS AND THE QAJARS

With regard to many aspects of life and society, and especially in matters of material culture, the documentary evidence for the seventy-five year period

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34 See Moḥammad Ebrāhim b. Zeyn al-ʿĀbedin Nāṣiri, *Dastur-e shariyārān*, ed. Moḥammad Nāder Nāṣiri Moqaddam (Tehran, 1373/2004), 39–40. In provincial cities, the proclamation was engraved above the entrance ports of mosques. See Hāj Ḥoseyn Nakhjavāni, "Masjed-e Jāmeʿ-e Tabriz va sharḥ-e katibeh'hā-ye ān." in *Nashriyeh-ye Dāneshkadeh-ye Adabiyāt-e Tabriz* 6:1 (1333/1954): 36–38, for Tabriz; Rabino di Borgomale, *Mazandaran and Astarabad* (London, 1928), 37 for Amol; and James Baillie Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan in the Years 1821 and 1822* (London, 1825; repr. Delhi, 1984), 303, for Semnan.

35 See Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 94.

between the fall of the Safavids and the accession of the Qajars is spotty. This includes the incidence and level of alcoholic intake, for which we have few references. Yet all indications are that, following the rise to power of the Afghans and the subsequent rule by the Afsharids, culminating in the reign of Nāder Shāh (1736–47), Iran underwent a process of de-urbanization and "retribalization." Whereas the early eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire experienced its first "modernizing wave," which, incidentally coincided with attempts to emulate the Safavid models in matters of architectural style and poetic taste, Iranian society remained thoroughly traditional in its ways, little affected by Western models, and, as the tribal element edged out the urban, in some ways even "regressive."[36] We know that the Afghans were averse to alcohol, and it seems that Nāder Shāh, too, did not drink. Yet otherwise, patterns seem to have continued, reflecting a society which remained pre-modern, unregulated and undisciplined, and where practices might flagrantly contravene the norms without leading to serious corrective measures. The Frenchman Ferrières-Sauveboeuf in the 1760s claimed that Iranians drank freely.[37] Indeed, in at least one instance drinking and other forms of merry-making were officially licensed, even encouraged. The place of action is Shiraz, and the enactor of this "enabling" approach is Karim Khān Zand, the warlord who emerged from the chaos following the death of Nāder Shāh in 1747 to take control of much of southern Iran. In the 1770s Karim Khān turned Shiraz, his capital, into an "abode of pleasure," *dār al-ʿeysh*, filled with brothels, inns and taverns, in an apparent attempt to "civilize" rustic non-Persians.[38] Concessions were still made to the military. In a policy reminiscent of that of Karim Khān Zand, who allowed his soldiers to have access to alcohol, crown-prince and reformer ʿAbbās Mirzā in the early nineteenth century licensed a wine-shop in Tabriz for the use of the battalion stationed in that city, which included many Russians. The Iranian soldiers apparently followed their Russian colleagues in the drinking habits of the

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36 This has been argued by Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle and London, 2008), 234–35.

37 Comte L. de Ferrières-Sauveboeuf, *Mémoires historiques, politiques et géographiques des voyages.…faits en Turquie, en Perse et en Arabie depuis 1782 jusqu'en 1789*, 2 vols. (Maastricht, 1790), 2:62–63.

38 Christoph Werner, "Taming the Tribal Native: Court Culture and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Shiraz," in Albrecht Fuess and Jan Peter Hartung, eds., *Court Cultures in the Middle East, Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries* (London and New York, 2011), 226–27.

latter. Yet, since the Iranians would get drunk much faster than the Russians, they were often flogged for the offense.[39]

Reform, when it came, naturally was a matter of changing elite behavior. In the early modern West, anxieties about working class behavior in the context of modernizing societies demanding discipline, proper work habits, timeliness, in sum, sobriety, prompted states to take measures against drinking by the common man. The various gin laws promulgated in England as of the mid-eighteenth century are good examples of this tendency.[40] In either case, religion played an important role, with clerics agitating against the moral and societal rack and ruin drinking entailed. Since in Iran alcohol consumption was mostly an upper-class phenomenon, it is only natural that, aside from clerical exhortation, the royal palace set the trend for sobriety. Some Qajar rulers continued to drink, but abstemiousness at the court more and more became the norm. Moḥammad ʿAli Shāh (r. 1834–48), who shortly after his accession proscribed drinking in his realm, may even have been a teetotaler.[41] This is a function of several developments. One represents a continuation – or rather the resumption – of the process of sedentarization. From the reign of Fatḥ ʿAli Shāh (1797–1834) court life was no longer focused on the wild steppe but centered on the royal palace located in what would become Iran's first fixed capital, Tehran. More important is the fact that the Qajars lacked the religious credentials of the Safavids. They neither could boast a (fictitious) lineage going back to the Shiʿi Imams, nor did they introduce a new faith. They thus had to project an image of public piety and probity in order to establish their legitimacy, and abstaining from alcohol was one outward sign of this posture. A third, related process, was the rise to prominence of the Shiʿi clergy, who had emerged from the turmoil of the eighteenth century as the guiding force for a rudderless populace. The Englishman Stuart, describing Iran in 1835, reported that the Iranians he met did not drink "for fear of the eunuch, a sober and strict Muslim."[42] This is an obvious reference to the influence of Hājji Mirzā āghāsi, the infamous tutor and counselor of Moḥammad Shāh and his court. In the ensuing atmosphere

39 Porter, *Travels in Georgia*, Persia, Armenia, 349.

40 See Jessica Warner, *Craze: Gin and Debauchery in an Age of Reason* (New York, 2002); and Patrick Dillon, *Gin: The Much Lamented Death of Madam Geneva: The Eighteenth-Century Gin Craze* (New York, 2004).

41 See Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 181.

42 Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Stuart, *Journal of a Residence in Northern Persia and the Adjacent Provinces of Turkey*, (London, 1854), 169.

of growing clerical assertiveness, the *razm-o bazm* tradition came to an end. The shah had ceased to be a warrior, and in a reflection of his domestication, *āsh*, stew, distributed during festivals, took the place of wine during public feasting.

None of this means that the ruling class at large ceased to imbibe, sometimes in enormous quantities. When they are addicted to wine, James Baillie Fraser, writing in the 1820s, insisted, Iranians "preserve no restraint, and show very little anxiety to conceal their frailty, unless when they are persons following grave occupations. Indeed, their maxim is, that there is as much sin in a glass as in a flagon; and that if they incur the penalty, they will not forgo the pleasure […]"[43] Iranians, the French artist-cum traveler Eugène Flandin said, confirming the words of Fraser and many visitors before and after him, resembled all people touching a forbidden fruit by not knowing how to enjoy it in moderation. Obviously referring to the Iranians he encountered, invariably members of the ruling classes, he insisted that had never seen one who did not consume alcohol without getting so drunk as not to be able to lift his glass to his lips. Many people in Iran, Flandin claimed, would indulge in this and other vices until about the age of fifty, at which point they would repent, engage in *towbeh*. Quite a few persisted in their taste for alcohol until the very end, though.[44]

Nor was drinking just an upper-class affair. The *kharābāt*, the dank dives on the edge of town run by Jews or Armenians where Muslims would go to get drunk, continued to operate, attracting men from the lower orders, many of them ruffians known as *luṭis*. The *Vaqāyeʿ-e ettefāqiyyeh*, a compendium of reports on southern Iran by British officials, offers several instances of drunken brawls outside of Shiraz in 1296/1879. In one, two people were injured, one of whom later died. Near the city gates there were apparently lots of disturbances each night, with drinking and fighting ensuing.[45] Sufis drank, too, as well as smoked bang, as they had always done. As Fraser put

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43 Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan*, 422.

44 M. Eugène Flandin, *Voyage en Perse de MM Eugene Flandin, peintre, et Pascal Coste, architecte*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1851), 2:404 and 414–15. For the same type of observation, made some four decades earlier by the French envoy Amédée Jaubert, see P. Amédée Jaubert, Voyages en Arménie et en Perse , faite dans les années 1805–1806 (Paris, 1821), 317.

45 *Vaqāyeʿ-e ettefāqiyeh. Majmuʿeh-ye gozāresh'hā-ye khofyeh-nevisān-e Englis dar velāyat-e jonubi-ye Irān az sāl-e 1291 tā 1322 qamari*, ed. Saʿidi Sirjāni (Tehran, 1362/1983), 172.

it, "it is a privilege of Soffeeism to drink strong liquors, smoke bang, and use every other means of intoxication, at their pleasure." [46] Police reports for late nineteenth-century Tehran frequently refer to instances of public drunkenness resulting in disorderly conduct among common people.[47]

Much evidence for continued hard drinking among the ruling classes in Qajar times comes from provincial centers and peripheral parts of the country, suggesting that the modernizing impulse had indeed started at the center, as one might expect, or conversely, that heavy drinking continued to follow old ways by being most prevalent among tribal elements, with the Kurds perhaps the lustiest imbibers. Moḥammad Khān Zanganeh Amir Neẓām, the governor of Azerbaijan in the 1830s and until his death in 1841, is a case in point. The American missionary Justin Perkins called this official "broken down by hard drinking."[48] The aforementioned Flandin reports how, during his stay in Tabriz, the Amir Neẓām entertained him and his men to copious amounts of food and that the wine flowed freely irrespective of religion, among both the Iranian hosts and their French guests. The bottles on the Iranian side, Flandin insisted, were all empty and quite a few of them were drunk.[49] Elsewhere the same author called opium and wine abuse widespread in Iran, adding that Iranians would organize nocturnal sessions with their friends, during which Moḥammad and the wisest of his ordnances were forgotten and during which they would seek oblivion in wine from the tribulations of life.[50] Fraser, traversing Khorasan in 1821–22, met quite a few bibulous officials, most of them Kurds, descendants of the ones Shah ʿAbbās I had transplanted to the region two centuries earlier to defend the northern borderlands against Turcoman raids. Farrokh Khān, the officer in charge of the local artillery of Nishapur, was a "professed Mahometan and a rigid observer of many of the forms of his religion," yet he "indulged very freely in the use of wine, and rather boasted of the quantity he consumed, than thought of concealing it."[51] For much of the nineteenth century, the region of

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46 Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan*, 570.

47 *Gozāresh'hā-ye naẓmiyeh az mahallāt-e Tehrān*, 2 vols. paginated as one (Tehran, 1377/1998), 25, 33, 36, 49–50, 68, 79, 103, 116, 143–44, 155–56, 196, 197, 243, 371, 379, 394., 250, 254, 283, 284, 301, 311, 316, 347. .

48 Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorians* (Andover and New York, 1843), 226.

49 Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, 1:171.

50 Ibid., 2:404 and 414–15.

51 Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan*, 391–92.

Quchān, in Khorasan, was administered in hereditary fashion by a Kurdish family of bibulous governors who indulged in the locally produced and reputedly excellent white wine. Fraser visited the town in 1822 and spent one day fruitlessly trying to obtain the necessary permit for his onward journey, until he discovered that the incumbent, Reżā Qoli Khān Zaʿfarānlu, and his court were "dead drunk, and perfectly unable to transact business of any kind."[52] The British officer Valentine Baker (aka Baker Pasha), who visited Quchan in 1873, found Reżā Qoli Khān's descendant, Ḥoseyn Qoli Khān (Shojāʿ al-Dowleh), quite unprepared to receive him as he was asleep after a night of immoderate drinking. (He made up for this mishap by providing chairs and a table for his guests later, and by serving some good local wine the following day.)[53] The next town where Baker alighted on his way to Mashhad, Bojnurd, was administered by Yār Moḥammad Khān Sehām al-Dowleh Shāhdu. A cultivated man who like to read, Yār Moḥammad Khān served wine too, quite openly in fact, although he told Baker in front of all his attendees that he himself preferred arak and brandy, thinking wine "not strong enough."[54]

Changes in Alcohol Consumption

The Qajar period saw the beginning of European influence on many aspects of Iranian life.

This includes the type of alcohol people drank as well as the ambience in which they were enjoyed. Hard liquor in the form of aquavit imported from Russia had been known in Iran at least since Safavid times. The nineteenth century witnessed the introduction of new types of high-percentage alcoholic beverages into Iran as part of the country's ongoing and more diversified incorporation into the global market. Among the elites, various types of European liquor seem to have made inroads in the early part of the century. Count von Kotzbue, the head of a Russian embassy to Iran, in 1817 observed how the Iranian guests at a banquet in Yerevan enjoyed not just wine but

52 Ibid., 577–78.

53 Valentine Baker, *Clouds in the East: Travels and Adventures on the Perso-Turkoman Frontier* (London, 1876), 276. A similar description of the same official is given by the Russian General Grodekoff, as quoted in Lord Nathaniel Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, 2 vols. (London ,1892), 1:102.

54 Baker, *Clouds in the East*, 286.

quaffed liqueur in "immense quantities." He also claimed to have seen men who "drank off a bottle of rum at once without appearing to suffer any inconvenience of it."[55] Fraser explained the fondness for more potent stuff by suggesting that the pleasure of drinking "consists, not in the gradual exhilaration produced by wine and conversation among companions who meet to make merry, but in the feelings of intoxication itself; and therefore a Persian prefers brandy, and deep potations, because these soonest enable him to attain that felicity."[56] Justin Perkins, an ardent advocate of temperance, in the mid-1830s intoned that "European liquors are also rolling in upon the country like a flood."[57]

European wines seem to have entered the Iranian market quite a bit later. Far from "rolling in like a flood," they were still far from ubiquitous by mid-century. The British Resident Justin Sheil called the Iranians "extremely fond of European wines," yet added that, "still none among them, even the richest, are willing to undergo the expense of its conveyance from Europe. They satisfy themselves with the thin growth of their own vineyards, quantity compensating for quality."[58] His wife, Lady Sheil, in her travelogue offers a vivid description of the new type of spirits available at the tables of the elite. Invited by the governor-general of Tabriz in 1851, noted how the "table (for there was one) was covered with a complete and very handsome European service in plate, glass, and china, and, to crown the whole, six bottles of champagne displayed their silver heads, accompanied by a dozen other bottles of the wines of France and Spain."[59]

From the mid nineteenth century we have some figures about the volume of European alcoholic beverages entering Iran. An overview from 1869 of imports into Tabriz, lists wines and spirits from France, England and Russia worth 56,000 French francs.[60] In 1896 the French consul in Tabriz noted that almost all imported wines came from France, adding that consumption was limited, since most Muslims abided by the Koranic law, whereas the number

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55 M. von Kotzbue, *Narrative of a Journey into Persia in the Suite of the Imperial Russian Embassy of 1817* (London, 1819), 122–23.

56 Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan*, 422.

57 Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years*, 225.

58 Lady Sheil, *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia*, (London, 1856), 157.

59 Ibid., 80.

60 Archives des Affaires Etrangères (hereafter AAE), Paris, Corr. Commerciale (CC), Tauris, 1869–70, fols. 432v.

of resident Europeans was too low to make a real difference.[61] British sources convey the same message about Shiraz, where in 1893 the "demand for European wines, beer, and spirits was 'very limited.'" The writer added that "only a retail business could be done through Armenian shopkeepers."[62] Demand seems to have gone up in the next two decades, for in 1902–03 wine imports amounted to 12,850 bottles of French wine, 19,834 bottles of Russian wine, and 3,944 bottles of wine coming from Great Britain. At the same time 260,346 bottles of spirits, 85 percent of them imported from Russia, had entered the country. In keeping with a trend among the Ottoman upper classes at the time, and as the French representative who provided these statistics noted, a fairly large number of Iranians had meanwhile taken to the habit of *zakuska*, hors d'oeuvre, accompanied by vodka. Beer, too, had made inroads at this point. In the said year a total of 134,634 bottles entered the country, 121,130 of which originating in Russia.[63] Exemplifying how far, by the late nineteenth century, Iran's upper classes had moved away from the raucous open-air bacchanals of the Qezelbash, Nāṣer al-Din Shāh (r 1848–96) liked to drink a glass or two of French Bordeaux at dinner.[64] The Eʿtemād al-Salṭaneh also reports how the shah, before attending an execution, drank some Bordeaux to calm his nerves.[65] We might call both examples the outcome of a civilizing process along the lines proposed by Norbert Elias, whose famous study does not, inter alia, deal with drinking habits.[66]

Yet the dilemma between pleasure and guilt remained, as did the way of dealing with it. The Eʿtemād al-Salṭaneh in his diary observes how, during their stay in Moscow in 1306/1889, a stop on Nāṣer al-Din's third journey to Europe, the shah's companions did not observe the *ruz-e qatl*, the annual commemoration of the martyrdom of Imam Ḥoseyn, but instead indulged in

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61 AAE, CC, Audibert, "Commerce de Tauris," Tabriz, 12 June 1896.

62 National Archives, London (NA), FO 1894, DCR, Report for the year 1893–94 on the Trade of Shiraz (London, 1894), 13.

63 AAE, Corr. Politique (CP), n.s., Perse 47, "Rapport sur le movement commercial de l'année persane bars-il, 21 mars 1902 a 20 mars 1903." For conditions in the Ottoman Empire at the time, see François Georgeon, "Ottomans and Drinkers: The Consumption of Alcohol in Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century," in Eugene Rogan, ed., *Outside In: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East* (London and New York, 2002), .

64 Eʿtemād al-Salṭaneh, *Ruznāmeh-ye khāṭerāt-e Eʿtemād al-Salṭaneh* (Tehran, 3rd edn., 1356/1977), 300.

65 Ibid., 778.

66 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (New York, 1978).

the free wine offered to them by the mayor of the Russian capital. The next day, so as to expiate their sins of the previous night, they rolled out their prayer rugs and engaged in worship. Yet the moment the prayer was over and lunch beckoned, they started drinking again with the excuse that the water in Moscow tasted so bad as to be undrinkable.[67]

Foreign influence on drinking habits and the types of liquor consumed by Iranians intensified as a result of the strong Russian presence in northern Iran, which around the time of the Constitutional Revolution (1905–11) evolved into outright military occupation of parts of the country's north. Russian aquavit had been a staple of diplomatic gifts from Russia since the Safavid period. In the late nineteenth century, as Russia's influence on Iran increased, its import and consumption are said to have increased. Sayyed Ḥasan Taqizādeh in his autobiography quotes a doctor who at the turn of the century claimed that in Tabriz more arak was consumed than in Tbilisi.[68] In 1909 the French consul in Tabriz reported that the "cabaretiers" of the lower orders had "triumphed" by obtaining the free circulation and consumption of alcohol.[69] The German author Kuss in 1910 claimed that, because of Russia's influence, vodka was now common in the north, adding that often not real Russian vodka but a mixture prepared with turpentine was manufactured in Rasht, the capital of Gilan.[70] A report about the latter province from the period in the early 1920s, when Gilan was under Russian control, insists that alcoholism was rampant among the region's Armenian and Russian inhabitants and that a predilection for the best wines and spirits prompted a search for good French wines, cognacs and liqueurs among the well-to-do classes.[71] The French consul in Rasht at the time added that much of the wine consumed in Gilan came from Russia and that alcohol was sold clandestinely in coffee houses in the province.[72] Cognac, too, entered Iran at the time, from India as well as from countries such as France and Greece.[73] Next to cognac the most popular alcoholic drink among upper-class Iranians was champagne. Fantastic prices were paid for this luxury item. Wine was imported from France and Germany for the same clientele. Medicinal wines, so-called

67 Eʿtemād al-Salṭaneh, *Ruznāmeh-ye khāṭerāt*, 642.
68 Sayyed Ḥasan Taqizādeh, *Zendegi-ye ṭufāni (khāṭerāt)* (Tehran, 1379/2000), 45.
69 AAE, CP, n.s., Perse 6, Nicolas, Tabriz, 10 Aug. 1909, fol. 200.
70 Walther Kuss, *Handelsratgeber für Persien* (Berlin, 1911), 121.
71 AAE, CP, n.s., Perse 49, "Notes sur Guilan," fol. 57.
72 Ibid., "Notes sur les conséquences économiques de la guerre en Guilan," fols. 5 and 27.
73 Kuss, *Handelsratgeber*, 121.

China wine, with brands such as Vin de Bugeaus and Servallo (from Trieste), found a good market. Liqueurs were mostly imported from France, with the firm Potin offering various cheap, generic types.[74]

By now, beer, too, was consumed by the most affluent Iranians, but even more so by resident foreigners. In the north Russian beers were most common, with brands brewed in Samara, Astrakhan, Riga and Odessa. Beer from Riga cost 180 qran per crate of sixty bottles. In the south, by contrast, the great heat made strong brews more popular. There, German and English brands prevailed, and could be found even in the small Gulf ports, yet they were relatively expense and could not compete with American beer, most notably Schlitz-Milwaukee, which found its way to Iran in relatively large quantities.[75]

New Forms of Anxiety and Discipline

In a fascinating mixture of old impulses and new sensibilities, those who drank in the nineteenth century often did so defiantly. This type of ostentatious drinking recalls the libertine, anti-clerical attitude of traditional high-minded Sufis claiming a private moral sphere that is so powerfully articulated by Hafez and his fellow poets. What was new in the Qajar period was not so much the vehemence with which drinkers showed their contempt for the increasingly abrasive *ʿulama* who felt no longer restrained by a forceful ruler capable or willing to rein them in, as the "modernizing," Western inflected disposition reflected in the defiance of those who made little effort to observe the laws of the Prophet. Flaunting one's drinking became an explicit political statement, a way of showing a "modern" attitude by way of heaping scorn on obscurantist clerics and their cant, and as such it was part of a social ferment in nineteenth-century Iran that proved to be a breeding ground for Babism and other forms of radicalism as well.[76] By the early twentieth century, this new, Western-style consumption of alcohol, mostly arak and vodka, would give rise to the famous bars and cafes and cabarets of Lālehzār Street in Tehran.

At the same time, reactions to what was perceived as enhanced public drinking came in the form of a new approach, which sought to curb and con-

74 Ibid.
75 Ibid.
76 For more on this, see Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 199–204.

tain through admonition and exhortation, using arguments that were no longer grounded in traditional morality. In former times opposition to alcohol had invariably been couched in religious terms; bans had always been proclaimed in the name of conformity with the tenets and prescriptions of Islam. Anti-liquor campaigns, often following riots instigated by clerics and targeting Jewish property, would occur into the twentieth century. But as of the late nineteenth century, one observes a growing medicalization in the evaluation of the use and abuse of alcohol. A good example is the creation of a Western-style society to combat alcohol among Armenians in Azerbaijan, which included illustrated lectures about the hereditary nature of alcohol abuse and the physical harm caused by drinking.[77] Publicists, too, began to present drinking as harmful, using arguments borrowed from European scientific research. Opium received the bulk of the attention because it was (rightfully) seen as the greater problem. But alcohol, too, came under fire for its debilitating effects on both the body and the brain, leading to a loss of judgment and memory, quite aside from the lack of willpower it was thought to reflect and, in a vicious cycle, produce.[78] An early manifestation of this new discourse appeared in 1289/1872, in the newspaper *Iran*, in the form of a serialized treatise on the "decline of order in the world as a result of alcoholic drinks." Its author, a doctor from Kashan, voiced his concerns about European influence in the form of the introduction and ready acceptance of all kinds of new liquors into Iran.[79]

This new approach intensified in the 1920s, reflecting the new era represented by Reżā Shāh and his policies. Despite the occurrence of the Constitutional Revolution in the first decade of the twentieth century, Iran remained a largely traditional society until the reign of Reżā Shāh, who set out to modernize the country through social disciplining, determined to regulate society by inculcating seriousness and a sense of order among its members. The burgeoning women's press of the time took part in this new discourse. The Esfand 1306/March-April 1928 issue of *Peyk-e Saʿādat-e Nesvān*, a women's journal published in Rasht, opened with an article titled "War has to be Waged against Opium." The article clearly reflects a prevailing con-

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77 For this, see Taqizādeh, *Zendegi-ye ṭufāni*, 44.

78 See Cyrus Schayegh, *Who is Knowlegeable Is Strong: Science, Class, and the Formation of Modern Iranian Society, 1900–1950* (Berkeley, 2009), 92, 179.

79 Mirzā Taqi Ṭabib Kāshāni, "Dar bayān-e ekhtelāl-e neẓām-e Irān beh vāseṭeh-ye mosakkerāt," *Irān*, 10 Ṣafar 1289/29 April 1872.

cern about opium addiction as the greater scourge on society, which the author called a "national disease." Yet the article also warned about alcoholism, claiming that the pressures of modern life would easily lead the rich and poor to the use of opium or alcohol. The difference, the author insists, is that the rich tend to consume alcoholic drinks of better quality that are less damaging, whereas people without means suffer greater harm for consuming alcohol of low quality while often drinking on an empty stomach.[80] The *Sālnāmeh-ye Pārs* of 1314/1935, warned that despite its many medicinal applications, alcohol is a poisonous substance, adding that it is erroneous to think that arak and other hard liquors are harmful but that wine somehow is an exception.[81]

Various Western-educated Iranian doctors in this period wrote theses that spelled out the dangers of alcohol and referred to anti-alcohol campaigns in Western countries, including the United States.[82] An example is Dr. Saʿid Malek (Loqmān al-Molk) from Tabriz. Educated at the Loqmāniyeh School in that city, he subsequently studied medicine in Paris. He would go on to become a well-known lecturer at the Dār al-Fonun in Tehran, and eventually served as minister of health. He wrote a dissertation titled "Eye disease as a result of alcohol and tobacco use." Another doctor, ʿAli Akbar Jalāli, in 1945 submitted a dissertation on the human nervous system to the Medical Faculty of the University of Tehran which sums up the changed attitude toward alcohol. He acknowledged that alcohol was not as much of a problem in Iranian society as opium. He nevertheless warned that, in recent years, the consumption of alcohol had spread. Whereas previously religion and the force of shame forced people to drink in hidden places, he intones, they now consume it openly and brazenly. Basing himself on the latest, mostly French research, Jalāli argued that alcohol produces all kinds of ailments, some of which are hereditary, affecting the brain, cause premature old age, and leading to criminal behavior. His recommendations for remedies range from restricting to closing wine shops.[83]

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80 *Peyk-e Saʿadāt-e Nesvān* 1:3 (Esfand 1306/Ramażān 1346), repr., ed. Banafsheh Masʿudi and Nāṣer Mohājer (Berkeley and Créteil, 2012), 4–6 (134–36 in new edn.).

81 *Sālnāmeh-ye Pārs* 1314/1925, 88, 89.

82 See "Ḥormat-e mosakkerāt dar Englis," *Tarbiyat* 22 Shaʿbān 1321/12 Nov. 1903.

83 ʿAli Akbar Jalāli, "Ta'sir-e alkol bar dastgāh-e pey." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tehran, Faculty of Medicine (1323–24/1945).

State reactions, meanwhile, did not stop at exhortation. One of the first proclamations issued by the new government upon staging the coup that brought it to power in February 1921 included a prohibition on, first the importation, and a few days later, the overall consumption of alcohol. The sale of liquor was outlawed and shops were alcohol was sold were closed. Presumably inspired by Sayyed Żiā Ṭabāṭabā'i, Reżā Shāh's fellow conspirator, a cleric, the measure was also designed to forestall Bolshevik influence by way of strengthening Iran's religious profile.[84] Upon Ṭabāṭabā'i's forced resignation in May 1921, liquor stores and places where alcohol was served were allowed to open their doors again.[85] Within a year, the ban (on foreign imports) had been "considerably diluted," largely for reasons of revenue, as the British resident in Tehran put it.[86] In December of the following year, Iran's newspapers published a ministerial announcement spelling out the conditions required for recruits into the Aragh Brigade, which included the stipulation that men entering the army be free from opium and alcohol dependence.[87] December 1926 saw the proclamation of new ban on the importation of luxury imports – of items whose domestic manufacture should be encouraged – which included alcoholic beverages.[88] In 1926–27 tariffs on alcohol reached 100 percent, putting it beyond the purchasing power of most Iranians.[89] The result was a steep decline in imported liquor. The imports dropped from 5,603,000 qrans in 1304/1925–26 to 3,949,000 qrans in 1305/1926–27.[90]

Yet neither the many admonitions nor the various curbing measures taken by the state seem to have led to a decrease in the level of alcohol consumption; indeed, indications are that it went up, evidently riding on an increase in relatively cheap, domestically produced alcohol. After falling precipitous-

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84 Ḥoseyn Makki, *Tārikh-e bist sāleh-ye Irān. Kudetā-ye 1299*, 3 vols. (Tehran, 1323/1944; repr. 1358/1979), 1:298–99; and Jaʿfar Shahri, *Tārikh-e ejtemāʿi-ye Tehrān dar qarn-e sizdehom* (Tehran, 3rd ed., 1378/1999), 4:378–79.

85 Shahri, *Tārikh-e ejtemāʿi-ye Tehrān*, 4:380–81.

86 IPD:6:416 (E8057/8057/34, N°314: "Persia. Annual Report, 1922. XII - Medical Affairs. (2.) Sanitary and Allied Questions," 64).

87 NA, Iran. Political Diaries (IPD). 6:648 (E1285/255/34, N° 599: "Enclosure in N°1: Intelligence Summary N° 51 for week ending Dec. 22, 1923," 2)

88 AAE, CC, Tehran to Paris, 8 Jan. 1927 and 10 Feb. 1927, fols. 65ff.

89 AAE, CP, n.s. Perse 62, fol. 116.

90 *Tableau générale du commerce avec les pays étrangères pendant l'année 1305* (Tehran, 1927), xi/2, "Importations."

ly from c. 5000 hectoliter in 1920 to some 1,300 in 1921, the consumption of spirits as recorded by way of figures on taxation shot up to almost 2,000 in 1922 and 1923, and then back to nearly 5,000 the following year, to reach c. 5,500 in 1929.[91]

Much of this was probably consumed indoors. Friedrich Rosen, a German diplomat stationed in Iran in the early twentieth century, described entertainment among the well to do as follows: "The guests would be received in the state rooms of men's apartments, and treated to a variety of salted and roasted seeds, nuts, pistachios, almonds, etc., and small glasses of very fine tea and arak." Echoing earlier observers of life in Iran, Rosen also commented on the propensity among those Iranians who drank to do so generally "with the idea of getting totally intoxicated," since the "sin […] is anyhow committed, therefore it is advisable to make the best of it."[92] And Merritt-Hawkes, writing in 1933, the height of the Reżā Shāh period, observed that, "In houses where Eastern influence is strong, the men have whiskeys and sodas (when they can be obtained) as well as wine and the Persian spirit, *arak*." Arak, she noted, was "drunk in enormous quantities but is generally bad."[93]

By that time, Lālehzār Street had opened up. Originating as a garden, the Bāgh-e Lālehzār, this famous street had been laid out in the 1870s at the orders of Nāṣer al-Din Shāh after his return from his first European trip. In the first half of the twentieth century Lālehzār Street developed into the entertainment district of the capital, a symbol of modernity filled with cinemas, theaters, cabarets, and European-style restaurants and bars serving food and drink. Elsewhere in the city the Western bar, translated as *piyāleh-forushi*, made its entry as well in the late Qajar period. Substituting for the traditional speakeasies, the *kharābāt* and *meykhāneh*, the *piyāleh-forushi* would become more common under the Pahlavis, when it also spread to cities beyond Tehran.[94] The modern hotels that opened in the 1960s invariably had their own bars, catering to more westernized Iranians as well as to foreigners. Yet,

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91 *Baladiyeh-ye Tehrān. Devvomin sālnāmeh-ye eḥṣā'iyeh-ye shahr-e Tehrān/Deuxième annuaire statistique de la ville de Teheran, 1925–1929* (Tehran, 1310/1930),

92 Friedrich Rosen, *Oriental Memories of a German Diplomatist* (London, 1930), 135, 139.

93 O. A. Merritt-Hawkes, *Persia. Romance and Reality* (London, 1935), 20, 119.

94 See http://www.darioush-shahbazi.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=314&Itemid=12

overall, Iran continued to be, as it had always been, a "most sober nation," where most people lived and died without ever tasting wine.[95]

This situation – in which alcohol was publicly available yet not common; its consumption limited, as before, to the lower classes and the haute bourgeoisie – remained in place until the end of Pahlavi rule in 1979. By the early 1960s twenty factories in Iran produced alcoholic drinks with 382 workers, making: 7.92 mln bottles of vodka and arak, 96,256 bottles of cognac, and 462,630 bottles of wine. There were also four beer breweries with 183 workers producing 7.68 mln bottles of beer.[96] In later editions of the *Iran Almanac*, the source of this information, there are no more references to the production of alcoholic beverages, perhaps in deference to religious pressure not to publicize alcohol consumption. If so, this was a harbinger of things to come: After 1979 conditions came full circle: Iranians once again had to turn to the privacy of their homes to attain their alcoholic dreams.

95 Rosen, *Oriental Memories*, 139.
96 *Iran Almanac* (1963), 24.

The Culture of Wine Drinking in pre-Mongol Iran

Wine, the Test of Man or the Soap that Washes away Worry (Nawrūz-nāma)

WILLEM FLOOR

In this paper I discuss the culture of wine drinking in pre-Mongol Islamic Iran. Despite being forbidden (*ḥarām*) by Islamic law, wine drinking was an accepted activity in all classes of society. Moreover, it was considered to be healthy, according to medical science. The educated class was well aware of that argument and used this to defend the drinking habit. It was also aware of the drawbacks of drinking, but believed that measured drinking was beneficial. The military class believed that binge drinking was taking the measure of a man. People's main worry was not the imperilment of their soul, but societal opprobrium due to improper social behavior. Most of the information available is, of course, about the drinking habits in courtly circles as most sources are only concerned with that milieu. Nevertheless, there are incidental remarks about the drinking habits of the lower classes or rather the non-court class.

INTRODUCTION

Iran became a country under Moslem administration after 651. However, judging by people's behavior, in this case by their drinking habits, you do not get the impression that Islam had made a major impact on that aspect of societal behavior. This is, of course, understandable, because prior to 1000, a major part, if not the majority of Iran's population was still non-Moslem. Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Judaism still held the allegiance of much of the population. Even when Islamization had progressed and the majority of the population was nominally Moslem often its behavior was anything but. Given that social habits die hard and that Islam still sat rather lightly on people's psyche it is understandable that people's behavior was often at odds with the tenets of Islam. This reality was reinforced by the fact that the military class, from which all rulers were drawn after 1000, was mostly composed of Turkic ethnic groups. The influx of these mostly animistic Turkic speakers into Iranian society was an ongoing movement and they generally

converted to Islam for form's sake while their leaders adopted courtly mores based on the Iranian model.[1]

Wine drinking, and drinking of alcoholic beverages in general, was a universal phenomenon in Imperial Iran. After the Moslem conquest the conquered population saw no reason to change their habits in that respect. When the Abbasids took Isfahan in 748, al-Ṭabarī reported that they found wine bottles in all houses, still indicating that wine drinking was widespread and not limited to courtly circles.[2] The continued use of wine was, of course, also promoted by the fact that the religions other than Islam did not oppose the use of wine. In fact, wine was and still is used in Christian and Zoroastrian ceremonies.[3]

WINE PRODUCTION

As in earlier and later centuries, grapes were locally cultivated,[4] which means that the continuation of the production of wine was relatively easy.[5]

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1 As to the skin-deep penetration of Islam among the Saljūqs, see A.C.S. Peacock, *Early Seljuq History. A new interpretation* (London: Routledge, 2010), chapter four. On the conversion process of the people of Iran in general, see Elton L. Daniel, "Conversion of Iranians to Islam," *Encyclopedia Iranica*.

2 Bertold Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1952), p. 513.

3 Anonymous, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam. 'The Regions of the World.' A Persian geography 372 A.H.-982 A.D.* translated by V. Minorsky (London: Luzac, 1937), p. 136 (ca. 982); In Ṭabaristān they also drank wine: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Isfandiyār, *An abridged translation of the History of Tabaristan* by E.G. Browne (Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1905), p. 155 (ca. 835); Niẓāmī, *Le Roman de Chosroes et Chirin*. Translated by Henri Corbin (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve & Larose, 1970), p. 18.

4 In many places throughout Iran vineyards thrived, according to al-Muqaddasī, see Paul Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den Arabischen Geographen*. 10 parts (Leipzig: 1896–1936), pt. 3, p. 159 (Arrajān, Nūbandagān, Shāhpūr, Dawwān, Bayḍā, Shīrāz, Kharak), p. 272 (Shāmāt in Kirmān); Ibid., pt. 4, p. 351 (Shustar), 422 (Khuzistān); Ibid, pt. 7, p. 881. Qazvīn also had many vineyards. Ibid., pt. 6, pp. 716–17 (Istakhrī; Muqaddasī) as did Shahrizūr. Ibid., pt. 6, p. 700 (Yāqūt). According to Qazvīnī, Nāshiqīn and Abhar, near Qazvīn, had vineyards. Ibid., pt. 6, pp. 723, 728 as did Rayy. Ibid., pt. 6, pp. 775–76, 791 (Qazvīnī) and Marāgha. Ibid., pt. 8, p. 1105 (Ibn Ḥawqal). B. Isfandiyār, *History of Tabaristan*, p. 31 (Ṭabaristān ca. 800); Anonymous, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, pp. 107, 109 (Khurāsān 982), 132 (Rey); Narshakhī, *The History of Bukhara*. Translated by Richard N. Frye. (Cambridge, Mass: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1954), pp. 27, 64 (Bukhara); Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Qumī, *Tārīkh-i Qum*. translated by Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Malik Qumī. Edited by Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Tihrāni (Tehrān: Tus, 1361/1982), pp.

In poems reference is made to the various stages of the cultivation down to the processing of grapes. This was clearly a poetic tradition, certainly after Rūdakī (d. 941), one of the earliest poets in new Persian, who extolled it as follows:

> The mother of wine must be sacrificed,
> And her children seized and cast into prison.
> But you won't be able to take her children from her
> Unless you first trample her underfoot and drag her soul from her.
> Nor is it lawful to separate babe
> From its mother's breast,
> Until it has nursed a full seven months,
> From April until the end of October.[6]

He had many followers, most prominent among them Manūchihrī (d. 1040), who devoted various long poems to the subject.[7]

12, 120 (Qum ca. 985). According to Niẓāmī ʿArūżī, *Les Quatres Discours*. Translated by Isabelle de Gastines (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve & Larose, 1968), p. 73 (Aḥmad b. `Umar b. `Alī al-Niẓāmī al-ʿArūżī al-Samarqandi, *Kitāb-i Chahār Maqāla* ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Vahhāb Qazvīnī (Berlin: Iranschär, 1341/1927), pp. 36–37) there were in the Herāt area alone 120 different varieties of grapes, of which two, *parniyān* and *kalinjarī*, were unique to that region. In ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm Khayyām Nīshābūrī, *Nawrūz-nāma* ed. ʿAlī Ḥaṣūrī (Tehrān: Ṭahūrī, 1343/1964), pp. 86–91 the story is told how the vine and then wine came into the world, which all happened in Herāt! For a variant of the same story, see Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr va Āyat al-Surūr*. ed. Muhammad Iqbal (London, 1921), pp. 423–24. Special wine grapes mentioned include *wafarbāj*, *mānī*, *māsabadhī*, *sūnājā*, *fārisī*, *zirijūn*, *asfīdhmisk*, *nāshiqīnī*, *bāzjank*, *kharjaj*, *mukhattam*, *mulāḥī*, and a *rāziqī* type grape, the last two in Rayy. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, pt. 7, p. 881.

5 In Dawwān (Fārs) an excellent and famous wine was made. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, pt. 1, p. 41 (Yāqūt), while another famous red wine, the *summāqī*, was made in Ahvāz. Ibid., pt. 4, p. 319 (Ibn al-Faqīh). Possibly, *qinān* was a wine made in Hamadān, but it could also be a honey-based beverage. Ibid., pt. 5, p. 524, n. 7 (Ibn al-Faqīh), while Rayy or nearby Bīl produced a famous wine. Ibid., pt. 6, p. 802; Manūchihrī, *Dīvān-i Ustād Manūchihrī-yi Damghāni*. Edited by Muḥammad Dabīr-Siyāqī (Tehrān: Dū Isfand, 1326/1947), p. 167 mentions Dargham, a town near Samarqand famous for its wine. According to Abū Dulaf. *Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's Travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)*. Arabic text with an English translation and commentary by V. Minorsky (Cairo: University Press, 1955), p. 58 the wine of Bisṭām was green.

6 Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Muḥīṭ-i zindigānī va aḥvāl va ashʿār-i Rūdakī-yi Samarqandī.* 3 vols. in one (Tehrān: Ibn-i Sīnā, 1341/1962), p. 506. The translation is by Jerome W. Clinton, *The Divan of Manūchihrī Dāmghāni. A Critical Study* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1972), p. 112.

After the cultivation and the harvest of grapes followed their pressing; this time not by feet, as in the case of Rūdakī, but by a press.

I cry out in my sorrow and distress
Like wine grapes crushed beneath a heavy press.[8]

The next phase, the fermenting of grapes is also mentioned in other poems. The fermentation took place in vats for a prescribed period of time, which shows that poets like Manūchihrī were very familiar with viticulture.

For three measured months he mentions not their names;
He knows he will not be blamed for their blood.
Then one day he rises up lightly, happy, laughing and gay;
He comes to the prison and removes the door's seal.
When he looks smiling in upon the prison and the imprisoned,
A hundred lamps and candles fall upon his teeth and lips.[9]

After fermentation, wine was stored in smaller vessels or in large basins, at least in the houses of the great and wealthy. Others had recourse to the market for their supply of wine.[10] In one of his poems Manūchihrī makes a reference to this kind of storage as well as to Jamshīd, the first king of mankind and the alleged discoverer of oenology.

I read in a book to-day
That Jamshid's daughter is yet alive!
This daughter has been kept walled up in room
For some seven or eight hundred years.[11]

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7 See for example, three long ones by Manūchihrī, *Divān*, pp. 116–18 (*chunīn khvāndam imrūz dar daftarī*), 119–26 (*khizīd va khaz ārīd kih hangām-i khazān ast*), 127–32 (*āb-i angūr biyārid kih Ābān māh ast*), who further often refers to *tāk*, *rāz*, *rāzbān*, and *rāzistān*.

8 Fakhr al-Dīn Asʿad Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*. Translated by Dick Davis (Washington DC: MAGE, 2008), p. 369 (*bār-i mul*). The grapes were usually pressed by people stamping on them with their feet in a vat called *charkhusht*, see Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, pp. 38, 79, 122, 131, 163–64; Masʿūd-i Saʿd, *Dīvān-e ashʿār-e Masʿūd-i Saʿd*. 2 vols. edited by Mihdī Nūriyān (Iṣfahān: Kamāl, 1360/1981), p. 989.

9 Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, p. 162. The translation is by Clinton, *The Divan*, p. 117. See also Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 29 (At times he seethed, like grapes plucked from a vine, Newly fermenting in a vat of wine.)

10 Qumī, *Tārīkh-i Qum*, pp. 112, 120 (*ḫawż-i dūsh-āb*); Farāmarz b. Khudadād b. ʿAbdallāh al-Kātib al-Arrājānī, *Samak-e ʿAyyār*. 5 vols. Edited by Parvīz Khānlarī (Tehrān: Bunyād-i Farhang-e Irān, 1348/1969), p. 194 (*ḫawż*).

11 Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, pp. 116–18, the translation is by Clinton, *The Divan*, p. 120.

This suggests that wine was kept in sealed underground reservoirs as is clear from a line from an unknown Hamadāni poet:

> The vine's daughter, who has completed her waiting period under tar and loam.[12]

When the wine was ready to be drunk it was time to thank and praise the grape as expressed in an aphorism of Niẓāmī-yi Ganjavī (1141–1209), which cleverly captures the purpose of the grape:

> If the grape did not drop tears first
> It would not smile happily in the end.[13]

WHAT IS WINE?

So far I have only employed the term 'wine,' which is somewhat misleading. True, many Persian texts also use a generic word to indicate the alcoholic beverage of choice, viz. *sharāb*. The use of this word, meaning 'drink, 'beverage', to denote an alcoholic drink is due to the fact that the Islamic doctors of law, when writing about which drinks were permitted and which were forbidden, used the generic Arabic term *sharāb*. The founder of the Hanbalite school, for example, wrote a book on the subjects entitled *Kitāb al-Ashriba* (the Book of Drinks).[14] There were many drinks that could be turned into alcoholic ones through the addition of certain herbs, fruits, and/or grains and their fermentation. Hence, in addition to the general *sharāb*, the doctors of Islamic law also used specific terms to denote a particular known alcoholic beverage. The same holds true for 'wine,' because there was not one single kind of 'wine' or *sharāb*, in fact there were many. In addition, there were many Persian words to denote 'wine' such as *may*, *mul*, and *bādah* to mention but the ones most frequently used.[15] Apart from regional varieties, there

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12 Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, pt. 7, p. 833, n. 11 (Ibn Faqīh).

13 Niẓāmī, *Hikmat va nasihatlar – Aphorisms* (Baku: Yazytsy, 1982).

14 L. Sadan, "Mashrūbāt," *Encyclopedia of Islam*^{2}.

15 In Persian there are scores of terms to denote wine, many of which were inherited from the Imperial period. For a discussion of some of these various terms, see Humā Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ. Khunyāgarī, may va shādī* (Los Angeles: Irān Kitāb, 2004), pp. 185–261; for a long list of terms that mean 'wine', see Muḥammad Pādshāh Shād, *Farhang-i mutarādifāt va iṣṭilāḥāt* (Tehrān: Khayyām, 1346/1967), p. 253. For some terms not mentioned there, see, e.g., Masʿūd-i Saʿd, *Dīvān*, pp. 11 (*ṣahbā*), 52 (*mamzūj*; watered down wine), 52 (*ʿuqār*), 89, 388 (*ʿaṣīr*), 120 (*rāḥ*), 275 (*gawhar-i shādī*), 757 (*may-yi khām*), 876 (*raḥīq*, pure wine); Jabalī, *Dīvān*, pp. 19 (*ṣahbā*), 72 (*rāḥ*), (*rangīn ʿaṣīr*); Abu'l-Majd Majdūd b.

were *sharāb*s made of other fruits than grapes (*āb-e angūr*), while there were *sharāb*s mixed with other liquids and/or fruits, or were processed.

In his *Manāfiʿ al-aghdhiya va dafʿ maḍarrihā* al-Rāzī (865?–925?) mentions no less than 23 kinds of *sharāb*.[16] These were (mostly wine-based) alcoholic drinks tailored for medical use, but they were also drunk, if need be, by the not so discerning aspiring alcoholic. These wines include *sharāb-i binifshah* (to be given in case of bloodletting), *sharāb-i dīnārī* (wine made as a medical concoction by the eleventh century physician Ibn Dīnār), and *sharāb-i ʿināb*, *sharāb-i nīlūfar*; *sharāb-i khashkhāsh* (to be given to a patient as part of treatment of consumption).[17] Over time, *sharāb* lost its generic meaning of 'drink' or 'beverage' and became the common word for 'wine' in Iran.

Wine was not only made from grapes, but also from raisins (*mavīz*).[18] It must have been a decent wine, because Manūchihrī sang its praises:

> These raisins, oh how strange, were withered grapes
> When you make them wet they come alive, ain't it strange?
> They turn into wine that makes you drunk and unbent
> What a raisin, what a grape, what a good friend![19]

Other wine-like concoctions were made from a variety of fruits. A fermented drink like *nabīdh* was made of dates and/or raisins, or other local fruits.[20]

Ādam Sanāʾī-yi Ghaznavī, *Dīvān*. Edited by Mudarris Rażavī (Tehrān: Sanāʾī, 1380/2001), p. 25 (*rāḥ*), 73 (*āb-e ʿināb*), 591 (*bakmāz*, which also means wine party).

16 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyā al-Rāzī, *Manāfiʿ al-aghdhiya va dafʿ maḍārrihā* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-ʿUlūm, 1982); Maḥmūd Najmābādī, *Tārīkh-i Ṭibb pas az Islām* (Tehrān: Dānishgāh, 1353/1974), p. 433.

17 Najmābādī, *Tārīkh-i Ṭibb*, pp. 469, 474, 695; Shād, *Farhang*, p. 225 (*sharāb-i kuknār*). These various concoctions and their medical applications are discussed in Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 221–61.

18 ʿIqd III, p. 296 in Fars; Muhammad Manazir Ahsan, *Social Life under the Abbasids 170–289 AH, 786–982 AD* (London/New York: Longman, 1979), p. 111. It was for this reason that in Egypt under the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (r. 996–1021) no raisins were made, "as a precaution against making intoxicating beverages." Nāṣir-i Khusraw. *Naser-e Khosrow's Book of Travels (Safarnāma)*. Translated by W.M. Thackston Jr. (New York: Bibliotheca Persica, 1986), p. 46.

19 Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, pp. 5–6.

20 Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 418; Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Hamadānī, *ʿAjāyib-nāma* ed. Jaʿfar Mudarris Sādiqī (Tehrān: Markaz, 1375/1997) pp. 118, 257, 480; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, vol. VIII, p. 1195; Anonymous, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 107 (Ṭālaqān in Khurāsān

This was another kind of wine, about which Manūchihrī wrote a poem in its praise (*nūsham qadaḥ–i nabīd–i Nawshanjah*).[21] Another option was to mix pressed juice of dates, raisins, and grapes.[22] *Naqīʿ* was a wine made from steeped grapes, raisins or dates. Also, there was a beverage made from dates and raisins, while one added some apples or quinces, or rose petals, because then it was not considered to be date wine anymore; reportedly, it was a good and lawful drink.[23] In Gurgānī's *Vis and Ramin* (ca. 1050) the mixture of wine and milk is often mentioned as a drink.[24] These varieties of *sharāb* were undoubtedly a function of personal taste, cost, local custom and natural endowment as well as of the manner in which a person wanted to respect Moslem law or not. It thus looks as if the Iranian consumer had a large menu of types of wine to choose from, leaving aside other alcoholic beverages such as beer, hydromel or mead, arak and *būza*.[25] But they all had the same effect, as described in the case of wine by Daqīqī (935 or 942–980) as follows:

> A composite whose body is of light
> But all its soul and spirit of fiery strain;
> A star that hath its setting in the mouth,
> But ever rises on the cheeks again.[26]

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produced much *nabīdh*), 109 (Simingān in Khurāsān produced good *nabīdh*), 115 (from Surūshana in Transoxania came much *nabīdh*), 132 (Rayy produced much *nabīdh*).

21 Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, p. 181 (variant: *khūsha qadaḥ-i nabīdh-i Būshanjah*, refers to a town in Afghanistan). Another *nabīd* poem is in Ibid., p. 180. Other poets, of course, also mention *nabīd* or *nabīdh*, e,g., ʿAbd al-Vāsiʿ Jabalī, *Dīvān*. 2 vols. edited by Dhabīhallāh Ṣafā (Tehrān: Dānishgāh, 1339–41/1960–62), p. 552, as a morning draught (*sabuhi*).

22 Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 419.

23 Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 421. See further the articles *khamr* and *mashrūbāt* in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*[2].

24 According to Dick Davis, this drink "represents the union between two lovers" and "also existed in medieval and renaissance Europe; it was called a 'posset.' The great seventeenth-century English diarist Samuel Pepys was especially fond of it and often mentions it." Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 502.

25 In Qarmāsīn and Rayy, barley beer was produced. Schwarz *Iran im Mittelalter*, pt. 7, p. 833 (al-Muqaddasī).

26 Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1969), p. 9.

WINE CELLAR

To drink wine you needed to have a stock laid up in a cellar in particular when you gave parties regularly; the alternative was to have recourse to a wine-seller or *khammār*, or *kassār*, in the case of date-wine (*kasar*)[27] As a result, rulers had a *sharāb-khāna* or wine cellar where their wine was stored. Likewise, in the houses of the elite in Abbasid Baghdad there was not only a cook, but also a cellar man or wine steward known as *sharābī* or *ṣāḥib al-sharāb*, who was in charge of the wine, drinking vessels, fruit, and perfumes.[28] In Ṣaffārid Iran as well as in later periods, the person in charge of the wine cellar was called *sharābdār* or wine steward.[29] The wine was mostly stored in vessels that were sealed to prevent spoiling and adulteration.

> The wine jar had been broached, its seal was torn
> As were the vows of chastity they'd sworn.[30]

In the wine cellar, other implements to enjoy wine were kept such as cups, goblets (*jām*, *piyāla*, *kāsah*, *qadaḥ*), jugs (*tung*), long-necked flasks (*ṣūrākhī*) as well music instruments. These drinking vessels were made in various forms (e.g., of a duck [*baṭṭ*], a rooster [*khurūs*]), as rhytons (*takūk*) and even in the form of 'boats' (*rikāb-i may*). In case of the rich, these were mostly golden and silver cups and bowls. Sometimes the *sharāb-khāna* with

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27 Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, pp. 37 (*khumm-e khammār*); Jabalī, *Dīvān*, pp. 183, 475 (*khammār*); Hamīd al-Dīn Abū Bakr ʿUmar b. Maḥmūdī Balkhī, *Maqamāt-i Ḥamīdī*. Ed. Rizā Anzabi Nizhād (Tehrān: Markaz-i Nashr-i Dānishgāhī, 1372/1993), p. 180 (*khammār*); Hamadānī, *ʿAjāyib-nāma*, pp. 211, 322 (*kassār*).

28 Ahsan, *Social Life*, p. 156; Adam Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam* (Hildesheim: George Olms, 1968), p. 376.

29 Anonymous, *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*. Edited by Malik al-Shuʿarā Bahār (Tehrān: Khāvar, 1366/1987), p. 324; Abū Faẓl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī* eds. Ghanī and Fayāz (Tehrān, 1324/1945), pp. 149, 422, 507; Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, pp. 228, 261, 288–89, 300; al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, pp. 4, 194 (*sharābdār*), 220 (*sharāb-khāna*), 238 (*sharābdār*); Faramarz fils de Khodadad, *Samak-e Ayyar*. Translated by Frederique Razavi (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve & Larose, 1972), pp. 152, 170, 182; Kai Kāʾūs Ibn Iskandar. *A Mirror for Princes. The Qabus Nama by Kai Ka'us Ibn Iskandar, Prince of Gurgan*. Translated by Reuben Levy (New York, 1951), p. 225. The term *sharābī* occurs in a poem by Manūchihrī, in which he calls upon the wine steward to take his key and open the door of the wine cellar. Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, p. 158. The term is also used to denote the cupbearer.

30 Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 222; al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, p. 227; Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, p. 117.

cups was part of the booty after a conquest.[31] The cups could also be glass ones,[32] and those for the common people were cups made of clay, wood or of copper.[33] For traveling and outdoor use, wineskins (*mashk*) were used in general.[34]

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[31] Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, pp. 228, 261, 288–89, 300; Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 451; Julie Scott Meisami, *The Sea of Virtues (Bahr al-Fava'id) A Medieval Islamic Mirror for Princes* (Salt Lake City: Utah UP, 1991), p. 143; al-Arrājānī, *Samak-e ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, pp. 39, 221; Farāmarz, *Samak-e Ayyar*, pp. 41, 170; Ahsan, *Social Life*, p. 30; Asadī Ṭūsī. *Lughat-i Furs*. Ed. Muḥammad Dabīr-Siyāqī (Tehrān: Ṭahūrī 1336/1957), p. 103 (*tabūk*). In general, see Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 341–427; A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "*Rekab*, The polylobed Wine Boat from Sassanian to Seljuq Times," in Rika Gyselen ed. *Res Orientales*, VII, *Mélanges offerts à Philippe Gignoux* (Bures-sur-Yvette : Groupe pour l'étude de la civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 1995). For a picture of a silver cup from Transoxania with an Arabic transcription circling its rim praising wine, while the base shows a bird-man holding a grapevine, see C.E. Bosworth and M.S. Asimov, *The History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. vol. 4/2 (Paris: UNESCO, 2002), pp. 424–25. Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, pp. 77, 123, 174, 177; Sanāʾī, *Dīvān*, p. 75 and Masʿūd-i Saʿd, *Dīvān*, p. 235 mention a *sātkīn*, a large cup. Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, p. 75 further mentions a *sabzī*, a long-necked bottle; see also Masʿūd-i Saʿd, *Dīvān*, pp. 665 (*qanīneh*), 776 (*chamāneh*); Sanāʾī, *Dīvān*, p. 1012 (*qanīneh*).

[32] Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 403 ("Holding a crystal wineglass in his hand"); Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, p. 44 (*kasah-yi bulur*), 75 (*zujāji*); Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad Farghānī. *Dīvān*. Edited by Dhabīhallāh Ṣafā, 2 vols. Tehrān: Dānishgāh, 1341/1962), vol. 1, p. 87 (*shīshahā*). There were also towns that were well-known for the goblets they produced such as the *jām-i āmul*, glass cups made in Āmul. Jabalī, *Dīvān*, p. 288. Jabalī's editor commented that this Āmul is a town situated on the Oxus. However, Balkhī, *Maqāmāt-i Ḥamīdī*, pp. 133–34, also refers to Āmulī glassware, but refers to Āmul and Sārī in Mazandaran. For Iranian glass, see C.J. Lamm, *Glass from Iran in the National Museum*, Stockholm-London: Kegan Paul, 1935); Städtisches Museum Braunschweig, *2000 Jahre persisches Glass* (Braunschweig: Weisenhaus, Henri Leonhardt, 1963); and Helen ʿAlī Akbarzādeh Kordmahini, *Shīsha. Majmūʿa-yi marz-i Bāzargān* (Tehrān: Muza-yi Milli-yi Irān, 1372/1993) (with many pictures). On the various types of wine vessels, see Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 341–424 and literature quoted.

[33] A. Ghouchani and C. Adle, "A Sphero-conical Vessel as *Fuqqâ'a*, or a gourd for 'beer'", *Muqarnas*, IX (1992), pp. 72–92; C. Adle, "Archéologie et arts du Monde iranien, de l'Inde Musulmane et du Caucase d'après quelques recherches récentes de terrain, 1984–95", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, janvier-mars* (Paris/1996), pp. 315–376. Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, p. 167 mentions a small wooden cup (*qaḥf*).

[34] Sheikh Bighami, *Love and War. Adventures from the Firuz Shah Nama*. Translated by William L. Hanaway Jr. (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints Inc, 1974), p. 145; Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, p. 94.

WINE DRINKING WIDESPREAD

As stated above, it is striking that the drinking of *sharāb* was common. It was reported from all parts of the country and throughout the period that is the subject of this paper. In particular, this holds for the ruling class, and whether Arab, Iranian, or Turk, they all drank deep and to their heart's content with very few exceptions. The caliphs, the leaders of the Moslem community, set an excellent example by being often deep in their cups. This held both for the Umayyads and Abbasids. There was, of course, the occasional caliph, who wanted to reverse this trend and ban drinking altogether. This was the case of ʿUmar II (r. 717–720) who in vain tried to do so.[35] Such a caliph stood out as the party pooper and his example was not followed by his successors or by the many among the population, and wine drinking remained an important aspect of Umayyad court life. Amongst the Umayyad Arab governors sent to Iran there were those who did not eschew *sharāb*.[36] Many Abbasid caliphs (e.g. al-Qāhir, al-Rāḍī, al-Mustakfī) continued the practice and wine drinking was universal. Even leading *ʿulamā'* drank, such as the chief *qadi* of Baghdād al-Tanūkhī.[37] Ibn Khallikān describes one of the parties in which he participated with other judges and jurisconsults at the house of al-Muhallabī, the grand vizier, twice per week. When the men were sizzled, a golden cup weighing 1,000 *mithqāl*s (4, 64 kg) filled with delicious liquor,

> was placed in the hands of each; in these they dipped, or rather steeped their beards, till the contents were nearly all absorbed, and then they sprinkled each other by shaking off the drops. During this, they danced about in variegated dresses and in necklaces formed of white violets and the odoriferous seeds of the gum-acacia.[38]

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35 Mez, *Die Renaissance*, p. 8.

36 Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, p. 514; Anonymous, *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, pp. 125 (Qaʿqaʿ governor of Sīstān drunk wine in 723), 146 (Maʿn b. Zayāda al-Shaybānī).

37 Ahsan, *Social Life*, p. 156; Mez, *Die Renaissance*, p. 376; see also, Balkhī, *Maqāmāt-e Ḥamīdī*, p. 175. al-Qāhir banned wine drinking, but was never sober himself. A.G. Chejne, "The Boon-Companion in Early ʿAbbasid Times," *JAOS* 65 (1965), pp. 327–35. In Shīrāz, al-Muqaddasī reported that religious scholars were seen in a drunken state. Schwarz *Iran im Mittelalter*, pt. 2, p. 46.

38 Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*. Translated by Mac Guckin de Slane. 4 vols. (Paris-London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1834), vol. 2, pp. 305–06.

Ibn al-ʿAmīd, who as Būyid overseer of public morals (*muḥtasib*) of Baghdād had to take steps against wine drinking was a regular companion in drinking parties,[39] which parties were referred to as *mayzād*.[40]

Trying to emulate the Islamic model *par excellence*, the caliph, the local rulers in Iran who asserted themselves as of 800 also drank and how. This held for the Ṭāhirids, the Sāmānids,[41] the Būyids,[42] the Ṣaffārids,[43] the Ghaznavids,[44] the Saljūqs and their offshoots,[45] the Khwārizmshāhs,[46] the Ghūrids,[47] and rulers of local dynasties like the Ispahbāds and Ziyārids of

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39 J. Christoph Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz ʿAḍud ad-Daulas und ihr Verhältnis zu anderen historischen Quellen der frühen Būyiden* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965), pp. 74, 83; he had already begun to drink when a very young man, Ibid., p. 75; see also, Balkhī, *Maqāmāt-e Ḥamīdī*, p. 175. On the function of *muḥtasib* in Iran, see Willem Floor, "The office of muhtasib in Iran," *Iranian Studies* XVIII (1985), pp. 53–74.

40 Asadī Ṭūsī, *Lughat-i Furs*, p. 35.

41 Abū Saʿid ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. al-Żahhāk b. Maḥmūd Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*. ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Habībī (Tehrān: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1347/1968), pp. 138, 161.

42 Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, p. 514; Abū ʿAbdallāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb Miskawaih, *Kitāb tajārib al-umam wa taʿāqib al-himam*, edited and translated by D.S. Margoliouth. 6 vols. (London, 1920–21), vol. 2, pp. 234, 294, 314; Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz*, pp. 27, 29.

43 Anonymous, *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, pp. 275, 297, 300, 314–15, 328, 328, 340.

44 Niẓām al-Mulk, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings* translated into English by Herbert Darke (London, 1960), p. 47; Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 5, 71, 121, 133–34, 142–43, 152, 160–61, 226–27, 239–40, 252, 281–82, 341, 344, 388, 409, 453, 463, 469, 483, 497, 500; Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 90.

45 Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, pp. 236, 370; Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm, *Saljūqiyān va Ghuzz dar Kirmān*. Ed. Muḥammad Ibrahīm Bāstānī Pārīzī (Tehrān: Dānishgāh, 1343/1964), pp. 22, 30, 32, 35, 39, 46, 48, 68, 74, 79, 189; Afżal al-Dīn Abū Ḥamīd Aḥmad b. Ḥamīd Kirmānī, *Kitāb ʿiqd al-ʿulā li'l-mawqif al-aʿlā*. Edited by ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿĀmirī Nāʾīnī (Tehrān: Ruzbahān, 2536/1977), pp. 68–69, 71, 120, 125. In 1120, the governor of Azerbaijān, Ūzbīg b. al-Pahlāwān did not take any action against the invasion of the Tatars, because he was drunk day and night and never sober, according to al-Athīr. When the Tatars were at the gates of Tabriz, he sent them much money, fabrics as well as wine. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, pt. 8, pp. 1065, 1070.

46 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, p. 667; Dawlatshāh Samarqandī, *The Tadhkiratu'sh-Shuʿarâ (Memoirs of Poets)* ed. E.G. Browne (London: Luzac, 1901), p.137.

47 ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malik-i Juwaynī, *The Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gushā*. Edited by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Vahhāb Qazvīnī. 3 vols. (Leyden-London: Brill – Luzac, 1912–1937), vol. 2, p. 62.

Ṭabaristān.[48] The drinking did not remain limited to secular persons, for the prophet al-Muqannaʿ and his wives were reported to drink wine every day.[49]

Apart from the rulers and their courtiers, the upper and middle classes drank copiously.[50] Even ascetic persons such as Abū Naṣr-i Mushkān as well as his protégé Bayhaqī himself drank wine. The latter sometimes when drinking with friends was thinking that he had to get back work.[51] Ostensibly to pay for their drinking habit Saljūq officials forcibly took payment from the subjects, which imposition was known as the wine-fee (*sharāb-bahā*).[52] Upper class women and their companions also drank wine. They had their own parties and often drank until they were drunk, just like the men.[53]

Another group of drinkers was that of the poets. The earliest example of a 'poetic' expression in New Persian is a popular wine-related ditty. Due to the maneuverings of Sumayya, the mother of Ibn Ziyād, the latter threw his enemy Ibn Mufragh in prison in Basra. He then wrote a letter to his nephew the caliph Yazīd (r. 680–683) asking for permission to kill Ibn Mufragh. Yazīd replied that he might punish him as he saw fit, but on no account should he kill him, because Ibn Mufragh had much support among the Yemeni tribes, many of whom served in the caliph's army. On receipt of the letter Ibn Ziyād gave orders to prepare a concoction of sweet *nabīdh* mixed with sea-lettuce and make him drink it. He was then led around into the streets of Basra, while being lashed to a cat, a pig, and a dog. The children in the street then cried the following ditty in Persian:

> Water it is, *nabīdh* it is,
> The dregs it is, raisins it is,

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48 B. Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān*, pp. 65, 155, 250; Kai Kāʾūs, *A Mirror*, p. 56.

49 Narshakhī, *The History of Bukhara*, p. 74.

50 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 281–82. During an annual spring festival in Shīrāz, the ruler threw a big party during which people danced, frolicked and drank wine. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, pt. 2, p. 50 (Yāqūt). In Isfahan, during an ancient ritual on the occasion of the slaughter of animals, when the lungs of the animals were preserved for later use, a drinking party was held. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, pt. 5, p. 623 (Muqaddasī).

51 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 165, 188, 591.

52 Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 33.

53 Sheikh Bighami, *Love and War*, pp. 39, 90; Niẓāmī, *Le Roman*, p. 31; al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, pp. 50, 59, 113, 184; Faramarz *Samak-e Ayyar*, pp. 49, 56, 94, 145.

Sumayya, a harlot she is.[54]

It was in this same Persian-Arab Basran milieu that Abū Nuwās (756–814) grew up. Later, in Baghdād at the caliph's court, he composed hedonistic poetry in Arabic stimulated by ample infusions of wine. He propagated Bacchic poetry or *khamriyyāt* and was an inspiration to many Iranian poets.[55] One of the earliest Iranian poets Rūdakī lauded the merits of wine in one of his poems:

Bring me yon wine which you might'st call a melted ruby in its cup,
Or like a scimitar unsheathed, in the sun's noontide light held up.
"Tis the rose-water, though might'st say, yea thence distilled for purity;
Its sweetness falls, as somnolence's own balm steals over the vigil-wearied eye.
Thou might'st call the cup the cloud, the wine the raindrop from it cast,
Or say the joy that fills the heart whose prayer long looked-for comes at last.
Were there no wine all hearts would be a desert waste, forlorn and black,
But were our last life-breath extinct, the sight of wine would bring it back.
O if an eagle would but swoop, and bear the wine up to the sky,
For out of reach of all the base, who would not shout, 'well done!' as I"?[56]

Not all of the poets drank wine, of course, but most did. Nāṣir-i Khusraw (1004–88) was a drunkard when he was a clerk in Saljūq employ in 1045, but after a dream he gave up drinking.[57] Manūchihrī, Sultan Masʿūd's ode-

[54] Muḥammad Qazvīnī, *Maqālāt-i Qazvīnī*. 3 vols. edited by ʿAbd al-Karīm Jurbizihdār (Tehrān: Asāṭīr, 1362/1983), vol. 1, pp. 113–14. Sumayya is the mother of Ibn Ziyād, who during the *jāhiliya* had been a prostitute in Mecca.

[55] Philip F. Kennedy, *The Wine Song in Classical Arabic Poetry: Abū Nuwās and the Literary Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

[56] A. V. Williams Jackson, *Early Persian Poetry. From the beginnings down to the time of Firdausi* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1920), p. 39 (the translation is by Edward Byles Cowell). Wine is also referred to in a surviving poem by another early Iranian poet named Fīrūz Mashriqī (d. 896). Gilbert Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans (ix-x siècles)* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1964), p. 60 as well as by Daqīqī (934 or 942–981) and Abū Shukūr Balkhī (b. 915), see Muḥammad ʿAwfī, *The Lubābu'l-al-bāb (first part)*. Edited by E.G. Browne and Mirza Muḥammad of Qazwin (Leide-London: Brill, Luzac, 1906), vol. 2, pp. 13, 21. Bashār b. Burd (714–84), a free-thinker, whose family originated from Iranian Tokharestan, described wine and partying, be it in Arabic. Bosworth *The History*, p. 370. Abū Nuwās, whose mother was Iranian, was probably the first to launch the genre of *khamriyyāt*.

[57] Nāṣir-i Khusraw ʿAlavī. *Safarnāma*. Berlin: Kaviani, 1340/1922, p. 3. Poetically, wine imbibers were referred to as *duriyān* by Sanāʾī, *Dīvān*, p. 133.

poet sang the merits of wine,[58] as did Khayyām and others, based on their own experience of imbibing.[59]

Wine drinking was so normal that guests automatically were served wine shortly after their arrival.[60] Kai Kā'ūs (1021–98), therefore, did not even bother to tell his son to abstain from drinking because it was religiously unlawful. He felt that peer pressure would be so strong that it would be almost impossible not to drink. For "your friends will not let you go without drinking."[61] This was certainly true in the case of Masʿūd, the son of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna (r. 998–1030), who unbeknownst to his father started drinking at a young age.[62]

Not only the elite drank wine, so did the soldiers[63] as well as the common people. In Bābak (Azerbaijan), not only the court drank, but wine consumption was general. According to Ṭabarī, in particular *nabīdh* was drunk, not made from dates, but with local fruits.[64] When in 1175 a drought occurred, the people of Kirmān were half drunk.[65] Ibn Funduq (1106–70) mentions that drunken young men were seated in the road and threw stones at an official who wanted them to make way for him.[66] There were many taverns in Abbasid Iraq, not necessarily only for lower class clientele, where the serv-

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58 Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, pp. 8, 78, 179–81. In general, see W.L. Hanaway "Blood and Wine. Sacrifice and Celebration in Manūchihrī's Wine Poetry," *Iran* 26 (1980), pp. 69–80.

59 See, e.g., Ehsan Yarshater. "The Theme of Wine-Drinking and the Concept of the Beloved in Early Persian Poetry," *Studia Islamica* 13 (1960), pp. 43–53; Richard Foltz, "Love and Wine in Khayyam and Hafez," in Mehdi Marashi, ed., *Persian Studies in North America: Studies in Honor of Mohammad Ali Jazayery* (Bethesda: Iranbooks, 1994), pp. 417–421., pp. 417–21.

60 Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, p. 513; Niẓāmī, *Le Roman*, p. 50; al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, pp. 39, 124; Faramarz, *Samak-e Ayyar*, pp. 41, 102.

61 Kai Kāʿūs, *A Mirror*, p. 58.

62 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, p. 121.

63 Sheikh Bighami, *Love and War*, p. 145; al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, p. 207; Faramarz, *Samak-e Ayyar*, p. 161; Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz*, p. 99. Abū Dulaf, *Travels*, p. 52 reported that a Magian of Rayy was purveyor to the army, which he supplied with "extremely good wine."

64 Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, pt. 8, p. 1195.

65 Kirmāni, *Kitāb ʿiqd*, p. 154; al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, p. 33; Faramarz, *Samak-e Ayyar*, p. 36.

66 Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Zayd Bayhaqī Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq* (Tehrān: Kitābfurūshī-yi Furūghī, n.d.), p. 269.

ants (cupbearers or *sharābī* or *sāqī*) were mostly Christians, both male and female.[67] This also held for Iran, as is suggested by Gurgānī's lines:

> But people never mention him unless
> To comment on his rowdy drunkenness.
> He pawns his clothes for wine, his friends are Jews
> Demanding money for his tavern dues.[68]

There were also special occasions at which much wine was drunk such as during the festival of *sang-andāz* or *kulūkh-andāz* (stone throwing), which was held at the end of the month of Shaʿbān, the eighth month of the Islamic calendar.[69] In winter in particular much wine appeared to have been drunk,[70] while the fact that al-Muqaddasī only praises the very pious town of Bījār, because there was no cultivation of wine, indicates that wine drinking was universal.[71]

Jews and Christians, unlike Moslems, were allowed to make and sell wine, be it only to their co-religionists. Therefore, they traditionally were the purveyors of alcohol, including operating taverns or wine-houses, generally referred to as *kharābāt*.[72]

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67 Mez, *Die Renaissance*, p. 376. The servants in the wine houses were also known as *samākarah*. Sanāʾī, *Dīvān*, p. 87.

68 Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 35.

69 Sanāʾī, *Dīvān*, p. 592.

70 Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, pt. 7, p. 833, n. 12–13 (Yāqūt; ibn al-Faqīh).

71 Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, pt. 7, p. 833, n. 14.

72 An abandoned cell of a dissolute monk near Hulwān in Khurāsān had become "a *rendezvous* of the beaux of Huwan who come to drink in it," and to engage in homoerotic activities. Abū Dulaf, *Travels*, p. 44. Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad Farghānī, *Dīvān*. Edited by Dhabīhallāh Ṣafā, 2 vols. (Tehrān: Dānishgāh, 1341/1962), vol. 1, p. 73; Balkhī, *Maqāmāt-e Ḥamīdī*, pp. 178, 180. For other poetic references, see ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*. 15 vols. (Tehrān: Dānishgāh, 1372/1993), q.v. *kharābāt*. Therefore, one synonym of wine is *āb-i kharābāt*. Shād, *Farhang*, p. 253. The taverns were also called *kalvar-khāna*, see Masʿūd-i Saʿd, *Dīvān*, p. 809, in addition to *may-khāna*, *may-kādah*, and *khāna-yi khammār*. Jabalī, *Dīvān*, pp. 259, 475, 531, 553–55, 561, 563, 589; Farghānī, *Dīvān*, vol. 1, p. 73. In the seventeenth century and most likely also in earlier periods (see, e.g., *kharābāt -i mughān*, Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, p. 9; *sharāb-i mughāna*, Jabalī *Dīvān*, p. 639), Zoroastrians performed the role of wine-seller in Yazd and Kirmān, where they still formed a sizable community. Muḥammad Mufīd Mustawfī-yi Bāfqī, *Jāmiʿ-yi Mufīdī*. 3 vols. ed. Iraj Afshār. Tehrān: Asadī, 1340/1961), vol. 2, pp. 344–45; Mīr Muḥammad Saʿīd Mushīzī-yi Bardsīrī, *Tadhkira-yi Ṣafaviya-yi Kirmān*. Edited by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāstāni-Pārīzī (Tehrān: ʿIlm, 1369/1990), p. 448.

There were people who did not drink at all or very little. For example, an old *khwāja* was not used to drinking,[73] while the Ghaznavid general Ghāzī had never drunk wine, but when he started he really indulged.[74] The eleventh century chronicler Gardīzī made it a point to emphasize as an oddity that the Qarākhānids of Central Asia were teetotalers, i.e., non-drinkers of wine.[75] Not drinking was remarked upon as something noteworthy, for example, in the case of mourning.[76] Also, there were people who sometimes swore not to drink for a period of time, but sometimes allowed themselves to be convinced to drink again.[77]

THE MANNER OF WINE DRINKING

Wine was not drunk while having dinner, but only afterwards or at least separately from formal meals, like in the imperial period.[78] While drinking, the participants consumed all kinds of snacks (*nuql-i may* or *navāla*), including fruit and nuts. At the Ghaznavid court, it was customary to eat bread or *harīsa* (a grain-meat stew) as a snack, while drinking wine at a party.[79] Not everybody was happy with the separation of wine from a good meal. Among them was Manūchihrī who wrote:

> When those who know what's what

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73 Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh*, p. 121.

74 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, p. 222.

75 Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, p. 188. They probably drank *qimiz* or *kumis*, fermented horse milk. The Turkic Islamicized nomads refused to abandon drinking *kumis*, which was forbidden (*ḥarām*) by Islamic law. Therefore, Central Asian Islamic jurists made a virtue of a necessity and allowed it by categorizing it as 'indifferent' (*mubāḥ*). Maria E. Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition. Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 27, n. 66.

76 Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, p. 513.

77 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 388, 535; Anonymous, *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p. 45.

78 Mez, *Die Renaissance*, p. 375; Niẓāmī, *Le Roman*, p. 51; al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, pp. 44, 227; Faramarz *Samak-e Ayyar*, p. 44, 175; Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, p. 169. See also Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 304–07.

79 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 99, 147, 188, 281, 471; Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, pp. 73, 131, 173, 179; B. Isfandiyār, *History of Tabaristan*, p. 155; Masʿūd-i Saʿd, *Dīvān*, pp. 104, 1050 (*nuql*), 473 (*navāla*); Jabalī, *Dīvān*, p. 576. See also Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 308–13. ʿUmar Khayyām's quatrain XI: "Here with a loaf bread beneath the bough – A flask of wine, a book of verse –and thou – beside me singing in the wilderness – And wilderness in paradise enow. (Fitzgerald's translation of the poem beginning: *gar dast dihad zi maghz-i gandum nānī*).

Get together to dine,
We want three things, no more:
Kebabs, music, and wine;
But snacks? Or books of poems?
Or backgammon? These we decline:
Backgammon's strictly for taverns
Books in schoolrooms are fine,
And snacks belong in the bazaars,
No, we find we confine
Our requirements to three:
Kebabs, and music, and wine.[80]

Wine was poured by the proverbial *sāqī* or cupbearers,[81] at court as well as in the wine-houses and taverns. The cupbearers initially could be either pubescent males or females. By the tenth century it had become popular to have beautiful young Turkish boys, who were also trained for military service, although by the twelfth century this was no longer the case.[82] Surviving period depictions show the tasks of the cupbearer. For example, an eighth century depiction shows a prince reclining on a couch while holding a wine bowl in one hand and a flower stalk in the other hand. A small figure, the cupbearer, stands with crossed hands resting on his chest and his mouth is covered by a protective mask similar to that worn by Zoroastrian priests, probably to avoid polluting the cup with his breath or saliva. Next to the cupbearer is a ewer and a tripod supporting a sieve through which wine is filtered into a two-handled jug.[83] For under the guidance of the wine steward, who probably trained them, cupbearers had to perform several tasks during

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80 Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, p. 9. The translation of the poem is by Dick Davis (with one word changed by me), see Najmieh Batmanglij, *From Persia to Napa. Wine at the Persian Table* (Washington DC: MAGE, 2006), p. 30; for another translation, see Clinton, *The Divan*, p. 12.

81 It is unlikely, as Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 289, 393 submits, that *sāqī* is derived from the Iranian word *shākh* or *shākheh*. The Arabic word *sāqī* or cupbearer is related to the Hebrew *mashqeh* and Akkadian *rab shaqê* or chief cupbearer, which was borrowed into Hebrew as *rab shaqeh*. See P. Oktor Skjaervo, "Review of Edwin M. Yamauchi's *Persia and the Bible*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114/3 (1994), p. 502.

82 W. L. Hanaway, "Sāqī," *Encyclopedia of Islam*^{2}; Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, p. 48 and Masʿūd-i Saʿd, *Dīvān*, p. 457 use the word *rīdak* (from Parthian *redag* or *retag*, meaning page boy) as a synonym for *sāqī*. For other Persian terms that denote cupbearer, see Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 291–97 (*āb-dār*, *iḫvān-i bazm*, *bādak*, *bulbula-dār*, *chamānī*, *rikāb-dār*, *sarda*, *sharābdār*, *sharābī*, *ghulām*, *may-dih*, *may-gusār*).

83 Priscilla P. Soucek, "Sāqī," *Encyclopedia of Islam*^{2}, with other examples.

the drinking party. A Safavid miniature of Sulṭān Muḥammad shows the cupbearer's work: on the ground floor, a young, beardless cupbearer takes up a full jar. He then attached it to a cord drawn by a colleague. On the second storey, another cupbearer filled the cups (after he had unsealed the jar and mixed the wine sometimes with water) and presented them to the party's participants.[84] One of the earliest poets in Persian, Abū Shukūr Balkhī (b. 915) makes mention of the cupbearer:

> Pour, boy, the vintage out
> That oft my grief consoled,
> That gushes from the flask
> In new moon's crescent mould,
> But in the cup spears
> The moon a fortnight old.[85]

The cupbearer might be a distraction for the dedicated drinker, due to their natural beauty, attractive dress, gait, and hair style.[86] At the court of the Saljūq ruler Alp Arslān (r. 1063–1072) the cupbearers wore golden hats and served wine in silver cups.[87] The amorous role of the cupbearer is implied by the *Qābūs-nāma*, where advice is given to the king's boon companion:

> When the cupbearer passes the goblet to you, do not gaze into his face but keep your head bent forward as you accept the wine. While you are drinking it and when you return the goblet to him you must not stare at him nor give your patron cause to conceive any suspicious fancies.[88]

For the cupbearers were all beardless, beautiful boys of a type that men loved to love. And many among the members of the drinking party were lovers of handsome boys with their rose-faced (or moon-faced) beardless cheeks as is evidenced in so many Persian poems, such as the following by the eleven century poet Manūchihrī.

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84 A. Arazi, "Sāqī," *Encyclopedia of Islam*^{2}; S.C. Welch, *Wonders of the age. Masterpieces of early Safavid painting* (Cambridge, Mass, 1979), no. 44, pp. 128–29.

85 The translation is by Nicholson, *Studies*, p. 9.

86 Kai Kāʾūs, *A Mirror*, p. 119. The role of the cupbearer gave rise to a poetic genre referred to as *sāqī-nāma*, started by Manūchihrī's poem: *sāqī biyā kih imshab sāqī bih kār bāshad*,. On this subject, see Paul Losensky, "Sāqī-nāma," *Encyclopedia Iranica*.

87 Khvāja-yi Imām Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshābūrī, *Saljūq-nāma* (Tehran: Khavar, 1332/1953), p. 26.

88 Kai Kāʾūs, *A Mirror*, p. 199, ch. xxxviii. This also reflected religious sentiments, which hold that "it is a sin to look at beardless boys." Meisami, *The Sea of Virtues*, p. 188.

The slave boy and the cup of wine I love
It's no reason to reproach and reprove
I know well that both shouldn't be done
But that's why it is so much fun.[89]

It is may be because of this reason that Ibn al-Jazarī's (1136–1206) automata for drinking parties never made it beyond the drawing board. His automata were designed that equal portions were served to everybody. For a binge party he designed an automaton that poured an equal amount of wine into a cup, but it randomly selected the person who had to drink the entire contents of the cup. While the selected person drank his cup whistled and the wine steward was not allowed to take away his cup until the whistling stopped, i.e. until it was empty.[90]

According to Niẓām al-Mulk (ca. 1018–92), it also happened that people who had been invited to court brought their own *sāqī*, their own food and their own wine. He was very much upset about this novelty and diversion from established custom, and therefore advised: nobody should be allowed to bring his own flagon and cupbearer; it was not the custom before and is reprehensible; people should not bring it to court, but take from court they do this because royal cupbearer serves bad wine; he should be punished as he is given good wine.[91] It also happened that one or more members of the drinking party served his friends. According to Gurgānī:

The king declared, "Ramin, you serve the wine,
Friends serving wine is an auspicious sign."
Ramin was happy to comply and went
About the court dispensing merriment;
He drank too as he served, and soon he felt
The wine had made his inhibitions melt.[92]

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89 Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, p. 174. On the subject of homo-sexual love in Iran, see Willem Floor, *A Social History of Sexual Relations in Iran* (Washington DC: MAGE, 2008), chapter four.

90 For a miniature depicting the automaton 'the basin of the peacock' from Ibn al-Jazārī's *Kitāb fi maʿrifat al-ḥiyāl al-handasiyyah*, see Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Science. An Illustrated Study* (London: World of Islam Festival Publishing Company, 1976), p. 146, fig. 91.

91 Niẓām al-Mulk, *The Book of Government*, pp. 122–23.

92 Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 183; for a similar sentiment see al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, p. 33.

Usually wine was drunk in doors, whether in a building or in tents, or in secluded gardens, because it was felt that this not only served privacy, but also decorum and one's reputation.[93] The drinking was done in the company of a group of friends, professional colleagues, or at court, as a member of the ruler's boon companions. In the Ghaznavid period there were public sphere (*bīrūnī*) and private sphere ([*an*]*darūnī*) boon companions.[94] The state's magnates also had boon companions.[95] Niẓām al-Molk makes much of the need to select the right and proper people as boon companion for the private sphere parties (*majlis-i khāṣṣ*), and never to invite a Jew, a Zoroastrian or a Shiʿite.[96] Kai Kāʾūs likewise argued that the boon companions should be respectable, knowledgeable and witty persons, but he focused not so much on the selection process, but rather addressed the behavior and disposition of the person who was invited to become a boon companion. Like Niẓām al-Mulk and others, he also listed the subjects in which the boon companion had to be knowledgeable.[97] He was right, when for the Saljūq ruler of Kirmān, Malik Irānshāh (r. 1096–1110), selected a low-lifer as a boon companion this had undesirable consequences.[98] Being a boon companion could also be financially advantageous. For example, after a wine-bout, Ispāhbad Rustam of Ṭabaristān was in the habit to allow his boon companions to take whatever they wanted from his treasury.[99]

In addition to the regulars, guests were also invited. These could be visiting rulers or their agents as well as persons of interest such as promising poets. The purpose of the party was not only to drink and get drunk, but also to have a conversation or a recitation of poetry as well as to listen to music and songs. These poems and songs had to be witty and entertaining. A typical scene, on the occasion of the invitation of the then still unknown poet Farrukhī-yi Sīstānī (d. 1037), was described by Niẓāmī-yi ʿArūżī (ca. 1110–61):

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93 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, p. 483.
94 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh* 1324, p. 503.
95 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 5147, 504.
96 Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government*, p. 93.
97 Kai Kāʾūs, *A Mirror*, pp. 196–200; Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, p. 226; Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 405.
98 Afżal al-Dīn Abū Ḥmīd Aḥmad b. Ḥamīd Kirmānī, *Tārīkh-i Afżal yā Badāyiʿ al-Zamān fi Vaqāyiʿ-yi Kirmān*. Edited by Mihdī Bayānī (Tehrān: Dānishgāh, 1362/1983), p. 20.
99 B. Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān*, p. 65.

The emir's camp was filled with tents, and from each tent came songs accompanied by lutes, and friends sat together, drinking wine and making merry. Emir Abu'l-Muẓaffar of Chaghāniyān, goblet in one hand and a lasso in the other, drank wine and gave away horses. Later in the party, the wine went around several times, and when the emir was full of wine Farrukhī, emboldened by his wine intake, recited his poem, for which he was well rewarded.[100] The recitation of poems, either by the host, by other members of the party, or by professional poets or artists was a regular occurrence.[101]

Depending on the situation people drank to celebrate a happy event or because they were feeling happy.[102] One of such happy occasion was the festival of *Nawrūz* or New Year. Wine drinking had been part of this festival since its creation by the first king Jamshid in *illo tempore*.[103] An integral part of the drinking of wine at that happy occasion was the scattering of flowers (*gul afshān*, *gul bar afshāndan*). This custom is, as far as I know, mentioned for the first time by Bayhaqī, while it is also referred to in the poems by Hafez and Saʿdī.[104]

There were certain customs that were followed when drinking. After the cupbearer had brought a large decanter from the cellar, he filled everybody's cup with it. He then would say: *Nūsh* (eternal life), to which all present would reply: *Nūshānūsh, bāsh, bāsh* (Drink of eternal life, may it be so, may it be so).[105] The cupbearer would then fill the cups two times more, each round having a special meaning, a custom referred to *dawr gardān*. During the period of Imperial Iran, when Zoroastrianism was the state religion, the first round represented 'good thoughts,' the second round, 'good words', and the third round, 'good deeds.' The Zoroastrians continued this custom in Islamic Iran.[106] The custom also survived among Moslems in Iran, although Iranian poets gave each round of drinking different meanings and, e.g., Khayyām had five rounds. Awḥādī (d. 1337) said it thus:

The first round makes you happy and lightens

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100 al-Niẓāmī al-ʿArūżī, *Kitāb-i Chahār Maqālā*, pp.41–46; Niẓāmī ʿArūżī 1968, pp. 81–84.

101 Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz*, p. 83; al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, pp. 52–53; Faramarz *Samak-e Ayyar*, p. 51 (poetry recitals)

102 al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, p. 4; Faramarz, *Samak-e Ayyar*, p. 14; Niẓāmī, *Le Roman*, p. 73; Jalabi, *Dīvān*, p. 585.

103 Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh*, p. 7.

104 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 341, 344.

105 Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, q.v. *nūshānūsh*; Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 298–99.

106 Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 263–65.

Up that what is far when you awaken;
The second round makes you bold, and
Makes you appreciate art;
The third round when you drink
Takes away your inhibitions.

Khayyām (1048–1131) the presumed author of the *Nawrūz-nāma* continued with two more rounds in this text, each of which brought out your inner self, good or bad. He therefore called wine, the touchstone of man and the soap that washes away your worries.[107]

The Achaemenids practiced the libation custom,[108] and, therefore, it is no surprise that this ritual is referred to in poetry by Iranian poets of the early Islamic period. Moreover, the custom of the pouring of a libation for the dead (*jurʿa afshānī bar khāk*) is a practice that was continued by Zoroastrians until now.[109] This suggests that the custom must have been practiced in Sasanian Iran, for how else to explain that it existed in the early period of Islamic Iran, among both Moslems and Zoroastrians?

An alternative explanation has been suggested by Fīrūz Manṣūrī, to wit, that the custom probably was introduced by Turkic speaking groups that migrated into Iran. Although there is no denying that these Turkic groups as well as the Mongols practiced the libation custom, the earliest evidence adduced by Manṣūrī dates only from around the mid-thirteenth century.[110] However, the practice is already referred to around the year 1000 CE in Persian sources, or 250 years earlier. For example, Bayhaqī (ca. 996–1077) mentions that when the son of ʿAmr-i Layth (r. 879–901) died, he organized a wake complete with wine and musicians. Similarly wine was poured on the soil after the vizier Ḥasanak was executed (in 1032), but this may have been in mockery, as the person to do so was his nemesis Bū Sahl-i Zawzānī.[111] Of

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[107] ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm Khayyām Nīshābūrī, *Nawrūz-nāma*. ed. ʿAlī Ḥasūri (Tehrān: Ṭahūrī, 1343/1964), pp. 80–81; Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 266–70. On the authorship of the *Nawrūz-nāma*, see *Āyanda* 10/10–11 (1363/1984), pp. 772–74.

[108] Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Eisenbrauns, 2002), pp. 245, 548.

[109] E. G. Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1893), pp. 41–11; Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 270–72.

[110] Firuz Mansuri, (i) Bāda-y afshānī bar khāk kih farhang-i khujasta-yi Īrānī ānrā napadhirufta ast." *Gawhar* 4/10 (Dih 2535/1976), pp. 861–84; (ii) 4/11–12, pp. 946–49; (iii) 5/1 (Farvardin 2536/1977), pp. 73–75; (iv) 5/4, pp. 323–25, (ii-iv).

[111] Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, p. 188. The libation practice was earlier referred to by the Arab poet Abū Tammām (d. 842). Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, pt. 5, p. 572.

course, Turkic groups had already entered Iranian territory from about 700 and thus, it is possible that this custom was adopted by Iranians. However, more data are needed to settle this question. Various other reports make it clear that to pour some wine on the ground for the souls of the dead was a well-known, and maybe even a widespread tradition among Moslems after that time.[112] The custom is referred to in poems by, for example, Manūchihrī, Khāqānī, Athīr-i ʿUmānī, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Mawlavī, and Hafez as well as by Khayyām. He wrote:

> Friends, as we agreed to come together
> We must much commemorate our friend
> Because together we drink this libation
> Lest, when it's our turn, we are put to shame.[113]

The custom referred to as *yād* or 'commemoration' is a more selfish variant of the libation custom, for all of the wine went into the drinker's gullet, but his thoughts and wishes to the departed.[114] This custom is already referred to by Firdawsī (935–1020), among many others, when he wrote:

> Rostam laughed long and loud and said, 'A fighting spirit won't stay hidden long!' He called for enough wine to sink a ship: filling a golden goblet, he toasted the memory of noble heroes, then handed another to Bahman and said, 'Toast whoever you want to!'[115]

By drinking to somebody's health (*shād khvār*[*i*], or *shādī-yi kasī nūshīdan*) you put yourself at his disposal. Hafez in several poems refers to this custom, although the custom was already described in, for example, the twelfth-century *Samak-i ʿAyyār*.[116] Furthermore, there was the custom of the friendship bowl (*qadaḥ-i dūstgānī*), which was a bowl passed from one to the other and from which all present drunk to toast one another's health and con-

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[112] Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 274–77 provides the references, also for the later period.

[113] Parvīz Ahūr ed. *Farhang-i Jāmiʿ va Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*. 3 vols. (Tehrān: Asāṭīr, 1372/1993), vol. 3, pp. 693–94; see also Ardashīr Bahmanī, "Jurʿa fashānī," *Armaghān* 59, dawreh-yi 46/3 (2536/1977), pp. 182–83; Manṣūrī, "Bāda-yi afshāni (i-iv)," p. 863.

[114] Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 284–86; Jamāl Khalīl Shīrvānī, *Nuzhat al-Majālis*. Ed. Muḥammad Amīn Riyāhī (Tehrān: ʿIlmī, 1375/1996) p. 485.

[115] Ferdowsi. *Shahnameh*, translated by Dick Davis (Washington DC: MAGE, 2008), p. 438; see also Masʿūd-i Saʿd, *Dīvān*, pp. 144, 173 (*bar kasī sharāb khurdan*); Jabalī, *Dīvān*, p. 437; E. Denison Ross, "Rudaki and Pseudo-Rudaki," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (October 1924), p. 641 (*bi yād-i u khurda*) citing a verse by pseudo-Rudaki.

[116] Ahūr, *Farhang*, vol. 2, p. 1337; al-Arrajānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, pp. 198, 247, 309; vol. 2, pp. 146, 184, 368; Jabalī, *Dīvān*, pp. 46, 625; Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 282–84.

firm one's friendship, loyalty, and love as the case might be. There are many references to this custom for the Mongol period and the following centuries.[117] For the pre-Mongol period the custom is referred to in literary sources, for example, in the tale of *Samak-i ʿAyyār*.[118]

In the evening, at night fall, *ghābūq* or the evening draught, while in the morning at dawn, after a night of carousing, *ṣabūḥ* or *ghārijī*, the morning draught was drunk.[119] Indeed in the morning, because it was apparently believed, or learnt from experience, that to get rid of a hangover or of the misty and befuddled state of one's brain, you had to take one or more drinks. This is clear from *Vis and Ramin*, where after an evening of drinking and a night of love making, first wine was served on arising from bed.

> The last night's wine still lingered in her head
> And wine was served her as she left their bed.[120]

And if the wine was not brought immediately then you made your wishes known instantly.

> So these two passed the night, and as dawn broke
> They called for wine as soon as they awoke.[121]

It was apparently quite a popular thing to do as Manūchihrī, who probably took some inspiration from the early Persian poet Junaydī, devotes quite a long poem to it, entitled 'concerning the morning draught' (*dar vaṣf-i ṣabūḥī*), of which I give here the translation of the first lines.

> The cock's call is heard, the muezzin of the wine drinkers,
> Early dawn turns her face to the onlookers;
> The mountain sheds its heavy black cloak,
> And the king of the planets shows his face in the east.
> Bring the wine, the succor of the miserable

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[117] For a discussion see Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 286–89.

[118] al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, p. 119; vol. 3, p. 33; Masʿūd-i Saʿd, *Dīvān*, pp. 176, 794 (*dustkāmi*); Jabalī, *Dīvān*, pp. 437–38 (*dūstgānī*); Sanāʾī, *Dīvān*, p. 86 (*dūstkānī*).

[119] Kirmānī 1343, p. 68; Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 161, 341 (*ṣabūḥ*), 409; Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, pp. 131, 174 (also n. 22, *ghārichi*), 177, 181; Jabalī, *Dīvān*, pp. 265, 552; Balkhī, *Maqāmāt-i Ḥamīdī*, p. 180; Niẓāmī, *Le Roman*, p. 73; Niẓām al-Mulk, *A Book of Government*, p. 47; Asadī Ṭūsī, *Lughat-i Furs*, p. 18 (*ghārij*). In general see Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 319–23, and Ibid., p. 224 (*bāda-yi shabgīr*). Physicians prescribed an evening draught (*shabāh*) under certain circumstances. Ibid., pp. 225–26.

[120] Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 168.

[121] Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 220.

> Rise for the morning draught, yea sleepers.[122]

Not everybody was that positive about drinking in the morning. Kai Kā'ūs, the author of the *Qābūs-nāma* advised his son the following:

> Do not drink in the morning; it is ancient wisdom, and it allows you to get over your hangover, also you will not forget your morning prayer. Also, morning drinkers are quarrelsome and often commit regrettable acts. If from time to time, however, the occasion arises when wine is drunk early, it is lawful to do so; but a practice should not be made of it, for that is reprehensible.[123]

Like the caliphs the successive rulers of Iran all followed the example set by the courts of Imperial Iran where binge drinking was quite normal. Their Islamic successors gladly followed their example and with quite an abandon.[124] In fact, one may argue that drinking to the point of drunkenness was the expected norm for courtly circles. As Dick Davis pointed out in his foreword to his exemplary translation of the *Vis and Ramin* epos, "almost every time we see the king go to bed, the fact that he is drunk is mentioned, and there is usually no implication that this is a reprehensible state for him to be in."[125] This was not only true in poetry, but also in real life.[126] A chronicler like Kirmānī (ca. 1280) bluntly stated that "it is the rule that kings spend their days drinking,"[127] and reality bore him out.

The wine parties could last days. The Ṣaffārid ruler Bu'l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir Muḥammad ʿAmr Layth (r. 901–908) as well as his successors drank day and night.[128] The Ghaznavid rulers were real drinking champions. Maḥmūd of Ghazna had invited Isrāʾil b. Saljūq and they drank wine together for three days.[129] His sons Muḥammad and Masʿūd also were binge drinkers, and their parties sometimes lasted three to four days. Sultan Masʿūd was an alcoholic

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122 Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, pp. 145–48. He was, of course, not the only poet to write a hymn to the morning draught, so did ʿAṭṭār, for example. Kenneth Avery and Alī Alīzādeh, *Fifty Poems of ʿAṭṭār* (Melbourne: re.press, 2007), poem nr. 21.

123 Kai Kāʾūs, *A Mirror*, p. 60.

124 Niẓāmī, *Le Roman*, p. 34 ("when he drinks he is a Key-Kobad").

125 Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, pp. xvi-xvii. See also Niẓāmī, *Le Roman*, pp. 17, 54, 101, 213.

126 Nīshābūrī, *Saljūq-nāma*, p. 27.

127 Kirmānī, *Tārīkh-i Afżal*, p. 20; Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, p. 471; Niẓāmī, *Le Roman*, p. 58; al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, pp. 67, 172, 180; Faramarz, *Samak-e Ayyar*, pp. 136, 142.

128 Anonymous, *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, pp. 275, 297, 300, 314–15, 328 (Bū Jaʿfar), 328 (Ṭāhir Bū ʿAlī), 340 (Amīr Ḥusayn).

129 Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 90; Nīshābūrī, *Saljūq-nāma*, p. 12.

who knew no limit in drinking wine. He drank huge quantities during consecutive days and nights and organized matches, where he would challenge his companions (singers, jesters, officers, and bureaucrats) whom he all drank under the table. Bayhaqī describes a party where Sultan Masʿud allegedly drank 27 vessels of ½ *man* each (1.5 liter) with wine, and then performed his prayer. During the Hansi campaign, when Masʿūd was ill and repented of his sins he did not drink, but some months later the wine flowed again like a river.[130] Various Saljūq rulers were also drunkards who loved partying for days at an end. Of Tughril Shāh b. Muḥammad (r. 1156–1169) it was even said that he made the wine cellar his *miḥrāb*.[131]

Such drinking feats were also reflected in popular literature where, for example, the hero Samak-i ʿAyyār allegedly could drink 10–20 pints in one go.[132] During one of his heroic feats, Samak-i ʿAyyār challenged the manhood of one of his opponents by alleging that he was unable to drink five *man* (15 liter) of wine.[133]

The drinking parties could become quite boisterous. Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna in a drunken mood cut off the locks of his favorite Ayāz. The next day weighed down by his hangover he rued this deed, but the poet ʿUnṣurī (d. 1040) restored his spirits by reciting the following poem:

> Though shame it be a fair one's curls to shear
> Why rise in wrath or sit in sorrow here?
> Rather rejoice, make merry, call for wine;
> When clipped the cypress doth most trim appear.

Sultan Maḥmūd was so happy that he rewarded ʿUnṣurī richly and filled his mouth with gold coins. He immediately threw another party and Sultan Maḥmūd and his companions drank deeply well into the next night.[134]

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130 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 533, 555–56.

131 Rāvandī, *Ruhat al-Ṣudūr*, pp. 236 (Sultan Masʿūd b. Muḥammad b. Malikshāh), 370 (Sultan Tughril b. Arslān); Ibn Ibrāhīm 1343, pp. 22 (Sulṭānshāh), 30, 32 (Īrānshāh), 35 (Arslān Shāh), 39 (Muḥammad b. Arslān Shāh), 46 (Tughril Shāh b. Muḥammad), 48 (Malik Arslān b. Tughril Shāh), 74, 79, 189; Kirmānī, *Tārīkh-i Afżal*, pp. 68–69 (Arslān Shāh), 71 (Maḥmūd), 120, 125; Peacock *Early Seljuq History*, p. 126 (Alp Arslān drunken before Aleppo).

132 al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, pp. 116; 195; Faramarz, *Samak-i ʿAyyar*, p. 153.

133 al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, p. 197; Faramarz, *Samak-i ʿAyyar*, p. 154.

134 al-Niẓāmī al-ʿArūżī, *Kitāb-i Chahār Maqāla*, pp. 39–41. The poem's translation is by E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*. 4 vols. (Cambridge, CUP, 1959), vol. 2, p. 38.

It also happened that the drinking had serious, sometimes fatal consequences. When drinking by the rulers was chronic and clearly an addiction it could not but have negative consequences for the governance of the state. Both Sultan Maḥmūd and his son Sultan Masʿūd after a bout of binge drinking often did not show up the next day to be present in court.[135] Nevertheless, they mostly managed to spend sufficient time to manage their state affairs. However, the Ṭāhirid ruler Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir (r. 862–873) was so addicted to drinking and a hedonistic lifestyle that he neglected the affairs of state, and as a result, he lost his throne. The same held for the Ghūrid ruler Maḥmūd b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn (ca. 1210).[136] Bayhaqī and Gardīzī suggest that Amir Muḥammad, the brother and rival of Sultan Masʿūd, lost his throne and life, because he partied and drank too much.[137] Altuntāsh, the son of the Khvārizmshāh fell drunk from a roof and died.[138] The last Saljūq ruler of Kirmān Farrukhshāh (1196) died of drinking.[139] Drunkenness also led to capture or murder of opponents,[140] robbery,[141] or betrayal of a conspiracy.[142]

DRINKING WITH MUSIC AND AT GAMES

The Sasanian king Bahrām Gūr was occupied day and night with entertainments, hunting, and drinking.[143] Following this Imperial model, according to Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna, partying, drinking, polo and war was a nobleman's business in Islamic Iran;[144] and indeed, *razm va bazm* (fighting and feasting) remained the royal pastime *par excellence* until recent times. This sentiment is also nicely expressed in the dialogue between Isfandiyār and Rustam, where the former says:

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135 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, p. 469.

136 Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, p. 138; Juwaynī, *The Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gushā*, vol. 2, p. 62.

137 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 5, 71; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, p. 195.

138 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, p. 410.

139 Ibn Ibrāhīm, *Saljūqiyān va Ghuzz*, p. 189.

140 Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, pp. 90, 363.

141 Anonymous, *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p. 315

142 B. Isfandiyār, *History of Tabaristan*, p. 155 (during a party Afshīn was given strong wine or *sharāb-e girānī* to make him loose-lipped). Isfandiyār likewise tried to make Rustam loose-lipped when he said to a servant: "Serve him with uncooked wine, Let it affect him while we sit and dine, - And when the wine has made his tongue grow loose, We'll hear him chatter about King Kāʾūs." Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh*, p. 394.

143 Niẓām al-Mulk, *The Book of Government*, p. 24.

144 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, p. 152.

Fighting or feasting I don't change; you'll see
That wine and war are all the same to me.[145]

Whether during games such as polo or during and after the hunt, much drinking was going on at the same time.[146]

Each dawn they went out hunting, at midday
They turned to wine to while their time away,
And so the prince's busy days were spent
In hunting and in tipsy merriment,
Now seeking lions with his spear and bow
Now sipping wine where pretty roses grow.[147]

Wine drinking and music were two sides of the same coin and there is hardly a mention of wine drinking without referring to the entertainment by musicians, dancers, and minstrels. For where wine flowed, music was played and songs were sung until everybody went drunk to his bed.[148] According to Gurgānī,

The wine went round continually, which made
For wine-red faces as the minstrel played.[149]

I have already mentioned poems, whether impromptu or prepared beforehand, that were declaimed during drinking parties, but songs were also sung, usually by professional singers.[150] It is therefore not surprising to conclude that the poems of, for example, Manūchihrī are an important source of information on the music genres that prevailed in Ghaznavid times as well as the many musical instruments that were used by the various musicians and artists.[151]

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145 Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh*, pp. 394–95.

146 Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 344, 409; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, p. 161; Nīshābūrī, *Saljūq-nāma*, pp. 66–67, 74; Niẓāmī, *Le Roman*, pp. 17, 58, 74; al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, pp. 10, 18; Faramarz, *Samak-e Ayyar*, pp. 19, 24.

147 Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 290, see also Ibid., p. 377.

148 Nīshābūrī, *Saljūq-nāma*, p. 27; Niẓāmī, *Le Roman*, p. 51; al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, p. 39; Faramarz, *Samak-e Ayyar*, p. 41; B. Isfandiyār, *History of Tabaristan*, p. 155; Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 54, 71; Jalabī, *Dīvān*, p. 411.

149 Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 265.

150 Niẓāmī, *Le Roman*, p. 101–02, 194; al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, p. 66; Faramarz, *Samak-e Ayyar*, p. 62.

151 Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mallāh, *Manūchihrī Damghāni va Musiqi* (Tehrān: Hunar va Farhang, 1363/1984); see also Ibid. *Ḥāfiẓ va Musīqī*. (Tehran: Hunar va Farhang, 1363/1984); Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*.

WINE AND LOVE

The drinking of wine cannot be discussed without at least mentioning that wine and love are inextricably associated, for they go together. Wine is usually drunk by both lovers, for wine like love is a kind of intoxication to which you have to surrender yourself.

> Love is like wine, and neither will agree
> To live with wisdom and sobriety.[152]

Therefore, Vis and Ramin were constantly drunk, if not with one another, then at least because of the wine that both drank copiously. Making love and drinking wine are inseparable.

> With wine the lovers rested from their ride,
> Their days now passed in pleasure, and each night
> Was filled with joy and mutual delight:
> They drank their wine, then lay down face to face,
> And drank wine in the midst of their embrace.[153]

It does sound odd for lovers to become drunk and then to make love, but apparently many people believed that wine worked as a sexual stimulant, if we may believe Firdawsī. The latter relates in his *Shāh-nāma* that king Bahrām had forbidden the drinking of wine. He had issued this ban after a village chief, who had drunk much wine at his court, on his return journey had passed out en route and while sleeping had his eyes pecked out by ravens. However, one year later a shoemaker's son, who was impotent, was given some wine that his mother had hidden, who told him:

> Drink seven glasses of this wine, and when
> You feel you're ready, go to her again:
> You'll break her seal once you two are alone –
> A pickaxe made of felt can't split a stone.

The boy drank the seven glasses of wine and indeed became potent and was able to perform just as his mother had foretold. He was very elated and drunk when he walked to his parents' house to tell them the happy news. He was so drunk that when he saw a roaring lion in the market he fearlessly sat

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[152] Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 81; see also Niẓāmī, *Le Roman*, pp. 31, 68–69, 73, 79, 82, 90, 116, 160, 212; al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, pp. ; 51–52; Faramarz, *Samak-e Ayyar*, p. 50; Farghānī, *Dīvān*, vol. 1, p. 87.

[153] Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 167; Niẓāmī, *Le Roman*, pp. 75, 77; Jabalī, *Dīvān*, p. 531.

on its back as if it were a donkey. The lion keeper ran to court to tell king Bahrām about this strange event. The king instructed his advisers to find out who this boy was. The moment he had done so, the mother's boy came to court to tell the king what had happened.

> She said to him, "May you live happily
> As long as time endures, your majesty!
> This boy of mine's just starting out on life –
> He'd found himself a satisfactory wife.
> But when the time came … well, his implement
> Was just too soft, and he was impotent.
> So then I gave the boy (but privately.
> To make him father of a family)
> Three glasses of good wine; at once his face
> Shone with a splendid ruby's radiant grace,
> The floppy felt stirred, lifted up its head
> And turned into a strong, hard bone instead.
> Three drafts of wine gave him the strength and glory
> Who would have thought the king would hear the story?"

The king was so impressed by this story that he immediately ordered that henceforth wine drinking would be allowed again. He counseled, however, that

> when wine leads you to pleasure, see to it
> that it does not leave your body weak and incapable.[154]

WHY DID THEY DRINK?

Apart from the fact that wine drinking was liked for its own sake, it was also a pre-existing condition, having been quite normal and natural in Imperial Iran. Islamic rule wanted to change this, but the people were not ready to give up that which brought pleasure in life. Changing one's religion and going through the motions of another ritual to gain the gates of paradise was one thing, but giving up wine that was as yet too much to ask. Moreover, medical science was all in favor of drinking wine and prescribed it as a remedy for certain diseases. Furthermore, Galenus argued that wine taken in moderation was beneficial to your health and who were you to argue with him?[155] A leading Christian physician of the tenth century, Yuḥannā Masīḥī

[154] Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh*, p. 224.
[155] Najmābādī *Tārīkh-e Ṭibb*, p. 23.

advised people to eat fresh food and drink old wine (*sharāb-i kuhna*), an advice that is not out of sync with modern views on the diet.[156] Besides, physicians advised people to drink wine in spacious locations and during cool periods of the year or at certain times of the day.[157] The *Nawrūz-nāma* told its readers that

> Galenus, Socrates, Hippocrates, Avicenna and Razi said that there is nothing more beneficial for the body than wine, in particular wine made from bitter and pure grapes. Its special nature is that it takes away grief, makes the heart happy, and the body stout and neutralizes bad food, makes the face color red, the skin tone fresh and healthy looking. It stimulates understanding and memory, makes the miser open-handed, and the coward brave. The wine drinker is seldom sick and mostly vigorous.[158]

Indeed physicians such as al-Rāzī in his *Manāfiʿ al-aghdhiya va maḍārrihā* and Jurjānī in his *Dhakhīra-yi Khvārizmshāhī* list and argue the benefits and drawbacks of wine.[159]

These various notions argued by the physicians quickly found a willing ear among the Iranian literati, whether they were prose or poetry authors. Gurgānī, for example, refers to the restorative power of wine, both to body and spirit.

> Wine is blood red and scours the rusty heart
> Making its weariness and grief depart,
> Returning to the pallid, careworn face
> Its ruddy hue and customary grace.
> Longing is pain, and wine will cure this pain,
> Anguish is dust, and wine's its cleansing rain,
> If sorrow's present, red wine will remove it,
> If joy is present, red wine will improve it;
> Wine burns away all suffering, while desire
> And joy blaze up more brightly in its fire.[160]

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156 Najmābādī *Tārīkh-e Ṭibb*, p. 232 (*sharāb-i kuhna*, also called *may-yi dū-sāla* or *may-yi kuhna*); Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 248–49. It is also mentioned by Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, p. 5.

157 Zayn al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Ismāʿil b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī Jurjānī. *Dhakhīra-yi Khvārizmshāhī*. 3 vols. Edited by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Iʿtimādī et al. (Tehrān: Anjuman-i Āthār-i Millī, 1344–52/1967–73), vol. 1, p. 169; see further Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 314–16.

158 Nīshābūrī, *Nawrūz-nāma*, p. 79.

159 Al-Rāzī *Manāfiʿ al-aghdhiya*; Jurjānī, *Dhakhīra-yi Khvārizmshāhī*, vol. 1; Najmābādī, *Tārīkh-i Ṭibb*, pp. 433, 734.

160 Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 220, see also Ibid., p. 184. A similar point is made by Balʿamī, see Lazard, *Les premiers poètes*, p. 135 (when the wine illuminates your face).

Niẓāmī-yi Ganjavī picks up on the fact that people who have drunk wine become more jovial, accessible and frankly more open-handed.

> There are many when drunk break open their coffers,
> When sober they complain of robbers;
> There are many when drunk say: 'take as much as you lief,'
> When sober they cry 'thief.'[161]

It is a sentiment that is also echoed by Kai Kā'ūs, the author of the *Qābūs-nāma*, who counsels his son to ask favors from stingy persons only when they are drunk, for they then are in a more generous mood.[162] The author of the *Samak-i ʿAyyār* observed that wine drinkers will do things that they under other circumstances would not do. He noted that under influence of wine prince, Khurshīd Shāh lost his reserve and started playing the lute.[163] Of course, as Niẓāmī-yi Ganjavī notes, wine makes a coward brave.[164]

Rāvandī, the author of the *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr* (ca. 1202) while not in disagreement with the above arguments, is more interested in the question why people chose to drink wine knowing that it was unlawful. He points out that medical science ascribes the occurrence of gaiety, fresh skin and good health to wine drinking. This is due to three faculties, of which he only mentions two: (i) desire, which makes man look for pleasure; its driving force is the liver, and (ii) spirit (*nafs*) or the faculty of speech, which makes that one seeks knowledge and wisdom, makes one act properly and makes man stay away from doing bad things. This is a faculty peculiar to man. Its mine is the brain and it is the most noble of all, and lust is the lowest one. Each force is the opposite of the other. Wise men looked for that which would give repose/quiet and would free one of this burden, and the only item among foods and drinks that did this is grape wine, where one of the forces makes one do good.[165]

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161 Niẓāmī, *Hikmat va nasihatlar*.

162 Kai Kāʾūs, *A Mirror*, p. 143.

163 al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, vol. 1, p. 47; Faramarz, *Samak-e Ayyar*, p. 47.

164 Niẓāmī, *Le Roman*, p. 68.

165 Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, pp. 426–28. This argumentation is taken from Galenic medicine and Rāvandī was not the first historian to popularize these ideas, because before him Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, p. 101f. had done so. He mentioned all three faculties (the first is, intellect and speech, located in the head and partnered with the heart; the second is anger and is located in the heart, and the third is desire that is located in the liver. Each faculty is the location of a spirit).

Rāvandī admits that wine has many benefits and countless advantages. He refers to a book called *al-Shurrāb* (the Drinkers) which contains 50 chapters listing the benefits as well as the drawbacks of wine.[166] In this respect he is somewhat like Khayyām, the reputed author of the *Nawrūz-nāma* who, also taking his cue from medical science, lists the benefits of wine, then the drawbacks, and finally the remedies to neutralize the drawbacks.[167] Whereas, Khayyām is positive about wine drinking, Rāvandī concludes that despite its advantages, drinking wine is unlawful and therefore bad, because you loose your chance at redemption.[168] He clearly took his cue from the *ʿulamā'*, one of whom thundered:

> What do physicians, astronomers, and poets know of roots and branches (of the Law), lawful and unlawful, compared to the ulama? They know nothing; for if one considers even one drop of wine to be lawful he becomes an unbeliever."[169]

WINE DRINKING IS UNLAWFUL

Orthodox Moslems were, of course, very upset by the drinking habits of their less pious religious brethren; they do not mention their sisters. The *ʿulamā'* had a very simple message, wine, in fact any fermented drink, was forbidden; it was a grievous and capital sin. Even when you were not caught by the authorities your drinking would not go unpunished, because by drinking your faith was taken from you, it made you an unbeliever! This held for those who defended the position that drinking wine was lawful. Also, care should be taken to keep wine away from children. This point was probably made, because physicians prescribed wine for children in many cases. There was, of course little chance that you would be caught by the authorities, who themselves were probably too busy drinking. However, at times the authorities would clamp down and if that happened and sinners were caught the prescribed punishment was flogging. If the sinning drinker repented, however, the punishment was not executed.[170] Gurgānī clearly was well aware of this theological point of view:

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166 Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 422.

167 Nīshābūrī, *Nawrūz-nāma*, pp. 80–81.

168 Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 422

169 Meisami, *The Sea of Virtues*, p. 142.

170 Meisami, *The Sea of Virtues*, pp. 80, 100–01, 104–06, 125–27, 129. In general, concerning the question of what drinks are permitted and which are not, see A.J. Wensinck, "Khamr," *Encyclopedia of Islam*[2]. Wine was indeed prescribed as medicine to young

Drunks sin because wine makes them ignorant;
They should be pardoned when they're penitent.
As sleep will close a person's weary eyes
Wine closes sense and makes a man unwise;
As water washes clothes, sincere repentance
Will mitigate the guilty sinner's sentence.[171]

However, Khayyām was not so easily taken in by theological arguments and fired back, accusing the orthodox believers of hypocrisy:

How can it be that this wine that everyone drinks is banned?
One small group goes out of its way to make it all end;
But those who made it unlawful for the aficionado
Drink themselves a cup of it incognito.

The *ʿulamā'* did not forbid drinking beverages made from grapes, raisins, dates and other fruits as long as it did not intoxicate or impair a person's wits. If it did, then even drinking a little of it was unlawful and a punishable act. Only in one case is it permitted to drink wine or any alcoholic beverage, viz. if they threaten to kill you if you do not drink wine. There was no unanimity among the *ʿulamā'* concerning the medical use of wine, which, as discussed above, was quite a normal remedy prescribed by physicians. Abū Ḥanīfa permitted its medical use, but al-Shāfiʿī considered it unlawful.[172] According to Abū Ḥanīfa:

Grape juice that is boiled until it is reduced to one-third, and raisins that are boiled a little, and that what is made of barley and millet, and of honey and sugar, if it is not boiled, is lawful as long as it does not intoxicate."[173]

This point of view, which was already known to the ancient Greeks, was widely accepted and quoted by court chroniclers and others.[174] It was ridiculed by the Shiʿite Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who scoffed at the founders of the four

children (al-Arrājānī, *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, p. 194; Faramarz, *Samak-e Ayyar*, p. 152; Nishaburi, *Nawrūz-nāma*, p. 80), against which Meisami, *The Sea of Virtues*, p. 80 warned.

171 Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 196.

172 Meisami, *The Sea of Virtues*, pp. 129, 138, 142–43; Ahsan, *Social Life*, p. 111.

173 Meisami, *The Sea of Virtues*, p. 142.

174 Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, pp. 418–19, 421; see also Nāṭiq, *Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 239–41. Yule in his note 4 to Marco Polo. *The Travels of Marco Polo. The Complete Yule-Cordier Edition*. 2 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, 1993), vol. 1, p. 87, wrote: "According to Athenaeus, Aristotle, in his *Treatise on Drinking* (a work lost, I imagine to posterity), says, 'If the wine be moderately boiled it is less apt to intoxicate.' "

Sunni theological schools for allowing the playing of chess, drinking of wine, consuming of opium, and sodomy, respectively.

> Shafeʿi said: 'Playing chess is not unlawful.
> Do not cheat for the Imam has ordered you to be truthful.'
> But Hanifeh has even a better idea on wine:
> 'If it's boiled, drink it, for it is not unlawful.'
> The Hanbalites say: 'If stricken with grief
> Take bhang and stroll gaily!'
> If you follow the fourth jurist, Malek,
> He will prescribe for you cohabitation with a young boy!
> Take bhang, drink wine, lie with fair ones and gamble,
> Truly Islam has been perfected by these four Imams![175]

Despite Nāṣir-i Khusraw's partisan criticism, 'boiled wine' became the wine of choice of those adherents of Islam, who wanted to continue to drink wine without going against the letter of Islamic law. Many others, of course, continued to drink unadulterated wine, but there was a tendency to go for the 'politically correct' form of wine. This may be deduced from an observation made by Marco Polo about the situation in Iran in the 1270s.

> Someone may object that the Saracens [i.e. the Iranians] do not drink wine; for their law forbids it. My answer is that they gloss the text of their law thus: if wine is boiled over a fire, so that it is partly consumed and turns sweet, they are free to drink it without breach of commandment or law; for they no longer call it wine, since the change of flavour carries with it a change of name.[176]

Drawbacks

Although people considered themselves Moslems, at least nominally, they nevertheless ignored the ban on drinking wine. Manūchihrī has a poem describing that to celebrate the end of Ramaḍān, the month of fasting, a binge-drinking party was held.

> The Fast of Ramadan is passed, and its going is not deplored;
> The Feast of Ramadan is now upon us, praised be the Lord![177]

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[175] The poem is from Nāṣir Khusraw's *Divan* and the translation is by Hasan Javadi, *Satire in Persian Literature* (Cranbury, 1988), pp. 70–71.

[176] Polo, *The Travels*, vol. 1, p. 84.

[177] Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, pp. 77–78.

During the early period of Islamic rule ‘real men’ drank strong wine all day and/or night long and scoffed at the notion that the wine should be watered down. This is clear, for example, from what perhaps is the earliest ‘wine song’ in Persian, a poem composed by ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Junaydī, which is about the culture of wine drinking.

At dawn quaff a draught from the flagon of wine,
By the crow of the cock and the lute’s plaintive whine.
When the sun lifts its head oe’r the top of the hill,
He were best put to blush by the cup and the vine.
From the cup to the couch at the fall of night time,
From the couch to the cup at the dayspring’s first sign.
As *milk* is the food that for infants is best,
So let old men their diet to *grape-milk* confine.[178]

People drank not because they were blind or ignorant to the drawbacks of drinking. Niẓāmī-yi Ganjavī, for example, in one of his aphorisms points out that there is a price to pay when you drink:

Though wine takes away the grief of the world
O master, don’t take that which takes away reason.

He therefore counseled the prospective and current drinkers to think twice before doing so, because:

Although wine is praised by many
Let reason keep you from taking any.[179]

Accepting the reality of drinking, Kai Kā’ūs nevertheless wants to make his son understand that there are negative sides to drinking. Like the professor teaching Pharmacology 101, who tells his students that there are no poisons, only the dosage of any given substance makes it into a poison, Kai Kā’ūs writes: “Everything consumed, whether it be food or drink, becomes poison if taken in excess.” So it is also with wine. “You must know how to drink, for it is a poison if you do not know how it should be drunk, whereas it is a physic against poison if you do know.”

Your antidote for thirst is none the less

[178] Jackson, *Early Persian Poetry*, p. 29, who in a note comments that “there is a pun in the Persian *shir*, ‘milk,’and *shirah*, ‘new wine’ (milk of the grape).” For the Persian text, see ʿAwfī, *The Lubābu’l-albāb*, vol. 2, p. 23.

[179] Niẓāmī, *Hikmat va nasihatlar*. According to Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 182, “Wine weakened wisdom in their monarch’s head.”

A poison when you use it in excess.[180]

That this idea was shared by many is indicated by the fact that similar appreciation is voiced by Gurgānī:

When we're replete with drink, and crapulous,
Even the best wine can taste poisonous.[181]

Kai Kāʾūs to channel his sons drinking habits counsels him not to drink wine immediately after a meal, but to drink fist water and beer. Only when after three hours he is really thirsty, only then he should drink wine, if he really had to. Kai Kāʾūs like his contemporaries wants to reinforce his argument by using the insights of science. He submits that given the physiology of the body that needs seven hours to digest wine and food, the best time to start drinking is after the recitation of the afternoon prayers. For by the time his son would be drunk it was night and nobody would notice that he was drunk. Kai Kāʾūs was much concerned with decorum and good name, therefore, he advises his son to drink only inside his own house, not in orchards or gardens, and never when traveling. Also, he counsels never to drink to excess; always know when to stop, when you still can have a glass or two before you become intoxicated. In that state you do not know what you are doing; moreover,

drunks are madmen and suffer from crapulence. Why drink such that you either fall ill or become mad?"[182]

Despite the fact that wine drinking was an unlawful act and that there were urban officials (*muḥtasib, shaḥna*) who were supposed to see to it that the ban was respected, wine drinking was seldom punished. Khayyām actually questioned the ethics of punishing wine drinking by posing the question, who did more harm?

O inspector of the city we are more awake than you
Despite being drunk we are smarter than you;
You drink people's blood, we that of the vines
Let us be honest, who is blood-thirstier?

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[180] Kai Kāʾūs, *A Mirror*, p. 58. The same point is made by Abū Shukūr al-Balkhī (915–960s), see Lazard, *Les premiers poètes*, p. 123, line 377.

[181] Gurgānī, *Vis and Ramin*, p. 371. A similar allusion is made by Maʿrūfī, one of the earliest poets using new Persian as his medium, see Lazard, *Les premiers poètes*, p. 131, line 23.

[182] Kai Kāʾūs, *A Mirror*, pp. 58–59.

Nevertheless, there are cases when the authorities are reported to have clamped down on drinking. The *muḥtasib* of Ghazna allegedly gave 40 lashes to ʿAlī Nūshtegīn, one of Sultan Masʿūd's top generals, who after a night of carousing left the palace to go home in a drunken state and was dragged off his horse in the bazaar.[183] Ḥasan-i Ṣabāḥ, the Ismaili ruler of Alamūt had banned drinking wine in his realm. When one of his sons was suspected of drinking wine he had him executed.[184] However, in the mid-twelfth century the drinking ban was lifted by his grandson. He allegedly was a libertine and justified his drinking by declaring that drinking wine would hasten the arrival of the Imam.[185] Ismāʿīl b. Imām Jaʿfar was excluded from the succession because of the accusation that he drank wine.[186]

CONCLUSION

Apart from the *ʿulamā'* and orthodox Moslems, wine drinking was not viewed as a negative activity by society in general prior to the Mongol invasion. In fact, people did not seem to see the contradiction between being a Moslem and wine drinking. For example, after stating that Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna was a pious and devout man, Niẓāmī then continues relating the story of his incessant drinking without seeing, or at least without making a problem of, the conflict between the two statements.[187] Likewise, Bayhaqī, a moderate drinker himself, is aware of the negative side of drinking to which he draws attention, but he never mentions that it is a religious unlawful activity! The same also held for inveterate drinkers such as Sultan Masʿūd, who saw no irony in the fact that he interrupted his drinking to pray.[188] He nevertheless, had the occasional moment that he repented his drinking. At one such moment, he ordered all wine to be dumped in the river Jalim and to break the music instruments.[189] However, such moments did not last long and soon thereafter the binge drinking started again, not without forgetting to pray, of course. A similar attitude is presented by ʿUmar Khayyām, the pre-

[183] Niẓām al-Mulk, *The Book of Government*, pp. 47–48, for another case involving a young man in Baghdad during the reign of al-Maʾmūn, see Ibid., p. 138
[184] Juwaynī, *The Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gushā*, vol. 3, pp. 210; 225.
[185] Juwaynī, *The Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gushā*, vol. 3, pp. 225, 228.
[186] Juwaynī, *The Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gushā*, vol. 3, p. 145.
[187] Niẓāmī ʿArūżī *Les Quatres Discours*, pp. 77–79
[188] Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 503, 541.
[189] Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 429, 533.

sumed author of the *Nawrūz-nāma*. In the chapter entitled 'Relation concerning the benefit of wine' (*ḥikāyat andar manfaʿat-i sharāb*) there is no reference whatsoever to religious tenets. The author takes the scientific approach and observes that all leading physicians have argued that drinking wine is good for the body. Certainly, there are negative sides to drinking, but for each negative aspect case there is a remedy.[190]

What was viewed negatively, however, was incapacitating alcoholism, in particular when this was shown in public.[191] Indeed, this is the worry of Niẓāmī-yi Ganjavī[192] and Niẓām al-Mulk. The latter advises his king, Malikshāh, when sending an ambassador to another ruler to instruct him to establish whether when that

> king [is] in his cups [is] jovial and good-natured or not.[193]

For that behavior would signal something about the character of that king and how trustworthy he would be in his dealing with others. A similar worry about decorum is also strong in the thinking of Kai Kāʾūs. He does not mind that his son drinks, but he should be discreet. He should do it at home, and in the afternoon, so that the effects of alcohol are not very noticeable.

> Also, do not drink on Thursday night, for Friday and Saturday are sacred days. If you do not drink on Fridays men will accept your drinking the rest of the week. Thus you will achieve reward in the next world and good report will be yours in this world."[194]

There was change in the air, however. Rāvandī following religious precepts points out that drinking wine is a sin and that means endangering your soul. He therefore wants to find a balance between religious requirements and the need of the ruler to drink by pointing out that Abū Ḥanīfa allowed drinking boiled wine that was reduced to one-third of the original quantity. In this way Rāvandī hoped to have found the golden middle path. It may well be, for that reason, that much of the wine that was drunk during this period was this boiled version of it. At the Sāmānid and other courts so-called *siyikī*, the Persian synonym of *muthallath*, was drunk, meaning a wine that had been

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190 Nīshābūrī, *Nawrūz-nāma*, p. 80.

191 Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, p. 514.

192 Niẓāmī, *Le Roman*, p. 18.

193 Niẓām al-Mulk, *The Book of Government*, p. 99; see also Ibid., p. 47 where a drunken general is advised to remain in the palace rather than go outside.

194 Kai Kāʾūs, *A Mirror*, p. 60.

reduced by boiling to one-third of its volume.[195] However, in general it would seem that strong wine or *sharāb-e girānī* was still drunk, because among the elite the purpose of drinking was to get intoxicated. Moreover, in particular among the military and political elite, the commitment to Islam was as yet skin-deep and they were not ready to abandon their unlawful pleasures. In this they only followed Rustam's example when he was Isfandiyār's guest and was served strong wine to make him loose-lipped.

> The boy refilled it with a royal vintage, and Rustam said to him quietly, "There's no need to dilute it with water, it takes the edge off an old wine. Why do you put water in it?"[196]

[195] Anonymous, *Tārīkh-i Sistan*, p. 316; al-Niẓāmī al-ʿArūżī 1341, p. 59; Manūchihrī, *Dīvān*, pp. 131, 145, 153; Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 421; Masʿūd-i Saʿd, *Dīvān*, pp. 794 (*sih yak āyad*), 898; Sanāʾī, *Dīvān*, p. 257. *Siyakī* or properly *sih-yakī* is written in the texts as سیکی.

[196] Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh*, p. 394.

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Alcohol and the Mongols: Myth and Reality

MORRIS ROSSABI

I. INTRODUCTION

Western accounts of the use of alcohol by the Mongol conquerors, especially the later rulers of the thirteenth and fourteenth century rulers, abound. The Franciscan John of Plano Carpini offered the most graphic and perhaps most quoted description when he wrote:

> Drunkenness is considered an honorable thing by them and when anyone drinks too much, he is sick there and then, nor does this prevent him from drinking again.[1]

William of Rubruck, the second great Franciscan traveler to the Mongol domains, added that during feasts they sang and played the "guitar," and

> they all drink round in turn, men and women alike, and at times compete with one another in quaffing in a thoroughly distasteful and greedy fashion."[2]

A recent article has argued that the Mongols' seemingly voracious appetite for liquor contributed to their decline and fall.[3] This essay suggests that alcoholism has been overstated as a link to the Mongol Empire's decline. Moreover, the current high rate of alcohol consumption in Mongolia reflects but is not a cause of serious social dislocations.

Twentieth-century reports appear, at first glance to attest to the veracity of the Western accounts of the thirteenth century. A large number mention rampant drinking in both rural and urban areas. An anthropologist describing his experiences in the countryside writes that "country people rarely take no for an answer when it comes to drinking," and that:

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1 Christopher Dawson, ed. *Mission to Asia* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), p. 16.

2 Peter Jackson, ed., *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990), p. 77.

3 John Masson Smith, "Dietary Decadence and Dynastic Decline in the Mongol Empire," *Journal of Asian History* 34:1 (2001), pp. 35–52.

> Some men are intoxicated regularly, or in fact the better part of the milking season. Drinking *arkhi* [i. e. Mongol vodka] is considered manly and is a subject of much joking among the men: anyone who cannot drink is considered a wimp.[4]

He observes, in a classic understatement, that the most successful herders abstained from liquor. A Western journalist who spent four months mostly in Ulaan Baatar in 2004 writes that:

> Drunkenness in Mongolia was not confined to street corners and gutters. It was also a feature of many households.[5]

My own visits to Mongolia since 1977 confirm some of these observations. There were drunks on the streets, but the people I dealt with in a variety of occupations or statuses were never inebriated. Judging from other accounts or explanations, however, the casual observer might assume that most Mongol men, as well as some women, drank immoderately and that alcohol was a pervasive feature of Mongol life.

Numerous explanations have been offered for the reputedly high level of alcohol consumption among the Mongols. The explanations for the alcoholic indulgences during the Mongol Empire differ from those of alcoholism in contemporary times. Increased drinking in the Empire stage allegedly reflected the successful conquests and the attendant greater accessibility of liquor. In Mongolia, liquor, in the form of fermented mare's milk, was available only in late summer and early autumn, but in the newly subjugated lands, alcohol was found year round. The higher rate of alcoholism in present-day Mongolia tallies with the chaotic circumstances and the economic, political, and social failures of the post-1990 period, with its greater levels of unemployment, poverty, abandonment of children, and domestic abuse.

To be sure, the foreign observations during the Mongol Empire and in the post-1990 era refer to copious consumption of liquor, to the point of severe ailments or extreme fuzzy-headedness. Yet a cursory examination of nineteenth and early twentieth-century reports by foreign travelers reveals few such descriptions. Swedes, Russians, and Englishmen complain about filth, insects and rodents, and other unsanitary conditions, but they fail to mention alcoholic binges.[6] Although several write briefly about feasts and banquets,

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4 Ole Bruun, *Precious Steppe* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), pp. 36, 59, and 159–160.

5 Paul Bacon, *Escaping the Ice-Prison* (Ulaan Baatar, 2005), p. 28.

6 These works include A. M. Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols* (trans. by John Roger Shaw and Dale Plank; Bloomington: Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series 61,

they scarcely allude to heavy drinking. Even the notorious Roy Chapman Andrews, who frequently used what modern observers would describe as racist and sexist terms, does not mention riotous drinking even at the feast he attended after a special day of wresting and camel and horse races.[7] The Swedish traveler Henning Haslund cites singing and dancing festivals, especially in monasteries but does not allude to any drinking whatsoever in the religious institutions. He refers to consumption of *airagh*, the fermented mare's milk, during the five days of celebration of *Tsagaan Sar*, the New Year. Yet his description pales in comparison to those in John of Plano Carpini's and William of Rubruck's accounts of revolting behavior induced by heavy imbibing. He depicts Torghuud Mongolians drinking liquor, but, unlike the foreign travelers' reports of the Mongol Empire era, he does not portray the Mongols as obstreperous, violent, or disgusting in the ways they quaffed the liquor or in their behavior during the feasts.[8] The lack of extensive descriptions of alcoholic excesses challenges the conventional wisdom about the Mongols' addiction and may require re-evaluation concerning the extent of alcoholic binges during the Mongol Empire.

1971); Henning Haslund, *In Secret Mongolia* (trans. by Elizabeth Sprigge and Claude Napier; London: Kegan Paul, 1934); Aleksei M. Pozdneyev, *Religion and Ritual in Society: Lamaist Buddhism in Late 19-th Century Mongolia* (trans. by Alo Raun and Linda Raun; Bloomington: The Mongolia Society, 1978); and James Gilmour, *Among the Mongols* (New York: American Tract Society, 1888).

7 Roy Chapman Andrews, *On the Trail of Ancient Man* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926), pp. 155. Typical of his stereotypical view is the following: "The Mongols are unmoral rather than immoral. They are children of nature, with the animal instinct unchecked." (p. 94). He is extraordinarily condescending and dismissive of women. See pp. 18–19, for example, on his unpleasant remarks about a woman who wished to join one of his expeditions.

8 Henning Haslund, *Men and Gods in Mongolia* (trans. by Elizabeth Sprigge and Claude Napier; London: Kegan Paul, 1935), pp. 301. Henning writes that "Despite the lively mood, which towards the end grew quite uproarious, respect and veneration for the Regent and the other exalted personages were still observed, and I witnessed nothing which even a sober man could not excuse. And to me, the stranger, of another race and creed, they displayed always the greatest cordiality."

II. Chinggis and Ögödei and Alcohol

There is little evidence of alcoholic excesses in the early years of the Mongol Empire. The *Secret History of the Mongols* portrays Chinggis Khan as ascetic, and one way he elicited loyalty was by allegedly sharing the spoils of conflict with his men and refraining from demanding a disproportionate amount. He provided substantial rewards for his most steadfast commanders.[9] As for himself, he "frowned upon luxury." A Chinese source quotes him as saying,

> I am from the barbaric North […] I wear the same clothing and eat the same food as the cowherds and horse-herders. We make the same sacrifices and we share our riches.[10]

It may be that this perception is part of the hagiography that led to the deification of Chinggis. Nonetheless, even according to Rashīd al-Dīn, Chinggis was not averse to imbibing liquor, but he inveighed against excessive drinking, noting that

> it was all right to drink a little wine, but that it was unwise to drink a large quantity because a person would lose control of himself.[11]

Ögödei, Chinggis Khan's son and designated successor, certainly did not take his father as his model. He was not at all ascetic and lived lavishly in the new capital city of Khara Khorum. Persian and Chinese sources concur that he was "extremely fond of wine, and [he] drank continuously and to excess."[12]

He was so often inebriated that Yelu Chucai, one of the most influential advisers to the Mongol Court, attempted to frighten him into abandoning liquor.[13] Removing the metal top of a wine container, Yelu showed the Great Khan the corrosion induced by the wine. He explained that if liquor could

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9 Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan: His Life and Times* (trans. by Thomas Nivison Haining; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), p. 90.

10 Quoted in Ratchnevsky, *Genghis*, p. 149.

11 Sechin Jagchid and Paul Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society* (Boulder: Wesview Press, 1979), pp. 42–43; Song Lian, et al., *Yuanshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju ed. 1976), 118, p. 2924.

12 John Andrew Boyle, trans. *The Successors of Genghis Khan Translated from the Persian of Rashīd al-Dīn* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), p. 65.

13 On Yelu, see Igor de Rachewiltz, "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (1189–1243): Buddhist Idealist and Confucian Statesman" in Arthur Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds., *Confucian Personalities* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), pp. 189–216.

inflict such damage to metal, then one could only imagine the harm it could cause in the human body.[14] This demonstration did not make a strong impression on Ögödei. None of his retainers could prevent from truly excessive drinking. While drinking, he reportedly gave lavish presents to a variety of petitioners who came to Court. When his retinue sought to persuade him not to fritter away such vast sums, he responded, either when he was inebriated or when he was sober, that he wanted his commands obeyed. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, he died one evening after an especially devastating binge.[15]

How plausible is all of this? The sources are unanimous in portraying Ögödei as a serious drinker.[16] After the conquest of North China, he reputedly spent a month in celebrating the campaign.[17] His nephew Möngke offered a veiled[18] critique, saying:

> All of us brothers and sons stand awaiting thy ever-fulfilled command so that we may give our lives in whatever manner he may suggest whilst Qa'an busies himself with spectacles and pleasure and amusement and does not endure the toils and hardships of travel. Otherwise of what use are kinsmen and emirs and a countless army?

Unlike his father, Ögödei did not lead the forces in the attack against the Jin dynasty in China or the various kingdoms and city-states in Russia and Eastern Europe, unusual for Great Khans who were expected to demonstrate their military leadership. His failure to participate in these campaigns lends credence to reports about his alcoholic stupor. His drunkenness and his attendant health problems probably precluded physical activity and the hardships of campaigning in distant lands. Instead he chose some of the most capable Mongol warriors, including his brothers and nephews, to organize and command the expeditions. He stayed in the Mongol homeland and simply waited for reports from far-flung locations. Moreover, he appears not to have played a substantial role in developing strategy. He convened a *khuriltai* (or assemblage of the Mongolian nobility) to initiate the expeditions and performed the proper rituals for such a great enterprise. Yet he had no significant role in these spectacularly successful campaigns.

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14 *Yuanshi* 146, p. 3463.

15 Boyle, *Successors*, pp. 65–66.

16 See Thomas Allsen, "Ögedei and Alcohol," *Mongolian Studies* 29 (2007), pp. 4–7 for more sources on his consumption of alcohol.

17 Boyle, *Successors*, p. 54 writes that "For one continuous month […] he joined the morning [draught] to the evening draught in feasting […]"

18 Boyle, *Successors*, pp. 54–55.

The commanders who led the expeditions and increased the territories under Mongol control were the decision makers, none of whom the sources depicted as alcoholics. Chinggis' grandson Batu and the brilliant military leader Sübötei, who commanded the Western campaigns, had to remain sober for the remarkable feats they would accomplish. The stereotype of alcoholic excesses among active commanders does not jibe with reality. Expedition leaders, their underlings, and ordinary soldiers could not have been inebriated during such demanding campaigns. One false move could be disastrous. Injury or even death could result with a moment's inattention. The campaign's rapidity and difficulties required alertness. Elaborate alcoholic binges under these circumstances would be unlikely, and indeed the sources omit mention of feasts or banquets, despite the availability of wines and hard liquor in China, Russia, and Eastern Europe. It strains credulity to argue that rampant alcoholism afflicted the troops. The leadership had to remain sharp to maintain the pace. Ögödei was perhaps unique in his time in his almost constant consumption of liquor. Military commanders had to be involved in daily decisions and could not be distracted, and ordinary soldiers literally could not afford vast sums for liquor. Ögodei appears to have been an alcoholic, but the major military leaders could hardly have joined him in the continuous binges of which he is accused.

Ögödei's son and successor Güyüg imitated his father. On his return to Mongolia after campaigning in the West and assuming the position of Khaghan, he was engaged "from dawn to dusk with the quaffing of cups of wine and the contemplation of peri-faced, sweet-limbed maidens."[19]

This report complements John of Plano Carpini's observation that at the celebration of Güyüg's ascendance to the throne, he and his supporters "drank without stopping until the evening."[20] The Franciscan envoy had also referred to Güyüg as "very intelligent and extremely shrewd,[21] but, like many in the Great Khan's retinue, was dismayed by Güyüg's lifestyle. Despite repeated admonitions from his Ministers to refrain from such abuse of his body, Güyüg refused to abandon his hedonism, became increasingly ill, and died within two years of ascending to the throne. Once again, the sources concur that the Khaghan himself was the principal alcoholic and that his retainers repeatedly tried to dissuade him from imbibing vast quantities

19 Boyle, *Successors*, p. 188.
20 Dawson, *Mission*, p. 63.
21 Dawson, *Mission*, p. 68

of wine. His inebriation may, in fact, explain the lack of new initiatives or new campaigns. He was simply too out of touch to focus on State affairs, but his own Ministers and ordinary troops cannot be painted with the same brush.

III Later Khaghans and Alcohol

His eventual successor Möngke differed. The new Khaghan, who ruled from 1251 to 1259, undertook numerous projects and initiated several military campaigns. He began to establish a centralized government, conducted censuses, and started to standardize the tax system, create a new currency, and develop a means of recruiting soldiers and laborers. He not only limited the power of Imperial princes who had received lands from the Court but even admonished his younger brother Khubilai concerning policies in North China.[22] In addition, he initiated two military campaigns—one against the Abbasid Caliphate led by his brother Hülegü and the other, in which he participated, against Southern Song China. In fact, he commanded the troops which went from North China to Southwest China, and in 1258–1259 was poised to attack Southern Song from the west. He and his forces faced the most daunting terrain and environment of any of the armies dispatched against the Song. Such involvement in numerous State projects would make it unlikely that Möngke would have been as besotted as Ögödei.

Rashīd al-Dīn and William of Rubruck attest to Möngke's general sobriety on significant occasions. The Persian historian wrote that Möngke's accession to the throne inaugurated a week of celebration and revelry, including feasts and considerable consumption of liquor.[23] He also cited two annual festivals congruent with nomadic migrations during which the Khaghan and his men drank enormous quantities. However, these were Rashīd's only mentions of alcohol in relation to Möngke, a striking contrast to the repeated references to Ögödei's addiction to liquor. In an audience with the Khaghan, Rubruck speculated that "Mangu Khan struck me as tipsy."[24]

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[22] See Thomas Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Politics of the Grand Khan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251–1259* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). On Möngke's confrontation with Khubilai, see Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 33–36.

[23] Boyle, *Successors*, pp. 206–207.

[24] Jackson, *William of Rubruck*, p. 180.

However, he generally portrayed Möngke as alert and inquisitive, seeking information about the Bible from the Nestorians at his Court and quizzing Rubruck himself about his religious beliefs. Rubruck was much more critical of the Nestorians' alcoholic binges.[25] Tasting *airagh*, the drink with the least alcoholic content, he found it palatable. Möngke also offered him wine, rice wine, and honey mead, but he either did not taste them or did not think it merited attention. Rubruck further justified the use of alcohol, noting that it was a Mongol tradition and a way of breaking the ice with foreigners. Finally, to inject some speculation, could the Mongol Khaghans have been using their so-called inebriated state as a ruse? After all, they were adept at employing such tricks. The feigned retreat and psychological terror of a massacre in and destruction of one location prompting others to submit voluntarily were standard Mongol tactics. Could the Khaghans have pretended to be drunk during interviews and negotiations as a ploy to give them an advantage or to engender the misleading appearance that foreigners could capitalize and extract concessions? Alcohol or the lack of it may have been a tactic. At least, such a possible ruse should be considered.

Rubruck's description of Guillaume Boucher's fountain complicates and may lead to misleading conclusions. Boucher, a French captive of the Mongols, fashioned a variety of objects for his patron Möngke, including a silver crucifix with an image of Christ, an object which surely antagonized the Nestorians at Court.[26] He also produced an iron to make wafers, which further alienated the Nestorians who employed leavened bread in their rituals. Boucher created these works to reflect his own Catholic beliefs. Even in the renowned silver fountain which he and his craftsmen built, he included Christian images. At the top of the fountain, he placed an angel with a trumpet. Other motifs on the fountain were snakes, a tree, and lions, and there was a strong ritual element to it. Placed right across from Möngke's audience hall, it was meant to impress both Mongols and foreigners. To be sure, four pipes dispensed different alcoholic beverages, but the blaring of the trumpet, which announced the opening of the pipes, was rarely heard. The fountain was activated only for feasts and for foreign visitors. Its construction scarcely confirmed the serious alcoholism of Möngke or his commanders and troops.

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[25] Jackson, *William of Rubruck*, pp. 190, 196, 209–210.

[26] Leonardo Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher: A French Artist at the Court of the Khans* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1946), p. 33.

The fountain brings to mind the ritual significance of alcohol for the Mongols. *Airagh* was a vital part of ceremonial functions. The Khaghan scattered mare's milk at the beginning of meetings of the *khuriltai* and at the outset of military campaigns. For example, as Möngke set forth for a meticulously planned invasion of the Southern Song dynasty, "he made the proper offerings to Heaven, scattering the milk from his own special herd of mares on the sacred ground around his palace."[27] *Airagh* was also employed on special occasions. On August 28th of each year, before leaving his summer palace at Shangdu to spend the fall and winter in Daidu (or modern Beijing), Khubilai Khan "conducted the ritual of the scattering of mare's milk. This ceremony, in which four shamans also participated, reputedly ensured a year of good luck. It consisted of the sacrifice of a horse and a few sheep, bowing toward Heaven, calling out Chinggis Khan's name, and the scattering of mare's milk from specially bred horses."[28] Actually, the horse allegedly sacrificed to the deities was simply set free. Marco Polo witnessed this ceremony and wrote that

> the astrologer and the idolaters have told the great Kaan that he must sprinkle some of this milk of these white mares through the air and on the land […] so that all the spirits which go by the air and by land may have some of it to drink [and thus] they may save him all his things & that all his things may prosper […][29]

Khubilai performed similar rituals at the beginning of the New Year. At these occasions, Imperial clan members were the only ones granted permission to drink the *airagh*, which derived from mares in special pasturages. The Emperor himself and perhaps members of his household drank so-called black *airagh* at these festivals because it was clear and tastier than the white *airagh*.[30] Horse races were often held at these celebrations, presaging the contemporary Naadam festivals, which take place in July. When the Mongols converted to Buddhism, the festivals included ritual elements from that religion.

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27 Rossabi, *Khubilai*, p. 44.

28 Rossabi, *Khubilai*, p. 173. Different travelers give different dates for these ceremonies. It appears that two ceremonies were held – one in Spring and one in Autumn.

29 A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot, *Marco Polo: The Description of the World* (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd. 1938), pp. 187–188.

30 For additional information, see Henry Serruys, *Kumiss Ceremonies and Horse Races: Three Mongolian Texts* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1974), pp. 1–18.

Khubilai, the second most prominent figure in Mongol history, followed along the path charted by his older brother Möngke. He attempted to rule the vast domains he had inherited as well as the territories he had subjugated. By 1280, he governed all of China and demanded tribute and other services from the Jurchens in Manchuria, Korea, and Tibet. In seeking to govern China, he maintained a balance between accommodation to Chinese institutions and values and affirmation of Mongol practices and beliefs. Such far-reaching efforts and reforms required an alert ruler, and there is no evidence that he was bibulous during the first and most important decades of his reign. To be sure, he performed the standard rituals associated with *airagh*. The Chinese and Korean sources fail to question his sobriety until his last years. In the 1280s, he suffered, in quick order, the deaths of his favorite wife and his son and chosen successor, and his military expeditions to Japan, Annam, and Java were disastrous. His successes in Burma and Cambodia and his suppression of insurrection in Manchuria hardly compensated for the substantial expenditures required in vanquishing these regions. His drinking coincided with these abject failures, especially in old age. Afflicted with gout and other ailments, he began to consume vast quantities of liquor and food. In his earlier and more successful career, the Chinese sources portray him as quite sober.[31]

The distinguished scholar John Masson Smith focuses on the post-Khubilai rulers to support his views about dietary decadence and the decline of the Mongol empire. He argues that alcoholism and overindulgence in food resulted in the early deaths of the later Khans in China and Iran. I will not deal with Il-Khans in Iran and will concentrate on the Yuan Emperors in China. Smith notices that of the Yuan Emperors who succumbed to natural causes, "Timur died at age 42, Qaishan at 31, Ayurbarwada Buyantu at 35, Yesün Timur at 35, Tugh Timur at 28, Irinjibal Qutuqtu at 7, and Toghon Timur at about 50.[32] Irinjibal Khutughtu can certainly be eliminated from this list. The Chinese histories confirm that Temür was indeed an alcoholic but seem to absolve the others of addiction to liquor.

Toghon Temür, the last Emperor of the Yuan dynasty, was distracted by the sexual exercises of Tibetan Buddhism, but the Chinese sources depict

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31 For an evaluation of his career, see Rossabi, *Khubilai*. The Preface to the second edition (2009) offers some revisions to the first edition.

32 John Masson Smith, "Dietary Decadence and Dynastic Decline in the Mongol Empire," *Journal of Asian History* 34:1 (2000), p. 50.

him as sober. Several of the other Emperors were dedicated decision makers and supporters of Chinese civilization. One restored the civil service examinations, another founded the Academy of the Pavilion of the Star of Literature (*kuizhangge xueshi yuan*)[33] to ingratiate himself to the Chinese, and still another promulgated a new law code. The especially sophisticated Emperor Ayurbarwada Buyantu (r. 1311–1320) was an ardent patron of Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), the greatest Yuan painter and calligrapher, and of his wife Guan Daosheng (1262–1319).[34] In fact, the decline and collapse of the Yuan had scant relation to alcoholic excesses and overindulgence in rich food. It had more to do with strife within the Mongol royal families, conflicts between the Mongol rulers and the Chinese native inhabitants, and a disastrous inflation, among other economic problems. The Emperors' early deaths appear to be coincidences. The Chinese sources fail to describe any extraordinary alcoholic binges, so liquor does not appear to be the cause of their demise. In any event, the later Yuan rulers underwent remarkable stress, including challenges to their legitimacy, the opposition of Chinese officials, and turbulence in many regions. Such pressures may have been a factor in their early deaths. Another possibility is murders through poisoning or other means. The Chinese sources provide tantalizing hints about such murders, but there is no definitive evidence.

In the authoritative *Cambridge History of China*, the Chinese historian John Dardess does not blame the Mongols for the fall of the Yuan. He suggests that "the fourteenth century was calamitous everywhere […] China was spared none of [these disasters]. No fewer than thirty-six years in the fourteenth century had exceptionally severe winters, more than in any other century on record. In the greater Yellow River region, major floods and droughts seem to have occurred with unprecedented frequency in the fourteenth century […] These natural disasters created huge numbers of uprooted and impoverished people […] The various Yüan regimes all tried seriously to alleviate these disasters […][but] the history of Toghōn Temür's reign

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[33] Marsha Weidner, "Painting and Patronage at the Mongol Court of China, 1260–1368," University of California at Berkeley Ph.D. diss., 1982, p. 57. For more on this Emperor's literary and cultural interests, see Kanda Kiichirō, "Gendai no Bunshū no fūryū ni tsuite" in *Haneda hakushi shōju kinen tōyōshi ronsō* (Kyoto, 1950), pp. 477–488.

[34] On Guan Daosheng, see Morris Rossabi, "Kuan Tao-sheng: Woman Artist in Yuan China" in *Bulletin of Sung Yuan Studies* 21 (1989), pp. 67–84.

raises the question whether any regime could have coped with these repeated large-scale disasters any better than the Yüan did."[35]

IV. Mongol Alcoholism in Modern Times

To jump the six centuries from the Yuan collapse to the present day is to discover a more serious social problem. The post-1990 neo-liberal policy of shock therapy, with an agenda of minimalist government, elimination of subsidies for food, energy, and housing, privatization of industry and the herds, unrestricted free trade without any protection for native infant industries—in other words, dependence on a pure market approach has resulted in the closing down of factories, large-scale unemployment, increases in poverty, rapidly accelerating income disparities between the nouveaux riche and the rest of the population, depredations in the environment, urban squalor, declines in education and health, and reductions in support for the arts, including the ballet, cinema, the circus, music, theater, and the opera.[36]

Male and, to a limited extent, female responses to these parlous conditions have been a turn toward alcohol. Vodka, with its higher alcoholic content than *airagh*, is more and more the drink of choice, certainly in the urban areas or towns, which now constitute approximately seventy-five percent of the population. Production has increased dramatically. From a total of 3,583 thousand liters in 1996, alcohol consumption grew to 9,116 liters in 2004 and then to 12,591 liters in 2007. Imports of liquor have followed the same trajectory. In 1996, imports consisted of 3.1 million liters, but by 2007 the amount had increased to 19.9 million liters.[37] Population growth did not spurt at the same six-fold increase in eleven years as liquor. The numbers of bars and liquor outlets have had a similar exponential increase. As of 2004,

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35 John Dardess, "Shun-ti and the End of Yüan Rule in China" in Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett, eds., *The Cambridge History of China: Volume 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 585–586.

36 On these developments, see Morris Rossabi, *Modern Mongolia: from Khans to Commissars to Capitalists* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) and the same author's updates in "Mongolia: Transmogrification of a Communist Party," *Pacific Affairs* 82:2 (Summer, 2009), pp. 231–250 and "Ballet in Mongolia," *Ballet Review* (Spring, 2010)

37 State Statistical Office of Mongolia, *Mongolian Economy and Society in 1996* (Ulaanbaatar, 1997), p. 91; National Statistical Office of Mongolia, *Mongolian Statistical Yearbook* (Ulaanbaatar, 2008), pp. 243, 270; National Statistical Office of Mongolia, *Mongolian Statistical Yearbook, 1998* (Ulaanbaatar, 1998), p. 146.

Mongolia also had 184 vodka factories serving a population of less than three million, and unofficial observations and statistics indicate a further growth.[38] These numbers reflect social dislocation, including unemployment, poverty, and attendant domestic abuse, not any genetic proclivity toward alcohol. Foreigners have, on occasion, attributed the high rate of alcoholism to the cold weather and to a general Mongol tendency toward liquor consumption. If so, why the relatively low rate before the economic and social crises of the post-socialist era?

The government has been ineffective in curbing alcoholism, perhaps because liquor generates substantial tax revenues. It has hardly initiated campaigns against excessive consumption, and inexpensive vodka is readily available in Ulaan Baatar. The government's principal response has been to order the police to pick up inebriated individuals and to transport them to sobering or drying-up stations. In one year, the police allegedly dealt with 100,000 such cases.[39]

In sum, a high rate of alcoholism often bespeaks social dislocations. The thesis that so-called dietary decadence, including consumption of inordinate amounts of liquor, led to the decline of the Mongol Empire needs serious reevaluation. Political and economic problems caused the Empire's collapse, and it is unclear whether Mongol rule in China was beset by alcoholic excesses. The Mongol Emperors of the Yuan dynasty died young, but proof of liquor as a cause of their demise is lacking. Similarly, the high rate of Mongol alcoholism since 1990, which can be documented, reflects an astonishing array of social problems.

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38 *UBPost*, May 6, 2004.

39 *Montsame Mongolian News Agency*, April 9, 1999; *UBPost, December 6, 1997.*

Some Remarks on Wine Consumption as a Political Factor under the Safavids

GIORGIO ROTA

The subject of alcohol consumption under the Safavids has already been dealt with in an authoritative way.[1] The present article aims rather at offering some remarks on the impact of drinking on the dynasty and the court (and, as a consequence, on the political life of the state), in the hope of further opening this already existing window on the social and cultural history of Persia and, perhaps, showing new avenues for comparative research.[2]

The Safavid dynasty, in its phase of effective rule over Persia, lasted from 1501 to 1722 and included nine rulers. Of them, three (Šāh Esmāʿil I, 1501–1524; Šāh Ṣafi, 1629–1642; Šāh ʿAbbās II, 1642–1666) died as alcoholics[3] in their 30s; one, Šāh Soleymān (1666–1694), died in his 40s (certainly not a ripe old age, even by the standards of the time[4]) and was a serious drinker; two (Šāh Esmāʿil II, 1576–1577; Šāh Solṭān Ḥoseyn, 1694–1722) were mur-

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1 Rudi Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 17–96.

2 Cf. for instances the articles by Stefanie Brinkmann (in particular, on the ruler's motivations to drink) and Morris Rossabi (in particular, on the ability of some Yuan emperors to reconcile their leadership duties as rulers with the ceremonial necessity to drink alcohol as opposed to the inability of others to do the same; on the role played by personal setbacks, as in the case of Qubilay Khan, in increasing a given individual's addition to alcohol; on the vicious circle made up by the structural weakness of a given state and the alcohol-fuelled inability of its ruler to cope with it) in this volume.

3 The death of these three rulers was caused or at least hastened by their excessive drinking. One should bear in mind that the negative effects of alcohol on health (of the Safavid rulers as well as of many others in Persia) were compounded by the use of opium and, occasionally, of alcoholic beverages stronger than grape wine: cf. Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, pp. 48, 52 (on the prevalence of wine), 97–116 (on opium). In the present article, the term "wine" will be used with the meaning of "grape wine". As for the term "alcoholic", it will be used in the rather loose and popular sense of someone unable to stop drinking and to some extent affected by it in his everyday life and activities, without any claim at attaining clinical or psychiatric accuracy.

4 Given the high infant mortality rate, the average life expectancy in Safavid Persia was probably 35–40 years (Willem Floor, personal communication, 9 May 2011).

dered, but both were strong drinkers too; only three (Šāh Ṭahmāsp I, 1524–1576; Šāh Solṭān Moḥammad Xodābande, 1578–1587; Šāh ʿAbbās I, 1587–1629) reached a relatively advanced age, Šāh Ṭahmāsp I after repenting (*towbe*) twice in the course of his life.

The founder of the dynasty, Šāh Esmāʿil I, is known as a strong drinker, and in his lifetime he clearly took pride in it. He died of excessive wine consumption a few weeks before turning 37: the sources tell us that, in his last days, he did not eat anymore but only drank.[5] But why did the Shah drink? What was the motivation of such an extreme and eventually lethal way of drinking? Šāh Esmāʿil I was not just the "Commander in Chief" of the Safavid armed forces but was, quite literally, Persia's "first warrior". In war as well as in peace he was supposed to lead from the front, not from the rear and, in Persia as in many other societies, the two activities most befitting a ruler were the *razm* (the war, for obvious reasons) and the *bazm* (the banquet, in which the Shah displayed not only his wealth and lavishness but also, in a certain way, his physical prowess – through his enormous eating and drinking). A great scholar like Jean Aubin wrote that "Du *bazm* iranien au *toy* turco-mongol, le style du banquet est le même: on y boit avec cérémonial et jusqu'à l'ivresse […] malgré les similitudes, il n'est pas evident que le banquet qïzïlbaš ne soit, à travers le cérémonial timouride, hérité que de l'usage imperial mongol."[6]

In the libations of the early Safavids the French scholar also saw a possible influence of Iranian heterodox Sufism[7] as well as "l'*ubris barbarica* de l'asocial et de l'Elu".[8] Matthee agrees with him, when he writes that "the prodigious consumption of alcohol among the elite in Safavid times harkens back to multiple traditions", that is, those of pre-Islamic Iran, of the Central Asian and Eurasian steppe, of extremist Sufism and of Christian Georgia and Armenia: "all four traditions mixed ritualized and ceremonial drinking with recreational drinking".[9] Eventually, however, Aubin had to admit that in the

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5 Jean Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré", *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien*, 5 (1988): p. 52.

6 Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré", p. 50.

7 Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré", p. 50.

8 Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré", p. 56.

9 Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, pp. 66 and 67. John R. Perry, "Cultural currents in the Turco-Persian world of Safavid and post-Safavid times", in *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran*, ed. Colin P. Mitchell (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 87–88, stresses only the Inner Asian roots of Safavid Royal drinking.

case of Šāh Esmāʿil's drinking (just as in the case of his passion for hunting) it was impossible to separate the element due to ritual from the element due to personal habit or inclination.[10] The Shah was 36 years old when he died.

From this point of view, it is interesting to read what a French traveller, Jean de Thévenot, has to tell us about Šāh ʿAbbās II: according to him, the Shah "is not well pleased when anyone refuses the Wine which he presents to them".[11] How should we interpret this rather cryptic statement? Was it the whim of a drunkard? The royal disappointment at somebody spoiling the fun of a good drink?[12] Was it simply the consequence of the fact that in Iran, then as now, openly rejecting an offer of food or an invitation is considered impolite (even more so, one would assume, if it comes from the Shah)? Or was it a sign that wine retained at least a part of its symbolic meaning? That the latter might be the case is perhaps suggested by a passage of the *ʿAbbāsnāme*, where Vaḥid Qazvini states that Šāh ʿAbbās II started to drink "in order to remove the doubts from the hearts of the men of little faith"[13], that is, of those who did not believe he could rule properly on account of his young age. Of course, this could be an *ad hoc* explanation worked out by a loyal subject, keen to preserve his master's good name. On the other hand, one should not forget the ceremonial importance of the *bazm*. Likewise, one should not forget the general importance of the offering of wine as a sign of hospitality in many cultures and, typically, in Georgia and the rest of Transcaucasia, a region from which many members of seventeenth-century Safavid court society hailed. Be it as it may, Qazvini's explanation tallies well with Matthee's notion that wine started to lose its place in the public ceremonial of the Safavid court only with the reign of Šāh Soleymān, the son of Šāh ʿAbbās II.[14] Matthee does not fail to underscore the role possibly played by the Georgians in making wine-drinking popular at court. To this remark, one may add that the predecessors of the Safavids, the Āq Qoyunlus (as well as of course the Turkoman tribes that backed both dynasties) lived in and

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10 Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré", p. 48. Cf. also Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, p. 68.

11 *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant In Three Parts* (London: H. Clark, 1687), part 2, p. 100 (reprint: Frankfurt am Main, 1995, vol. II).

12 This possibility was suggested by Willem Floor during the conference.

13 Moḥammad Ṭāher Vaḥid Qazvini, *ʿAbbāsnāme*, ed. Ebrāhim Dehgān (Arāk: Ketābforuši-e Dāudi, 1329), p. 131.

14 Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, pp. 62–65.

ruled over a region where the Christians still represented a very strong element of the local population.[15]

As for the *razm*, it is interesting to observe that alcoholic consumption in itself did not necessarily hamper military activity. As far as the three alcoholics of the dynasty are concerned, Šāh Esmāʿil I had a distinguished career as successful military leader, until 1514, when he was defeated by the Ottomans at Čālderān. On the eve of the battle, the Shah famously got drunk together with his commanders[16], but of course it was not intoxication that caused the defeat. After the battle, the Shah withdrew somewhat from state affairs, although there are hints that, by the time of his death, he may have been preparing a *revanche*.[17] Šāh Ṣafi has always had a bad press (with the exception, of course, of his court chroniclers and, more interesting, of some missionary sources), his reign having been marked by territorial losses and bloody purges of potential pretenders to his throne. However, on the only occasion in which he personally led his troops (siege of Erevan, 1635–36) he seems to have displayed considerable courage, and he died when he was preparing a military campaign to retake Qandahār from the Mughals.[18] Šāh

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15 Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, p. 43. On the relationship between the Āq Qoyunlus and their Christian subjects, cf. John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire. Revised and expanded edition* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1999), pp. 57, 106; Andrew Palmer, "John Bar Šayallāh and the Syrian Orthodox community under Aqquyunlu rule in the late fifteenth century", in *Christians and Muslims in Dialogue in the Islamic Orient of the Middle Ages*, ed. Martin Tamcke (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2007), pp. 187–205. M. Kuršanskis, "Autour de la dernière princesse de Trébizonde: Théodora, fille de Jean IV et épouse d'Uzun Hasan", *Archeion Pontou*, 34 (1977–1978): n. 1 p. 78 lists six Komnenos princesses from Trebizond (in addition to Uzun Ḥasan's wife) who married Turkoman "princes" and rejects the historical reality of two more such unions. Cf. also Rustam Shukurov, "Christian Elements in the Identity of the Anatolian Turkmens (12th-13th Centuries)", in *Cristianità d'Occidente e Cristianità d'Oriente (secoli VI-XI)*, 2 vols. (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2004), vol. I, pp. 707–759 and Şevket Küçükhüseyin, *Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung im Prozess kultureller Transformation. Anatolische Quellen über Muslime, Christen und Türken (13.-15. Jahrhundert)*, (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011).

16 Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, pp. 49–50.

17 Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, *Les Ottomans, les Safavides et leurs voisins* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1987), pp. 128–186.

18 On the Safavid siege of Erevan, cf. Giorgio Rota, *La vita e i tempi di Rostam Khan* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), pp. 194–206, and

ʿAbbās II started well, with a victorious military campaign that led to the conquest of the fortress of Qandahār. However, later he slowly sank into alcohol. While he may have introduced some innovations in the military field[19], he clearly devoted a considerable amount of time and attention also to bizarre activities such as the training of lions and tigers for hunting – his success in this field being duly hailed by Vaḥid Qazvini as a great achievement, never attained before by any other ruler.[20]

The four rulers who followed Šāh Esmāʿil I went down into history for different reasons but not only or mostly as great drinkers and much the less as alcoholics, although they consumed alcoholic beverages. Šāh Ṭahmāsp I renounced his former way of life and quit drinking, dying at age 62. Šāh Esmāʿil II, whose "reputation lay more in the prodigious use of opiates than in alcohol abuse"[21], died after a short and bloody reign, either poisoned or killed by an opium overdose. The meek and pious Šāh Solṭān Moḥammad Xodābande was deposed after a very troubled reign by his son, the future Šāh ʿAbbās I: he also drank, but his ability to rule effectively was very likely undermined less by his drinking than by his very poor eyesight. Šāh ʿAbbās I is the most famous member of the dynasty and certainly a very successful ruler by many standards. He was also a strong drinker but not dependent on alcohol, or, at least, he was not incapacitated in his functions as political and military leader by his alcohol consumption. Why? The easiest answer (not necessarily a wrong one) is of course that he simply could take his drink better than most of his predecessors and successors. He may have had stronger self-control and stronger will power, which he may have forged first during the years of political and dynastic turmoil preceding his own accession to the throne, and then when his authority was still shaky and he himself

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n. 493 p. 206 on the other Persian sources about the episode. On the death of Šāh Ṣafi while preparing a campaign against Qandahār, cf. *ibidem*, pp. 250–257.

19 Vaḥid Qazvini, *ʿAbbāsnāme*, pp. 186 (creation of an Ottoman-style *tabur*), 236 (introduction of flags of different colours for each of the great *amir*s). Šāh ʿAbbās II introduced also a new piece of garment, the *qabā-ye čapkan*, for the Qezelbāš (perhaps as a sort of uniform?): cf. Moḥammad Moḥsen Mostowfi, *Zobdato't-tavārix*, ed. Behruz Gudarzi (Tehran: Bonyād-e mowqufāt-e Doktor Maḥmud Afšār Yazdi, 1375), p. 112.

20 See for instance Vaḥid Qazvini, *ʿAbbāsnāme*, pp. 153–156, 199, 268–269, 281 (on the lions), 263, 268, 281 (on the tigers). On Šāh ʿAbbās II killing a tame lion with a punch on the head in the successful attempt to impress a Mughal ambassador, cf. Moḥammad Moḥsen Mostowfi, *Zobdato't-tavārix*, p. 111.

21 Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, p. 50.

was under the tutelage of powerful military chiefs. Šāh ʿAbbās I was a pragmatic strategist and politician, a quality he showed probably best in his relations with Christian Europe, where he made the most of his supposed leaning towards the Christian religion. Analogously, he may have been able to indulge his personal taste for wine and to fulfil his ceremonial role in relation to drinking, without allowing it to get in the way of his duties as a ruler. However, two anecdotes reported by Pietro della Valle are quite interesting. The first relates a meeting between the Italian traveller and Šāh ʿAbbās I. Della Valle abstained almost completely from alcoholic beverages, and he mostly drank to please his hosts or to favour procreation.[22] On that particular occasion the Shah drank rather moderately, and he encouraged della Valle to drink more saying that "even if he got inebriated a bit, it did not matter".[23] We observe here a clear difference between the behaviour of Šāh ʿAbbās I and that of his grand-grandson Šāh ʿAbbās II as illustrated by Thévenot (see *supra*). As for the different drinking habits of the various Safavid rulers, Rudi Matthee rightly warns that "extrapolating from the limited and scattered examples the sources yield about each individual ruler to detect a long-term trend is fraught with risk. A great deal of variation existed from ruler to ruler and, depending on personal predilections and circumstances, even within the reigns of individual shahs."[24]

Nonetheless, in the sympathetic attitude of the ruler towards the inebriation or intoxication of a courtier or guest we can perhaps see a difference with the European drinking habits of the time, and one that may deserve to be investigated further in a comparative perspective, considering that, as far as another traditional pursuit of the Eurasian ruler like hunting is concerned,

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22 Cf. for instance *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*, 2 vols. (Brighton: G. Gancia, 1843), vol. I, pp. 92–93, 575–578 (about procreation), 632 (della Valle receives 20 *bātmān*s of wine from the Royal pantry over about one month for his servants alone, since he is known not to drink), 642. The *mann* was the most widespread traditional unit of weight in Persia before the introduction of the metric system, and its value could differ wildly from place to place, in the Qājār period as well as in previous times. In the 19th century, the *mann* of Tabriz, also known as *bātmān*, weighed 2.9 kg., whereas the *mann-e šāh*, also very common, weighed 5.9 kg: cf. Willem Floor, "Weights and Measures in Qajar Iran", *Studia Iranica*, 37 (2008): pp. 93–101 (in particular, pp. 93–94, 97).

23 *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*, vol. I, p. 669; cf. also pp. 653–654.

24 Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, p. 68.

analogies and parallels between Safavid Persia and Western Europe were still strong in the early seventeenth century.[25]

In the case of simple courtiers, the immoderate consumption of alcohol may not have had political consequences but it could have devastating effects on the drinkers themselves. In his second anecdote, della Valle tells the story of an ordinary alcoholic, Moḥammad Ṭāher Beyg. When the Shah, who "loved him very much", ordered not to provide him anymore with alcoholic beverages, he committed suicide.[26] This episode and, above all, its fatal outcome remind us that occasionally Safavid sources mention altered psychological states that they call *mālexuliyā*, *xabṭ-e damāġ* or *sowdā*: often, maybe even usually, they result in suicide[27] or rebellion against the ruler. Their causes are seldom specified, but one wonders if one of them might have been excessive alcoholic consumption. The "exceeding *sowdā*" of an eighteenth-century Safavid commander prevented his officers from talking to him during a military campaign against the Afghans in 1717, with catastrophic results.[28] A military setback possibly (partly at least) related to alcoholism is the defection of the governor of Erevan, Ṭahmāspqoli Xān Qājār, to the Ottomans in 1635: the Venetian *Bailo* at the Ottoman Porte wrote that "drinking" (together with a taste for building) had been the reason why Ṭahmāspqoli Xān had surrendered the fortress to Murad IV (1623–1640), whose boon companion he later became.[29] Unrelated to *mālexuliyā* and in-

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25 Giorgio Rota, "Caccia e regalità nella Persia safavide e in Europa occidentale: alcune osservazioni preliminari", in *Scritti in onore di Giovanni M. D'Erme*, ed. Michele Bernardini and Natalia L. Tornesello, 2 vols. (Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", 2005), vol. II, pp. 943–974. The standard work on this topic is now Thomas T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006): although it does not devote enormous attention to the Safavids, it would provide the necessary historical context and an excellent starting point for any study of the Royal hunt in the Safavid period.

26 *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*, vol. I, pp. 626–627.

27 This was for instance the case of Qazzāq Xān Čarkas, who committed suicide in 1639 because of his extremely disturbed state of mind (*ġolvā-ye sowdā va šureš-e damāġ*): cf. Moḥammad Maʿṣum b. Xwājegi Eṣfahāni, *Xolāṣato's-siyar*, ed. Iraj Afšār (Tehran: ʿElmi, 1368), p. 276; Mirzā Moḥammad Yusof Vāleh, *Xold-e barin*, in Eskandar Beyg Torkmān Monši - Moḥammad Yusof Movarrex, *Ẕeyl-e tārix-e ʿālamārā-ye ʿabbāsi*, ed. Soheyli Xwānsāri (Tehran: Eslāmiye, 1317), pp. 234, 289, 294.

28 Moḥammad Moḥsen Mostowfi, *Zobdato't-tavārix*, p. 122.

29 Archivio di Stato, Venice (hereafter: ASV), *Senato, Dispacci ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 119, no. 63, fol. 115a (Alvise Contarini, Vigne di Pera, 8 May 1638): cf. also

stead rather farcical were the circumstances of the death of Šāhverdi Xān Lor (1641), who injured himself while, in a drunken stupor, he tried to kill a sheep with a stroke of his sword and later died of his wound.[30] In any case, the mention by the sources of such events reminds us of the importance of the human factor in history, a rule to which Safavid history is clearly no exception.

The sixth Safavid ruler, Šāh Ṣafi, was also heavily addicted to wine. He died at the age of 32, and the sources make it clear that he died of excessive alcohol consumption: towards the end of his life the measures adopted by the court physicians to preserve his health became useless and, since he did not quit drinking, the conclusion was foregone.[31] Since his reign was relatively well covered by Persian court chronicles, we can see what negative political impact alcohol could have on the "career" of a ruler, if it was not kept properly in check. His reign coincided with the last phase of the long Safavid-Ottoman conflict, and the campaigns of the years 1630–38 might be seen as a prolonged fight between drunkards, since Murad IV was also an alcoholic, who died at age 29. Unlike Šāh Ṣafi he was a great soldier, although his poor health prevented him from continuing the war after the conquest of Baġdād in 1638, and he ruled his empire with an iron fist, putting a temporary end to anarchy and indiscipline in the Ottoman state. Šāh Ṣafi does not seem to have been eager to take the field against the Ottomans in person (with the important exception of the siege of Erevan, mentioned above), but the main reason for this attitude may have been, rather than alcoholism itself, the fact that the ruler had been raised in the harem, where he had been poorly educated for his future role. Indeed, one might even claim that an important role in preserving the peace between the two empires after the treaty of 1639 was the practice to keep the royal princes, both Ottoman and Safavid, in the harem, where they grew up with little or no contact with the rest of the world and where drinking was one of the favourite pastimes.

Rota, *La vita e i tempi*, pp. 182–185. For more on Ṭahmāspqoli Xān, cf. *idem*, "The Death of Ṭahmāspqoli Xān Qājār According to a Contemporary Ragusan Source (How to Become a Renegade, 2)", in *Iran und iranisch geprägte Kulturen. Studien zum 65. Geburtstag von Bert G. Fragner*, ed. Markus Ritter, Ralph Kauz and Birgitt Hoffmann (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2008), pp. 54–63.

30 Moḥammad Yusof Vāleh, *Xold-e barin*, pp. 251–252.

31 Moḥammad Yusof Vāleh, *Xold-e barin*, pp. 254–256; Rota, *La vita e i tempi*, pp. 255–257, n. 689 p. 255.

Another landmark of Šāh Ṣafi's reign is more directly related to alcoholic consumption. In 1632, he had all his male relatives blinded or executed in a series of successive purges that also involved a large number of courtiers and military officers. While the reasons for these executions and blindings are not yet entirely clear[32], one chronicler connects them to an illness of the Shah, caused either by "excessive drinking or heat".[33] Šāh Ṣafi wiped out all the potential competitors or (in case of his demise) heirs to the throne before ensuring the survival of the dynasty through the siring of a son (the future Šāh ʿAbbās II was born in December 1632 or January 1633[34]). Interestingly, something similar was done by Murad IV who, despite having no sons, put three brothers to death as well as – probably – his mad uncle, the former sultan Mustafa I, sparing only his brother İbrahim (who later ascended to the throne and proved to be rather unfit for his role).[35] Poor health conditions (caused, partly at least, by excessive alcohol consumption) were one of the factors that made both rulers feel uneasy about their throne, and one wonders if the same alcohol consumption may have somehow contributed towards impairing their judgement and pushed them to imperil the survival of the dynasty itself, as it would later momentarily contribute towards impairing the judgement of Karim Xān Zand (1750–1779) and cause an outburst of violence otherwise very unusual for him.[36] At a certain point, the fears about the state of the health of Šāh Ṣafi must have spread beyond the limits of the court, and in the late winter of 1642 the Shah had to make a public entrance in Eṣfahān despite his poor conditions, clearly in order to dispel rumours about his death: yet these rumours were not entirely unfounded, since he passed away a few months later, on 12 May.[37]

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32 Rota, *La vita e i tempi*, pp. 128–136 (for a narration of the events), n. 292 p. 132 (for a brief critical assessment of the events and of the relevant literature).

33 Mir Moḥammad Ḥoseyn al-Ḥoseyni Tafreši, ms. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek N.F. 50 (Flügel 281), fols. 66–70; cf. also Rota, *La vita e i tempi*, n. 292 pp. 132–133.

34 Cf. *infra*, n. 40.

35 Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream* (London: John Murray, 2005), p. 223. On Murad IV likely ordering the murder of Mustafa I, cf. ASV, *Senato, Dispacci ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 120, no. 131, fol. 120a and no. 134, fol. 154a (Alvise Contarini, Galata, 9 April and 30 April 1639).

36 John R. Perry, *Karim Khan Zand* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1979), pp. 102–103, 292. Perry suggested the behaviour of Nāder Šāh Afšār (1736–1747) as a possible precedent to Karim Xān's.

37 Moḥammad Yusof Vāleh, *Xold-e barin*, p. 254. Cf. also Moḥammad Maʿṣum Eṣfahāni, *Xolāṣato's-siyar*, pp. 294–295; Rota, *La vita e i tempi*, n. 689 p. 255. The Venetian *Bailo*

Also remarkable is the negative portrayal of Šāh Ṣafi by contemporaneous and later European writers, although he certainly was not inherently "worse" than his predecessor and successor who, unlike him, were both usually highly praised in Europe.[38] An important role in his "dark legend" is played by his notorious love for wine, which in turn is of course one of the staple components of the stereotype of the Oriental despot, together with unbridled and arbitrary cruelty, sexual excesses and addiction to opium – all elements allegedly present[39] in the life of this Safavid ruler.

His son and successor Šāh ʿAbbās II has been already mentioned above. He died when he was a few months shy of turning 33, and here again alcohol played an important role. His son and successor Šāh Soleymān ruled over Persia during a mostly peaceful period, when the country was not threatened by major external enemies but only by the activities of unruly minorities or aggressive neighbours that were, or could be construed as, mere local rebellions or pillaging raids. This situation allowed the Shah to spend very long periods in the harem, where he presumably drank a lot. When he died he was at most 48 years old, and perhaps a bit younger.[40] He was also famous for his drunken rages.[41] A positive side effect of his aloofness from state business was however his wise choice of an able Grand Vizier, Šeyx-ʿAli Xān

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reported the rumours, circulating in Constantinople immediately after the death of Murad IV and the accession of the still childless İbrahim, about the possible extinction of the Ottoman dynasty and its replacement by either the Khans of the Crimea or "the sons of the Sultanas": cf. ASV, *Senato, Dispacci ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 120, no. 174, fol. 758a (Alvise Contarini, Vigne di Pera, 19 February 1639 *more veneto* [=1640]).

38 Rota, *La vita e i tempi*, n. 69 p. 41; *idem*, "Three Little-Known Persian Sources of the Seventeenth Century", *Iranian Studies*, 31 (1998): pp. 164–169.

39 Šāh Ṣafi indeed ordered (or was induced to order) the above-mentioned executions and blindings, but he did not do so out of pure whim, as some European observers of the time may have assumed owing to their lack of more precise information.

40 He was 48 according to Krusinski, who quoted Jean Chardin: cf. *The History of the Late Revolutions of Persia: Taken from the Memoirs of Father Krusinski*, 2 vols. (London: J. Osborne, 1740) (reprint: New York, Arno Press, 1973), vol. I, pp. 53, 58. Šāh Soleymān was the eldest son of Šāh ʿAbbās II, who was born at the end of December 1632 or in mid-January 1633: cf. Rota, *La vita e i tempi*, n. 322 p. 143. According to Vaḥid Qazvini, *ʿAbbāsnāme*, p. 92, Šāh Soleymān was born shortly before the beginning of his father's campaign against Qandahār (1648–49).

41 Most of Mostowfi's very short description of the reign of Šāh Soleymān, written less than 45 years after the death of the Shah, deals with the fear he used to strike into his most prominent courtiers: cf. Moḥammad Moḥsen Mostowfi, *Zobdato't-tavārix*, pp. 113–114. Cf. also Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, pp. 57–60, 64, 91.

Zangane, who effectively ran the country when the Shah was secluded in his private apartments despite occasional clashes and a period of disgrace that led to his temporary ouster from power. The two (a Shah who did not want to take an active role in the ruling of the state and a Grand Vizier who wielded enormous power but was not the ultimate source and holder of full political authority) developed an interesting love-hate relationship[42]: one can only speculate on how the relationship between a weak ruler and a strong Grand Vizier could have developed over time and whether it could have affected the structure and nature of the Safavid state in a profound and lasting way (perhaps leading to the rise to power of a new Royal house after a series of *rois-fainéants* controlled by powerful prime ministers), had the dynasty not been overthrown by the invading Afghans in 1722.

The last of the Great Safavids (as opposed to the rather powerless figures who mounted on or were raised to the throne after 1722) was Šāh Solṭān Ḥoseyn, an interesting mixture of deep devotion to religion and deep devotion to wine. His reign came to an abrupt and violent end, so we are not in the condition to say what long-run effects wine would have had on his health and, indirectly, on his kingdom. Certainly he was not a strong or effective ruler, and this was perfectly clear to the contemporaneous observers. We will quote the opinions of only two of them, chosen among the least-known. An Austrian traveller to Persia, Ferdinand Amadeus von Harrach (who travelled in Persia around the year 1700 and, as an aristocrat and a professional soldier, was well acquainted with both the social duties of high rank and the reality of war) tersely stated that "celui qui regne, etant (*sic*) trop adonné au vin, si une guerre survenoit à la Nation, il pourroit courrir risque de sa couronne".[43] The Ottoman ambassador, Dürri Ahmed Efendi, who left Persia in 1721 (that is, virtually on the eve of the Afghan siege of Eṣfahān), claimed that "the ruler and his circle had lost the will to maintain themselves

[42] A relationship very well described in Rudi Matthee, "Administrative Stability and Change in Late 17th-Century Iran: The Case of Shaykh ʿAli Khan Zanganah (1669–1689)", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 26 (1994): pp. 77–98.

[43] Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, *Handschriften, Weiß 706/30*, fol. 31b. He also reported an anecdote according to which the *sepahsālār* Rostam Xān Saak'adze "the Younger" openly called the Shah "a drunkard" (*sot*) and told him that he was unfit to rule: cf. *ibidem*, fol. 32b.

in power" and found the court living in denial of the problems afflicting the Safavid state.[44]

As for Šāh Ṭahmāsp II (1722–1732), the son and successor of Šāh Solṭān Ḥoseyn, as soon as he reached Qazvin after fleeing from Eṣfahān under siege he gave himself to feasting and wine[45]: partly (we may assume) in order to forget his sorrow plight, partly seemingly as a necessary component of the "trappings of his imaginary Royal power" (*asbāb-e salṭanat-e xiyāli*), and partly simply because of what the chronicler calls the Fate's irrevocable decision that the history of the Safavid dynasty should end with him[46]: a statement that may allude to the addiction to alcohol contracted by the Royal princes in the harem, which made them poor rulers in peacetime and totally unfit leaders at a time of crisis such as the years after 1722, *ipso facto* depriving the Safavid dynasty of its legitimacy. And indeed the history of the rule of the Safavid dynasty over Persia effectively ends with Šāh Ṭahmāsp II, since his son Šāh ʿAbbās III (1732–1736) was still an infant when he was raised to the throne by Persia's strongman, the future Nāder Šāh.[47]

This is not to say that the fall of the Safavid state was mainly (much the less alone) caused by excessive alcohol consumption on the part of its rulers. It was rather a vicious circle, in which the rulers became increasingly unable to cope with serious problems that did not have their origin in their drinking habits but were nonetheless sapping the solidity of the state and that, not being dealt with adequately, could not but become more serious and eventu-

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44 Suraiya Faroqhi, "An Ottoman ambassador in Iran: Dürri Ahmed Efendi and the collapse of the Safavid Empire in 1720–21", in *eadem*, *Another Mirror for Princes* (Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 2008), pp. 175 (with the quotation), 176, 185 (revised English translation of an article originally appeared in *Wahrnehmung des Fremden, Differenzerfahrungen von Diplomaten in Europa [1500–1648]*, ed. Michael Rohrschneider and Arno Strohmeyer, Münster 2007, pp. 375–398).

45 Moḥammad Moḥsen Mostowfi, *Zobdato't-tavārix*, pp. 140–141.

46 Quotation from Moḥammad Moḥsen Mostowfi, *Zobdato't-tavārix*, p. 140: the *asbāb-e salṭanat-e xiyāli* included clearly the Royal feasting. Moḥammad Moḥsen contrasts the profligacy of Šāh Ṭahmāsp II and his "disloyal *amir*s" with the commitment of Ṭahmāspqoli Xān Afšār to the cause of Persia's freedom from Afghan domination: cf. *ibidem*, pp. 155, 157–158 (which of course should not lead the reader into believing that Ṭahmāspqoli Xān/Nāder Šāh actually abstained from alcoholic beverages.

47 The Safavids who were crowned after 1736 were, as stated above, mere figureheads deprived of any real power and usually enjoyed only short-lived "reigns": likewise deprived of real authority but at least very long was the troubled rule of Šāhrox Šāh Afšār (1749–1796), a Safavid on his maternal side, over Xorāsān.

ally fatal. Certainly, the fact that, during the last 56 years of the Safavid history, Persia did not have a strong ruler (or, at least, one who was interested in active ruling) at the helm in an age where everything revolved around the ruler himself, did not do any good to the country.

Preliminary Notes on Viticulture and Winemaking in Colonial Central Asia

FLORIAN SCHWARZ

In the orientalising Turkestan pavilion at the All-Russian industrial and Artisans Exhibition at Nijni Novgorod in 1896, export products of Turkestan were represented by cotton, silk, lambskins, wool, fruits and wine.[1] Wine from Russian Central Asia was displayed alongside wine from already established producing regions in the southwestern parts of the Russian Empire around the Black Sea: Bessarabia, Crimea, the Don and the Caucasus.[2] The Russian newspaper Niva thought it necessary to explain how wine could be showcased in an exhibition of products from a predominantly Muslim region. It stated confidently that winemaking (*vinodelie*) had been introduced to Central Asia only after the Russian conquest. According to Niva, this economic branch had a great future because of the rich harvest of the Central Asian vineyards, and because grape phylloxera, the pest that had been wreaking havoc on the European wine industry since the 1850s, had spared Turkestan.[3]

As the Russian newspaper pointed out, Russian colonial administrators, scientists, entrepreneurs and settlers found a highly developed viticulture in the conquered regions of Central Asia. Fifteen different local grape varieties were presented at the fruit and vegetable fair in Tashkent in the fall of 1872.[4] Grapes seem to have been used for the production of alcoholic beverages in brandy distilleries very soon after the Russian conquest.[5] Located in the new

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1 Anonymous (1896a)

2 Verstraete (1897), 252.

3 Anonymous (1896a). In February 1875 N. Maev described the damage caused by the *phylloxera vastatrix* to the European wine industry in a meeting of the Turkestan statistical committee. The committee suggested several measures to prevent the spread of the pest to Russian Turkistan, including the publication and distribution of articles and brochures to raise the awareness of the local population. Maev (1875).

4 Anonymous (1872), 202). The same publication contains another quite different list of names and properties of 15 local grapes of Turkestan.

5 Krauze (1872), 198.

Russian part of Tashkent, the distilleries catered to the demand of the Russian population. Yet the production and consumption of strong alcoholic drinks from grapes preceded the Russian conquest. A small number of distilleries is said to have been run by Central Asian Jews[6] in Tashkent under the Khans of Khoqand before the Russian conquest in 1865 and for a short period under Russian rule. The Jewish distillers were operating "cautiously and secretly" but were not harassed by the Khoqandi authorities. In 1872, only five years after the formal establishment of the Governorate General of Turkestan, all traditional Jewish distilleries in Tashkent had disappeared.[7] The simple traditional stills of the Jewish distilleries could not compete with the new Russian distilleries which used the then state-of-the-art industrial Pistorius double stills.[8] Yet the Central Asian Jewish distillers left an important legacy to their Russian colonial successors: the production of brandy on the basis of dried grapes. Only one out of six distilleries operating in the Russian part of Tashkent in 1872 used grain to produce "vodka" in the usual sense, while all other distilleries operated on the basis of fruits.[9]

The standard procedure described by Krauze in 1872 differed from the traditional Jewish brandy production mainly in the use of modern stills which yielded a much higher volume of production. Like the Jewish distillers, the Russian producers of brandy added warm water (ca. 20° C) to the dried grapes to gain the mash and induce fermentation. Krauze calls the dried grapes *kishmish*. He uses this word to refer to both the Corinth and the sultana varieties of dried grapes and distinguishes between black *kishmish* from the Khanate of Khoqand and brownish *kishmish* from Samarkand. The latter, he writes, produces a much stronger and yielding mash than the former.[10]

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6 Krauze uses the terms *evrei* (Jew) and *bukharskii* (Bukharan [Jew]).

7 Krauze (1872), 197.

8 Krauze (1872), 198. For a photograph of a traditional Central Asian distillerie see Kun/Brodovskii (1871–72), plate 39 = http://memory.loc.gov/phpdata/pageturner.php?type=&agg=ppmsca&item=09954&seq=44 (last accessed 2 July 2012).

9 Krauze (1872), 198.

10 The terminology for grapes and raisins in Central Asian standard and vernacular Persian (Tajik) and Turki (Uzbek) and in Russian is sometimes confusing. The standard Persian word xūše for "bunch of grapes" is known in Standard Tajik, but the Turkic word šingil is more commonly used; in many dialects xūše is not understood. The grape itself is angūr in standard and vernacular Tajik (as in standard Persian) and uzum in Uzbek (Turki). The generic word for dried grape is maviz (a Persian word) or mayiz in Tajik and mayiz in

Krauze was, however, much more interested in exploring the possibilities for producing wine instead of brandy in Russian Turkestan. He drew attention to local grapes which had so far been harvested mainly in order to be dried for local consumption, for small scale export to Russia, and to make brandy. Instead, he suggested, local grapes should be studied carefully to see if they could be used for making high quality wine. He pointed out the general juiciness and high sugar content of local grapes as important preconditions for the production of strong and durable wine.[11]

Russian winemakers began experimenting with local grapes soon after the conquest. Among the first was a merchant named Fedorov, but he was not accredited with much success. Better results were achieved by winemakers I. I. Pervushin and A. Grinberg in Tashkent and Fovickii in Khojend, one of the best wine growing region in Central Asia.[12] Already in 1868 Filatov opened a winery in Samarkand.[13] There was a local market for those wines, as wine imported from Russia to Turkestan tended to be of the worst kind and much more expensive. Krauze credited a winemaker named Raevskii with the first breakthrough toward a decent wine produced from local red grapes in 1871. Yet Russian winemakers in Turkestan saw more potential in white grapes; sorts such as Shahrangur and Aqkishmish are mentioned.[14]

Uzbek. In Turki as well as in Persian kishmish – or mayiz-i kishmish - is a kind of dried small seedless grapes, similar to sultana raisins. They have a brownish color and are slightly bigger and softer than the black Corinths, or mayiz-i siyah (qora mayiz), that are produced from a different kind of seedless grapes. This can be a little confusing, since in South and Southwest Asia the word kišmiš is used for Black Corinths, not the sultana raisin. In Russian parlance, a different sort of confusion over the terms for fresh and dried grapes can be observed from the beginning of the colonial period. Kishmish tends to be used for the fresh seedless grapes, while izium – derived from Turki uzum, fresh grapes – means dried grapes, or raisins. This reversed use of uzum (izium) and kishmish is now the standard usage in modern Russian. In the Colonial period it is encountered side by side with the "correct" use. Therefore one must always take care to understand what a Russian author had in mind when he writes kishmish or izium.

11 The author of the article, I. I. Krauze, can probably be identified with Ieronim Ivanovich Krause (1845–8.8.1909), a Russian pharmacist of German origin who settled permanently in Tashkent in 1870. *Erik-Amburger-Datenbank*, data entry no. 63720.

12 Anonymous (1872), 200.

13 Anonymous (1909); the correct name (here misspelled Filippov) was corrected in *Golos pravdy* 1305. The winery founded by Filatov in Samarkand still exists and is now known under the name of the famous late colonial and early soviet winemaker Khvorenko.

14 Anonymous (1872), 200.

With five wineries operating in 1872, wine had quickly become an important nascent industry in Colonial Turkestan. Yet production volumes were relatively small, not more than 120.000 litres per year. They were mainly consumed locally in the Russian settlements in the Tashkent, Samarkand and Khojend regions. Krauze's suggestion that one should consider exporting those wines to non-wine growing areas in Turkestan and to Siberia shows how small the scale of wine production and its market still was in the early 1870s.[15]

Yet the pioneering experiments with local grapes had planted the seeds for an important colonial industry. Although the number of wine producing companies remained small throughout the colonial period, it developed relatively quickly to become one of the prestige products of Turkestan economy, second only to the dominating cotton and silk industries. In contrast to cotton, the archetypical colonial raw material that supplied weaving mills as far away as Moscow and Lodz, wine and silk were the only industrial products of Turkestan. Silk of course had a long tradition of manufacturing, local consumption and export in Central Asia. Alcoholic grape products had to adjust to new markets and demands.

In the course of the 1880s Turkestan winemakers quite successfully presented their products at international exhibitions. The 1890s seem to have been particularly important. Turkestan authorities and private entrepreneurs invested in chemical research. The first major scientific publication on winemaking was commissioned and published in 1896 by the Statistical Committee of the district of Samarkand, which in the meantime had become the most important wine growing and winemaking region in the governorate general.[16]

But there were also setbacks. Since the mid-1890s, Turkestan winemakers were trying to have Turkestan officially acknowledged by the Russian government as a winemaking region, on a par with the Caucasus provinces, Stavropol, Bessarabia, the Crimea and several regions on the Don and Dnepr rivers, a request that was repeatedly rejected by the Ministry of Finance in St. Petersburg.[17] Only in 1909, on the occasion of the All-Russian industrial and Artisans Exhibition at Nijni Novgorod, did the Ministry acknowledge the existence of all necessary conditions for excellent viticulture in Turke-

[15] Anonymous (1872), 201.
[16] Virskii (1896); Stekol'nikov (1907).
[17] Anonymous (1896b).

stan.[18] It is in this context, in the effort to match international (Russian and Western European) recognition and market opportunities with structural obstacles resulting from Russian bureaucracy that an interesting discourse appears in the newspapers in Turkestan and Russia. The support of Turkestan viticulture and winemaking was presented as a major civilizing effort, an effort that would contribute to the progress of Turkestan, but also of Russian society and help to bring it to a Western European level.

Krauze wrote already in 1872 that "in terms of quality grapes are the most important fruit of Central Asia. The native population stands at a very low level with respect to processing grapes, but the climate takes care that the grapes are in no way inferior to Western European grapes." This gap – refined product, unrefined native population – was in the 1890s woven into a historical narrative, which may be summarized as follows: Winemaking had an age-old tradition in Central Asia, but this tradition was disrupted by the Arabs and Islam. Now Russians have come to Central Asia to revive this tradition. The myth of the revival of wine culture as an active civilizing effort by Russia was coupled with a passive civilizing effect on Russia: The high potential of Turkestan wines, it was argued, could help improve Russian viticulture in general and thus move Russia closer to Western European standards.[19]

The assertion that Central Asia has had an ancient viticultural tradition and may even be considered the homeland of wine but abandoned this tradition and knowledge after the Arab-Muslim conquest in the seventh century runs through the Russian viticultural literature. Of course the simple assertion that wine was not produced or drunk in Central Asia in the Islamic period was difficult to maintain. Hence one can occasionally find a modified version, as for example in Franz von Schwarz's influential (if highly problematic) cultural geography of Turkestan. Von Schwarz, who had lived in Tashkent for 15 years before he published his book in German in 1913, probably echoes the common opinion among Central Asian Europeans when he writes in a footnote:

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[18] Anonymous (1909). An article in the *St. Peterburgskiia vedomosti* of the same year lists only the Syr-Darya district among the 19 major winegrowing regions of the Russian Empire, S. T. (1909). This prompted an angry response in the Turkestanskii kur'er which claims that already in 1908 the Turkestan krai was included among the winegrowing regions, Kh[vorenko, M. A.?]. (1909).

[19] Sluckii (1897), 1–5.

> The decline of wine production in Turkestan dates not to the period of Arab domination, but only to the rule of the fanatic Uzbeks, who in this regard were and still are more catholic than the Pope. The memoirs of Sultan Babur show us that in his time (1483–1530) wine production and wine drinking were still very common among the Muslim population of Turkestan, .../361/... In Babur's time the wine of Bukhara was considered the strongest wine.[20]

The discursive connection of the great future of viticulture and winemaking with the total absence of it before the Russian conquest makes winemaking a type fossil for a particular colonizing discourse. On the one hand, Central Asian wine was supposed to help Russian viticulture and wine-making in general to reach a higher, West European level of winemaking. It could be used to highlight the "fanaticism" of the "Uzbek regime". Viticulture as a colonial blessing also had a particular advantage, namely that at least initially it largely excluded Central Asian Muslim competitors from this "modernizing industry".[21]

Within a few years after the consolidation of Russian rule in Turkestan, viticulture and winemaking became a primary focus of attention among Russian imperial officials. The reasons are manifold. Grapes were a high-yield cash crop that did not require a complicated process of experimentation, implementation and infrastructure as its biggest competitor for the attention of colonial developers, namely cotton. There were also cultural aspects. Wine became a marker of progress, a sharp discursive delineator between the fanatic Uzbek Muslim old regime and the civilized and civilizing Russian colonial administration. Yet this civilizing mission was not only directed toward the colonial subjects. The vineyards and wineries of Turkestan were thought to help Russia itself to reach the level of Western Europe. The ability to grow and produce wine that could compete internationally with the best wines played an important role in the development of viticulture in Russian Central Asia.

Not surprisingly, however, this development had its flip side, publicly visible alcoholism. In addition to concerns with public health and security in the Russian settler communities such as New Tashkent, alcoholism worried the Russian administration as it tarnished the picture of wine as a marker of

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[20] von Schwarz (1900), 360–1,n.1 (my translation of the original German).

[21] I could not find references to Muslim owners of alcohol-producing firms. On the other hand Central Asians (i. e. Muslims?) are said to have represented an important segment of the workforce of this industry and of the owners of alcohol-selling establishments, see Sahadeo (2007), 110–111.

civilization. Alcohol consumption presented a particularly complex problem for the discursive process of colonization. Socializing in alcohol-selling establishments blurred the social boundaries, but also the discursive boundaries between colonizers and colonized in the cities and towns. Muslim authors eagerly picked up alcoholism as a cause (and sign) of moral decline resulting from the encounter with the colonizers.[22] Reversely Russian colonial authorities blamed Central Asians for the negative moral effects of alcoholism in New Tashkent. As writes Sahadeo in his study of Colonial society in Tashkent, a committee set up by the Tashkent city board in 1883 "noted that Central Asians owned many of the dirtier bars and brothels, which were 'infecting' poor Russians who visited. Worse, Central Asian men, 'on periodic binges', not only had developed a fondness for alcohol, but consorted with Russian women, particularly prostitutes."[23]

We find a similarly ambiguous image of alcohol consumption in discourses on progress. Addiction to wine became a negative foil for the own quest for civilizatory progress and cultural reform in the writings of Central Asian Muslim progressives around the turn of the twentieth century. Adapting traditional Islamic and modernizing Russian motifs, Central Asian Muslim progressives routinely included alcoholism among obstacles to modernization.[24] Sahadeo quotes an article published in 1914 in the Tashkent Jadid newspaper Ṣadā-yi Turkistān which "approved traditional religious courts' harsh treatments of Muslim drunkards who indulged in their habit in the Russian city, hoping to escape sanction."[25] A few years earlier, however, during an official investigation mission to Turkestan the Russian senator Count Konstantin von der Pahlen, deplored precisely this practice of the Muslim courts. In Pahlen's view, it undermined Russia's claim of the uni-

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22 See for example the lament of the Kokandian poet Muqīmī (n. d.); cf. also Crews (2006), 255. One should keep in mind, however, that the references to alcohol and gambling in Muqīmī's poem come in a topical sequence of indicators of moral decline well established in Islamic legal literature.

23 Sahadeo (2007), 111.

24 Sahadeo (2007), 159. Khalid (1998), 145–149. Khalid, 138, cites an interesting (though perhaps rather exceptional) essay in the Tashkent reformist journal Khurshid published in 1906 that presents French policies against alcoholism as a model for Central Asian Muslims.

25 Sahadeo (2007), 159.

versality of its law. "Russian state power, of course, cannot regard such violators of the shari'a and adat ... as criminals."[26]

By 1900 wine and the consumption of alcohol had become an important if ambiguous discursive element in the politics of colonial and Muslim reform. On the other hand the efforts of Turkestan's Russian entrepreneurs promoting local viticulture and winemaking by weaving it into the discourse of civilizing mission seems to have largely failed. The promotion of Central Asian wine for Russian and Western European markets met with little success. And even in Turkestan the elite continued to prefer European wine, as Count Constantin von der Pahlen noted as late as 1908 in his description of a banquet hosted by the Governor General in Tashkent.[27]

Yet the "civilizational discourse" on wine did not remain entirely without consequences. The myth of the destruction of Central Asian wine culture by the Arab-Muslim conquerors, an important narrative element already in the early colonial viticultural literature, as we have seen, resurfaces in the quest of the contemporary post-soviet Central Asian states to root "national history" deeply in the pre-Islamic history of the region. In the context of what one might call "neo-Sogdianism", local vines create a link to the pre-Islamic past. In a promotional blurb for the Samarkand winery, a local grape variety is derived from a "magic vine" that miraculously appeared during the "horrible times" of the Muslim conquest of Samarkand. Thus the culture of Sogdiana, despite the destructions of the Arab conquest, lived on in a vine that since the nineteenth century has been used to produce wine.

To fully gauge the significance of the discursive processes outlined above one would have to have a better understanding of the actual impact of colonial and Soviet viticulture and the production and import of alcoholic beverages on the social and cultural practices of alcohol consumption among Muslims in Central Asia. To what extent is modern drinking and banqueting behaviour rooted in pre-Russian cultural patterns? In lieu of answering this question, one may conclude with an anecdotal observation. Bottles of cognac carrying the effigy of the Turkmenbashi, the late president of Turkmenistan Saparmurad Niyazov, may not quite be on a par with the famous Parthian rhytons from Nisa. Yet they show that in a rather traditional Muslim Central

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[26] Crews (2006), 268–269. The translation is Crews'. On Pahlen's Commission for the Inspection of the Turkestan region see Morrison (2012), especially p.4 on Pahlen's views on the Central Asian legal system and his attempt to impose a unified legal code.

[27] Pahlen (1969), 38.

Asian society wine has come to carry sufficient prestige to promote the glory of a political leader. The merging of traditional royal banquet and the Russian quest for superior wines created a fascinating cultural hybrid.

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Drinking Wine in Iran under the Reign of Aryamehr

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Allow me a rather simple, not to say frivolous preliminary remark: among contemporary Iranian intellectuals it has become a widely used custom to refer to the period before the Arabian/Islamic conquest of Iran as "pīsh az eslām" (pre-Islamic), and the following period up to our lifetime as "baʿd az eslām" (post-Islamic). I usually feel tempted to raise some infidel viewpoints here: has present-day Iran really arrived in a "post-Islamic" era? I shall immediately refrain from any further argumentation; in any case, talking about consuming wine in Iran prior to 1979 A.D. may remind us of "pre-Islamic" conditions in the proper sense of the word.

To start with, it might be suitable to raise some considerations concerning the research methods that were applied in the context of this contribution. Originally, I had intended to base my reflections on reported source material in the sense of oral history. When I started to ask suspicious individuals who might possibly contribute to my subject, I found out very soon that my best partner in discussion and subsequently my most ample source was – myself and my admittedly fragmentary personal memory covering the period from 1962 until 1978, and particularly the time between 1964 and 1969, when I had the opportunity of living permanently in Iran – mainly in Tehran. Therefore I have reconceived this contribution as something like an evocative collection of personal memories about the consumption of wine (and also of other kinds of alcoholic beverages, i.e. *mashrūb* in contemporary Persian); they derive mainly from the nineteen-sixties A.D. (the forties H. Sh.), with some additional information leading up to the eve of the Islamic Revolution in 1978/9.

Introducing matters related to eating and drinking into studies concerning the Middle East and so-called "Islamic countries" as serious topics of research took a remarkably long time to happen. This may apply less to research in social and cultural studies such as ethnology (*mardom-shenāsī*) and cultural anthropology, but certainly for those traditions which were mainly and originally rooted in philological approaches. This consideration offers me an opportunity to mention one of the leading pacemakers in this field: Peter Heine, Berlin (*Weinstudien: Untersuchungen zu Anbau, Produktion*

und Konsum des Weins im arabisch-islamischen Mittelalter, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1982). Since then, culinary studies form one of the mainstreams in cultural research, also in studies on the Middle East. With reference to the cultural history of Iran in Early Modern Times, Rudi Matthee from the University of Delaware should be regarded as an important standard bearer in this field of research, and we owe to him an important contribution to this volume.

With reference to the Iranian lands, another researcher deserves to be mentioned: the late Bertold Spuler who produced a voluminous study on "Iran in the Early Islamic Period" (*Iran in frühislamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1952). In addition to his "histoire événementielle", he included a respectable chapter on cultural and social aspects with a sub-chapter here on material culture, including eating and drinking. The very last part of his text refers to "wine", immediately followed by the final bibliography. In fact, this attempt was facilitated by an admirable book by an early German historian of the Islamic World, Paul Schwarz, who collected a vast amount of information on almost everything from early Muslim – mostly Arabic-writing – geographers of the Middle Ages (Paul Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*; nine volumes, Leipzig – Stuttgart – Berlin 1896–1935). Paul Schwarz's rich collection of materials referring to almost all aspects of food and drinking is strikingly abundant.

Despite all these sources and their informative value, nobody would have addressed the question of wine so intensely if a certain degree of affinity between "wine" and "Iranians" were not a widely perceived phenomenon. This perception was not at all necessarily based on immediate experience or empirical observation but rooted far more in the global knowledge of (New) Persian poetry. One of the basic themes of poetic works since Rūdakī via ʿOmar-e Khayyām and Ḥāfeẓ till contemporary times (even including occasional poets like Rūḥollāh Khomeynī) refers constantly to wine. Wine had been praised in pre-Islamic times as the drink of kings and rulers, the holy fluid of Zoroastrian priests. Even after the general conversion of most Iranians to Islam ("pas az eslām", see above!), this continued to attract public admiration as an overwhelming symbol even when consumption of wine was already a punishable offence according to the Sharīʿa.

It might have been Persian poetry with its specific approach to wine that continued throughout history to prevent a certain number of Iranians from remaining abstinent from wine, alcohol and drugs in general. Wine and wine consuming obviously remained part of the indispensible paraphernalia of prestige and power and, in many cases, wealth. Excessive wine-drinking is

well documented for rulers of the Seljuq era and their contemporaries, even more for rulers of Mongol origin and their cultural imitators, down to Timur and the Timurids, and also the Turcomans. Pious if not to say fanatic believers like the sectarian Shāh Esmāʿīl and the Uzbek rulers of Transoxiana of Sunni faith were heavy wine-drinkers, and this attitude is corroborated even for the very pious last Safavid ruler Shāh Solṭān-Ḥoseyn, whose bigotry did not save him from being addicted to wine (or God knows what else), albeit with a bad conscience.

During the nineteenth century, particularly from the late days of Fatḥ-ʿAlī Shāh onwards, the consumption of alcoholic beverages gained additional values and dimensions: It was more or less understood as an integral part of the process of early modernization in the sense of westernisation, which from the eighteen-thirties onwards was adopted with pleasure by Iranian upper-class individuals, among them princes, high officials and their entourage and to a certain extent even wealthy merchants, including important sections of the metropolitan *jeunesse dorée* of Tehran. After the ferocious tumult of the Second Persian War against the Russians was becalmed, it became irresistibly fashionable for those who could afford it to spend whole summers in the Caucasus, maybe in Tiflis, or in the Georgian countryside. Places like Borzhom were seen later on as the first step to famous spas such as Evian, Contrexéville, Baden-Baden, Bad Gastein, and Karlový Vary (Karlsbad).

Apparently, it was mainly thanks to the Georgians that young *fashionistas* from Qajar Persia learned how to consume wine and alcohol in general: in the open-air of the countryside close to a splashing creek, a waterfall – the traditional scenery of the most popular recreation resorts in Muslim cultures – were now delightedly converted into the favoured biotopes for wine-drinkers. In the nineteen-seventies throughout Iran, a *qahve-khāne* was in fact still a place where exclusively tea was served in a rather traditional atmosphere; a *chāy-khāne* located in a rural resort was supposed to be an appropriate place to consume heavy beverages, accompanied by some skewers of *kabāb*, white cheese and bread. Today (in the Islamic Republic) these institutions still exist but, at least officially and publicly, only with tea.

There was one group within the Iranian population that for many centuries had a traditional and deeply rooted relationship with wine: Armenians. Armenians seem to have been responsible for the wine supply within Iran for an extensive period.

Be that as it may, the Georgian habit of drinking wine led the then recently converted Iranian consumers of wine immediately to a stronger habit –

brandy (Georgian) style or, in many cases, vodka (Russian style). The poetic association of wine was in many cases conferred upon *ʿaraq* or simply *vodkā*. In nineteen-sixties' Tehran, the word *mey* was exclusively used for vodka or ʿaraq. The typical glass for serving vodka was called an *estekān* (from Russian: *stakan*, also widely used for tea-glasses). The units of drinking vodka were *jadval* (comparable to the Russian unit *sto gram*), *panj-sīrī* (five *sīr* à 75 grammes), *nīm-boṭr* (half-bottle) and *boṭr* (full bottle). The action of drinking any kind of alcohol (wine or hard liquor) was swallowing a "sip" (*peyk*). What remained from the Georgian heritage survived mainly in the realm of vodka rather than of wine in its proper sense. Nevertheless, wine was available everywhere in Tehran throughout the sixties (the forties), but this was perceived rather as a cultural requirement of those who had become famous as *farangī-maʾābs*, "imitators of European life-style", and in fact mainly of those who were addicted to the French lifestyle. Those inclining more towards cultural Americanism as a fashion shifted mostly from vodka towards Scotch Whisky, and many Tehranis of the then young generation whom we might have much later defined as "yuppies" preferred Scotch, with a strong antipathy to vodka, which they subsumed as a traditional, almost typically Iranian drink, by far inferior to the then trendy American vogue. It goes without saying that vodka remained recognized as an important signifier of "modern lifestyle" but this was the modernity of secular fathers and grandfathers, who still felt a sensuous affinity to Russian habits that had had such a strong formative influence on early Iranian modernity in everyday life. The "homo novus" of the sixties was much further ahead: The *fokolī*-grandfathers had been replaced by the *farangī-maʾāb*-fathers but, many of their middle- and upper-class sons in the sixties regarded themselves strongly as Americans in Persian disguise, at least in their own imagination.

Where was the wine? First of all, importing wine never ceased to be tiresome and costly. Otherwise, domestic wine was relatively easy to obtain, mainly from Armenian wine-makers, and consumers did not care much about the quality. There were wine-producing and -selling companies particularly in the vicinity of Qazvin, moreover some regional sellers in Āẕerbāyjān, and around Esfahān. But taking the limited number of wine-consumers into account (and also the fact that their expertise in enjoying wine used to be very limited), it is not surprising that at that time (in the sixties) Iranian wine did not reach anything like the quality standard of Iranian beer.

Beer was produced by companies who worked on a franchise basis with international breweries: Shams and Majīdieh were supervised by Belgian

brewers, and Argo was brewed according to Czech standards. I am not sure where the (by the way excellent) Tabrīzī beer Setāreh obtained its licence. About ten years later, with Tuborg and Skål, this "traditional" set-up of Iranian breweries was destroyed, and we witnessed an early phenomenon of globalization in this industry.

Back to wine: with regard to white wines, there was something called Riesling on the market, or more precisely, on the shelves of the American-style Tehran supermarkets. This was a sweetish alcoholic beverage, and swallowing it was not really an occasion of delight. Be that as it may, there were young Iranians who had studied in Germany and occasionally may have tried a sip of Riesling, but usually by far preferred beer. Those with a French background had more of an inclination towards red wine. From the Qazvīn corner, they could obtain something called "claret" which switched between rosé and red wine in its proper sense. In addition, there was another type of red wine which was called *khollār*, thus using the famous name of a kind of wine ardently propagated by Ḥāfeẓ in his poetry on wine-drinking. To all those who were familiar with Ḥāfeẓ the denomination of *khollār* was familiar too – but I never met any Iranian friend of mine who ever drank even a mere sip of this imitation of Ḥāfeẓ's legendary *khollār*, and in my own experience they were right: twentieth-century *khollār* was terribly sour and there was no fun at all in drinking it.

Moreover, there was also sparkling wine produced in Iran, so-called "champagne". Iranian champagne was a very sweet affair and it was comparably expensive – at that time, i.e. in the nineteen-sixties. You had to pay roughly 200 Iranian rials (20 tomans) a bottle, which was the equivalent of about ten Deutschmarks. A bottle of reliable and well-tasting Iranian vodka (there was a continuous dispute about the supremacy of "Balzām" vs. "Etteḥādieh" and "Meykadeh", as they were transliterated, both of them produced in Qazvin at that time) was available at a price of about 13 to 15 tomans.

Who were the consumers? It goes without saying that the majority of Iranian people uncritically obeyed Islamic regulations and therefore abstained from any kind of *mashrūb* (alcoholic drinks). However, there was a strongly secularized, mainly urban segment of Iranian society that evidently had a positive inclination towards alcoholic beverages. Among them, Armenians were certainly prone to the enjoyment of wine, much more than other groups. Iranians who accepted alcoholic drinks preferred vodka or Scotch (in accordance with the aforementioned different attitudes towards Western civilization). Yet far more than this strong stuff, it was beer that gained

growing acceptance daily throughout Iran. There was a very rich and almost microscopic minority situated at the highest level of the society who could afford to consume precious French wines from Bordeaux and Burgundy. Those who imitated these social classes confined themselves to less tasty local productions. Foreign residents in Iran were most certainly targets of domestic Iranian wine-producing companies but they rarely succeeded in their aim. An exceptional group of wine-drinkers was made up of Armenians and those Persians who had a close affinity to their Armenian compatriots and neighbours: A flourishing quarter of the village of Hashtgerd between Karaj and Qazvīn was inhabited by Armenians and famous for densely frequented open-air wine drinking sessions absolutely comparable to the Viennese "Heurige". Similar reports refer to the Armenian area of Esfahān, and even Shīrāz; also some places in Āẕerbāyjān were mentioned in this context.

The minority of Francophile Iranians formed only a very small part of the total population, but it goes almost without saying that they maintained an attitude of undisputable solidarity with wine and particular with red wine, disregarding the obviously very limited quality of what they drank.

Let us take a look at tourist guide books of that time (we are still in the late nineteen-sixties): the *Guide bleue*, a French publication, does not mention wine at all, with one exception – Qazvīn is mentioned as a wine-producing area. Elisabeth Malle, author of *Schröders Reiseführer Iran*, mentions wine but once, without any qualification. There was no change when comparing it with the *Guide Book on Persia* by. G. H. Ebtehaj from the thirties! However, there was a small booklet named *Good Food Guide to Iran* (first edition March 1968 by INACO Ltd.) which introduced a number of currently operating restaurants, together with notes on where to drink this and that – including wine. From here we learn that restaurants named "Xanadu" and "Chez Farid" were places with a particular emphasis on wine, both having been famous for their French cuisine, the latter also for its legendary "Buffet-Diner" – once a week, every Wednesday evening a particular cook prepared traditional Iranian food – the cook had reportedly survived from the late Qajar court. Moreover, wine was offered at a good number of other places but, generally at those with a distinctly European – mostly French – touch. I remember there was a restaurant named "Paprika" run by a Hungarian lady who always tried to convince her guests to taste a sip of wine – with limited success.

These attitudes changed during the last decade of Pahlavi rule in Iran: it is true that in the last ten years before the Islamic Revolution, beer-consuming

turned out to be a more and more common and almost national habit among the Iranian urban middle-classes – presuming they saw themselves as secularized. This tendency towards a spread in the use of alcohol also affected the attitudes towards wine: around the years influenced by the so-called "2500 years celebrations" (1971) a new brand of red wine was introduced to the domestic Iranian market: "Chateau Sar-Dasht". This was a tasty, dark-red wine of Bordeaux type which was less cheap than the frustrating, previously available kinds of wine. I had an opportunity in 1976 to observe middle-class Tehranis – ladies as well as gentlemen – who casually ordered "Château Sar-Dasht" even in places where one would certainly not have expected to find alcoholic drinks.

This evolutionary history of the spreading of wine in Iran came to an abrupt stop, as everybody knows, in 1979. The anti-alcohol campaigns of the revolutionary regime hit the headlines most of all in the destruction of the vodka shelves of the Iranised ex-Russian employees of the National Fisheries along the Caspian shores and, even more, the extinction of thousands of precious bottles of French wine in the imperial wine-cellars. The very high acceptance level of alcoholic drinks by many Iranians in the Shāhanshāhī period can be estimated in that producers of "pious" beverages still continue producing something free of alcohol which is no longer to be called *āb-e jou* (beer) but, since the Islamic Revolution, *māʾo shaʿir* (meaning *āb-e jou*, "juice of barley" – but the sound of the Arabic term signifies a much more God-fearing attitude towards this new beverage, which does not have a particularly inviting taste). For almost twenty years, the Islamic Republic of Iran has been regularly importing a huge amount of canned beer without alcohol, among others from the Netherlands ("Bavaria") and from a Franconian brewery located in Germany ("Prostel" by Kaiserdom, Bamberg).

And what about wine nowadays? Wine can be found at random in any urban household, mostly self-made in the bath-tube, and it is reported that foreign handbooks on wine-making seem to be rather popular in Tehran and other cities. But this is not my point: Since a great number of Iranians migrated to various (mainly Western) countries, wine is gradually gaining a new connotation as a bearer of far-distant Iranian identity. This started as early as the mid-nineteen-eighties, when clever Italian wine-makers produced a red wine called "Omar Khayyam" which was immediately purchased by Iranians not only in Italy proper but also in neighbouring countries. It must have been around this time that Iranian migrants became aware that there was a special kind of red wine cultivated in Australia called "Shiraz". Maybe supported by the Internet, rumours immediately spread abroad

among Iranians wherever they might have been all over the world (and, with a certain delay, even in Iran itself!). They propagated the idea that Shiraz wine should be regarded as one of the valuable Iranian contributions to world culture. The consumption of Shiraz wine slowly but surely opened up access to drinking and enjoying wine for many Iranian people in the Diaspora. Be that as it may: there were touching stories like the one told about a Sufi emigrant who had reached Australia in the last century – when he arrived at an Australian village at sunset, thirsty, hungry and tired, a local farmer presented himself as a generous host who took care of the poor Iranian. As a sign of his gratitude he offered the good man a green sprig of a Shiraz grape, and this was reportedly the start of Shiraz grape plantation in Australia, finding its way in due course to California and South Africa. There were more sober musings that Dutch sailors may have brought this grape to South Africa during the late Safavid period. Whatever: a Persian text proliferated on the web just recently referring to Wikipedia's information about the Shiraz grape: it is genetically identical with the famous "Syrah" grape, a kind of wine which has been cultivated in France at least since the fourteenth century. "Shiraz" is obviously nothing other than a corruption of "Syrah". The report ends with the sentimental statement: "Alas! It would have been a beautiful story. Let us at least continue drinking this wine whose name evokes such beautiful allusions among us Iranians!"

Not only for Iranians; I myself feel the sound of an Iranian violin reverberating through me whenever I take a sip of Shiraz wine, regardless of the bottle's origin – now we can even buy Shiraz wine from Burgenland in Austria (not cheap but of unusually good quality). Let's drink just two glasses or three of this "Syrah-Shiraz" wine and suddenly we shall find ourselves transported into the spiritual world of Ḥāfeẓ, the fragrant gardens of Shīrāz, and to a banquet with ʿOmar Khayyām. The latter was a thorough-going Khorāsānī and certainly had nothing to do with the South Iranian city of Shīrāz, but after the fourth glass we don't give a hoot.

The Influence of Wine Culture in Iranian Architecture and the Region

DARIUSH BORBOR

INTRODUCTION

If we accept that architecture results from the culmination of people's social habits and lifestyle, we must first present a brief picture of the essentials of the history of wine-drinking habits of the peoples of the Iranian plateau. Wine has been a part and parcel of the Iranian culture from mythology to the present, starting with Jamsheed who is bestowed with the discovery of wine.[1] Moving to the time of the Avesta, we find that wine was considered to be a health-giving drink. It was permitted among the priesthood[2] and it was even prescribed as nourishment to ladies in their accouchement.[3] In the Gāhambār festivities, in honour of creation, wine was mentioned as meritorious and part of the suggested menu.[4] The Pahlavi literature recommended the drinking of wine, especially "on the day of Ohrmazd drink wine and make merry",[5] but "drink wine in moderation, for whosoever drinks wine immoderately falls into many a sin",[6] particularly if it depraved the drinker from the edicts of the "good words, good thoughts and good deeds".[7]

Some general observations on the use of wine are of importance, as they reflect on architectural design:

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1 Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, *Wine Among the Ancient Persians: A Lecture*, Bombay, 1888, pp. 2–3.

2 Vendidad, XIV., 17.

3 Ibid., V., 52.

4 Modi, op. cit., p. 4.

5 Ādurbād, son of Mahrspand, "Counsels of Adarbad Mahraspandan", in *Pahlavi Texts*, ed. J.D. Jamasp-Asana, Bombay, 1897, pp. 58–71: 119.

6 Ibid., pp. 58–71: 112.

7 *Dadistan-e Dini*, ch. XL., XLI.; Modi, op. cit., p. 12.

1. Old wine was held in high esteem which is made evident in a remark by Ādurbād who compares an old friend to old wine.8 The consumption of good old wine required high-quality and sometimes extensive cellar facilities.
2. Wine drinking was often accompanied with music and dance,[9] which necessitated sophisticated acoustical treatment of the interiors.
3. Contrary to European practice, wine was traditionally consumed in after dinner assemblies in Iran. This affected the layout and the design of the reception areas. The tradition of after-dinner drinking of wine must have arisen from practical social considerations, both before and after the official prohibition by the Islamic religion. Dinners, of necessity, included a diverse cross-section of the society. When public, they included devout non-drinking Muslims. When private, they comprised of an equally diverse cross-section of friends and family members who obviously could not have been refused or eliminated from the dinner ceremony. Both the hosts and the guests in either of the occasions might have had good reasons to have been averse to the consumption of wine at dinner. Consequently, while all were welcome to dinner, only those who were deemed fit for participation in the more "intimate" or "official" after-dinner wine drinking sessions were invited for the event. This tradition, which predated Islam, was observed in the royal banquets of the Islamic period when the Muslim clergy and the dignitaries who considered wine drinking adverse left before the initiation of the after-dinner drinking sessions.[10]

   The specific mention of "after-dinner" as an occasion for drinking and toasting on several occasions by various authors of different epochs is a clear indication of a social behaviour which spanned several millennia. As such, it obviously affected the layout and the architectural design of the dining and the reception areas which had to be necessarily divided into two separate spaces. The fabrication of many goblets that did not have flat bases is further testimony to this. A wine goblet used while dining

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8 Ādurbād, op.cit., pp. 58–71: 101; trans. from R.C. Zaehner, *The Teachings of the Magi*, London, 1956.

9 A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "The Iranian *bazm* in Early Persian Sources", in *Banquets d'Orient*, ed. Rika Gyselen, Res Orientales IV, Bures-sur-Yvette, 1992, pp. 95–120.

10 Jean Chardin, *Voyages … en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient …*, ed. L. Langlès, Paris, 1811, vol. 8. pp. 473–76; idem, *A Journey to Persia: Jean Chardin's Portrait of a Seventeenth-century Empire*, tr. and ed. Ronald W. Ferrier, London-New York, 1996, p. 67.

must have a flat base, otherwise it cannot sit on the table while the hands are used for eating. In an after dinner wine-drinking cession, the goblet may be held in the hand for long periods, consequently the flat base is not an absolute necessity.[11]

4. The most important factor which affected the architecture and landscape gardening of Iran from time immemorial was the creation of a balanced relationship between the indoor and the outdoor environment in answer to the varied local climatic conditions, culminating in extraordinary columned porticos (*eyvāns*) and open or semi open garden pavilions and bridges which did not cater for traffic alone, but were particularly designed for picnics and wine drinking. Arid climatic conditions led to exceedingly imaginative use of ponds, water canals and hydrological technology. All these provided the necessary environment for the enjoyment of wine.

Sources

Drawing information from a single source category often gives inaccurate or warped information particularly on wine culture. Consequently, we have been adamant in conferring with a variety of source materials in order to try and achieve a more balanced and realistic presentation. As a result, we have delved into the quintessence of archaeological, anthropological, graphical and textual data. The interest for wine in ancient Iran is apparent not only in material culture such as decanters, jars and cups of exceptional design but also in the written material,[12] poetry in particular,[13] architecture, sculpture, book illustrations, miniatures and murals.

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[11] The horn-shaped goblets of Russia were mainly used for Vodka.

[12] Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (*PF*), Chicago, 1969 and later works; Philippe Gignoux, "Matériaux pour une histoire du vin dans l'iran ancien", *Matériaux pour l'hisoire économique du monde iranien*, ed. Rika Gyselen and Maria. Szuppe, Paris, 1999, pp. 43–44.

[13] The Data-base of the Iranian Academy of Persian Language and Literature which includes over 800 volumes of historical and literary primary sources (I must thank my friend Professor Ali Ashraf Sadeghi for the access to this excellent data-base, and also the collaboration of Dr. Amirinejad who was kind enough to assist in the extracting of the required information), and the data-base of the *Kitāb-khāna-ye Elektronik-e Naẓm va Nat<u>h</u>r-e Fārsi*, *DORJ* 3 which is comprised of 178 volumes of literary primary sources give an admirable overview of wine culture in Iran of the Islamic period.

Our oldest written sources on wine culture in ancient times are Sumerian from around 3000 BCE. The Greek and Roman historians give contradictory and unreliable accounts of the traditions of wine in ancient Iran, but leave no doubt about its extensive presence.

The Scope of the Present Paper

The extent of influence of wine culture in Iranian architecture is found in all levels of wine production and manifests itself in the following building types:

1. Architecture of Wine Making and its Equipment
2. Architecture of Wine Storage
3. Popular Public Wine-Drinking Locations:
   3.1. Nature
   3.2. Garden Pavilions
   3.3. Bridges
   3.4. Public Wine-Houses: Taverns, Inns, Wine-shops and Wine Culture
4. The Influence of Wine Culture on Architectural Acoustics

1. Architecture of Wine Making and its Equipment

Archaeological investigations have shown that in fact it was in Iran that the earliest wine was made in world history.[14] The earliest evidence of wine is from a shard (ca. 7,000 years old) found in Hajji Firuz Tepe, a Neolithic village in Iran's northern Zagros Mountains; for winemaking, Godin Tepe of the fourth millennium BCE.The partly excavated Room 2 of the Godin Tepe contained several artefacts which are considered to have been likely implements for the making of wine. These include whole or nearly complete vessels on a poorly preserved floor which indicates *in situ* deposit. Other finds included a funnel (which could have been used with the aid of a textile filter

[14] Patrick E. McGovern and Rudolph H. Michel, "The Analytical and Archaeological Challenge of Detecting Ancient Wine: Two case Studies from the Ancient Near East", in *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, eds. Patrick E. McGovern, et al., London-New York, 2003/[1996], pp. 64–65.

to press the juice from grapes), several jars with or without wine residues,[15] a large heavy lid and part of a built bin (which might have functioned for the crushing of the grapes or a settling basin), all of which may have been used in winemaking.[16] The collection of finds and its architectural location with direct access to the entrance of the building ensemble (which separated the messy and malodorous process of winemaking from the rest of the buildings) supports this room's use as a winemaking installation.

Grape presses dating to the late third millennium BCE have been found at Titriş Höyük in south-eastern Anatolia.[17] Very ancient winemaking involved the pressing of the wine in a small basin or funnel by an object such as an earthen lid. The need for greater quantities gave rise to large basins and the traditional system of treading, a process which lasted several millennia. A further development was the crushing of the grapes by a windlass. In Roman times, the pressing of the grape took place, according to Cato, in a special room which included an elevated concrete platform that contained a shallow basin with raised curbs. It was shaped with a gentle slope at the bottom which led to a run off point. Long wooden beams attached to a windlass helped press the crushed grapes.[18] This relatively expensive type of wine making was limited to the larger estates.

Tavernier gives a good description of wine and wine-making in Shiraz. He says that the Iranians have a great deal of expertise in the preservation of freshly picked grapes. He claims that they preserve the grapes so well that grapes picked eight months before appear to have been picked eight days previously. He reports of a vintage year in 1666 CE. when a goodly amount of wine was produced and exported.

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15 The basis for identifying the grape residues as wine was driven from the specific features of the jars and their archaeological contexts.

16 Virginia R. Badler, "The Archaeological Evidence for Winemaking, Distribution and Consumption at Proto-Historic Godin Tepe, Iran", in *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, op. cit., pp. 51–52.

17 Mark Berkowitz, "World's Earliest Wine", in *Archaeology*, vol. 49.5 (September/October, 1996).

18 J. Robinson, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Wine*, 3rd Ed., Oxford, 2006, p.545.

2. Architecture of Wine Storage

The Neolithic period from about 8500–4000 BCE is associated with the necessary preconditions required for the making of wine.[19] Fairly large amounts of resinated wine were being produced in the Neolithic period at the site of Hājji Firuz Tepe in the northern Zagros Mountains of Iran, south-west of Lake Urmia.[20] The Hājji Firuz Tepe comprised of a well made mud-brick building dated by radiocarbon determination to about 5400–5000 BCE, which included a large living room, a kitchen, and two storage rooms. Six 2.5 gallons (9 litres) wine jars were embedded along one of the walls in the earthen floor of the kitchen.[21]

Despite rightful doubts of modern oenologists that ancient wine would not have aged well for long owing to deficiencies in preparation and storage compared to modern methods, we have examples of wine-cellars from different historical periods with continuous improvements in their design. A few examples of wine storage and wine cellars of various types in the ancient times, some of them of considerable size, give us a good overview of the evolutionary process in their architecture.

The storage of wine in the early days of wine-making was above ground. The next stage was probably the sinking of the jars into the floors.

As the sense for older wine developed, further attention for the improvement of systems of aging wine became of importance which in turn led to the concept of the specialized wine-cellars quite early in history. These are termed *passive* wine-cellars, which are not mechanically climate-controlled, but rely on careful orientation and location, wall thickness, light control and other factors for temperature and humidity control. In a modern so called *active* wine cellar, both temperature and humidity are maintained by mechanical systems. The modern consensus for the optimal temperature of a wine cellar is 13–15 centigrade and a humidity of 50–70%.

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19 Patrick E. McGovern, "foreword", in *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, op. cit., p. ix.

20 Patrick E. McGovern, U. Hartung, V. R. Badler, D. L. Glusker, and L. J. Exner, "The Beginnings of Winemaking and Viniculture in the Ancient Near East and Egypt", *Expedition*, 39/1 (1997), pp. 3–21; Patrick E. McGovern, "Vin Extroardinaire", *The Sciences*, 36/6 (1996), pp. 7–31.

21 Several pottery vessels, possibly for purpose of cooking, were also found in this room; Patrick E. McGovern, *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origins of Viniculture*, Princeton-Oxford, 2003, p. 67.

It is interesting to note that some ancient architectural designs of wine cellars realized the importance of climate control at an early date and placed the entrance of the cellar facing north to protect it from direct sunlight.

A free standing wall in front of the entrance to the wine storage room (room 20) at Godin Tepe, which was considered by archaeologists to have been built for privacy,[22] is likely to have been constructed to shield the southerly oriented entrance from direct sun rays. The construction of this wall is likely to have been an afterthought, which is corroborated by its non-alignment with the building it hides.

The first unquestionable reference to wine cellars, as far as we know, is found in a text from the middle of the twenty-third century BCE in which the king of Lagaš, Uru-KA-gina boastfully claims of having been the first to "build the beer cellar, where they brought him wine from the Mountain, in great urns."[23] We have no information on its design.

The royal palace of Mari which dates back to the eighteenth century BCE contained several long, narrow storage rooms some of which must have been used as wine cellars. According to the written evidence, the incoming wine to the palace, depending on need, was sent either to the storerooms (Akkadian *nakkamtum* or *rugbum*) or the (wine) cellars (Akkadian *(bit) kannum*). In the storerooms wine was kept in the jars in which it was shipped, the jars which were destined for the cellars were emptied and treated in various ways. These cellars are likely to have possessed large-capacity vats.[24]

Two presumed wine cellars, one in Nimrud and another more than two kilometres distance in Fort Shalmaneser, held presumed wine jars. The Nimrud cellar held two rows of large storage jars, and the Fort Shalmaneser had narrow gangways that held "serried ranks" of large jars that were set in mud-brick benches.[25] The wine was transported either in wineskins or wine jars.

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22 Virginia R. Badler, "The Archaeological Evidence ...", op. cit., pp. 44–45.

23 E. Sollberger, and J. R. Kupper, *Inscriptions Royales Sumériennes et Akkadiennes*, Paris, 1971, p. 79.

24 A. Finet, "Le vin à Mari", *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 25 (1974–77), pp. 125–26; Richard L. Zettler, Naomi F. Miller, "Searching for Wine in the Archaeological Record of Ancient Mesopotamia of the Third and Second Millennia B.C.", in *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, op. cit., p. 128.

25 M.E.L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains*, London, 1966, p. 407; ibid., "Foreword", in J.V. Kinnier Wilsonand, *The Nimrud Wine Lists*, British School of Archaeology, London, 1972, p. viii; David Stronach, "The Imagery of the Wine Bowl: Wine in Assyria in the Early First Millennium", in *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, op. cit., pp. 179–80.

In Teishebaini (around 700 BCE, modern Karmir-Blur), the capital of the Urartian Transcaucasian provinces located near present Yerevan, a total of about 400 huge jars (Armenian *karas*, Georgian *kwevris*) were found half buried in subterranean cellars of the palace which could have handled some 35,000 litres of wine. A larger wine cellar in the nearby royal city of Argishtihinili (modern Davt-Blur and Armavir) catered for 400,000–500,000 litres.[26]

Polycleitus[27] in his *Histories* described the extensive wine cellar of Tellias, perhaps the richest man of Acragantini in Sicily:

> the wine-cellar in the house as still existing and as he had himself seen it when in Acragas (southern coast of Cecily) as a soldier; there were in it, he states, three hundred great casks hewn out of the very rock, each of them with a capacity of one hundred amphorae,[28] and beside them was a wine-vat, plastered with stucco and with a capacity of one thousand amphorae, from which the wine flowed into the casks.[29]

This amounts to 279,000 gallons (786,000 litres) of wine which is of quite substantial size for a private estate.

When Mnasippus of Sparta invaded Corcyra in 373 BCE to recover the island from the Athenians, he found that "There were magnificent houses […] and well-stocked wine cellars," the wine was so good that the "soldiers got such a taste for luxurious living that they would drink no wine unless it had fine bouquet."[30]

We also have a report by Demosthenes (384/383–322), the great Athenian orator for the storage and transportation of three thousand jars of wine[31] (around 18,000 gallons or 50,130 litres).

In the Parthian period, a northern sub-divided square house next to the southern complex in Nisa may have held the royal treasury and important wine vaults. Apart from big jars (*xums*) that might have been used for wine storage, a cache of almost three thousand ostraca (ca. 100–29 BCE) give

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26 Patrick E. McGovern, *Ancient Wine* ..., op. cit., p. 25.

27 A native of Larissa and probably of the generation of Alexander the Great.

28 Each amphora contained about 9 gallons.

29 As quoted by Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, XIII. 83.

30 Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI. 2. 6 (*History of My Life*, trans. Rex Warner, London, 1979, p. 309).

31 Demosthenes, 35. 18.

information on the delivery of consignments of wine from local wine yards and their quality.[32]

Apart from the ancient evidence of wine in Egypt, there are further widespread indications of the existence of systematic wine storage in cellars from the late fourth through to the early sixth century CE Ballana period.[33]

In medieval Iran, we have numerous meritorious examples of very refined wine cellars of different architectural styles. These were not necessarily used uniquely as wine cellars, but they were undoubtedly used for such a purpose (figs. 1, 2, 3).

Wine cellars which were intended to include wine drinking were more elaborately decorated. They were designed to cater for receptions which included music and dance accompanied with dining and wining. An outstanding and impressive example of this was the now destroyed Shah ʿAbbās royal wine cellar (fig. 4), which was placed in an adjacent annex complex of the Tālār Ṭavila pavilion, situated in a magnificent garden beyond the ʻAli Qāpu palace. This pavilion was used for the reception of the ambassadors and as the coronation hall of Shah Soleimān. The annex housed the royal library, various store rooms, the workshops or the *ateliers* and the royal wine cellar which is described in length by Chardin:

> The building is like a salon, some 40 feet high, set 2 feet above ground level, built in the middle of a garden with a narrow entrance and screened by a small wall two feet away, making it impossible to see within. After entering, on the left-hand side are offices or stores, on the right a large room. It is surrounded by a vault which has the shape of a square or a Greek cross by means of two portals or arcades sixteen feet in depth which are along the sides. The centre of the room is filled with a large water basin, the sides of

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32 I.M. D'yakonoff and V.A. Livshits, "Dokumenty iz drevneĭ Nisy. Rasshifrovka i analiz" (Documents from ancient Nisa. Decipherment and analysis), in I.M. D'yakonoff and V. A. Livshits, eds. *materialy yuzhno-turkmenistanskoĭ arkheologicheskoĭ ekspeditsii* (Materials from the general southern Turkmenistan archeological expedition) II, Moscow and Leningrad, 1951, pp. 21–65. "Parfyanskiĭ arkhiv iz drevneĭ Nisy" (The Parthian archive from ancient Nisa), *Vestnik drevneĭ istorii* 4, 1953, pp. 114–130; N. I. Krasheninnikova, "Otval bitoĭ tary serediny I v. do n.è. iz vinokhranilishch Staroĭ Nisy" (A dump of shards from the Middle of the 1st century BCE from the wine cellars of Old Nisa), IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK TURKM.SSR, 1963/5, pp. 93–98; A. D. H. Bivar, "The Political History of Iran Under the Arsacids", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Cambridge, 1983, 3 (1), p. 22; Mary Boyce, "Parthian Writings and Literature", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Cambridge, 1983, 3 (2), p. 1152.

33 W. Y. Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa*, Princeton, 1977, p. 418; McGovern and Michel, op. cit., pp. 63–64.

> which are made of porphyry. The walls are clad with slabs of jasper, 8 feet high. Above, up to the middle of the vault, are recesses made of a thousand different kinds of patterns, which are full of vases of all sorts of designs and materials imaginable. In this ornamented salon, the floor is covered with rich gold and silk carpets. There is nothing more lively and entrancing than the countless variety of vases, cups and bottles of all kinds and shapes, designs and materials like crystal, cornelian, agate, onyx, jasper, amber, coral, porcelain, precious stones, gold, silver and enamel. All these are mixed with each other and seem as if they were encrusted along the walls. They appear so lightly attached as if they might fall from the vault. The storage along the sides of this superb room is filled with cases of wine. The wine is mostly in large bottles holding fifteen to sixteen pints or in bottles of two to three pints with a long neck.

Among appropriate proverbs inscribed on the walls, the following is quoted by Chardin:

> Life is a series of intoxicating states. Pleasure passes, hangovers remain.[34]

3. Popular Public Wine-Drinking Locations

Iranians certainly made an occasion of wine drinking. Apart from private homes, the following locations catered for such events:

3.1. *Nature*

Wide-ranging evidence from miniatures show an old picnic tradition at all levels of the Iranian society which involved the drinking of wine. The events took place either in scenic open countryside or in wholly or partly landscaped gardens and *chahār bāghs*.

3.2. *Garden Pavilions*

Strategically placed semi-open or enclosed garden pavilions, overlooking pools and water canals, were usual wine-drinking spots for those who could afford them (figs. 5, 6).

3.3. *Bridges*

In populated areas, bridges did not cater solely for transportation, but included sitting areas for outings and wine-drinking (fig. 7).

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[34] Jean Chardin, *Voyages* … , 1811, vol. 7. pp. 375–76; idem, *A Journey*..., 1996, p. 146.

3.4. *Public Wine-Houses: Taverns, Inns, Wine-shops and Wine Culture*

Some imprecise evidence of taverns has come down to us from ancient Mesopotamia. The "tavern", "inn" or the "bar" as we call it today materialized during the Old Babylonian Period (first half of the second millennium BCE) and began to play a social and cultural role in society[35] – the *bīt sabīti* "Woman Taverner's House" was a "domesticated" household entity handled by the housewife. With the advent of manufacture and the general sale of alcoholic beverages it became *bīt sabī* "Taverner's House" and the job passed to the husband. Later, in the first millennium BCE, it was offered outside the home by an innkeeper. Most of the taverns appear to have been located outside of the city walls in the vicinity of the commercial arteries, and the favourite alcoholic beverage which was served was probably beer rather than wine.[36]

In ancient Anatolia, the Hittite *ARZANA*-house is associated with a tavern which probably functioned in much the same way as inns in other parts of the ancient Near East. A place to find food, drink, merriment, women and lodging.[37]

Apart from the ancient evidence of wine in Egypt, there are further widespread indications of the existence of taverns and wine culture from the late fourth through to the early sixth century CE Ballana period.[38]

Toleration of taverns had its ups and downs in different periods in history. Plautius speaks of effeminate Greeks and thieving slaves frequenting such establishments,[39] while Cassius Dio states that Claudius commanded the closure of such places altogether.[40] The taverns in ancient Greece were called *kapeleia*. Although featured prominently in classical plays, little tangible archaeological evidence has come down to us. Thermopolia formed the corresponding Roman version of the tavern in antiquity. They were widely spread throughout

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35 Jean Bottéro, *The Oldest Cuisine in the World: Cooking in Mesopotamia*, Chicago-London, 2004, p. 93.

36 *Les débuts de l'histoire*, sous la direction de Pierre Bordreul et al., Paris, 2008, p. 75.

37 H. Hoffner, "The ARZANA House", in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, eds. K. Bittel, Ph. H. J. ten Cate, and E. Reiner, Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in Het Nabije Oosten, Istanbul (1974), pp. 113-21; Ronald L. Gorny, "Viticulture and Ancient Anatolia", in *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, op. cit., p. 153.

38 Adams, *Nubia* ..., op. cit., p. 418; McGovern and Michel, op. cit., pp. 63–64.

39 *Curculio*, II. iii. 288ff; *Trinummus*, IV.3.1013.

40 *Romaika*, LX.6.7.

the Roman Empire including Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia. Considerable amount of archaeological evidence gives a clear vision of their architecture. Many possessed straight or L-shaped counters. They served hot food and wine from earthenware jars. Many had an adjoining room which catered for sit-down eating and drinking.

Taverns (accompanied with cooked meat and probably other delicacies) existed in various towns in ancient India. Their locations were restricted to particular areas in the towns, and municipal authorities supervised their activity. Inspectors were appointed to oversee these establishments and control their adherence to the local byelaws and social codes.[41] Some of the regulations which were applied included: wine was not allowed to be taken out of the village. The taverns were not allowed to be very close to one another. Wine or liquor was to be sold to persons of "well known, pure character" and in small quantities; they were allowed to take their drinks out of the tavern, the rest were obliged to have their drinks in-house.[42] Special permission was required for the manufacturing of wine "On special occasions of festivals, fairs, and pilgrimage, right of manufacture for four days shall be allowed".[43] We have evidence of the misuse of wine in India. There is mention of wine to intoxicate maidens and marry them against their will; harlots made use of wine in their profession.[44]

Iranians have always had a knack of balancing the "does" and the "don'ts" of society. The prohibitive edicts of Islam do not appear to have dampened their thirst for wine. Ancient traditions of tolerance combined with strict Islamic restrictions led to an unwritten compromise in which Zoroastrians,[45] the Jews, and Christians who were not bound with religious constraints became responsible for wine fabrication. Further to this, the title of *may-khāna* "tavern" was vandalised and degraded to *kharābāt* "ruins/ruinous" or *kharābāt-e moghān* "ruins/ruinous (place) of the Maggi", which did not cater solely to the Zoroastrians, but were frequented by the general public.

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41 Kautilya, *Artha Shastra* (about 300 BCE), Chapt. XXV; Dhirendra Krishna Bose, *Wine in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1922, p. 27.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.; Bose, op. cit., p. 28.

44 Ibid., VI. 91, III. pp. 24–25; ibid., p. 32.

45 Bahmanji Nusservanji Dhabhar, "Use of Wine in Zoroastrian Rituals", in Idem, *Essays on Iranian Subjects*, Bombay, 1955, pp. 98–181.

A vivid picture of the wine drinking habits of north-eastern Iran in the 13th century CE is given by Marco Polo who expounds that the people of Casem, modern Kishm[46]

> are worshippers of Mahommet [...] whose great delight is in the wine shop; for they have good wine (albeit it be boiled), and are great topers; in fact, they constantly getting drunk.[47]

"The Mussulman of Kerman is," according to Khanikoff, an epicurean gentleman, and even in regard to wine, which is strong and plentiful, his divines are liberal."[48]

Chinese authors of the 10th century CE report abundant grapes and excellent wine in the Muḥammadan Xinjiang (Khotan) province of China which is corroborated later by Marco Polo.[49]

We possess no detailed written evidence of how taverns functioned or how they looked architecturally in Iran. Our sole sources are illustrations obtained from ancient miniatures and gleanings from Persian poetry and travelogues. The illustrations show that these were quite substantial buildings, usually of more than one story. They furnished courtyard and roof-top accommodation for the summer months, personal suites for the dignitaries, or private occasions (figs. 9, 10), and doormen (*parda-dārs*) to protect the clients from unwanted intruders (fig. 9).

Two of our miniatures, however, reveal much architectural information of interest. In one of these (fig. 9), the courtyard of the tavern is occupied by a group of singers and musicians who are entertaining a group of revellers in various states of ecstasy. At the entrance, a tipsy gentleman is being led out of the tavern. To the left of the entrance, an attendant is sending a tumbler of wine to the higher floors by an excellently improvised home-made elevator. To his left, a heavy and ornate jug of wine is being carried as "take-out" by a delivery man, perhaps for a special occasion. The well-stocked wine cellar

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46 Which is now a small town and the seat of a district of the same name on the right bank of the river Mashhad, a tributary of the Kokcha, in the province of Badakhshan in Afghanistan.

47 Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, ed. and trans. Henry Yule, Cambridge Library Collection, Cambridge-New York, vol. 1, p. 145 and note 4, pp. 147–48.

48 Khanikoff, *Mémoire sur la Partie Méridionale de l'Asie Centrale*, Paris, 1862, p. 186 seqq. and notice p. 21; Marco Polo, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 91, note 4.

49 Ibid., p. 174 and note 2.

(*khom-khāna*) with several huge wine jars is situated at the ground floor of the tavern at an advantageous location to serve the requirements of the courtyard and the upper stories of the tavern. The upper rooms of the tavern cater for private guests. The whole occasion is in progress under the blessing of the angels at the roof-top. In contrast to the informal nature of the previous illustration, in this miniature (fig. 10), a group of well-groomed professionals are performing a choreographed dance in unison, being overlooked by the dignitary and his entourage who are seated in the first floor saloon overlooking the courtyard. The wine is being served in big wine-bowls (*qadaḥ*), as was usually done in opulent receptions, by two uniformed attendants. A chamberlain (*parda-dār*) with curtain in hand is guarding the entrance to the upper floor. At the first floor private quarters of the tavern, musicians are entertaining the grandee and his entourage.

We have a good description of the sixteenth century taverns in Isfahan. According to Chardin, they opened at dawn and this was the time and towards the evening that clients come the most.[50] Although, he does not give the closing time for these, the information obtained from Persian literature indicates that they continued late to the night, if not the early hours of the morning. The guests met there to drink cordials, liqueurs, strong spirits, wine or coffee, to smoke tobacco or opium during the day or the evening, to chat and listen to poetry or story-telling – these were centres of social gathering and full of animation with a broad range of amusement, seriousness, and obscenity. They appealed to Persians of all classes.

Architecturally, they had high-ceilinged rooms of different shapes and were located in the most attractive parts of the town such as the Hārun-e Velāyat and (extraordinarily) in the vicinity of Masjed-e Jāme. These were places where news was discussed and where politicians criticised the government. Innocent games such as draughts, hopscotch, or chess were played. Attractive Georgian boys between the age of ten to thirteen with hair plated like girls were available for homosexuals.[51]

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[50] Chardin, *Voyages* ..., op. cit., vol. 4. p. 69; idem, *A Journey* ..., op. cit., p. 118.

[51] Ibid., vol. 7. pp. 449–450, 3. pp. 300–302 and 4. p. 69; ibid., p. 118.

4. The Influence of Wine Culture on Architectural Acoustics

Wine drinking for celebration and feasting was often accompanied with music and dance which necessitated sophisticated acoustic treatment of the interior spaces by the architects.

Two remarkable examples of this is the reception hall at the ʿAli Qāpu pavilion (fig. 8), and the royal wine cellar (fig. 4) both of which were designed by the architects of Shah ʿAbbās the Great in Isfahan to accommodate musical performances, dancing and wining. The designs were empirically based on the acoustical theory of the "open window" developed many years later (1898 CE) by the Harvard University physicist and pioneer of architectural acoustics Wallace Clement Sabine. He formulated a simple basic equation for the measurement and design of spaces which required acoustical treatment in their architecture:

$$RT60 = (.049V)$$

- Reverberation Time (RT(60)) is the time taken for a continuous sound within a space to decay 60 decibels (dB). Reverberation is the persistence of sound in a particular space, after the original sound is removed. When sound is produced in a space, a large number of echoes build up and then fade out slowly, this is because sound is absorbed by the existing materials. Long reverberation, such as those in large cathedrals and churches with complete stone structures which lead to small absorption, create undesirable acoustics.
- Volume (V) is the volume of the room (in cubic feet).
- A is the sum of the surface area (in square feet) times the absorption coefficient of each material used within the enclosure, and the role the absorptive material plays with the remaining energy in the room.

The absorption coefficient of any material, as originally defined by Sabine, is the ratio of the sound absorbed by that material to that absorbed by an equivalent area of an open window. A unit of acoustic absorption equivalent to the absorption by one square foot of a surface that absorbs all incident sounds is named as *sabin* in honour of this physicist. Thus a perfect absorbent material would have an absorbent coefficient of 1 and an absorption unit of 1 sabin represents a surface capable of absorbing sound at the same rate as 1 square foot of open window. Consequently, providing one knows the surface areas and the absorption coefficients of the materials to be used

in a room, the reverberation time of the interior can be determined at the design stage.

A similar concept may be seen in an example of modern architecture of Iran (fig. 11).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Wine, in Iran and other parts of the Middle East, was not the fermented beverage of the rich and the famous, but of the public at large. Wine was consumed by men and women, regardless of their class, although the quantity and the quality must have differed quite widely, as is so today, depending on circumstances.

Whereas in Iran wine had no limitations of gender or class,[52] in Rome it was not lawful for women to drink wine.[53] In India, wine was drunk by the higher echelon of society, women of lower castes generally refrained from drinking wine, but the ladies at the court indulged, sometimes to excess.[54]

Wine has been a part and parcel of the Iranian culture from mythology to the present, despite the edicts of Islam and the restrictions of the Islamic Republic both of which have failed to eradicate the tradition in Iran.

The prohibition of wine in Islam has led some scholars to question the certainty of the existence and consumption of wine, and the reality of taverns and bars in the Islamic period in Iran. Our search revealed numerous usage of the words *may* "wine", *may-khāna*, *sharāb-khāna*, *may-kada*, *sharāb-kada*, *kharābāt*, *kharābāt-e moghān* for "wine house, tavern, inn, bar", *khom-khāna*, *khom-kada* "wine cellar" and *maṣṭaba* "wine shop", all of which in the real sense. Although some of the usages may rightly be interpreted as *metaphorical*, a large number are very definitely *literal*.

The widespread appearance of obvious *non-metaphoric* manifestations from our study of various data bases of literary works have displayed unrefuted evidence in this respect. These are strongly supported by abundant wine drinking scenes of various epochs manifestly illustrated in Persian miniatures and murals, some of which are even displayed in public places. Thus, wine culture

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52 Dariush Borbor, "Iran's Contribution to Human Rights, the Rights of Women and Democracy", in *Iran and the Caucasus*, 12, Leiden-Boston, 2008, p. 116.

53 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, XIV. 14.

54 R.C. Dutt, *A History of Civilization in Ancient India, Based on Sanscrit Literature*, Calcutta-London, 1890, reprint., Elibron Classics, 2001, p. 788; Bose, op. cit., 46ff.

continued in the Islamic period and was discreetly tolerated by the authorities, in spite of the religious pronouncements.

Although the literary evidence yielded little direct evidence on the architectural side of the wine drinking establishments in Iran, it furthered our social and institutional understanding which affected both architectural and urban design. It is clearly shown that the wine houses were used frequently and regularly by the general public, and their social dimension as get-together places of communal gathering and assembly fulfilled very similar purpose to the modern tavern, pub, or bistro.

The Greeks say "wine is also truth"[55] – a parallel notion which existed widely in Iran from the ancient times to the present and is reflected extensively in Persian poetry of different epochs, aptly summarized by the old Persian saying of *masti-u rāsti*.

[55] Plutarch, *Artoxerxes,* 14: (4).

Wenn die Liebe trunken macht – Bemerkungen zum Wein in der persischen Literatur

MEHR A. NEWID

دوش درون صومعه دیر مغانه یافتم راهنمای دیر را پیر یگانه یافتم
چون بر پیر در شدم پیر ز خود برفته بوداز می عشق پیر را مست شبانه یافتم

Gestern Nacht fand ich die Schenke im Kloster,
Im Schenkwirt fand ich den einmaligen Meister.
Als ich mich dem Weisen näherte, hatte er bereits sein Bewusstsein verloren,
Denn vom Wein der Liebe war er dem nächtlichen Rausch verfallen.

(ʿAṭṭār 357, 6741–41; Vgl. u. FN 148)

WEIN IM VORISLAMISCHEN IRAN

Auch wenn die Anfänge des Weinkonsums im alten Iran im Dunklen liegen, sind wir doch über die Existenz alkoholischer Getränke spätestens seit der Achämenidenzeit durch schriftliche Quellen und bildliche Darstellungen informiert. Den Verwaltungstäfelchen aus Persepolis ist zu entnehmen, dass Handwerker und Verwaltungsangestellte als tägliche Ration u. a. auch Wein zugeteilt bekamen.[1] Wenn Herodots Angaben zutreffen, dann zählen die Perser zu den bemerkenswertesten Weintrinkern ihrer Zeit.[2] Weitere schriftliche Berichte zum Thema Weinkonsum finden sich beim griechischen Dichter Aristophanes in seiner Komödie „Die Acharner“ (Vers. 73–75), wo die

[1] Vgl. Koch 1992, 182.

[2] Herodot I 133: „Wein lieben sie sehr. In Gegenwart anderer sich zu erbrechen oder auszutreten ist bei ihnen nicht erlaubt. Daran halten sie sich. Dagegen pflegen sie im Rausch die ernstesten Dinge zu verhandeln. Den Beschluß, den man so gefaßt hat, trägt der Hausherr, bei dem die Beratung stattfindet, am nächsten Tag noch einmal vor, wenn alle nüchtern sind. Gefällt ihnen diese Entscheidung auch in der Nüchternheit, führt man sie aus; wenn nicht, dann läßt man es sein. Was sie nüchtern vorberaten, besprechen sie noch einmal, wenn sie trunken sind“. Ähnlich auch Strabo XV 3,20: „Sie fassen ihre wichtigsten Entschlüsse beim Weintrinken, und sie halten die dann gemachten Entscheidungen für wichtiger als jene, die sie in nüchternem Zustand getroffen haben“. Letzteres zitiert nach Koch 1992, 183.

vom Hofe des Perserkönigs zurückkehrenden attischen Gesandten ihr Leid beklagen, große Mengen ungemischten, süßen Wein verabreicht bekommen zu haben.[3] Solche Berichte inspirierten einen griechischen Künstler das seltsam anmutende Bild eines trunkenen persischen Reiters auf einer rotfigurigen Schale aufzubringen, der ganz offensichtlich reichlich Wein konsumiert hatte.[4] Dagegen schreibt Ktesias[5], der eine Zeit lang als Arzt am Hofe des Artaxerxes II. Mnémon (404–359 v. Chr.) lebte, dass sich die Achämenidenkönige niemals erlaubten, betrunken zu sein. Eine Ausnahme machten sie beim Mehrgān-Fest[6], welches zu Ehren des Gottes Mithras[7] gegeben wurde.

Einige Reliefs auf den Treppen des Darius-Palastes zu Susa[8] bzw. Persepolis[9] stellen Diener mit gefüllten Weinschläuchen auf den Schultern dar (s. Abb. 1). Zusammen mit anderen Personen tragen sie diverse Speisen und ein lebendes Zicklein die Stufen zum Palast hinauf. Außerdem dokumentieren zahlreiche, zum Teil aus edelstem Material angefertigte Trinkgefäße und Rhytons der vorislamischen Zeit in aufwendiger Technik und feinster Ausführung, die Kultur des Trinkens im alten Iran.[10] Sehr anschaulich wird die Zeremonie des Weintrinkens am Hofe des Mederkönigs Astyages von Xenophon in Kyroupaideia (I 3, 8) dargestellt. Dort heißt es, dass der Mundschenk dem König nach allen Regeln der Kunst ein Trinkgefäß mit Wein befüllt, um es dann dem Herrscher darzureichen.[11] Auch wenn Ferdawsī uns

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3 Vgl. Koch 1992, 183.

4 Vgl. a. Koch 1992, Abb. 133.

5 *Die Persika*, S. 129 u. 164.

6 Zu diesem Fest, bei dem auch der Weingenuss ausdrücklich erwähnt wird, vgl. Ṣafā, in *Maǧalla-ye Mehr* sāl-e avval, šomāra-ye VII 555–558; VIII 632–637; IX 710–715; X 793–796; XI 910–913; XII 997–998.

7 Zu Mithras und seinem Kult vgl. u. a. Merkelbach 1998.

8 Vgl. Forgotten Empire 2005, p. 89.

9 Vgl. Koch 1992, Abb. 125.

10 Für einige Darstellungen dieser Art siehe Porada 1962, Abb. S. 91, 163; Koch 1992, Abb. 129–132 u. 134–135.

11 „Die Mundschenke dieser Könige schenken zierlich den Wein, gießen ein, ohne etwas zu verschütten, tragen die Schale herbei, sie auf drei Fingern balancierend, und bringen das Gefäß, um es dem Zecher griffbereit zu reichen“. Zitiert nach Koch 1992, 184. Interessant sind im Zusammenhang mit dem Weinanbau in der Umgebung von Nysa auch die Ausführungen des griechischen Polyhistor Athenaeus (ca. 200 v. Chr.) in seinem Werk *Depnosophistai* („The Learned Banquet“), in welchem er u. a. auch von einem indischen Weingott spricht, der in etwa mit dem Dionysos der Griechen gleich zu setzen wäre (vgl. Humbach 2007, 136–142).

keine historisch gesicherten Daten liefert, kann man davon ausgehen, dass im alten Iran bei bestimmten Festen und Feierlichkeiten wie *Mehrgān*[12], *Nawrūz*[13] und *Sada*[14] das Trinken ein fester Bestandteil solcher Zeremonien war.[15]

Auch aus der Sasanidenzeit kennen wir neben zahlreichen Trinkgefäßen noch schriftliche Quellen zur Weinkultur. Hierzu gehört auch die Geschichte des Königs Ḫosraw und seines Knaben Rītak/Rīdak, die mehrfach überliefert wurde. Auf die Frage des Ḫosraw, welches der bekömmlichste und hochwertigste Wein sei, gibt der Knabe an, dass der beste Wein derjenige aus Trau-

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12 Vgl. oben FN 6.

13 Zum Ursprung dieses Festes vgl. NawrūzNā. 8ff., wobei zu beachten ist, dass die Ausführungen von Ḫayyām eher mythisch als historisch zu verstehen sind. Ausführlich besprochen hat Ṣafā dieses Fest in *Maǧalla-ye Mehr* sāl-e devvom, šomāra-ye I 79–81; II 165–170; III 273–275; IV 376–381.

14 Zur Entstehung dieses Festes vgl. NawrūzNā. 10. Manūčehrī (S. 9) widmet diesem, besonders von der zoroastrischen Bevölkerung auch heute noch gefeierten Fest, welches 100 Tage nach dem Beginn des Winteranfangs begangen wird, ein aus 15 Doppelversen bestehendes Gedicht. Bei diesem Fest wurde das große „*Barzīn*-Feuer" entfacht. Für den Dichter gehört auch der Weingenuss zum festen Bestandteil dieser Feierlichkeit, wenn er sagt:

می خور ای سید احرار شب جشن سده باده خوردن بلی از عادت احرار بود

Trink Wein, o Herr der Edlen in der Nacht des Sada-Festes,
Denn der Weingenuss zählt wohl zur Gewohnheit von Edlen.

15 Das Mehrgān-Fest unter dem mythischen König Ferīdūn wird von Ferdawsī (ŠN, Ferīdūn 1–9) besonders bildhaft geschildert: Nach alter Tradition der Kayaniden wurden zu Beginn des Monats Mehr der Palast und der Thron festlich ausgeschmückt Danach setzte der König die Krone auf. Es floss leuchtender Wein in Pokale aus Rubin. Die Palasträume wurden mit Ambra und Safran geräuchert …

فریدون چو شد بر جهان کامگار ندانست جز خویشتن شهریار
برسم کیان تاج و تخت مهی بیاراست با کاخ شاهنشهی
زمانه بی اندوه گشت از بدی گرفتند هرکس رهه بخردی
بروز خجسته سر مهر ماه بسر برنهاد آن کیانی کلاه
می روشن و چهرهٔ شاه نو جهان نور داد از سر ماه نو
نشستند فرزانگان شادکام گرفتند هریک ز یاقوت جام
دل از داوریها بپرداختند به آئین یکی جشن نو ساختند
بفرمود تا آتش افروختند همه عنبر و زعفران سوختند
پرستیدن مهرگان دین اوست تن آسانی و خوردن آئین اوست

Zum Wein und zu Festen im iranischen Nationalepos vgl. Rosenberg 1930, pp. 13–44.

ben sei, welcher von guter Farbe, klar, leuchtend, angenehm, flüssig, duftend, schmackhaft und wirksam sei.[16] Ein ausführliches Verzeichnis verschiedener Weine findet sich im *Nawrūz-nāma* von Ḫayyām, wo die Vorzüge und Nachteile des Weinkonsums eingehend besprochen werden.[17] Über das Maßhalten beim Weingenuss wird auch im *Dādestān ī mēnōng ī xrad* (MX 16, 20–62) berichtet.[18] Es ist bekannt, dass in vorislamischer Zeit persischer Wein auf die arabische Halbinsel exportiert wurde.[19]

WEIN IN DER ISLAMISCHEN ZEIT

Die Begriffe „Wein und Gesang" (*may-o moṭreb*) zählen zu den Hauptmotiven der Verse persischer Dichter, nicht nur wenn es um die Beschreibung eines königlichen Banketts (*bazm* بزم)[20] oder Trinkgelages (*may-gosārī* میگساری oder *maǧles-e šarāb* مجلس شراب) geht. Das mag verschiedene Gründe haben. Einerseits gilt die neupersische Dichtung als Weiterführung des mittelpersischen Pahlavī der Sasaniden, die bei Hofe besondere Zeremonien im Umgang mit Wein pflegten, welche auch im iranischen Raum bis zur Gaznawidenzeit (ca. 977–1186) nachweisbar sind. Besonders für Feste und Feierlichkeiten wie *Nawrūz*, *Mehrgān* und *Sada* in ihrem jährlichen Turnus existieren zahlreiche Gedichte, in denen der Wein besungen wird. Andererseits muss sich der Dichter verschiedener Bilder und Motive aus der Natur und dem Alltag bedienen, um den Zustand des (Liebes-) Rausches zu beschreiben. So werden die Locken der Geliebten mit Moschus und Ambra, die Wangen mit Rosen, die Augen mit Narzissen, die Brüste mit Granatäpfeln verglichen. Auch wird das Antlitz dem Mond, der graziöse Schritt dem Gang

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16 Vgl. TṮ 449–450. Dort findet sich auch die Reihung der besten Weine: *balḫī* بلخی, *Marvrūdī* مروردی, *būšanǧī* بوشنجی, *bostī* بستی, *ǧawrī/ǧūrī* جوری, *qanārezī* قنارزی und *darġamī* درغمی. Außerdem wird der allerbeste Wein als *sūrī* سوری (syrisch) und *qoṭraboli/qaṭraboli* قطربلی (قطربل ein Dorf in der Nähe von Bagdad) bezeichnet. Die Geschichte des Ḫosraw und seines Knaben Rīdak ist auch in einem Pahlavitext überliefert, deren Wortlaut sich jedoch von dem bei Ṯaʿālebī zitierten Text stark unterscheidet (vgl. Unvala 1917, 30–31). Die von Malekī herausgegebene Übersetzung des Pahlavitextes stimmt dagegen mit den Angaben des Ṯaʿālebī überein. Daraus geht hervor, dass die verwendeten Texte nicht gleichen Ursprungs sind.

17 NawrūzNā. 60 ff.

18 Vgl. Stausberg 2004, S. 48, Anm. 192.

19 Heine 1992, S. 3.

20 Vgl. TG 407; Manūčehrī. 9; VR 156, 217; Ḫayyām 21; DŠ 45, 12; Zu diesem Thema vgl. a. Melikian-Chirvani 1992, pp. 95–120.

der Gazelle, die schlanke Figur der Zypresse und die wohlgeformte Lippe köstlichem Rotwein und Honig, der süße Mund einem goldenen Kelch gleichgesetzt.[21]

Abgesehen von solchen metaphorischen Vergleichen sind zahlreiche Gedichte überliefert, in denen direkte oder indirekte Hinweise auf die Weingewinnung zu finden sind. Vom Dichter Rūdakī kennen wir eine Ode an den Wein, in welcher er in allegorischer Form sehr anschaulich den Prozess der Weinherstellung darstellt. In diesem, anlässlich eines Banketts (*bazm* بزم) am Hofe des Samaniden-Herrschers Naṣr b. Aḥmad (Regzt. 914–943) verfassten Gedichtes wird die Weinrebe als Mutter und deren Frucht als Kind bezeichnet, welches sich sieben Monate lang von der Muttermilch ernährt. Alsdann wird die Traube gekeltert und der Saft für sieben Tage in einem dichten Fass aufbewahrt, bis er gärt. Danach wird der Schaum abgeschöpft und der Wein solange gelagert, bis er rot leuchtet und nach Moschus und Ambra duftet. Je älter nun dieser Wein wird, umso wirkungsvoller und fröhlicher stimmt er den Verbraucher. Ein derartiger Wein möge die Tafel des Herrschers bei Banketten zieren. Es folgt dann die Beschreibung des königlichen Banketts, bei dem der Dichter auf den König, dessen Gefolge, die jungen turkstämmigen Mundschenke und die Musik näher eingeht. Der Dichter versäumt hierbei nicht, den Herrscher als Schatten Gottes, ja als dessen Zeichen zu preisen. Er versucht so offensichtlich einen Widerspruch zu entkräften, denn einerseits beschreibt er ein königliches Bankett, welches in der vorislamischen Tradition mit Weingenuss verbunden ist und betont andererseits die Legitimation des Herrschers durch den Koran.[22] Ähnliche Oden an den Wein

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[21] Zu diesem Thema vgl. a. Schimmel 1981; Šafīʿī Kadganī 1358.

[22] Während der Wein in Sure 16 als eine „Gottesgabe“ gepriesen wird, gilt er in Sure 2 als schädlich und erst in Sure 5:90–92 wird er absolut verboten (vgl. Nagel 2010, 9,49 u. 112): Zum Bankett des Samanidenherrschers vgl. a. TS 317–323; Forūzān-farr 1369, 23–24; Yarshater 1960, pp. 43–53. Rūdakīs Gedicht beginnt mit:

مادر می را بکرد باید قربان — بچهٔ اورا گرفت و کرد به زندان
بچهٔ اورا ازو گرفت ندانی — تاش نکوبی نخست و زو نکشی جان
جز که نباشد حلال دور بکردن — بچهٔ کوچک ز شیر مادر و پستان
تا نخورد شیر هفت مه به تمامی — از سر اردی بهشت تا بن آبان
آنگه شاید زروی دین و ره داد — بچه به زندان تنگ و مادر قربان
چون بسپاری به حبس بچهٔ اورا — هفت شبان روز خیره ماند و حیران
باز چو آید بهوش و حال ببیند — جوش برآرد بنالد از دل سوزان
گاه زبر زیر گردد از غم و گه باز — زیر و زبر همچنان زاندوه جوشان
زر بر آتش کجا بخواهی پالود — جوشد لیکن ز غم نجوشد چندان

باز بکردار اشتری که بود مست — کفک برآرد ز خشم و راند سلطان
مرد حرس کفکهاش پاک بگیرد — تا بشود تیرگیش و گردد رخشان
آخر کارام گیرد و نچخد نیز — درش کند استوار مرد نگهبان
چون بنشیند تمام و صافی گردد — گونهٔ یاقوت سرخ گیرد و مرجان
چند ازو سرخ چون عقیق یمانی — چند ازو لعل چون نگین بدخشان
ورش ببوئی گمان کنی که گل سرخ — بوی بدو داد و مشک و عنبر با بان
هم به خم اندر همی گدازد چونین — تا بگه نوبهار و نیمهٔ نیسان
آنگه اگر نیم شب درش بگشائی — چشمهٔ خورشید را ببینی تابان
ور به بلور اندرون ببینی گوئی — گوهر سرخ است بکف موسی عمران
زفت شود رادمرد وسست دلاور — گر بچشد زوی، وروی زرد گلستان
وانکه بشادی یکی قدح بخورد زوی — رنج نبیند از آن فراز و نه احزان
انده ده ساله را به طنجه رماند — شادی نو را ز ری بیارد و عمان
با می چونین که سال خورده بود چند — جامه بکرده فرا ز پنجهٔ خلقان
مجلس باید بساخته ملکانه — از گل و وز یاسمین و خیری الوان
نعمت فردوس گستریده ز هرسو — ساخته کاری که کس نسازد چونان
جامهٔ زرین و فرشها نوآیین — شهره ریاحین و تختهای فراوان
بربط عیسی و فرشهاء فوادی — چنک مدک نیر ونای چابکجابان
یکصف میران و بلعمی بنشسته — یکصف حرّان و پیر صالح دهقان
خسرو بر تخت پیشگاه نشسته — شاه ملوک جهان امیر خراسان
ترک هزاران بپای پیش صف اندر — هریک چون ماه بر دوهفته درفشان
هریک بر سر بساک مورد نهاده — روش می سرخ و زلف و جعدش ریحان
باده دهنده بتی بدیع ز خوبان — بچهٔ خاتون ترک و بچهٔ خاقان
چونش بگردد نبید چند بشادی — شاه جهان شادمان و خرّم و خندان
از کف ترکی سیاه چشم پری روی — قامت چون سرو زلفکانش چوکان
زان می خوشبوی ساغری بستاند — یادکند روی شهریار سجستان
خود بخورد نوش و اولیاش همیدون — گوید هریک چو می بگیرد شادان
شادی بوجعفر احمد بن محمد — آن مه آزادگان و مفخر ایران
آن ملک عدل و آفتاب زمانه — زنده بدو داد و روشنائی کیهان
آنکه نبود از نژاد آدم چون او — نیژ نباشد اگر نگوئی بهتان
حجت یکتا خدای و سایهٔ اویست — طاعت او کرده واجب آیت فرقان ...

(رودکی: دیودان، ص. ۴۲-۴۵)

Die obige Darstellung der Weinherstellung deckt sich fast mit der von Caesar (1995, 48 f.) beschriebenen Methode der Weinproduktion in Schiras.

Es gehört zur Tradition der Hofhaltung, dass Mundschenke als zauberhafte turkstämmige Jünglinge beschrieben werden, wie im obigen Gedicht oder im Falle des Gaznawidenherrschers Mahmud und dessen Sklaven Ayaz. In dieser Tradition liegt auch Ḥāfeẓ (205, 5), wenn er sagt:

ترک عاشق کش من مست برون رفت امروز تا دگر خون که از دیده روان خواهد بود

Mein Liebhaber tötender Türke sauste berauscht heute davon,
Mal sehen, wie lange wieder den Augen Blut entströmen wird.

finden sich auch bei anderen Dichtern, darunter auch im Diwan der Dichter Manūčehrī[23] und Masʿūd Saʿd Salmān[24], die einige Jahrzehnte später am

[23] Manūčehrī 8, wo der Wein in der Ode als Schlafmittel (pers. *dārū-ye ḫᵛāb* داروی خواب) gepriesen wird. Der Dichter hebt drei Dinge ausdrücklich hervor, die in der Versammlung von Edelmütigen (arab. *aḥrār* احرار ; Pl. v. *ḥorr* حر = pers. *āzādagān* آزادگان) einen besonderen Platz einnehmen, nämlich den Wein (arab.-pers. *šarāb* شراب), die Laute (arab.-pers. *rabāb* رباب) und das Grillfleisch (pers. *kabāb* کباب).

آمد شب و از خواب مرا رنج و عذابست ای دوست بیار آنچه مرا داروی خوابست ...
در مجلس احرار سه چیزست و فزون به وان هر سه شرابست و ربابست و کبابست ...
ما مرد شرابیم و کبابیم و ربابیم خوشا که شرابست و کبابست و ربابست

An anderer Stelle lobt Manūčehrī (S. 23–24) den Wein als ein Mittel, welches den Gram (arab. *ḥazan* حزن) von seinem Herzen nimmt. Sein Leichnam möge mit dem besten Rotwein gewaschen, mit geriebenen Weintrauben parfümiert (arab.-pers. *ḥonūṭ* حنوط, vgl. dazu Newid 2010, 202f.), mit Weinblättern umwickelt und unter einem Weinstock bestattet werden. Sollte ihm im Jenseits das Paradies zuteil werden, wünsche er sich vom Gott einen Bach voll mit Wein.

ای باده فدای تو همه جان و تن من کز بیخ بکندی ز دل من حزن من ...
آزاده رفیقان منا! من چو بمیرم از سرخ ترین باده بشویید تن من
از دانهٔ انگور بسازید حنوطم وز برگ رز سبز ردا و کفن من
در سایهٔ رز اندر، گوری بکنیدم تا نیکترین جایی باشد وطن من
گر روز قیامت برد ایزد ببهشتم جوی می پر خواهم از ذوالمنن من

(Zu Manūčehrīs Weinoden vgl. a. Hanaway 1988, pp. 69–80). Ḥāfeẓ (266, 4–5) meint in ähnlicher Weise:

Der Engel versteht doch nicht, was Liebe bedeutet, o Schenk!
Verlange einen Pokal und begieße mit Wein (= wörtl. Rosenwasser) das Grab des Adam.
Binde den Becher an mein Leichentuch, um im Morgengrauen
des Tags der Auferstehung,
Mit dem Wein vertreiben werd' ich aus meinem Herzen die Angst
des Tags der Auferstehung.

فرشته عشق نداند که چیست، ای ساقی بخواه جام و گلابی بخاک آدم ریز
پیاله بر کفنم بند تا سحرگه حشر بمی ز دل ببرم هول روز رستاخیز

Der zweite Halbvers besagt, dass der Mundschenk dem Dichter zum Trinken Wein reichen soll. Das Grab des Adam mit Rosenwasser zu begießen, vermittelt jedoch das Bild einer uralten Tradition, Gräber, insbesondere Heiligengräber, mit Rosenwasser zu besprühen (vgl. Newid 2010, 110–111 u. Abb. 52 A u. B).

[24] Der Dichter (MSS) bezeichnet an einer Stelle (S. 43) den Wein als Blut der Weintraube (pers. *ḫūn-e angūr* خون انگور), welches den Geist stärke (pers. *qovvat-e rūḥ* قوت روح), Leben im Leib bedeute und Feuer im Licht sei. Wie die Biene sei er an der Zunge beißend, als Verdauungsmittel wirke er jedoch wie Honig (pers. *loʿāb-e zanbūr*, لعاب زنبور = wörtl.

Hofe der Gaznawiden lebten, welche die Nachfolge der Samaniden-Könige angetreten waren. Über den Weingenuss bei Hofe einiger Buyidenherrscher sind wir u. a. auch aus den Berichten über das Leben des Avicenna, insbesondere über seine persönliche Zuneigung zum Wein, gut unterrichtet.[25]

Wie Bayhaqī in seinem leider nicht vollständig erhaltenen Geschichtswerk beschreibt, soll Der Weindurst der Gaznawiden-Sultane besonders groß gewesen sein. An einer Stelle berichtet er als Augenzeuge von einem Trinkgelage des Herrschers Sultan Masʿūd (Regzt. 421–32/1031–41) und seinem Gefolge, in welchem exzessiv gefeiert wurde und die anwesenden Personen aus dem Umkreis des Königs bis zur völligen Trunkenheit miteinander gewetteifert hätten. Der Herrscher selbst habe am meisten getrunken, ohne dabei berauscht worden zu sein. Während die Betrunkenen aus dem Saal getragen wurden, habe sich der Sultan rituell gewaschen und danach seine Gebete verrichtet.[26] Ein Hinweis darauf, dass aus der Sicht des Herrschers Weingenuss und religiöse Frömmigkeit offensichtlich nicht im Widerspruch standen.[27] Das kann daran liegen, dass die im Iran herrschenden Dynastien in

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Bienenspeichel). Kein Wunder, wenn der Wein dem Leib einer Huri (*ǧān-e ḥūr* جان حور) gleiche, denn aus Trauben seien die Augen der Huri (*dīda*-ye *ḥūr* دیدهٔ حور).

قوت روح خون انگور است	تن پر او فتنه گشت و معذور است
آن نبید اندر آن قدح که بوصف	جان در جسم و نار در نور است
همچو زنبور شد زبان گزو باز	در گوارش لعاب زنبور است
باده گر جان حور شد شاید	زانکه انگور دیدهٔ حور است ...

25 Vgl. Sinoué 2002, 229, 235, 297, 362, 374, 387, 405, 428, 434, 501.

26 TB II 800.

... امیر گفت: » بی تکلف باید بدشت آییم و شراب بباغ پیروزی خوریم « و بسیار شراب آوردند، در ساعت، از میدان بباغ رفت ساتگینها و قرابه (ها، تا) پنجاه، در میان سرایچه بنهادند و ساتگین روان ساختند. امیر گفت: »عدل نگاه دارید و ساتگین ها برابر کنیدُ تا ستم نرود« و پس روان کردند ساتگینی هریک نیم من و نشاط بالا گرفت و مطربان آواز برآوردند، بوالحسن پنج بخورد و بششم سپر بیفگند و بساتگینی هفتم از عقل بشد و هشتم قذفش افتاد و فراشان بکشیدندش. بوالعلاء طبیب (در) پنجم سر پیش کرد و بردندش. خلیل داود ده بخورد [و سیا پیروز نه] و هردو را بکوی دیلمان بردند. بونعیم دوازده بخورد و بگریخت و داود میمندی بستان افتاده و مطربان و مضحکان همه مست شدند و بگریختند، ماند سلطان و خواجه عبدالرزاق [و] خواجه هژده بخورد و خدمت کرد رفتن را (و) بامیر گفت: » بس[که] اگر بیش ازین دهند ادب و خرد از بنده دور کند«. امیر بخندید ودستوری داد و برخاست و سخت بادب بازگشت و امیر، پس ازین، می خورد بنشاط [و] بیست و هفت ساتگین نیم منی ، تمام شد [و] برخاست و آب و طشت خواست و مصلی نماز و دهن بشست و نماز پیشین بکرد و نماز دیگر کرد و چنان می نمود که گفتی (یک ساتگین) شراب نخورده است و (این) همه بچشم و دیدار من بود ، که بوالفضلم و امیر بر پیل بنشست و بکوشک رفت.

27 Das Verhalten des Herrschers erinnert uns an ein Gedicht von Ḥāfeẓ (44, 3). Er schildert eine Szene, in welcher ein Rechtsgelehrter in betrunkenem Zustand eine Fatwa fällt, in

der Tradition der Sasaniden lebten, bei denen der Weingenuss ein fester Bestandteil des höfischen Zeremoniells war. Darüber hinaus waren die turkstämmigen Herrscher – wie die Gaznawiden - vor ihrer Islamisierung Anhänger heidnischer Religionen, so dass sie manche islamische Vorschriften offensichtlich nicht beachteten. Von besonderer Bedeutung mag eine Episode aus dem Leben des Gaznawidenherrschers Maḥmūd (Regzt. 388–421/998–1030) und dessen schönem Sklaven Ṭoġrel sein, dem Lieblingssklaven des Königs, nach Ayāz.[28] Bei einem Trinkgelage soll Amir Yaʿqūb, der jüngere Bruder des Königs, seinen trunkenen Blick solang auf den jungen Mundschenk Ṭoġrel gerichtet haben, bis er den Zorn des Herrschers auf sich zog. Yaʿqūb hatte sich in den „zauberhaften" Sklaven verliebt und kam nur deswegen unbestraft davon, weil er sich nach dem Willen des verstorben Vaters in der Obhut Maḥmūds befand.[29] In welcher Beziehung Mundschenke

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der er den Weingenuss zwar als verboten schildert, allemal aber weniger verwerflich als z. B. die Unterschlagung von religiösem Stiftungsvermögen:

فقیه مدرسه دی مست بود و فتوی داد که می حرام ولی به ز مال اوقافست

An anderer Stelle sagt er (65, 8), dass der Asket nach dem Wein aus der Quelle des Paradieses (*kawṯar* کوثر) trachtet, Ḥāfeẓ dagegen nach dem Weinglas. Mal sehen, was wohl der Wille Gottes bei der Wahl zwischen den beiden Wegen sei:

زاهد شراب کوثر و حافظ پیاله خواست تا درمیانه خواستهٔ کردگار چیست؟

[28] Im erwachsenen Alter erlangte er dann den Rang eines Heerführers und wurde sogar Statthalter von Mokran.

[29] TB I 298–299. Wie am Hofe sowohl des Sasanidenkönigs Ḫosraw als auch bei den Samaniden spielt hier der schöne Mundschenk (*sāqī* ساقی), dessen Antlitz einem Vollmond gleicht, eine besonders wichtige Rolle. Über die Samaniden und Gaznawiden erfahren wir aus den Quellen, dass an ihrem Hof fast immer der Knabe von türkischer Herkunft war. Im Folgenden ein kurzer Auszug des Textes:

یک روز چنان افتاد که امیر بباغ فیروزی شراب میخورد، بر گل و چندان گل صد برگ ریخته بودند، که حد و اندازه نبود و این ساقیان ماهرویان عالم، بنوبت دوگان می آمدند. این طغرل درآمد، قبای لعل پوشیده و یار وی قبای فیروزه داشت و بساقی گری مشغول شدند، هردو ماهروی (و) طغرل، شرابی رنگین بدست، بایستاد و امیریوسف را شراب دریافته بود [و] چشمش بر وی بماند و عاشق شد و هرچند کوشید که خویشتن را فراهم آورد، چشم از وی برنتوانست داشت (و) امیر محمود دزدیده می نگریست و شیفتگی و بیهوشی برادرش میدید و تغافلی می زد ، تا آنکه ساعتی بگذشت. پس گفت: » ای برادر، تو از پدر کودک ماند(ه بود)ی و گفته بود پدر (ما) بوقت مرگ، عبدالله دبیر را که: مقرر است که محمود ملک غزنین نگه دارد، که اسمعیل مرد آن نیست. محمود را از پیغام من بگوی که: مرا دل بیوسف مشغولست، وی را بتو سپردم ... در مجلس شراب در غلامان ما چرا نگاه میکنی؟ [و] ترا خوش آید که هیچکس در مجلس شراب در غلامان تو نگرد؟ [و] چشمت از دیرباز برین طغرل بمانده است و اگر حرمت روان پدرم نبودی ترا مالشی سخت تمام رسیدی، این بار عفو کردم و این غلام را بتو بخشیدم که مارا چنو بسیارست. هوشیار باش، تا بار دیگر چنین سهو نیفتد، که با محمود چنین بازیها نرود«

für gewöhnlich zu ihren Herren standen[30], kann an dieser Stelle nicht untersucht werden. Fest steht, dass ihre Anwesenheit am königlichen Hof seit der Mederzeit (s. oben) durchgehend belegt ist.[31]

In diesem Zusammenhang ist es erwähnenswert, einen Vers des am Hofe der Gaznawiden verweilenden Dichters Farroḫī (895) zu zitieren, in welchem er begehrt, als Ergänzung zum Weingenuss auch den Weinschenk zu küssen. Nur dann erlange sein Herz große Freude:

ای پسر گر دل من کرد همی خواهی شاد از پس باده مرا بوسه همی باید داد

Einige Jahrhunderte später besingt auch Ḥāfeẓ (311, 1) die Schönheit eines Jünglings, dessen Liebe er sich von Gott gewünscht habe, so:

عاشق روی جوانی خوش نو خاسته ام وز خدا دولت این غم بدعا خواسته ام

30 Neẓāmī ʿArūżī schildert in seinem Werk *čahār-maqāla* die Geschichte des Gaznawiden-Sultans Maḥmūd und seines türkischen Sklaven Ayāz, dessen Schönheit vom Sultan am meisten geschätzt wurde. Das Gesicht des Knaben Ayāz wird mit der Sonne und dem Mond, sein Haar mit Ambra und Narde verglichen. vgl. dazu a. Zarrīn-kūb 1371, 202. Auch ein Vers von Farroḫī, in dem vom Türken mit dem mondähnlichen Gesicht und ambraduftenden Haar die Rede ist, kann als Anspielung auf diese Geschichte verstanden werden (Farroḫī 6766). Zu Maḥmūd u. Ayāz vgl. a. Moʿezzī 4665; ʿArāqī 1033, 1645, 1951 u. 2427; Ḥāfeẓ 258, 8; 334, 8; Šīrvānī 60. Die Geschichte von Maḥmūd (der Liebende) und Ayāz (der Geliebte) hat auch symbolischen Charakter für alle Gottesmänner und Liebenden. Sie wurde zu einem Topos in der Mystik (vgl. dazu a. Jacob 1906, 1055 f.). Ḥāfeẓ (40, 6) vergleicht die Liebe von Maǧnūn zu Laylā mit jener von Maḥmūd und Ayāz und sagt, dass die Wangen des Herrschers dem Sklaven als Fläche für seine Füße (wörtl. Fußsohle) dienen:

بار دل مجنون و خم طرهٔ لیلی رخسارهٔ محمود و کف پای ایاز است

An anderer Stelle weist Ḥāfeẓ (258, 8) auf die mystische Bedeutung der Liebe des Maḥmūd zu Ayāz hin, „denn sonst bedürfte das prachtvolle Reich des Herrschers nicht das Liebäugeln mit der Locke von Ayāz“. Er sagt:

غرض کرشمهٔ حسنست ورنه حاجت نیست جمال دولت محمود را بزلف ایاز

Diese Anspielung auf die höchste Liebe zwischen den im obigen Vers genannten Paaren dient nach den Mystikern den Liebenden als Wegweisung, ja als Opfer auf dem Pfad zur wahren und ewigen Hingabe zu Gott. Die Szene, in der Maḥmūd eine ganze Nacht wiederholt die Wangen des schlafenden Ayāz küsst und seine Füße massiert, wurde bereits ein Jahrhundert vor Ḥāfeẓ vom großen Meister der mystischen Dichtung ʿAṭṭār in *Ilāhināma* (Ilāhnā. 193–94) sehr bildhaft beschrieben. ʿAṭṭār deutet an, dass der Knabe dem Herrscher nur im Schlaf als Symbol für die göttliche Schönheit diente, denn sobald er aufwachte, wurde er als Sklave des Königs wahrgenommen:

Offensichtlich gehörte der Weingenuss bei Gastmählern der Gaznawidenherrscher zum festen Bestandteil des Zeremoniells. Denn in *Tārīẖ-e Gardīzī* (TG) wird gesagt, dass bei einem Bankett zu Ehren des turkistanischen Herrschers Qadar Ḫān am Hofe von Sultan Maḥmūd der Gast keinen Wein trank, weil der Weingenuss bei Fürsten der Türken nicht geläufig

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ایاز سیمبر در خواب خوش بود — دلش چون دیده یکساعت بیاسود
ببالین آمدش محمود غازی — که بود اندر سر او سر فرازی
ز خواب خوش نکردش هیچ بیدار — هزارش بوسه زد بر هر دو رخسار
چو فارغ شد ز کار بوسه آن شاه — همی مالید پایش تا سحرگاه
بآخر چون ز خواب خوش در آمد — ز شرم شاه چون آتش بر آمد
چو شاهش دید گفت ای حسنت افزون — چو تو باز آمدی من رفتم اکنون
در ان ساعت که تو بیخویش بودی — زهر وصفت که گویم بیش بودی
در ان ساعت که دیدم جان فزایت — نبودی تو که من بودم بجایت
چو با خویش آمدی محبوب گم شد — چو تو طالب شدی مطلوب گم شد ...

In einer anderen Erzählung, in der sich ein armer Salzverkäufer in Ayāz verliebt und bereit ist, für diese Liebe mit seinem Leben zu bezahlen, stellt der berühmte mystische Dichter ʿAṭṭār (Ilāhnā. 240–44) seine These von der wahren Liebe zu Gott sehr anschaulich dar. Nach ihm ist der Salzverkäufer nicht in die äußere Erscheinungsform, d.h. in das schöne Aussehen von Ayāz verliebt, sondern in das höhere „göttliche“ Symbol, was hinter der Gestalt des jungen Sklaven verborgen bleibt. Hier verwendet der Dichter auch die typischen Begriffe der Mystik wie Liebender für Gottsuchende (*ʿāšeq* عاشق) und Geliebter (*maʿšūq* معشوق) für das göttliche Wesen. Das Gedicht fängt mit folgenden Versen an:

جوانی بوذ سرگردان همیشه — نمک بفروختن بوذیش پیشه
بگرد شهر میکردی تگ و تاز — بهر کوچه فرو میداذی آواز
ایاز دلستانرا دیذ یک روز — بسوخت از پای تا فرقش در آن سوز
جهان در عشق وی بر وی سیه شذ — ولیکن بوذ روشن کان ز مه شذ
جهان از مه سیه چون گردذ آخر — که تا دل زو بصذ خون گردذ آخر؟
شبانروزی دلی پر خون چو مستی — همه بر درگه سلطان نشستی
میان خاک راه افتاده بوذی — نمک در پیش خود بنهاده بوذی ...

(Zu beachten ist, dass bei dieser von Helmut Ritter vorgelegten Ausgabe das arab. *ẕāl* /ذ/anstelle des persischen *dāl* /د/ verwendet wird, was in frühen Handschriften eine gängige Praxis war.)

Wie stark diese Geschichte von Maḥmūd und Ayāz und damit auch die Vorstellung von ʿAṭṭār in der mystischen Dichtung verwurzelt ist, zeigt ein Vers des berühmten Meisters der lyrischen Dichtung aus Shiras (Ḥāfeẓ 9, 3), wenn er sagt, dass er mit seinen Wimpern die Schwelle der Weinschenke fegen würde, wenn sich der schöne Knabe (wörtl. der junge Zoroastrier مغبچه) zum Weinverkauf dort blicken ließe:

گر چنین جلوه کند مغبچهٔ باده فروش — خاکروب در میخانه کنم مژگان را

[31] Auf dieses Thema geht auch Yarshater (1960, 44) kurz ein. Vgl. a. Jacob1906, 1057 f.

war.[32] An anderer Stelle desselben Werkes heißt es, dass Amīr Moḥammad, Sohn des Sultan Maḥmūd dem Müßiggang und der Trinksucht derart verfallen war, dass er die Macht an seinem Bruder Masʿūd abtreten musste.[33] Soweit ersichtlich, existierte am königlichen Hof mancher Dynastien ein besonderer Verwalterposten für Weinbeschaffung (*šarāb-dārī* شراب داری), der mit einem erfahrenen Fachmann besetzt wurde.[34] Rašīd ad-Dīn Faẓlallāh beschreibt in *Ǧāmiʿ at-tawārīḫ* ein Bankett am Hofe des Seldjuken Alp Arsalan (1029–1072), bei der in Begleitung von Musik und Gesang so viel Wein getrunken wurde, dass der Herrscher am Schluss seinem in der Schlacht gefangen genommenen Gast sogar eine persönliche Frage stellt: „Was würdest Du nun mit mir machen, wenn du an meiner Stelle wärest?". Dieser erwidert: „Ich würde dich bestimmt bestrafen". Rašīd ad-Dīn führt fort, dass der Herrscher dennoch dem Gast gegenüber Milde walten ließ, weil jede andere Behandlung eines Gastes dem edelmütigen Charakter des Königs zuwider gewesen wäre.[35]

Besonders interessante Einblicke in das höfische Leben der Safawiden-Könige liefern uns einige europäische Reisende aus erster Hand. Zu Beginn des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts war der Portugiese António Tenreiro als Briefkurier seines Königs Zeuge eines königlichen Empfangs beim Safawidenherrscher Schah Ṭahmāsp (Regzt. 1524–1576) anlässlich des Neujahrfestes. Er beschreibt das königliche Zelt, in welchem zahlreiche silberne und mit Wein gefüllte Karaffen zu sehen waren. Vor dem Herrscher selbst waren Flaschen aus Gold und Silber mit Intarsien aus Türkisen und Rubinen sowie Becher aufgestellt, um daraus zu trinken. Von großer Bedeutung ist die Feststellung, dass bei der Weinzeremonie an erster Stelle der König stand und erst danach die Regenten und hochrangige Persönlichkeiten des Staates folgten. Auch der sechzehn Jahre alte Sohn des Königs ließ sich den Weingenuss nicht entgehen. Begleitet wurde das Fest, wie üblich, von Musik und Gesang.[36] Der Italiener Pietro della Valle wohnte einem Bankett am Hofe von Schah ʿAbbās des I./d. Gr. (Regzt. 1587–1629) bei, von dem er berichtet,

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32 TG 407.

33 TG 421.

34 QN 230.

35 ĞT 282–283.

36 António Tenreiro 2002, 94–95. Ähnliche Bankette von Schah Ṭahmāsp zu Ehren des indischen Moghul-Herrschers Homāyūn und von Schah ʿAbbās zu Ehren des mittelasiatischen Herrschers Vali Muḥammad Ḫān sind im Palast der Vierzig Säulen zu Isfahan abgebildet (s. Abb. 4; Vgl. a. Aqajani Isfahani/Javani 1386, 71).

dass auch hier neben dem Verzehr von allerlei Speisen und Köstlichkeiten, Wein getrunken wurde. Er bemerkt, dass es im Iran nicht üblich ist, begleitend zu den Speisen Wasser zu trinken. Vielmehr werden während des Essens und den ganzen Tag hindurch große Mengen von Wein gekostet, ohne jedoch einen Rausch zu haben. Außerdem berichtet er, es habe die Iraner befremdet, dass er bei der ersten Runde keinen Wein trank, denn die Europäer gelten bei ihnen als große Weintrinker. Es wurde ihm nahegelegt, sich der Runde anzuschließen, da dies dem König gefallen würde, woraufhin er sich bei nächster Gelegenheit in sein Schicksal fügte. Auch dieses Bankett wurde, wie gewohnt, von Musik und Gesang begleitet.[37] Wertvolle Informationen überliefert auch der deutsche Engelbert Kaempfer, der als Gesandter während der Herrschaft von Schah Solaymān (Regzt. 1666–1694) den Iran bereiste. Kaempfer berichtet, dass die Verpflegung der Gesandten am königlichen Hof ausschließlich von der Krone bestritten wurde. Die Europäer pflegten, sich aus der Hofkasse den zugesagten Betrag in bar auszahlen zu lassen, mit dem sie sich Lebensmittel und Wein kauften, an dem es in Isfahan nicht mangelte (vgl. Abb. 2).[38] Er berichtet auch von einem königlichen Empfang, bei dem es keinen Wein gab, da der Herrscher auf ärztlichen Rat hin abstinent war.[39] Diese Berichte sollten nicht zu der Annahme verleiten, dass es sich bei den Safawidenherrschern vornehmlich um Weinliebhaber gehandelt habe. Einige unter Ihnen waren sehr fromm wie z. B. der erste, nämlich Schah Ismāʿīl (Regzt. 1501–1524) und der letzte Herrscher, Schah Ḥosayn (Regzt. 1694–1722), um nur zwei Beispiele zu nennen. Zudem wurden, wie uns die Quellen zeigen, höfisches und religiöses Leben offensichtlich parallel geführt, denn unter Schah ʿAbbās errichtete man zahlreiche religiöse Einrichtungen, darunter auch die Schah- und die Lotfollāh-Moschee, letztere als Harems-Moschee, benannt nach dem Schwiegervater des Herrschers. Erwähnenswert in diesem Zusammenhang ist die Bemerkung, dass unter den Safawiden in Schiras der „vorzüglichste Wein der gan-

[37] Voyages 222–223. Einige Eindrücke von Banketten bzw. dem Privatleben von Schah ʿAbbās und manchen Prinzen vermitteln Darstellungen im Ausstellungskatalog über diesen Herrscher im British Museum (vgl. Shah ʿAbbās 2009, pp. 4, 25 u. 227). Weitere Einzel-bzw. Gruppendarstellungen vom höfischen Leben der Safawiden, die u. U. für unser Thema relevant wären, finden sich in der vor kurzem erschienenen Arbeit von Aqajani Isfahani / Javani (1386), die fast alle Malereien der Safawidenzeit (ca. 1501–1722) in Isfahan ausführlich dokumentiert.

[38] Kaempfer 1984, 250.

[39] Kaempfer 1984, 281.

zen Welt“ produziert wurde, welcher in der Regel von Christen und Juden hergestellt und als Exportgut an Portugiesen und Holländer verkauft wurde, die am Persischen Golf bzw. im indischen Raum angesiedelt waren.[40]

DIE ZAHLREICHEN NAMEN DES WEINS

Mit unzähligen phantasievollen Namen wird der Wein in den Quellen beschrieben. Zu den häufigsten Bezeichnung zählen *āb-e ātašgūn/ātašīn* (آب آتشگون/ آتشین)[41], *āb-e angūr* (آب انگور)[42], *āb-e ʿenab* (آب عنب)[43], *āb-e ḫarābāt* (آب خرابات)[44], *āb-e ṭarabnāk* (آب طربناک)[45], *bāda* (باده)[46], *raḥīq* (رحیق)[47], *doḫtar-e razz* (دختر رز)[48], *ḫamr* (خمر)[49], *ḫom-nešīn* (خم نشین)[50], *ḫūn-e angūr* (خون انگور)[51], *may* (می)[52], *mol* (مل)[53], *mīnā* (مینا)[54], *nabīd* (نبید)[55], *omm-ol-*

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40 Vgl. Caesar 1995, S. 44–49.

41 Wörtl. feuerartiges Wasser, feurig. DŠ 876, 2; Ḥāfeẓ 265, 3.

42 Wörtl. Wasser der Weintraube. Gemeint: Wein. VR 109; Ḫayyām 46.

43 Wörtl . Wasser der Weintraube. Gemeint: Wein. Sanā’ī 73; Ḥāfeẓ 218, 5; 329, 17.

44 Wörtl . Wasser der Taverne. Gemeint: Wein. Ḥāfeẓ 375, 2.

45 Wörtl. Freude bereitendes Wasser. Gemeint: Wein. Ḥāfeẓ 264, 1.

46 Rūdakī 13, 16, 36, 42, 169, 190; Farroḫī 215, 303, 304 , 895; Sanā’ī 73, 481, 496, 497, 498, 500; MD 8, 11, 13, 23–24; MSS 43 u. 179; VR 24, 74, 109, 145, 152, 157, 167, 184, 185, 219, 353; Neẓāmī 129, 132, 151, 153, 162, 166, 172, 179, 182, 243, 244, 305; Ḫayyām 11, 55, 91, 103, 110, 117, 118, 159, 165; DŠ 6, 4; 9, 1; 149, 1; 254, 1; 650, 4; 879, 13; 1756, 1; Ḥāfeẓ 4, 6; 8, 4; 11, 1; 20, 3–4 u. 7; 22 , 7; 37, 1; 46, 3; 54, 6; 66, 3; 84, 1 u. 8; 116, 5; 129, 1 u. 6; 149, 3; 150, 1 u. 7; 163, 1; 183, 2; 184, 2; 195, 1; 224, 11; 240, 3; 241, 3; 311, 1; 312, 7; 315, 4; 325, 6; 350, 9; 364, 1; Bīdel I 10.

47 Wörtl . rein, in der Bedeutung von reinem Wein. DŠ 1324, 10.

48 Wörtl. Tochter der Weinrebe, im übertragenen Sinne Wein. DŠ 1324, 10; Ḥāfeẓ 18, 3; 64, 6; 132, 4; 142, 1; 202, 4; 263, 6.

49 Arab. Wein, Sanā’ī 73; Saʿdī/Būstān 133; Ḥāfeẓ 26, 6; 29, 2; Im Arabischen auch als *būnāfiʿ* (بونافع) bekannt.

50 Wörtl. im Fass sitzend, gemeint ist Wein. Ḥāfeẓ 262, 3.

51 Wörtl. Blut der Weintraube, Bezug auf die rote Farbe des Weins. Gemeint: Wein. MSS 43. Zum Thema „Blood and Wine“ vgl. auch Hanaway: Iran, Vol. 26 (1988), pp. 69–80.

52 Rūdakī 13, 25, 27, 35, 40, 41, 59, 75, 91, 140; MD 8 u. 9, 11; MSS 43; Sanā’ī 72, 75, 76, 481, 497, 498, 500; VR 24, 79, 109, 135, 157, 158, 159, 160, 183, 184, 185, 217, 238, 241; Neẓāmī 130, 131, 154, 166, 172, 173, 176, 182, 239, 242, 244, 304; Ḫayyām 5, 19, 12, 14, 30, 48, 49, 62, 63, 100, 119, 122, 162; DŠ 14, 6; 33, 1; 53, 1; Saʿdī/Būstān 131, 133, 186; Ḥāfeẓ 1, 4; 4, 2 u. 8; 7, 1; 8, 2; 12, 6; 13, 3; 14, 5; 16, 9; 17, 8; 24, 3; 30, 4; 46, 1 u. 11; 65, 4; 87, 8; 111, 1 u. 3; 142, 4; 149, 2; 150, 4; 174, 5; 178, 5; 200, 10; 214, 4; 218, 2; 329, 1; 379, 5; Bīdel I 10, 11.

ḫabā'eṯ (ام الخباءث)[56], *šarāb* (شراب)[57], *ṣabūḥ/ṣabūḥī* (صبوح/صبوحی)[58], *sahbā'* (صهباء)[59] und *se-yakī/sīkī* (سیکی)[60]. Als eine Anspielung auf die rote Farbe des Weins dürften folgende Begriffe gelten, darunter *aḥmar* (احمر)[61], *arġavānī/arġavān* (ارغوانی/ ارغوان)[62], *forūzān* (فروزان)[63], *gol-gūn/gol-rang* (گلگون/گلرنگ)[64], *ḫūn-rang* (خون رنگ)[65], *laʿl/laʿl-fām* (لعل/لعل فام)[66], *rangīn* (رنگین)[67], *sorḫ* (سرخ)[68], *sūrī* (سوری)[69] und *yāqūt/yāqūt-fām* (یاقوت/ یاقوت فام)[70].

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53 Nach Moʿīn aus dem sogdischen muδ, Traubenwein. VR 24, 186; Saʿdī/Būstān 101; Ḥāfeẓ 5, 4.

54 Wörtl. Emaille bzw. Glasur, auch Flasche mit diesen Eigenschaften; Gemeint: Wein. Bīdel I 2, 10, 11, 19.

55 Wein aus Datteln od. Rosinen. Rūdakī 25, 44, 55, 100; Farroḫī 208–210; MSS 43; VR 236; QN 237 f.; Neẓāmī 132, 150, 154; Ḥāfeẓ 238, 4; 239, 1. Es ist nicht sicher, ob die Dichter unter dieser Bezeichnung auch tatsächlich den aus Datteln bzw. Rosinen hergestellten Wein meinen.

56 Arab. (= die Mutter der Übel). Vgl. ĞT 283; Ḥāfeẓ 5, 8.

57 Wörtl. Getränk; Gemeint: Wein. Rūdakī 81; Farroḫī 214, 297; MD 8 f., 33; QN 237; ʿAṭṭār 431, 8164; Neẓāmī 119, 166, 172; Ḫayyām 9, 54, 98, 157, 164, 165; DŠ 48, 5; 56, 12; 102, 9; 113, 7; 115, 7; 135, 1; 1330, 1; Saʿdī/Būstān 101, 132; Ḥāfeẓ 2, 2; 39, 3; 79, 1; 100, 1; 113, 5; 165, 6; 201, 1; 214, 2; 218, 9; 219, 5.

58 Eigentlich ein Morgentrank, um die Folgen eines Rausches zu beheben. Vgl. MD 33; QN 237; ʿAṭṭār 431, 8164; Neẓāmī 119, 172; DŠ 642, 3; 650, 5; 695, 6; 699, 3; 1953, 1; Ḥāfeẓ 202, 4; 206, 9; 219, 2 u. 9; 246, 7; 253, 4; 373, 3. Dieser Wein wird auch als *bāda-ye šab-gīr* (شبگیر = wörtl. nächtlich, im übertragenen Sinne frühmorgens) bezeichnet (vgl. Ḥāfeẓ 26, 4).

59 (Roter) Wein. Ḥāfeẓ 188, 4; 203, 1.

60 Ein bestimmter Wein, welcher auf ⅓ verdampft wird. Außerdem in der Bedeutung von Weinbecher. QN 236; Saʿdī/Būstān 186.

61 Arab. wörtl. rot. MD 13.

62 Wörtl. Judasbaum, als Adj. *arġavānī* (ارغوانی), was hier auch sicher gemeint ist, rot. Neẓāmī 119; DŠ 56, 12; 714, 3; Ḥāfeẓ 87, 9; 99, 5; 358, 1; 373, 3.

63 Wörtl. leuchtend. VR 183.

64 Wörtl. blumen-, rosenfarbig. Rūdakī 53; VR 238; Ḫayyām 11; Ḥāfeẓ 263, 4; 380, 5.

65 Wörtl. blutfarben. VR 185.

66 Wörtl. Rubin/rubinrot. Rūdakī 41, 86; Sanā'ī 75; VR 157; Ḫayyām 48, 54, 165; Saʿdī/Būstān 133 (*laʿl-rang/lāla-gūn* لعل رنگ/لاله گون); Ḥāfeẓ 7, 1; 54, 2; 81, 3; 165, 6; 178, 5; 271, 4.

67 Wörtl. farbig. VR 185; Neẓāmī 172; Ḥāfeẓ 149, 3.

68 Wörtl. rot. MD 11, 24, 33; Neẓāmī 119.

69 Wörtl. rot. MSS 185 (*may-e sūrī* می سوری). In der Lexikografie gehen die Meinungen auseinander, ob sich die Bezeichnung *šarāb-e sūrī* شراب سوری auf die rote Farbe oder die Herkunft des Weins aus Syrien bezieht (vgl. Moʿīn, FĀ; LN u.d.W.)

70 Wörtl. Rubin/rubinfarben. Rūdakī 58; Saʿdī/Būstān 133.

Genannt werden auch einige Eigenschaften des Weins, wie *bī-ġaš* (بی غش)[71], *do-sāla/-e* (دوساله)[72], *faraḫ-baḫš*(فرح بخش)[73], *golāb* (گلاب)[74], *ḫām* (خام)[75], *ḫᵛoš-govār* (خوشگوار)[76], *nāb* (ناب)[77], *rūšan* (روشن)[78] *sāl-ḫorda/-e* (سالخورده)[79] und *ṣāf* (صاف)[80]. Selten wird der Wein auch als bitterschmeckend (*talḫ*/*talḫ-vaš* تلخ وش/ تلخ) bezeichnet[81]. Es gibt auch Hinweise darauf, dass der Wein mit Duftmitteln versetzt wurde, wie die Wörter *moškīn* und *mošk-bū* (مشکین/ مشکبو)[82] zeigen. Aufbewahrt wird der Wein in Weinschläuchen (*ḫīk* خیک)[83], wie in Persepolis belegt ist, oder großen irdenen Krügen und auch Fässern (*ḫābīya/ḫonb/ḫom* خم/خنب/خابیه)[84], weswegen die Weinschenke u. a. auch *ḫom-ḫāna* (خمخانه)[85] heißt. Als weitere Bezeichnungen dafür werden *dayr* bzw. *dayr-e/kūy-e moġān* (دیر، دیر/کوی مغان)[86], *ḫammār-ḫāna* bzw. *ḫāna-ye ḫammār* (خمارخانه/ خانهٔ خمار)[87], *may-ḫāna* (میخانه)[88], *may-kada* (میکده)[89] , *šarāb-*

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71 Wörtl. ohne Zusatz/unverfälscht, d.h. rein. Ḥāfeẓ 201, 1; 230, 6; 462, 5.

72 Wörtl. zweijährig; Gemeint: alt. Ḥāfeẓ 214, 2.

73 Wörtl. erheiternd. Ḥāfeẓ 79, 1. Auch feurig (*ātašīn* آتشین) u. Freude bereitend (*ṭarabnāk* طربناک) zählen zu dieser Kategorie. VR 185 bezeichnet den Wein ebenso als erheiternd und Gram beseitigend (*šādī-fazā* u. *andūh-robā* شادی فزا، اندوه ربا).

74 Wörtl. Rosenwasser, gemeint: Duft und Klarheit, wie Rosenwasser. Rūdakī 58; MD 33; Neẓāmī 244; Ḥāfeẓ 266, 4.

75 Wörtl. roh, gemeint ist: nicht im Kochverfahren hergestellter Wein. ʿAṭṭār 315, 5858.

76 Wörtl. bekömmlich. Neẓāmī 150; Ḥāfeẓ 65, 4.

77 Wörtl. rein/klar. Farroḫī 215, 303; MD 8 u. 9; VR 57, 145; Ḫayyām 118, 119; Ḥāfeẓ 2, 2; 13, 3; 45, 1; 116, 5.

78 Wörtl. leuchtend/klar. Rūdakī 55; Farroḫī 208; VR 238; Ḫayyām 122.

79 Wörtl. jemand, der die Jahre gegessen hat, gemeint ist: alt. Ḥāfeẓ 88, 6.

80 Wörtl. klar/rein, Ḥāfeẓ 378, 4.

81 Neẓāmī 132, 154, 172; Ḫayyām 165; Ḥāfeẓ 5, 8; 356, 1.

82 Wörtl. moschusduftend. MD 11; MSS 179; VR 238; Ḥāfeẓ 230, 1; 243, 3; 256, 7; 263, 4.

83 DŠ 11, 5.

84 Nach Moʿīn geht *ḫābīya* auf arab. *ḫābi'a* خابئه, *ḫonb/ḫom* خنب/خم dagegen auf pahl. *ḫum-bak* خنبک/خمبک zurück. Vgl. oben das Gedicht von Rūdakī zur Herstellung von Wein. Rūdakī 35, 127, 155; MD 13 u. 24; Ḫayyām 124; DŠ 124, 7; 637, 7; 699, 8; 1324, 11; Saʿdī/Būstān 133 Ḥāfeẓ 29, 1; 40, 2; 340, 1 (das kochende Weinfass, *ḫom-e may dar ǧoš* خم می در جوش); 374, 7.

85 DŠ 637, 7; Ḥāfeẓ 17, 6; 20, 1; 29, 1; 162, 5.

86 Ḥāfeẓ 27, 1; 74, 7; 87, 7; 199, 5; 268, 3.

87 Sanā'ī 481; Ḥāfeẓ 10, 2; 178, 3.

88 Sanā'ī 75, 76; Saʿdī/Būstān 133; Ḥāfeẓ 9, 3; 10, 1; 13, 5; 17, 5; 37, 3; 47, 3; 53, 1; 53, 4; 71, 8; 81, 4; 132, 1; 144, 4; 158, 2; 170, 1; 175, 8; 184, 1; 199, 7; 250, 1; 232, 8; 252, 1; 327, 7; 332, 7; 334, 6; 352, 1; 358, 1; 360, 2; 367, 3; 368, 1; 370, 2; 371, 1; 372, 1; 374; 7; Bīdel I 19.

ḫāna (شرابخانه)[90] genannt. Der Weinverkäufer selbst heißt dann in Verbindung mit den o.g. Bezeichnungen für Wein u. a. *bāda-forūš* (باده فروش)[91] bzw. *may-forūš* (می فروش)[92] oder *ḫammār* (خمار)[93]. Der Weinladen wird auch *kūy-e may-forūšān* (کوی می فروشان)[94] genannt. Häufig handelt es sich bei Weinverkäufern um ältere Menschen (*pīr-e may-forūš* پیر می فروش)[95] oder Schankwirte (*pīr-e ḫarābāt*/*may-ḫāna/moġān* (پیر خرابات/میخانه/مغان)[96] die mit Tavernen und Weinschenken (*ḫarābāt* خرابات)[97] in Verbindung gebracht werden. In der Dichtung stehen diese Orte im Kontrast zu den sakralen Einrichtungen wie Moscheen (*masǧed* مسجد) und Konventen (*ḫāneqāh* خانقاه)

In den Ghaselen des Ḥāfeẓ spiegeln sich nicht nur die eigene Weltanschauung, sondern auch manche religiösen und sozialen Verhältnisse seiner Zeit wider. Bestimmte Gruppen, die er als Heuchler und Scheinheilige bezeichnet, bleiben von seiner starken Kritik nicht verschont. Oft stellt er die Weinschenke (*may-ḫāna* میخانه) und die Moschee (*masǧed* مسجد) bzw. den Konvent (*ḫāneqāh*) als Topoi gegenüber, um gegen Heuchler und pseudoheilige Moscheegänger zu protestieren. Ḥāfeẓ geht es dabei offensichtlich um den echten Wein, der dem Mystiker den Weg zur Vervollkommnung öffnet, z. B. in 47, 3; 53, 1 u. 175, 8:

بر آستانهٔ میخانه هرکه یافت رهی — ز فیض جام می اسرار خانقه دانست
منم که گوشهٔ میخانه خانقاه منست — دعای پیر مغان ورد صبحگاه منست
زخانقاه بمیخانه میرود حافظ — مگر ز مستی زهد ریا بهوش آید

89 Farroḫī 304; ʿAṭṭār 510, 9686; 514, 9748; Ḥāfeẓ 36, 8; 40, 1; 47, 1; 80, 4; 116, 7; 144, 1; 195, 8; 196, 10; 198, 5; 202, 1; 209, 4; 214 , 5; 220, 7; 243, 9; 252, 2; 263, 3; 272, 2; 333, 4; 334, 5; 335, 2; 346, 3; 353, 4; 368, 2.

90 Ḥāfeẓ 22, 6; 254, 5.

91 Ḥāfeẓ 9, 3 (zoroastrischer Knabe als Weinverkäufer = *moġ-bačay-e bāda-forūš* مغبچهٔ باده فروش, zu dieser Bezeichnung vgl. a. 16, 8; 170, 4; 193, 11; 202, 4); 39, 2 (der Knabe wird als elegant/kokett beschrieben = *nāzanīn pesar* نازنین پسر); 123, 8 (der geliebte Weintrinker als christlicher Knabe = *bot-e tarsā-bača-ye bāda-parast* بت ترسابچهٔ باده پرست); 159, 7; 239, 7.

92 Sanāʾī 497; Ḥāfeẓ 71, 8; 100, 1; 130, 9; 149, 5; 151, 2; 175, 1; 186, 1.

93 Wörtl. Weinhändler. MD 13; ʿAṭṭār 376, 7069; Ḫayyām 160; DŠ 24, 11; 30, 8; 646, 1; 650, 4.

94 Ḥāfeẓ 130, 9.

95 Ḥāfeẓ 100, 1; 149, 5; 175, 1.

96 ʿAṭṭār 332, 6243; Ḥāfeẓ 39, 4; 53, 1; 69, 9; 143, 3; 145, 7; 154, 4; 158, 6; 182, 8; 198, 6; 200, 6; 203, 2; 205, 2; 208, 5.

97 Sanāʾī 73, 74; ʿAṭṭār 332, 6241 u. 6243; Ḥāfeẓ 63, 3; 71, 10; 76, 3; 80, 7; 111, 5; 125, 8; 127, 6; 131, 3; 164, 4; 182, 7; 201, 8; 204, 8.

bzw. Klöstern (*ṣawmeʿa* صومعه)[98]. Der Weinliebhaber bzw. -trinker wird u. a. als *bāda-parast* (باده پرست)[99], *ǧorʿa-ḫᵛār* (جرعه خوار)[100], *ḫarābātī* (خراباتی)[101], *may-ḫᵛār/may-ḫᵛāra/mya-gosār* (میخوار/میخواره/می گسار)[102] oder *may-parast* (می پرست)[103] und *qallāš* (قلاش)[104] bezeichnet. Offensichtlich wurde der Wein gelegentlich auch in eine Karaffe (*ṣorāḥī* صراحی)[105], einen Krug (*sabū/kūza* سبو/ کوزه)[106] oder Kürbis (*kadū* کدو)[107] umgefüllt, dann aus verschiedenen Gefäßen wie *ǧām* (جام)[108], *kāsa* (کاسه)[109], *piyāla* (پیاله)[110], *paymāna*

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98 In der mystischen Dichtung (z. B. ʿAṭṭār 514, 9748) wird die Weinschenke (z. B. *ḫarābāt*/*may-kada* خرابات/میکده) in der Regel als Topos verwendet, welche dem wahren Gottesfürchtigen als Aufenthaltsort dient. Ein Scheinheiliger *(zāhed-e ḫošk* زاهد خشک) bzw. Heuchler (*zāhed-e ẓāher-parast* زاهد ظاهر پرست) sucht dagegen die Moschee auf, um sich nach außen hin als Gläubiger darzustellen. Im Übrigen braucht man für die Gotteserfahrung nach den Worten von Ḥāfeẓ (379, 6) keinen spezifischen Ort (Konvent خانقاه oder Weinschenke خرابات), denn überall sei ihm Gott allgegenwärtig:

تو خانقاه و خرابات در میانه مبین خدا گواه که هرجا که هست با اویم

99 Ḥāfeẓ 24, 4; 25, 1; 26, 4; 123, 8.

100 Neẓāmī 130.

101 Sanā'ī 73.

102 Sanā'ī 480; VR 291; Ḫayyām 47; Ḥāfeẓ 43, 1; 46, 9; 153, 11.

103 Ḥāfeẓ 262, 2; Bīdel I 17.

104 Sanā'ī 497; ʿAṭṭār 332, 6246; 353, 6673; Ḥāfeẓ 462, 4.

105 ʿAṭṭār 352, 6665 (aus Glas = *šīša*, vielleicht als Flasche gedacht); Neẓāmī 119, 172 (aus Glas = *šīša* شیشه); Ḫayyām 54; Saʿdī/Būstān 132; Ḥāfeẓ 45, 2; 137, 5; 149, 4; 269, 5; 386, 6.

106 Ḫayyām 85, 104 (aus Keramik = *kāšī* کاشی), 107, 139; DŠ 124, 4; 637, 7; Ḥāfeẓ 182, 3.

107 DŠ 637, 7.

108 Wörtl. Becher, Pokal, Schale. Rūdakī 41, 58, 190; Farroḫī 210 (aus Kristall = *ǧām-e bolūr* جام بلور), 297; Sanā'ī 75, 496, 499; MSS 42; ʿAṭṭār 315, 5858; 431, 8162; VR 24, 109, 157 (aus Kristall = *ǧām-e bolūrīn* جام بلورین), 158, 167, 184, 183 u. 185 (golden, *zar/zarrīn* زر/زرین), 236; Neẓāmī 129, 130, 135, 154, 174, 179, 287, 304; Ḫayyām 9, 10, 12, 28, 51, 54 (aus Kristall = *ǧām-e bolūrīn* جام بلورین), 123, 165; DŠ 4, 1; 9, 1 u. 5; 234, 1; 876, 2; Ḥāfeẓ 5, 11; 47, 3; 81, 3; 109, 5; 111, 1; 117, 2; 119, 1; 320, 2; 327, 7. Manchmal sind Pokale sogar mit Edelsteinen besetzt, z. B. Ḥāfeẓ 218, 5 (*ǧām-e moraṣṣaʿ* جام مرصع). An anderer Stelle wird er als golden beschrieben, z. B. Ḥāfeẓ 162, 4 (*ǧām-e zarrīn* جام زرین); Schließlich kann man in ihm die ganze Welt sehen, wie bei Ḥāfeẓ 361, 5 (*ǧām-e ǧahān-bīn* جام جهان بین). Wahrscheinlich ist damit der Wein gemeint, es kann aber auch ein Kristallglas sein. Bīdel I 19.

109 Ḫayyām 93, 128.

110 VR 24 u. 241; Ḫayyām 54, 59, 74, 85; Ḥāfeẓ 17, 6; 30, 4; 45, 2; 65, 8; 175, 7; 214, 1 u. 4; 259, 5; 266, 5.

(پیمانه)[111], *qadaḥ* (قدح)[112], *raṭl* (رطل)[113], *sāġar* (ساغر)[114] und *sātkīn/sātgīn/sātgīnī* (ساتگین/ساتگینی /ساتکین)[115] getrunken. In diesem Zusammenhang finden sich in den Quellen u. a. auch Verben wie *bāda-* bzw. *may ḫ^{v}ordan* (باده/می خوردن)[116], *bāda dawr-dāndan* (باده دور دادن)[117], *bāda* bzw. *may nūšīdan* bzw. *nūš-kardan* (باده/می نوشیدن یا نوش کردن)[118], *bāda/qadaḥ kašīdan* (باده/قدح کشیدن)[119], *ǧām/qadaḥ gereftan* (جام/قدح گرفتن)[120] oder *may gosārdan/ḫ^{v}ordan* (می گساردن/خوردن)[121] und *šarāb-ḫ^{v}ordan* (شراب خوردن)[122]. Die Trinkgelage heißen u. a. *may-parastī/may-gosārī* (می پرستی/میگساری)[123], *bāda-ḫ^{v}orī* (باده خوری)[124], *qallāšī* (قلاشی)[125] oder *may-ḫ^{v}āragī* (میخوارگی)[126] und

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[111] Ḫayyām 63, 149; DŠ 31, 11; Ḥāfeẓ 26, 6; 67, 3; 191, 2; 337, 2; 346, 8; 360; 3; 350, 3 (zum Becher greifen, *piyāla gereften* پیاله گرفتن); 379, 1; Bīdel I 7. Einige Trinkgefäße sollen mit Linien markiert gewesen sein. Bīdel (I 19) spricht in diesem Zusammenhang von *ḫaṭ(ṭ)-e paymāna* (خط پیمانه = Markierung des Bechers). Doch findet sich auch der Begriff *ǧām-e haft-ḫaṭ(ṭ)* (جام هفت خط = mit sieben Linien markierter Pokal, vgl. BQ, LN). Angeblich entsprach die Markierung dem Rang des Zechers bei einem Bankett, so wurde z. B. nur der Becher des Königs bis zur siebten Markierung gefüllt. Eine Belegstelle hierfür fand sich bisweilen nicht.

[112] Wörtl. Becher, Pokal. Rūdakī 58, 91, 146; MSS 43; MD 24; Sanā'ī 73, 499; VR 76; Neẓāmī 172, 174; Ḫayyām 30, 82, 91, 107, 124, 159; DŠ 9, 6; 32, 5; 48, 5; 238, 5; 254, 1; 1644, 4; Saʿdī/Būstān 133; Ḥāfeẓ 20, 7; 27, 1; 117, 1; 119, 4; 148, 1; 332, 5; 374, 3; 379, 9; Bīdel I 2, 15.

[113] Sowohl für Gewichtseinheit als auch für Becher u. Pokal gebraucht. VR 291.

[114] Wörtl. Becher/Weinpokal; MSS 179; VR 23, 236, 291; Neẓāmī 162, Ḫayyām 39; DŠ 24, 10; 31, 11; 45; 1251, 8; 119, 4; Ḥāfeẓ 8, 2; 47, 8; 87, 6; 132, 2; 149, 8; 151, 2; 153, 11; 162, 1; 184, 5; 245, 4; 248, 4; 331, 3; 343, 2 (ausgeleert werden *sāġar tohī šodan* ساغر تهی شدن); 346, 1; 353, 1; 374, 1; Bīdel I 7.

[115] Ein großer Becher bzw. Pokal, aus welchem Wein getrunken wurde. TB II 800; Sanā'ī 75; Saʿdī/Būstān 131.

[116] Farroḫī 743, 1068; MD 9; Sanā'ī 500; VR 76, 79, 135, 159, 184, 341, 353; Neẓāmī 243, 304; DŠ 53, 1; Ḥāfeẓ 341, 7.

[117] Sanā'ī 496.

[118] Sanā'ī 497; VR 184; Ḫayyām 30, 44, 55; DŠ 119, 5.

[119] Sanā'ī 73; Neẓāmī 162 (*bāda dar sāġar kašīdan* باده در ساغر کشیدن); Ḥāfeẓ 337, 2 (*paymāna dar-kašīdan* پیمانه در کشیدن); 343, 8 (*qadaḥ kašīdan* قدح کشیدن).

[120] Sanā'ī 73; VR 185; Neẓāmī 135; Ḥāfeẓ 355, 2.

[121] Wörtl. Wein trinken. MD 33; Sanā'ī 75; VR 159; Neẓāmī 154, 166, 172, 176, 182; Ḫayyām 14, 53, 99, 114, 122, 129, 155, 160; Ḥāfeẓ 254, 6; 350, 9; 372, 3.

[122] Ḫayyām 157, 164; DŠ 48, 5.

[123] VR 71, 242; Saʿdī/Būstān 118.

[124] MD 11.

[125] Sanā'ī 481.

[126] VR 159 u. 217.

gehen oft mit Verköstigung von gegrilltem Fleisch verschiedener Art Hand in Hand. In der Regel werden sie von Musik begleitet[127]. Der Weingenuss im Übermaß – wie z. B. das Trinkgelage des Gaznawidenherrschers Sultan Masʿūd (dargelegt von Bayhaqī II 800, s. o.) - hat zur Folge, dass man betrunken wird (*maḫmūr* bzw. *mast gaštan/šodan/būdan* مخمور، مست گشتن/شدن/بودن)[128]. Die Trunkenheit selbst heißt dann *ḫomār* bzw. *mastī* (خمار/مستی)[129]. Offensichtlich wurde der Wein oft in einer Runde getrunken, in welcher man den Weinpokal immer weiterreichte, denn der Begriff *bāda/may/šarāb/ qadaḥ gardāndan* bzw. *gaštan* (باده/می/شراب/قدح گرداندن یا گشتن)[130] weist auf solche Praktiken hin. Der Mundschenk heißt *sāqī* (ساقی)[131],

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[127] Farroḫī 212–213; MSS 185; Sanā'ī 73; VR 24, 156, 159, 217; Neẓāmī 166, 174; Ḫayyām 9, 51; Saʿdī/Būstān 133; Ḥāfeẓ 19, 8; 320, 5; 336, 4; 348, 6; 350, 9; 351, 2; 374, 4; 376, 6; 384, 5; 386, 6. Vgl. a. MD 33:

مجلسی سازم با بربط و با چنگ و رباب با ترنج و بهی و نرگس و با نقل و کباب
بگسارم بصبوح اندر، زین سرخ شراب که همش گونهٔ گل بینم، هم بوی کباب

Nach MD (8) gibt es bei einer Versammlung edler Menschen drei Dinge im Überfluss: Wein (*šarāb* شراب), Lauten (*rabāb* رباب) und Kebab (*kabāb* کباب). Darüber hinaus bezeichnet er sich selbst als einen, der diese drei Dinge schätzt und lobpreist deren Vorzüge mit großer Begeisterung.

در مجلس احرار سه چیز است و فزون به وآن هر سه شرابست و ربابست و کبابست ...
ما مرد شرابیم و کبابیم و ربابیم خوشا که شرابست و کبابست و ربابست

Auch andere Dichter reden von Musik in Verbindung mit Weingenuss, z. B. MSS 185; DŠ 390, 2 u. 8; 1324, 1 u. 12; Ḥāfeẓ 219, 2; 254, 6.

[128] QN MSS 43; Sanā'ī 73, 75 (*dar ḫamr būdan* در خمر بودن); ʿAṭṭār 332, 6241; VR 147, 148, 152, 159, 160, 186, 219, 242, 373; Neẓāmī 182, 198; Ḫayyām 59, 93, 114; DŠ 9, 5; 30, 9; 53, 2; 1290, 1; Saʿdī/Būstān 126; Ḥāfeẓ 44, 3; 64, 7.

[129] Sanā'ī 73, 75, 500; VR 109, 147, 158 (machen, *kardan* کردن), 159, 160, 161, 167, 184, 236, 291; Ḫayyām 49, 162; DŠ 24, 11; 642, 4; 646, 1; 695, 6; 1471, 1; Saʿdī/Būstān 118; Ḥāfeẓ 358, 7; 379, 2.

[130] VR 24 u. 217; Neẓāmī 174 (*ǧām dawr-raftan* جام دور رفتن); DŠ 9, 1; 135, 1; 149, 1; 150, 2; 1330, 1; Ḥāfeẓ 384, 5 (*ǧām gardāndan* جام گرداندن).

[131] QN 236; Sanā'ī 73, 75, 496; ʿAṭṭār 357, 6740; VR 217; Neẓāmī 151, 174, 242, 287; Ḫayyām 44, 74; DŠ 1, 10; 7, 15; 11, 5; 14, 6; 31, 11; 118, 9; 149, 2; 234, 1; 390, 8; 708, 1; Ḥāfeẓ 1, 1; 3, 2 (*parī-paykar* پری پیکر = von der Gestalt einer Fee, vgl. dazu a. Newid/Abbasi 2007, 251 f.; Das Wort *parī* ist wahrscheinlich eine Ableitung des avestischen *pairikā* [Yt. 8.8; 10.26; V. 11.29] > pahl. *parīk*, ursprünglich in der Bedeutung „Zauberin, Hexe", später jedoch als eine „bezaubernde Gestalt"); 9, 3 (zoroastrischer Junge als Weinverkäufer = *moġ-bačča* مغبچه); 19, 8; 44, 4; 47, 6; 65, 1; 74, 6; 78, 5; 81, 7; 84, 1;

welcher am Hofe von Königen in aller Regel aus jungen, „bezaubernden“ Knaben bestand, wie oben am Beispiel von verschiedenen iranischen und turkstämmigen Dynastien (Sasaniden, Samaniden, Gaznawiden) erörtert wurde. Dieser wird oft mit besonderen Attributen ausgestattet. Oft hat er ein schönes Antlitz (*rū-ye nekū/ nīkū* روی نکو/نیکو)[132] oder sein Antlitz ähnelt einer Blume (*gol-roḫ* گل رخ)[133] aber auch dem Mond (*mah-ʿezār* مه عذار)[134]. Ebenso als Götzenbild und Geliebter (*ṣanam* صنم)[135] wird er bezeichnet. Ḥāfeẓ bereut es sehr, dass er nicht auf die Eingeweihten hörte und auf das Küssen der zarten Lippen des Mundschenks verzichtete[136], während an anderer Stelle er sich über den bitteren Wein beschwert und als Ausgleich die süßen Lippen des Mundschenks küsst.[137]

Die metaphorische Bedeutung des Weins in der Dichtung

Die Bildersprache der persischen Poesie ist von großer Vielfalt geprägt. Die Entscheidung, ob sie real zu deuten oder metaphorisch zu verstehen ist, hängt auch davon ab, mit welcher Art der Dichtung wir es zu tun haben und welcher Weltanschauung der Dichter anhängt. Bei Panegyrikern wie Rūdakī[138], Farroḫī[139], Manūčehrī[140] oder Masʿūd Saʿd Salmān[141] kann die Beschreibung einer Bankett-Szene der Realität durchaus nahe stehen, selbst wenn sie von übermäßiger Übertreibung begleitet wird. Bei einem Epiker wie Ferdawsī[142] oder Asadī Ṭūsī[143], die sich auf wenige historische Begebenheiten zumal aus ferner Vergangenheit beziehen, ist die Beurteilung nicht ganz leicht. Manche Schilderungen von Sitten und Gebräuchen wie etwa die

86, 1; 89, 7; 90, 9; 109, 5; 111, 8; 118, 5; 141, 5; 150, 1; 186, 2; 192, 8 (*sīm-sāq* سیم ساق = mit silbernem Unterschenkel; gemeint weißhäutig); 225, 1; 241, 3; Bīdel I 6.

132 DŠ 713, 4; Ḥāfeẓ 311, 1 (verliebt in das Antlitz eines Jungen *ʿāšeq-e rū-ye ǧavānī* عاشق روی جوانی).

133 DŠ 149, 1.

134 DŠ 1324, 1; Ḥāfeẓ 365, 2 (mah-rū مه رو).

135 DŠ 1330, 1.

136 Ḥāfeẓ 319, 4.

137 Ḥāfeẓ 356, 2.

138 Vgl. dazu Forūzān-farr 1369, 18 ff.

139 Vgl. dazu Forūzān-farr 1369, 124 ff.

140 Vgl. dazu Forūzān-farr 1369, 134 ff.

141 Vgl. dazu Forūzān-farr 1369, 207 ff.

142 Vgl. dazu Forūzān-farr 1369, 44 ff.

143 Vgl. dazu Forūzān-farr 1369, 438 ff.

Feste und Feierlichkeiten von *Nawrūz*, *Mehrgān* und *Sada*, die fortdauernd tradiert waren, entsprechen durchaus der Realität. In der romantischen Dichtung wie *ḫosraw-o šīrīn*, *vīs-o ramīn*, *Yūsof-o zolayḫā* finden sich zahlreiche Beschreibungen des Weins, die eine gute Sachkenntnis der Dichter vermuten lassen. Bei Mystikern wie Sanā'ī, ʿAṭṭār, Mawlavī, ʿArāqī, Saʿdī, Ḥāfeẓ u. Bīdel findet die Verwendung des Begriffes „Wein" in der Metaphorik ihren Platz, selbst wenn ihre Bildersprache, wie bei den anderen Gattungen, unverändert bleibt.

Die iranische Mystik entwickelte sich in einem Raum, in welchem der Zoroastrismus und Buddhismus mit ihrem zentralen Motiv des göttlichen Lichts beheimatet waren. Auch im Islam wird Gott als das umfassende Licht von Himmel und Erde beschrieben (Sure 24, 35)[144], so dass die Mystik ohne Lichtmotiv kaum vorstellbar wäre. Einige Abhandlungen berühmter iranischer Mystiker stehen sogar in direkter Verbindung mit dem Licht, z. B. Basṭāmīs *Kitāb an-Nūr*[145] (das Buch des Lichts) und al-Ġazālīs *Miškāt al-anwār*[146] (die Nische der Lichter). Wie der Dichter ʿAṭṭār in seinem *Manṭiq aṭ-ṭayr* sehr anschaulich darstellt, ist der Gipfel des mystischen Pfades zu dem Zeitpunkt erreicht, in welchem der Mystiker in dem göttlichen Licht aufgeht. Um seiner völligen Hingabe zu Gott Ausdruck zu verleihen, verwendet ʿAṭṭār an anderer Stelle den Wein der Liebe als Metapher des Rausches auf der Suche nach dem Zeichen Gottes, nämlich dem Licht:[147]

Deine Liebe machte mich für immer trunken,
In der ganzen Welt machte sie mich zu einem Halunken.
Kein Wunder, wenn ich nun heiter wirke,
Denn von dem Wein der Liebe bin ich trunken.
Als erschien die Sonne deines Antlitzes,
Wahrlich macht` es mich wie einen Schatten verschwinden.
Wie soll ich dein Zeichen suchen auf deinem Pfad?
Durch den Liebeskummer ist mir jedes Zeichen entschwunden.

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144 Vgl. dazu a. Newid 2006, 170–172.
145 Vgl dazu Šafīʿī Kadganī 1384.
146 Vgl. dazu Elschazlī 1987.
147 ʿAṭṭār 201, 3706–09:

عشق تو مست جاودانم کرد — ناکس جملهٔ جهانم کرد
گر سبک دل شدم عجب نبود — که می عشق سرگرانم کرد
چون هویدا شد آفتاب رخت — راست چون سایهٔ نهانم کرد
چون نشان جویم از تو در ره تو؟ — که غم عشق بی نشانم کرد

Für weitere Angaben bei ʿAṭṭār vgl. 42, 2082; 310, 5798–99; 330, 6179.

An anderer Stelle erzählt ʿAṭṭār[148], von seinem nächtlichen Besuch in einem Kloster. Dort begegnet er dem einzigartigen Pīr (= Oberhaupt), der durch den spirituellen Wein der Liebe berauscht, völlig bewusstlos dalag. Schmerz erfüllt und tief beeindruckt von dieser Szene vergisst der Dichter seinen Wunsch und stößt einen lauten Schrei aus, verbrennt den Mantel und Gebetsteppich und wird zum Derwisch (*qalandar* قلندر).[149] ʿAṭṭār bringt damit zum Ausdruck, dass der wahre Weg zu Gott nicht durch formative Vorschriften, wie Gebete, Läuterungsgaben oder Askese, sondern nur durch innige Hingabe und Intuition erreicht werden kann, eine Meinung, die ebenso von anderen Mystikern vertreten wird. Zu den Wegweisern und Anführern der Dichter dieser Kategorie zählt wohl Sanā'ī[150], der bekanntlich zunächst panegyrische Verse verfasste, sich später jedoch der mystischen Dichtung zuwandte. Der von ʿAṭṭār empfohlene mystische Weg, d. h. die Flucht vor dem prachtvollen weltlichen Leben, hin zu einer spirituellen Existenz, wurde von Sanā'ī selbst eingeschlagen. Er sagt:[151]

> Welcher Nutzen, besonnen oder berauscht zu sein, vom weltlichen Wein.
> Den Talar der Armut schlag an die Stirn solch einer Besonnenheit...
> Wenn du für dich Liebe und Armut beanspruchen möchtest,
> Dann rede wie Sanā'ī in dieser Welt, in der Art eines Qalanders.[152]

Ein weiteres gemeinsames, ja zentrales Motiv vieler mystischer Dichter ist, mit jenen Heuchlern abzurechnen, die sich durch ihre äußere Erscheinung wie etwa ihre Bekleidung, als Männer Gottes verkaufen möchten. ʿAṭṭār sagt dazu:[153]

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[148] ʿAṭṭār 357, 6741 ff.

دوش درون صومعه دیر مغانه یافتم — راهنمای دیر را پیر یگانه یافتم
چون بر پیر در شدم پیر ز خود برفته بود — از می عشق پیر را مست شبانه یافتم
از طلبی که داشتم چونکه نشستم اندکی — از کف پیر بتکده درد مغانه یافتم ...
نعره زنان برون شدم دلق و سجاده سوختم — دشمن جان خویش را در بن خانه یافتم ...
بی سر و سروری اگر رند قلندری شدم — قبلهٔ کافری شدم زهد فسانه یافتم ...

[149] Zu diesem Thema vgl. u. a. Šafīʿī Kadganī 1386.
[150] Zu Sanā'ī vgl. a. Forūzān-farr 1369, 254 ff.
[151] Sanā'ī 481:

هوشیار از باده و مست از می دنیا چه سود — طیلسان فقر بر فرق چنین هشیار زن ...
گر همه دعوی کنی در عاشقی و مفلسی — چون سنائی دم درین عالم قلندر وار زن

[152] Zur Geschichte dieser außergewöhnlichen Menschen vgl. Šafīʿī Kadganī 1386.
[153] ʿAṭṭār 332, 6234–37:

Ein Herz, welches durch die Liebe zum Kochen kommt,
Bleibt bis zum Jüngsten Gericht berauscht und betäubt.
Da es dauernd an den Geliebten denkt,
Vergisst es für immer sein eigenes Selbst.
In der Hoffnung des Wiedersehens mit dem Geliebten stets,
Trinkt er viele Becher vom Gift des Misserfolgs.
So dann geht er weg von der Schar der Heuchler,
Und entfernt Umhang und Mantel von seinem Körper.

Im Dīvān-e Šams bezieht Mawlawī, genannt Rūmī[154], – wie Sanā'ī und ʿAṭṭār – zum Wein eindeutig Stellung, wenn er sagt:[155]

Wir sind durch den Duft der Sonne des Glaubens angeheitert und gehen.
Wir sind durch den Becher der Sonne des Glaubens berauscht o Schenk,
bring keinen Wein.

Für Mawlawī steht der berühmte Mystiker Šams aus Täbris als Symbol für den echten Pfad zur Erleuchtung. In ihm sieht der Dichter nicht nur seinen Wegweiser und ein Vorbild, sondern auch den begnadeten erleuchteten Lehrer, der alle Eigenschaften der Mystik in sich vereinigt. Denn er sagt:[156]

Der Sonne des Glaubens [ist] Kandis und Wein ebenso Harfe und Laute.
Der Sonne des Glaubens [ist] Wein und Rausch ebenso Licht und Feuer.

Um dem Titel dieser Arbeit annähernd gerecht zu werden, wenden wir uns nun Scheich Saʿdī aus Schiras zu, der das Kapitel drei seines Bostāns der Liebe, Leidenschaft und Ekstase widmet. An einer Stelle beschreibt er die Welt der Liebenden so:[157]

دلی کاید ز عشق دوست در جوش — بماند تا قیامت مست و مدهوش
ز بسیاری که یاد آرد ز معشوق — کند یکبارگی خورا فراموش
بر امید وصال دوست هردم — قدحها ز هر ناکامی کند نوش
برون آید ز جمع خودنمایان — بیندازد ردا و خرقه از دوش

154 Vgl. dazu Schimmel 1978.

155 DŠ 1080, 5 (Die Sonne des Glaubens ist eine wörtl. Übersetzung des Namens Šams ad-dīn):

ما ببوی شمس دین سرخوش شدیم و میرویم — ما ز جام شمس دین مستیم ساقی می میار

156 DŠ 1080, 14:

شمس دین نقل و شراب و شمس دین چنگ و رباب — شمس دین خمر و خمار و شمس دین هم نور و نار

157 Saʿdī/Būstān 102 (vgl. dazu a. Rückert 1988, 283):

Du wunderst dich über Gottesfreunde auf dem Pfad,
Die ertrunken sind im Meer der Seele so tief.
Aus Leidenschaft zum Geliebten sich selbst vergessend,
In Erinnerung an den Geliebten die ganze Welt vergessend.
In ständiger Andacht an Gott den Geschöpfen entfliehend,
Vom Mundschenk so berauscht und den Wein vergießend.
Mit keinem Heilmittel kann man sie behandeln,
Denn niemand kennt genau ihre Schmerzen.

Als großer und vielleicht letzter Vertreter der mystischen Dichter gilt wohl mit seinen lyrischen Ghazelen der berühmte Ḥāfeẓ aus Schiras, dessen gewaltige Ausdrucksformen und raffinierte Ästhetik die großen deutschen Dichter wie Rückert und Goethe begeisterte. Er setzt sich mit den Heuchlern und Scheinheiligen seiner Zeit kritisch auseinander, ein Thema, das sich seit Sanā'ī wie ein roter Faden durch die mystischen Schriften zieht. Der geistige Wein der Erkenntnis begleitet Ḥāfeẓ fast immer. An einer Stelle sagt er:[158]

Der scheinheilige Asket kennt unseren Zustand nicht,
Was immer er über uns sagt, wundert uns auch nicht.

An anderer Stelle bezieht er Stellung zum Wein:[159]

Ich und die Ablehnung des Weins, was soll das für eine Geschichte sein?
Meistens wird mir in dieser Sache genügend Verstand und Kompetenz sein…
Gestern Nacht schlief ich vor Kummer nicht, denn ein Freund sagte:
Wenn Hafiz betrunken wäre, gäbe es einen Grund zur Beschwerde.

Wenn Ḥāfeẓ unzählige Male den Wein besingt, meint er wohl den Wein der Erkenntnis, denn er sagt:[160]

عجب داری از سالکان طریق — که باشند در بحر معنی غریق
بسودای جانان ز جان مشتغل — بذکر حبیب ازجهان مشتغل
بیاد حق از خلق بگریخته — چنان مست ساقی، که می ریخته
نشاید بدارو دوا کردشان — که کس مطلع نیست از درد شان

Unter dem Mundschenk (*sāqī* ساقی) versteht der Dichter wohl den Schöpfer selbst.

158 Zu Ḥāfeẓ vgl. a. Bürgel 1972 u. 1975; Newid 2012, 254–266. Ḥāfeẓ 71, 1:

زاهد ظاهر پرست از حال ما آگاه نیست — در حق ما هر چه گوید ، جای هیچ اکراه نیست

159 158, 1 u. 7: (Vgl. zum Thema a. Jacob 1906, 1055–1076)

من و انکار شراب این چه حکایت باشد؟ — غالباً این قدرم عقل و کفایت باشد ...
دوش ازین غصه نخفتم که رفیقی میگفت — حافظ ار مست بود، جای شکایت باشد

160 Ḥāfeẓ 148, 5 u. 80, 7:

Erfreut das Herz dessen, der wie Hafez,
Einen Becher vom Wein der Ewigkeit nimmt…
O Hafiz, wenn du am Todestag einen Becher ergattern wirst,
Dann wirst du von der Gasse der Taverne direkt ins Paradies befördert.

Abschließend ist zu Ḥāfeẓ noch zu bemerken, dass seine Gedichte in gleicher Weise Mystisches wie Weltliches als Deutungsmöglichkeit bieten. Wo das eine anfängt und das andere aufhört, lässt sich oft nicht genau sagen. So hat die Frage, wie denn die Gedichte von Ḥāfeẓ zu verstehen seien, die Gemüter immer wieder erhitzt. Manche wollen seine Gedichte ausschließlich mystisch deuten, andere sind der Meinung, das Mystische ja das Geheimnisvolle und die Wirklichkeit gingen ineinander über, ohne dass man eine genaue Grenze zwischen beiden ziehen könne. Der bedeutendste deutschsprachige Ḥāfeẓ-Kenner seiner Zeit Friedrich Rückert (1926, 28) kleidet diese Aporie in folgende Verse:

„Hafis, wo er scheinet übersinnliches
Nur zu reden, redet über Sinnliches.
Oder redet er, wo über Sinnliches
Er zu reden scheint, nur Übersinnliches?
Sein Geheimnis ist unübersinnlich,
denn sein Sinnliches ist übersinnlich.“

Doch diese Ausführungen wären unvollständig, wenn an dieser Stelle Ḫayyām, der berühmte Meister von Vierzeilern aus Nīšāpūr, nicht zu Wort käme:[161]

Soviel Wein werde ich trinken, dass von dessen Duft,
Emporsteigt aus meinem Grab, nachdem ich unter der Erde bin.
Sollte ein Schmachtender an meinem Grab vorbeikommen,
Wird er gleich durch den Duft meines Weins völlig betrunken.

خرم دل آنکه همچو حافظ جامی ز می الست گیرد...
حافظا روز اجل، گر بکف آری جامی یکسر از کوی خرابات برندت به بهشت

[161] Ḫayyām 83 (nach der Taschenbuchausgabe Amīr Kabīr, 1338):

چندان بخورم شراب کاین بوی شراب آید ز تراب چون روم زیر تراب
گر بر سر قبر من رسد مخموری از بوی شراب من شود مست و خراب

Es ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass gerade bei vielen, Ḫayyām zugeschriebenen Vierzeilern nicht sichergestellt ist, ob sie auch tatsächlich aus seiner Feder stammen oder einiges im Laufe von Jahrhunderten hinzugefügt worden ist.

LITERATUR

A. Lexika

BQ = Borhān-e Qāṭeʿ, Moḥammad Ḥosayn Ibn Ḫalaf motaḫalleṣ be Borhān, mo'allef be sāl-e 1062 h. q. (Dictionnaire de la langue Persane) par Mohammad Moʿīn, 4 Tomes, Teheran, Amīr Kabīr 1982 (1. Aufl. 1335 h. š.).

FĀ = Farhang-e Ānandrāǧ, ta'līf Moḥammad Pādšāh motaḫalleṣ ba Šād, hrsg. Von Moḥammad Dabīr- Siyāqī, Teheran, Ḫayyām 1353 h. š.

FǴ = Farhang-e Ǧahāngīrī by Mīr Ǧamāl od-Dīn Ḥosayn Inǧū Šīrāzī, Vol. I + II, ed. by Rahīm ʿAfīfī, Publication No. 27 Univ. of Mashhad, Mashhad 1980.

FR = Farhang-e Rašīdī. ʿAbd ar-Rašīd b. ʿAbd al-Ġafūr al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī, at-Tatawī, ba zamīma-ye moʿarrabāt-e rašīdī, ba taḥqīq va tasḥīḥ-e Moḥammad ʿAbbasī, Teheran, Rangīn 1337 h. š.

GFS = Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname von Fritz Wolff. Festgabe des Deutschen Reiches zur Jahrtausendfeier für den persischen Dichterfürsten, Berlin 1935. Nachdruck Teheran 1998.

Horn = Horn, Paul: Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie, Slg. indogermanischer Wörterbücher IV, Strassburg, Verlag von Karl J. Trübner 1893. (Zitiert nach laufenden Nummern).

Hübschmann = Hübschmann, H.: Persische Studien, Strassburg, Verlag von Karl J. Trübner 1895. (Zitiert nach Seitenzahl).

KP = Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike in fünf Bänden. Auf der Grundlage von Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Konrad Ziegler und Walther Sontheimer, München, Druckmüller (Artemis) 1975.

LF = Loġat-e fors „loġat-e darī" bar asās-e nosḫa-ye dānešgāh-e Panǧāb (Lāhūr) va moqābela bā yāzdah nosḫa-ye dīgar va farhang-hā-ye moʿtabar-e qadīm-e fārsī. Nevešta-ye Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Asadī Ṭūsī, ba taṣḥīḥ va taḥšiya-ye Fatḥollāh Moǧtabā'ī/ʿAlī Ašraf Ṣādeqī, Teheran, Entešārāt-e Ḫ^{v}ārazmī 1365 h. š. [1986].

LN = Loġat-nāma, ta'līf-e ʿAlī Akbar Dehḫodā (1258–1334 h. š.). Zīr-e naẓar-e doktor Moḥammad Moʿīn, Teheran, čāp-ḫāna-ye dawlatī-ye īrān 1337–1345 h. š.

Moḥammadī = Moḥammadī, Moḥammad: farhang-e īrānī-ye pīš az islām va āṯār va tamaddon-e islāmī va adabiyāt-e ʿarabī, čāp-e devvom, Teheran 2536 P. Ä.

Moʿīn = Farhang-e fārsī (motavasseṭ) šāmel-e yak moqaddama va se baḫš: loġāt, tarkībāt-e ḫāreǧī, aʿlām, panǧ ǧeld, ta'līf doktor Moḥammad Moʿīn, Teheran, entešārāt-e Amīr Kabīr 1363 h. š. Engl. Titel: An Intermediate Persian Dictionary, including a preface and three parts: Vocabulary, Foreign Compound Expressions, and Proper Names, by Dr. Mohammad Moʿīn, 5 Vols, Teheran, Printed by Sepehr Printing House 1984.

Pūrdāvūd = Pūrdāvūd, Ebrāhīm: farhang-e īrān-e bāstān, Teheran, Pākatčī 1326 h. š. [1947].

Sorūšiyān = Sorūšiyān, Ǧamšīd Sorūš: farhang-e behdīnān. Bā moqaddema-ye Ebrāhīm Pūrdāvūd, ba kūšeš-e Manūčehr Sotūdeh, Tehrān, čāp-ḫāna-ye dānešgāh 1335 [1956].

Vullers = Vullers, Johannes Augustus: Lexicon persico-latinum etymologicum, I-II, Bonn 1855–1864, Suppl. 1867.

Wehr = Wehr, Hans: Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart. Arabisch-Deutsch. 5. Aufl., Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz 1985.

WKAS = Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache hrsg. durch die Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. In Verbindung mit Anton Spitaler bearbeitet von Manfred Ullmann. Bd. I: Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz 1970, Bd. II/1: 1983, Bd. II/2: 1991. Wird fortgesetzt.

B. Primärquellen

ʿArāqī = *Kolliyāt-e Šayḫ Faḫr ad-Dīn Ebrāhīm Hamadānī motaḫalleṣ ba ʿArāqī* (šāmel-e moqaddama- ye dīvān, qaṣāyed, moqaṭṭaʿāt, tarkībāt, targīʿāt, ġazalīyāt, robāʿīyāt, ʿoššāqnāma yā dah-nāma, lamaʿāt, eṣṭelāḥāt-e taṣavvof), bā moqaddame va taṣḥīḥ va moqābela-ye heğdah nosḫa va fehrest. Ba kūšeš-e Saʿīd Nafīsī, Teheran, Sanā'ī 1368 h. š. (Zitiert nach Verszahl).

ʿAṭṭār = *Dīvān-e qaṣāyed va targīʿāt va ġazaliyyāt-e Farīd ad-Dīn ʿAṭṭār Nīšābūrī*. Bā taṣḥīḥ va moqābela va moqaddama-ye Saʿīd Nafīsī. čāp-e sevvom, Teheran, Sanāʿī 1339 h. š. (Zitiert nach Seiten- und Verszahl).

Bürgel 1972 = Bürgel, Johann Christoph: Muhammad Schams ad-Din Hafis, Gedichte aus dem Diwan, Reclam, Stuttgart.

Bürgel 2003 = Bürgel, J. Christoph: *Dschalaluddin Rumi*. Gedichte aus dem Diwan. Ausgewählt, aus dem Persischen übertragen und erläutert von Johann Christoph Bürgel. München, C.H. Beck 2003.

ČMʿA = *Čahār-maqāla, ta'līf Aḥmad b. ʿOmar b. ʿAlī Neẓāmī ʿArūżī Samarqandī* dar ḥodūde sāl-e 550 heğrī qamarī ṭebq-e nosḫa-ye ke ba saʿ-ye va ehtemām va taṣḥīḥ-e marḥūm Moḥammad Qazvīnī ba sāl-e 1327 heğrī qamarī dar Qāhera čāp šoda, bā taṣḥīḥ-e moğaddad va šarḥ-e loġāt va ʿebārāt va tawżīh-e nokāt-e adabī ba ehtemām-e doktor Moḥammad Moʿīn, čāpe šešom, Teheran, Ibn Sīnā 1341 h. š. (1962). Engl. Übersetzung: Edward G. Browne: The Cahār Maqāla („four Discourses") of Nizāmī-i ʿArūdī-i-Samarqandī, London 1921.

DŠ = *Kollīyāt-e Dīvān-e Šams-e Tabrīzī*, bā moqaddama-ye Badīʿ oz-Zamān Forūzān-farr, Teheran 1341 h. š. (Zitiert nach Gazelen bzw. Qaṣīden- und Verszahl). Vgl. a. Faṭemī, Ḥosayn: taṣvīr-garī dar ġazaliyāt-e Šams, Teheran, Amīr Kabīr 1364 h. š. Dt. Übertragung: Thylman, K.: Ghaselen, in Übertragung aus dem Englischen herausgegeben, Stuttgart 1921. Weitere Angaben s. Schimmel 1978, S. 226–227. Vgl. a. Rückert 1819; Bürgel 2003.

Elschazlī 1987 = Abū-Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī: Die Nische der Lichter *Miškāt al-anwār*. Aus dem Arabischen übersetzt, mit einer Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Indices herausgegeben von ʿAbd-Elṣamad ʿAbd-Elḥamīd Elschazlī, Hamburg, Felix Meiner Verlag 1987.

Farroḫī = Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ğūlūġ: *Dīvān-e Ḥakīm Farroḫī Sīstānī*. Bā moqaddama va ḥavāšī va taʿlīqāt va fehrest-e aʿlām va loġāt va moqābela-ye nosāḫ-e moʿtabar, ba kūšeše doktor Moḥammad Dabīr Siyāqī, Teheran, entešārāt-e Zavvār čāp-e naḫost 1335 h. š., čāp-e dovvom 1349 h. š. (Zitiert nach Verszahl).

Ferdawsī = Vgl. ŠN

ĞT = Rašīd ad-Dīn Faẕlallāh: Ğāmiʿ at-tawārīḫ. Ba saʿ-ye va ehtemām-e Aḥmad Ātaš, Teheran 1362.

Ḥāfeẓ = *Dīvān-e ġazaliyyāt-e Mawlānā Šams ad-Dīn Moḥammad Ḥʷāğa Ḥāfeẓ Šīrāzī*. Ba kūšeš-e doktor Ḫalīl Ḫaṭīb Rahbar, Teheran, entešārāt-e Ṣafī ʿAlīšāh, čāp-e siyyo-dovvom 1381 h. š. (Zitiert nach Gaselen- und Verszahl). Vgl. auch Hāfeẓ-šenāsī, 2 Bde., ed. Saʿīd Niyāz Kermānī, Teheran 1364; Mortažavī, Manūčehr: Maktab-e Ḥāfeẓ yā moqaddama-ye bar Hāfeẓ-šenāsī, čāp-e devvom, Teheran, entešārāt-e Ṭūs, 1365 h. š. Satār-zāde 1366; Ḫorram-šāhī 1371; Hillmann, Michael C.: Unity in the Ghazals of Hafez, BI Minneapolis & Chicago 1976. Übersetungen/Nachdichtungen: 1) Der Diwan von Mohammed Schemsed-din Hafiz, übersetzt ... von Joseph von Hammer, Stuttgart 1812/13, 2Bde. 2) Der Diwan des großen lyrischen Dichters Hafiz, Persisch mit Übertragung von Vincenz Ritter v. Rosenzweig, Bd. I-II, Wien 1863; 3) Der Diwan des Schems-eddin Muhammed Hafis aus Schiraz, auszugsweise Übertragung von G. H.F. Resselsmann, Berlin 1865; 4) Unio mystica, Sehnsucht und Erfüllung; hafizische Lieder in Nachbildungen, Übertragung von Georg Jacob, Hannover 1922; 5) Ghaselen des Hafis, übersetzt von Friedrich Rückert, hrsg. von Hermann Kreyenberg, München 1926; 6) Die Ghaselen des Hafiz. Neu in deutsche Prosa übersetzt, mit Einleitung und Lesehilfen von Joachim Wohlleben. Würzburg, Königshausen & Neumann 2004.

Herodot = Herodot *Historien*, 2 Bde. Griechisch-deutsch. Hrsg. von Josef Feix, München u. Zürich, 4. Aufl., Artemis Verlag 1988.

IlāhNā. = *Ilāhī-nāma az goftār-e Farīd ad-Dīn ʿAṭṭār*, ba taṣḥīḥ-e H. Ritter, Istanbul, maṭbaʿa-ye maʿāref 1940. Deutsch. Titel: Ilahi-name, die Gespräche des Königs mit seinen sechs Söhnen, eine mystische Dichtung von Farīdaddīn ʿAṭṭār. Hrsg. von Helmut Ritter, Istanbul, Staatsdruckerei 1940. Übersetzung (franz.): Fariddudine Attar, le livre divin (Elahinameh), Traduction française de Fuad Rouhani, Préface de Louis Massignon, Paris Edition Albin Michel 1961. Engl. Übersetzung: John A. Boyle, Manchester 1976.

Ḫayyām 1338 = *Robʿiyyāt-e Ḥakīm ʿOmar Ḫayyām Nīšābūrī*. Ba ehtemām-e Moḥammad Tağvīdī, Teheran, Amī Kabīr 1338. (Zitiert nach Seitenzahl).

Ḫayyām 1977 = *Hakim Omar Khayyam. Robaïyat* (Vierzeiler), übertragen aus dem Persischen nach der Ausgabe von Mohammad-Ali Forughi, mit einem Essay v. Prof. Dr. A. H. Zarrinkoob von Purandocht Pirayech, Teheran, Yassavoli 1977. (Zitiert nach der Vierzeiler-Nummer).

Kaempfer 1984 = Kaempfer, Engelbert: *Am Hofe des persischen Großkönigs 1684–1685*. Edition Ermann, Stuttgart.

Ktesias = *Die Persika des Ktesias von Knidos*, editiert u. übersetzt von Friedrich Wilhelm König, Graz 1972 (Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 18).

Manūčehrī = *Bargozīda-ye ašʿār-e ostād Manūčehrī-ye Dāmġānī*. Be kūšeš-e doktor Moḥammad Dabīr Siyāqī, Teheran, Amīr Kabīr 1372. (Zitiert nach Seitenzahl).

MD = vgl. Manūčehrī

Moʿezzī = *Dīvān-e Amīr aš-šoʿarā' Moḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malek Nīšābūrī motaḫalleṣ ba Moʿezzī*. Motažammen-e qaṣāyed va ġazaliyyāt va moqaṭṭaʿāt. Ba saʿ-ye va ehtemām- e ʿAbbās Eqbāl. Teheran, Ketāb-forūšī-ye Islāmīya 1318 h. š. (Zitiert nach Verszahl).

MoNā. = *Moṣībat-nāma-ye Šayḫ Farīd ad-Dīn ʿAṭṭār Nīšābūrī*. Ba ehtemām va taṣḥīḥ-e Doktor Nūrānī Veṣāl. Bā moqaddema va tarāğem-e aʿlām va maʿānī-ye loġāt va eṣṭelāḥāt, čāpe čahārom, Teheran, Golšan 1373 h. š. (Zitiert nach Seitenzahl). Vgl. a.: Le Livre de l'Épreuve, trad. Isabelle de Gastines, Paris 1980.

MSS = *Dīvān-e Masʿūd Saʿd Salmān* 438–515, ba taṣḥīḥ-e marḥūm Rašīd Yāsamī, Teheran, Amīr Kabīr, 1362 h. š. (Zitiert nach Seitenzahl).

MX =(Dādestān ī) *Mēnōng ī xrad* [Mēnōnki i Xrat] = The Books of the Mainyo-i Khrad. The Pazand and Sanskrit texts with an English Translation, a Glossary etc., ed. by E. W. West, London –Stuttgart 1871.

NawrūzNā. = *Nawrūz-nāma dar monšā' va tārīh va ādāb-e ǧašn-e Nawrūz*, aṭar-e ḥakīm ʿOmar Ḫayyām Nīšābūrī, ba taṣḥīḥ va taḥšiya-ye ostād Moǧtabā Mīnavī, Teheran, entešārāt-e asāṭīr 1380 h. š. (Zitiert nach Seitenzahl).

Neẓāmī = *Kolliyāt-e ḫamsa-ye Neẓāmī Ganǧavī*, šāmel-e Maḫzan al-asrār, Ḫosraw-o Šīrīn, Laylī-o Maǧnūn, Haft-paykar, Šaraf-nāma, Eqbāl-nāma. Bā moqaddama-ye doktor Moʿīn-farr, Teheran, čāp-e Zarrīn, čāp-e devvom 1362 h. š. (Zitiert wurde *Ḫosraw-o šīrīn*, nach Seitenzahl). Vgl. a. Ritter 1927.

Neẓāmī ʿArūżī = vgl. ČMʿA.

QN = *Qābūs-nāma*, ta'līf-e ʿOnṣor al-moʿālī Kay-Kāvūs b. Eskandar b. Qābūs b. Vošm-gīr b. Ziyār. Ba ehtemām va taṣḥīḥ-e Ġolām Ḥosayn Yūsofī, Teheran 1345, 1368[6].

Rückert 1819 = Rückert, Friedrich: *Dschelaleddin Rumi, Ghaselen*. Stuttgart 1819.

Rückert 1926 = Rückert, Friedrich: *Ghaselen des Hafiz*, München 1926.

Rückert 1988 = *Scheich Saadi. Bostan Diwan Gulistan*, aus dem Persischen übertragen von Friedrich Rückert. Hrsg. von Fredun Rainer Kirsch und Brigitte Denzer, München Ehrenwirth 1988.

Rūdakī = *Aḥvāl va ašʿār-e Abū ʿAbdallāh Ǧaʿfar b. Moḥammad Rūdakī Samarqandī*, ta'līf-e Saʿīd Nafīsī, 3 ǧeld, Teheran, šerkat-e ketāb-forūšī-ye Adab 1319 h. š. (Zitiert nach Seitenzahl).

Saʿdī = *Matn-e kāmel-e Dīvān-e Šayḫ Aǧall Saʿdī Šīrāzī. Golestān va Bostān va Maǧāles*, bā moqābela-ye moǧaddad ba kūšeš-e Maẓāher Moṣaffā, Teheran, Eqbāl 1340 h. š. (Zitiert wurde Bostān, nach Seitenzahl). Vgl. dazu a. Ḥazā'elī 1370 u. 1371. S. a.: Ḏekr- e ǧamīl-e Saʿdī. Maǧmūʿa-ye maqālāt va ašʿār ba monāsabat-e bozorg-dāšt-e hašt- sadomīn sālgard-etavallod-e Šayḫ Aǧall Saʿdī ʿalaihi r-raḥma, 3 Bde, Teheran 1346. Übersetzungen: 1) Der Fruchtgarten von Saadi. Aus dem Persischen auszügsweise übertragen durch Ottokar Maria Freiherrn von Schlechta-Wssehrd, Wien 1852. 2) *Būstān* , deutsch von Friedrich Rückert, Leipzig 1882. 3) *Gulistān*, deutsch von K.H. Graf, Nachdruck München 1920. Vgl. a. Gelpke 1971; Rückert 1988.

Sanā'ī = *Dīvān-e Ḥakīm Abū l-Maǧd Maǧdūd b. Ādam Sanā'ī Ġaznavī*, bā moqaddama va ḥavāšī va fehrest, ba saʿ-ye va ehtemām-e Modarres Rażavī, Teheran, ketāb-ḫāna- ye Ibn Sīnā 1341 h. š. (Zitiert nach Seitenzahl).

Šīrāzī 1372 = *Šeʿrhā-ye ʿarabī-ye Saʿdī-ye Šīrāzī*. Taṣḥīḥ-e enteqādī va tarǧoma az doktor Mo'ayed-e Šīrāzī, EDŠ 197, Schiras 1372 h. š. (Zitiert nach Seitenzahl).

Šīrvānī = *Dīvān-e ʿEmād ad-Dīn Sayed ʿAlī Nasīmī Šīrvānī*, Teheran, Rūšan 1363 h. š. (Zitiert nach Seitenzahl).

ŠN = *Šāh-nāma-ye Ferdawsī*, [Le Livre des Rois par Abou 'lkasim Firdousi, publié et commenté par J. Mohl, I-VII, Paris 1838–1878], 7 Bde., Teheran 1363[3] h. š. S. a. 1) Šāh-nāma-ye Ferdawsī, matn-e enteqādī az rū-ye čāp-e Moskow, ba kūšeš- e Saʿīd Ḥamīdiyān, Teheran, Dād 1374[2] (Zitiert nach Kapitel- und Verszahl). 2) Šāh-nāma-ye Ferdawsī, ba kūšeš-e Ġalāl Ḫāleqī Motlaq, I, I. 1 Teheran 1368–69; II Teheran 1370; III New York 1992; IV New York 1994. Vgl. a. Reżā, Fażlallāh: Pažūhešī dar andīšahā-ye Ferdawsī, tafsīr va taḥlīl-e Šāh-nāma, bargozīda-ye ašʿār, Teheran, ŠEEF 1374; Sarrāmī, Qadam-

ʿAlī: Az rang-e gol tā ranǧ-e ḫār, šakl-šenāsī-ye qeṣṣahā-ye Šāh-nāma, Teheran, ŠEEF 227, 1367 u. 1372²; Monchi-Zade, Davoud: Topographisch-historische Studien zum iranischen Nationalepos, DMG, Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden 1975.

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TB = *Tārīḫ-e Masʿūdī maʿrūf ba Tārīḫ-e Bayhaqī*, az Abū l-Fażl Moḥammad b. Ḥosayn Kāteb Bayhaqī, bā moqābela va taṣḥīh va ḥavāšī va taʿlīqāt-e Saʿīd Nafīsī, Teheran, Sanā'ī 1319- 1332, Bd. 1 (1319), Bd. 2 (1326), Bd. 3 (1332). (Zitiert nach Seitenzahl).

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TG = *Tārīḫ-e Gardīzī* ta'līf-e Abū Saʿīd ʿAbdol-Ḥayy b. Żaḥḥāk b. Maḥmūd Gardīzī dar ḥodūd-e 442–443 heèrī qamarī. Ba taṣḥīh va taḥšīya va taʿlīq-e ʿAbdol-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Teheran, Donyā-ye Ketāb 1363 h. š. (Zitiert nach Seitenzahl).

TS = *Tārīḫ-e Sīstān*, ta'līf dar ḥodūd-e 445–725, ba taṣḥīḥ-e Malek aš-šoʿarā'-e Bahār, ba hemmat-e Moḥammad Ramażānī, ṣāḥeb-e mo'assasa-ye Ḫāvar, Teheran 1314 h. š. (Zitiert nach Seitenzahl).

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Āb-e Ātash-zāy (Fire Breeding Liquid):

The Nature and Functions of Wine in Classical Persian Poetry

AHMAD KARIMI-HAKKAK

Wine-drinking at the royal court is one of the few pre-Islamic customs that survived the Islamicization of Iran's culture beginning in the second half of the 7th century CE and lasting full force through the 9th century.[1] The preponderance of these royal ceremonies is best recorded in the histories of the early courts in the northeastern region of Khorasan, including the present-day Iranian provinces of Khorasan as well as much of eastern Afghanistan and Persian-speaking central Asia, where classical Persian poetry also found its earliest grounding.[2] Encouraged by local warlords who, with or without the consent of the Abbasid Caliphs in Baghdad, sought to assert their authority over this region, early court poets writing in Persian in the 10th and 11th centuries used poetry as a signifier of the continuation of ancient Iranian customs, and thus a way of anchoring the new dynasties in pre-Islamic courtly rituals. Like some other ancient customs of ancient Iran, wine-drinking then constituted a way of seeking legitimacy for Samanid and Ghaznavid rulers. For the purposes of this paper, these ceremonies are viewed as a way of establishing the social settings where poets displayed their artistry and added to the joviality of the assembly, not just as providing glimpses into the life of the Iranian nobility but, more importantly, as a way of praising the virtues of allegiance to the sovereign ruler and of camaraderie and good fellowship. Indeed, connections between drinking and other pleasures of social life at the court and among the nobility gradually became a hallmark of early

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1 See Arthur Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed., Copenhague, 1944, pp. 478–79. Accounts of ceremonial official wine-drinking in pre-Islamic Persia make it clear that the custom has been present in the culture before the advent of Islam. See Ehsan Yarshater, "The Theme of Wine-Drinking and the Concept of the Beloved in Early Persian Poetry," *Studia Islamica*, No. 13 (1960), 43–53.

2 See, for example, Abolfażl Bayhaqi, *Tārikh-e Bayhaqi*, ed. Moḥammad Jaʿfar Yāhaqqi (2 Volumes), Tehran: Sokhan, 2009, Vol. 1, pp. 157, 245–46, 273, 488, 500; Anonymous, *Tārikh-e Sistan*, ed. Moḥammad-Taqi Bahār, Tehran, 1935, p. 315 ff.

wine poetry in Persian, known as *khamriyyāt*,[3] a type of poetry, often expressed through public, official and ceremonial compositions marking official or calendric occasions through genres of *qasida*[4] and *qeṭʿeh* held sway at least through the 11th century, before morphing into the sāqināmehs[5] that slowly but steadily changed the meaning and function of wine and drinking altogether.

In this essay, however, I will not address complicated issues of categorization or periodization in classical Persian poetry. Instead, I will continue to apply the theoretically-driven argument that I have presented more fully elsewhere to the thematic exploration of wine and drinking. Briefly, as an aesthetic system, Persian poetry easily lends itself to a stage-by-stage study of systemic growth in complexity when viewed along a diachronic dimension.[6] This is in large measure due to the fact that the aesthetic system underlying Persian poetry is one in which the growth of the aesthetic complexity is often textually traceable from stage to stage, from one discursive underpinning – be it social, moral, religious or otherwise – to another. In that sense, we can say that, as an aesthetic system, Persian poetry has no fixed nature, but a guiding story, better yet a genuine history. Stated differently, the dialectic of its movement through time from generation to generation, from one center of production to another, and through ever-changing guiding principles of a philosophical or religious nature, can be demonstrated through attempts at acts of textual production that concretely reveal – and at times foreground – the system's tensions and conflicts, its continual novelty, and

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3 See Eḥterām Reżāʾi, *Sāqināmeh dar Sheʿr-e Fārsi*, Tehran, Amir-Kabir, 2009. In this book the author argues that the Persian Khamriyyāt (Drinking Poems), historically related to the Arabic poetic genre of the same name, is the precursor of the more famous and more aesthetically sophisticated Persian genre of Sāqināmeh (Book of the Cup-Bearer). At any rate, the Persian Sāqināmehs, important as they are, appear at a later stage of the evolution of Persian poetry and are, as such, excluded from our discussion in this essay.

4 On the Qasida as a seminal genre in Persian poetry and its historical development, see Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, "Preservation and Presentation: Continuity and Creativity in the Contemporary Persian Qasida." In *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa: Classical Traditions and Modern Meanings*.[Volume One]. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996, pp. 253–280; and id., "Four Modern Persian Qasidas." In *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa: Eulogy's Bounty, Meaning's Abundance, An Anthology*. [Volume Two]. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996, pp. 192–215.

5 See Reżāʾi, ibid.

6 See Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry: Scenarios of Poetic Modernity in Iran*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995.

each practitioner's individual contribution to change in the entire system. In each stage the opposing views within it, or expressed through it, are synthesized, reconciled or at least juxtaposed in observable and traceable ways.

Consequently, in content and theme as well as in its imagery and expressive system, from its very beginning Persian poetry reflects, at least in its basic thrust, a constantly shifting set of sociopolitical environments as it moves through many of the stages characteristic in the evolution of poetic traditions anchored in natural languages. Initially, it reflects a courtly milieu in fairly simple, straightforward epic and romantic narratives, ultimately with a social, ideological or moral, yet worldly, purpose. The numerous long tales related to ancient Iran, chief among them those like the ones recorded in the tenth-century *Shāhnāmeh* (Book of Kings), a monumental heroic poem based on Iranian myths and legends and versified by Abolqāsem Ferdowsi (935–1010), exemplify this mode, as do the many romances of ancient and medieval lovers put to verse by Gorgāni, Neẓāmi and others through the 11th century. At the same time, shorter compositions of a philosophical or lyrical nature like the ode-like qasida and the sonnet-like ghazal, as well as fragments, quatrains, and other verse forms, become vehicles through which more personal and private moments were recorded or celebrated. In such compositions, numerous Persian poets develop an ideal of beauty and a theory of love, as well as ideas about social life that, thanks to the fact that the Persian language does not have gender designations, can be and have been read as intended for or addressed to one's beloved (male or female), one's king or patron, and, at a later period, through the 12th century, an idea of God, as we will see later.

Thematically, though, such prominent early poets as Rudaki and Manuchehri are perhaps the best representatives of the early composers of Persian poems featuring wine and drinking. In their compositions, these poets record recipe-like descriptions of vineyards, wine-making and the assembly of courtiers where the final product is served, complete with an elaboration of the culture and customs of proper wine-drinking at the royal court. Rudaki's poem opens with an image of the ripened grape as the mother who has to be sacrificed to begin the elaborate process of wine making:

Mādar-e may rā bekard bāyad qorbān
Bacheh-ye u rā gereft o kard beh zendān
Bacheh-ye u rā az u gereft nadāni

Tā-sh nakubi v-az u nakeshi jān[7]

(You must sacrifice the mother of wine
Take her child from her and put her in prison
But you can't take the child from the mother
Unless you first smash the mother and press life out of her)[8]

Here the image of the ripened grape as the pregnant "mother of wine" (*mādar-e may*) leads to detailed description of how the vine farmer (*dehqān*) sheds her blood and imprisons her daughter in pitch dark vats to make the wine which months later may become worthy of the royal assembly.

The poem I wish to discuss more extensively, a *qeṭʿeh* by Manuchehri of Dāmghān composed a generation later at the court of the Ghaznavids who succeeded the Samanids, also exhibits the tendency to initiate the reader into the world of wine and the culture of wine-making and drinking at court. Known to modern scholars as *Dāru-ye Khvāb* (Cure for Sleep), the poem consists of eleven couplets (*bayts*) and reveals many of the basic elements characteristic of early Persian poetry composed in or around the courts of Samanid and Ghaznavid kings:

Āmad shab o az khvāb marā ranj o ʿaẕāb ast
ay dust biār āncheh marā dāru-ye khvāb ast

Cheh mordeh vo cheh khofteh keh bidār nabāshi
ān rā cheh dalil āri o in rā cheh javāb ast

Man jahd konam bi ajal-e khish namiram
dar mordan-e bihudeh cheh mozd o cheh ṡavāb ast

Man khvāb ze dideh beh may-e nāb robāyam
āri ʿadu-ye khvāb-e javānān may-e nāb ast

Sakhtam ʿajab āyad keh cheguneh bāradash khvāb
ān rā keh beh kākh andar yek shisheh sharāb ast

V-in niz ʿajabtar keh khorad bādeh nah bar chang
bi naghmeh-ye changash beh may-e nāb shetāb ast

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7 Abu Jaʿfar Rudaki Samarqandi, *Aḥvāl va Ashʿār-e Rudaki Samarqandi*, ed. Saʿid Nafisi (3 Volumes), Tehran, 1319, Vol. 2, p. 199. For a translation and discussion of this poem, see Kamran Talattof, "Sparkling and Ravishing: Wine in Rudaki's Poetry" (a paper presented at *The Rise of the Persian Renaissance Conference*, Oxford, UK, July 13–15, 2008).

8 Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of Persian poems into English are mine and are meant for purposes of discussion and analysis, not for any aesthetic effect.

Asbi keh safirash nazani mi nakhorad āb
ni mard kam az asb o nah may kamtar az āb ast

Dar majles-e aḥrār seh chiz ast o fozun nah
v-in har seh sharab ast o robab ast o kabab ast

Nah noql bovad mā rā ni daftar o ni nard
v-in harseh bedin majles-e mā dar nah ṣavāb ast

daftar beh dabestān bovad o noql beh bāzār
v-in nard beh jāʾi keh kharābāt-e kharāb ast

Mā mard-e sharābim o kabābim o robābim
khushā keh sharāb ast o kabāb ast o robāb ast.[9]

(Night has come and I am loathe to go to sleep.
bring on, my friend, that which repels sleep.

If not awake, what difference whether you're dead or asleep,
what's the excuse for that, how would you answer to this?

I try not to die before my appointed time
what good, what virtue is there in dying in vain.

I keep sleep away from my eyes only with the best wine
for young men, pure wine is indeed an antidote to sleep.

I even wonder how the man can sleep
who has a bottle of wine left in his dwelling.

I wonder even more when I see one who drinks without music
who rushes to take the goblet without the melody of the lyre.

Horses do not drink water if you do not whistle along
Is a man lower than a horse, wine less than water?

Three things ought to be there when free men make an assembly
and those three are wine, the lyre and kabab!

For us, no sweetmeat, no notebooks, no backgammon
these three are not seemly in our assembly.

Notebooks you see in schools, sweetmeat in the market-place
and backgammon is meet for the rabble's ruins.

But we are men of the wine, the kabab and the lyre

[9] Manuchehri Dāmghānī, *Dīvān*, Ed. Moḥammad Dabir Siyāqi, 3rd. ed., Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Zavvār, p. 6. Jerome W. Clinton, *The Divan of Manuchehri Damghani: A Critical Study*, Minneapolis, 1972, p. 66–67.

how seemly then that there is wine, kabab and the lyre.)[10]

In his study of the Manuchehri's poetry, Jerome W. Clinton identifies a cumulative movement in the way that the poet advances his argument in favor of the stark, yet rich, ceremony where wine is served and enjoyed. "The first five lines," he states, "expand upon the distasteful mordancy of sleep and the virtue of wine as a cure for it," while the rest of the poem foregrounds, expands and extends the theme to an entirely worldly life-style, especially befitting young noblemen:

> That we are to take wine here as meaning good fellowship as well is indicated by the subtle *carpe diem* of "What answer to the former [death]?" and by the mention of "young men." This theme is brought to the fore in *bayt* six with the introduction of the lute (his word for the Persian *chang* or *robāb*, which I have translated as lyre), and *bayt* eight moves us into the midst of a wine party, whose conviviality is happily underscored by the alliterative linking of "wine" (*sharāb*), *kabāb*, and *rebāb*. The next two lines serve to add to the pleasure-loving character of the group by separating them from the bazaar and the school. And the final *bayt* with its percussive double repetition of *sharāb*, *kabāb*, and *rebāb* provides as emphatic and decisive a conclusion to this poem as does the final couplet of a sonnet.[11]

What I would like to add to this argument is twofold. First, the notion of *aḥrār*, which I see as close to that of "men of free spirit," constitutes a large component of Manuchehri's worldview in general and his intention here. This is exemplified in the poem by the circle of noblemen gathered in the drinking assembly. This status is not so much a matter of aristocracy as running in blood; rather it denotes a class of men free not just from the dictates of labor and toil, but also from the din of society, as enumerated observably in other sites where individuals come face to face with material life – the school, the marketplace, or what the poem refers to as *kharābāt-e kharāb*. Together, these exemplify a life of low class revelry, possibly tied to gambling and the presence of women. We begin, as such, to get a glimpse of a social structure in which people like poets and their patrons distinguish themselves not just from the hubbub of the marketplace and the school, but from the vagaries of fortune and gatherings of what we can call the rabble.

The second point worth mentioning relates to how young the world seems to be in the assembly of which the poem's speaker is a member. The

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10 For my translation here, while using Clinton's fine translation, I have made a few modifications to bring the English text closer to the Persian original.

11 Clinton, *The Divan of Manuchehri Damghani*, p.67

solidity of the poetic terms that connect the text to its social context and a specific life style within it are nothing short of astounding – and yet refreshing – when compared to that which surrounds the poetry of Rumi or Hafez. The social trappings the poem makes us aware of place wine meaningfully within a way of life that leaves no room for ambivalence, ambiguity, or hesitancy about what wine is and means or how the gathered assembly consumes it and to what end. The world seems as robust as the young men assembled here feel themselves to be, life as precious as the moments of joy it can offer; the rest consists only of matters over which humans have no control and should therefore not worry about. Death is a reality, of course, but one as distant from the mind of the carefree group gathered here as the word *ajal* (appointed time), mentioned in the poem. These are indeed matters over which later generations of Persian poets – men as diverse as Sanāʾi, Rumi and Hafez – agonize. Here, however, while concepts like *ajal* are duly acknowledged, they simply do not play a significant part in the dynamics of ideal life. When the appointed time arrives death will of course claim the human body, but that is all the more reason to seize the moments of merrymaking and cherish such blessings of life as wine, music, good food and the congenial company of kindred spirits. In the centuries to follow, while the twin motifs of *ubi sunt* and *carpe diem* continue to be a part of the Persian poetic discourse they begin to be marginalized considerably, gradually replaced by trepidations – philosophical, mystical or apocalyptic – that often haunt and men like Rumi and Hafez.

A second sign of the pragmatism that, religious prohibitions notwithstanding, can be seen here as part of Iran's ruling culture and needs somehow to be acknowledged and accommodated within reason, can be found in the Persian literature of advice. Among the various rules of conduct that Qābus ebn-e Voshmgir, the late 11th century Ṭabari prince and ruler as well as a man of high literary accomplishments, issues to his son, we see both his recognition that drinking violates the rules of Islam and his acknowledgment that it is an activity that princes do engage in. Acknowledging the subtle irony inherent in such an attitude, here is how Edward Browne, early twentieth century historian of Persian literature, articulates Qābus's princely admonishment and fatherly advice:

> His advice as to drinking wine is tinged with a delicate irony. He admits that to drink wine at all is contrary to religion, "but I know," he continues, "that you will not refrain from it for any words of mine, or hearken to what I say." Therefore he confines himself to recommending his son not to drink in the morning, or at least not often, for thereby he will be tempted to omit his prayers, and will fill his head with fresh fumes of wine ere those of

> the previous evening's debauch be dissipated. He also counsels him to get drunk in his own house, so as to avoid scandal; not to drink on the eve of Friday, out of respect for the day, so that men, seeing this, may forgive his drinking on other evenings; and not to behave, when drunk, in a riotous and offensive manner. "To drink wine," says he, "is a sin, and if you must sin, let it at least be pleasantly and gracefully. So let the wine which you drink be of the best, and likewise the music to which you listen."[12]

Within a century or so, as the power of the local and regional kings begins to give way to that of the guiding sheikhs and Sufi masters, an ever more deeply felt sense of life as a spiritual and mystical quest gradually takes the center stage in Persian literature. The node between the beloved, the patron, and the deity facilitates one of the most noteworthy processes of transformation in any aesthetic tradition. The poet – or his persona – intoxicated by the wine of the beloved's beauty, now strives to transcend all carnal temptations and move – or be moved – to contemplation of divine munificence. As the locus of the blessed event, the tavern is placed higher than the mosque, the house of God at Kaʿba, or even the foot of the divine throne, for it alone allows a vision of the almighty. Wine, the ruby liquid that induces the trance, once openly sought and celebrated, now ought to be assiduously shunned, at least such pretence becomes a trope, as the letter of the Islamic Shariʿa seems to dictate. Fermentation, perhaps the most antique metaphor for transformation, begins to serve as the central image for man's desire to ascent to godhood.[13] All this, and a plethora of similar paradoxes, become possible, if only the poem is allowed to release its meaning not on the apparent plane but at the level of so many esoteric interpretations.

Only a generation or so after Qābus and barely a century after Manuchehri, Sanāʾi of Ghazneh, the first of the great Sufi poets, inaugurates a shift in the universe of poetic discourse that can be termed "the grand internalization" of the aesthetic apparatus in the Persian language. The shift is nearly all-encompassing, so much so that it stands on its head a struggle as worldly and objective as that between the epic hero and his enemies – the divs, demons and dragons that await him at every turn of his material exploits, turning it instead into a constant grappling with such internal forces

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12 Browne, E. G., *A Literary History of Persia*, Volume II. From Firdawsi to Saʿdi, pp. 283–284. Browne's version here consists of an abridgement of the original Persian text. For the original Persian version, cf. Qābus ibn Voshmgir, *Qābusnāmeh*, Ed. Saʿid Nafisi, Tehran, Marvi, 1983, p. 47–49.

13 On the meaning of wine and the tavern, see Coleman Barks, *The Essential Rumi*, San Francisco, HarperSanFrancisco, 1995, p. 1.

such as the *nafs*. As I have argued elsewhere, for example, it changes the character of a bird as fabulously corporeal as the Simorgh of *The Shāhnāmeh* into the invisible ethereal presence we see in ʿAṭṭār's *Conference of the Birds*, and an object as revealing as Jamshid's cup.[14]

Given the nature of the argument here, this last point bears further elaboration, though. In this process, the object known as Jām-e Jam (Jam's cup), a sort of crystal ball into which legendary King Jamshid, or as we have it in the *Shāhnāmeh* the enlightened monarch Kay-Khosrow), is supposed to have peered to see the workings of the world, undergoes a drastic change, as the early mystical discourse ascribes to it the capabilities earned by the illuminated Sufi. When utterly polished by constant remembrance and repeated utterance of the name of God, it is polished to the extent that it becomes an object at which the adept Sufi stares long and hard to see the whole of human history and destiny. The equivocation through which this transformation is initiated is instructive in its utter simplicity and iron-clad certainty. Here's Sanāʾi's articulation of the node:

Qeṣṣeh-ye jām-e jam basi shenavi
v-andar ān bish o kam basi shenavi

Beh yaqin dān keh jām-e jam del-e to-st
Mostaqar-re sorur o gham del-e to-st

Chun tamannā koni jahān didan
Jomleh ashyā dar ān tavān didan[15]

(You will hear many tales about Jamshid's cup
And in each telling something added or left out.

Know this for certain: Jamshid's cup is your heart
The seat of joy or sorrow is your heart.

When you desire to view the world
You can see all things inside it.)

The kind of equivocation we have here, "know this for certain: Jamshid's cup is your heart," is a hallmark of the makers and propagators of the Sufi discourse in Persian poetry. What facilitates the node produced by it is a

[14] On this change in the figure of Simorgh, see my online article in *Iran Nameh* the following address: http://fis-iran.org/en/programs/noruzlectures/simorgh-hakkak

[15] Sanāʾi Ghaznavi, Abolmajd, *Maśnavihā-ye Ḥakim Sanāʾi*, Ed. Modarres Raẓavi, Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān, p. 347.

two-stage process that works first through a readjustment of the hermeneutic apparatus assumed to be already in operation in the mind of the reader, that which depicts the cup as an actual object in the material world. The initial acknowledgment of the diversity of the tales about the object prepares the mind for a plunge from that which the tellers of the tales may add to or omit from their version of the story, the *bish o kam* (more or less) of the second hemistich, to a non-material realm where the true meaning of the cup, now divorced from those varying narratives, can be tied to a sense that is independent of all external narration. In light of that initial divestiture and the subsequent reinvestment of the word with a novel sense, the emphatic iteration, *beh yaqin dān* (know for certain) begins to make its impact as a true statement based on a plane of understanding separate from, and superior to, all the stories that one may have heard about the cup as a material object.

Historically concurrent with the gradual ascendance of Sufi monasteries and the emergence of Sufi poets throughout the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a second process gets underway, one marked primarily by a dematerialization of the poetic machinery in the Persian aesthetic culture. Mystically inclined philosophers, theosophists, and poets redirect the character and mission of many archetypal and primordial mythical and historical figures of the pre-Islamic Persian past to their purposes, making narratives, anecdotes, even images qualitatively different from that which marked them in the epic and romantic traditions. It is through Attar, most illustratively, that the figure of Simorgh changes into the non-existent, yet ever so passionately sought-after, bird living on top of the mythic Mount Qāf. Let us recall that in the *Shāhnāmeh* Simorgh – the word connotes initially a bird the size of thirty birds put together – is a real supernatural creature. She nurses and raises the hero Zāl and leaves her feather with him to set on fire if he needs help. When he needs her to help in the birth of his son Rostam she reappears to play surgeon and midwife, and performs the first known c-section operation on Rudābeh and when Esfandiyār's mortal wounds have left Rostam moribund, she appears again at Zāl's behest, the wind from her feather moving the dust into an all-encompassing cloud. Everything in this articulation privileges the mythical bird's corporeality as a manifestation of her matronly nature. In ʿAṭṭār's mystical narrative, *Manṭeq aṭ-Ṭayr* (The Conference of the Birds), written two centuries later, this mother of all birds turns into an ethereal concoction of the human imagination that the other birds long for and seek, only eventually to be faced – at least the thirty most steadfast ones

who survive the ordeals of the avian quest – with a mirror-like surface that reflects their own likeness.[16]

The transformation, achieved in a coup de force that plays on another aspect of the same connotation of the word si-morgh, is the most striking among myriad textual maneuvers that the poet, a master of many meaningful puns in the Sufi discourse, harnesses in the service of his own story. Instead of using the number thirty (*si* in Persian) in the way it has been used by Ferdowsi to denote a very big bird, ʿAṭṭār uses it to correspond with the number of the birds, very few indeed when compared with the thousands of birds that set out on the journey, who have survived the rigors of the journey to the top of Mount Qāf. Their quest then comes to correspond with the path which every novice Sufi must tread on in order to deserve to be called a Ṣufi-ye Ṣāfi (a pure mystic). Attar thus redirects the connotation of the word *si* toward the attainment of a condition of spiritual purity and enlightenment that few are capable of obtaining through the rigors of the Sufi path and practice. This internalization in turn makes it possible for him and many other Persian Sufi poets to conceive and describe the battle for the purification of one's soul as by far greater than that which may have wounded Rostam in his old-age encounter with the young invulnerable prince Esfandiyār.

Articulated in the fullness of their significance, such internalizing strategies, most based on word plays that Persian Sufi poets are known to delight in, are too many and too varied to allude to here. One must be mentioned here, though, because it bears on my argument here that the shift in the semantic realm of the archetypal Jām-e Jam or Jamshid's cup. The internalization in Sanāʾi's poem above has to do not with an equivocation but with the outcome of the act of seeing. Someone looking into Jamshid's cup may be expected to see a picture of the external world or of some event – past, present or future – that may be actually happening in the world. That at least is the use that personages of epic and romantic tales have made of Jamshid's cup. What Sanāʾi's wording suggests has to do not with the act or object of seeing but the effect that the process of seeing produces in the person looking into it. With impressive deftness, the poet buttresses that meaning when he speaks of the heart as the seat of joy and sorrow. Indeed the word *mostaqar* Persian of Arabic origin meaning "seat," connotes the resting spot, the point at which human emotions like joy and sorrow appear to settle as a

[16] See Farid ud-Din ʿAṭṭār, *The Conference of the Birds*, Translated with an Introduction by Afkham Darbandi and Dick Davis, New York, Penguin Books, 1984, pp. 214–220.

result of that which one has seen or contemplated. While the prince or hero peering into the cup may "see" flames of war or the likeness of a beautiful princess, the Sufi wayfarer looking into his heart may see that which causes him to "feel" joy or sorrow.

This subtle distinction becomes most consequential in the later generations of Sufi poets like ʿAṭṭār and Rumi, as well as those who adopt the language of Sufi poetry even though they may not be Sufis in practice, particularly in a master of poetic diction like Hafez. Let's look first at a ghazal by ʿAṭṭār, a major poet as much important in the annals of Persian poetry for his dynamic and dramatic articulation of transforming mystical experiences as for the stunningly novel vignettes he presents them in:

Negāri mast o layaʿqel cho māhi
dar-āmad az dar-e masjed pegāhi

Siah zolf o siah chashm o siah del
siahgar bud o pushideh siāhi

Ze har muʾi keh andar zolf-e u bud
Foru mirikht kofri o gonāhi

Dar-āmad pish-e pir-e mā beh zānu
Bedu goft ay asir-e āb o jāhi

Fesordi hamcho yakh az zohd kardan
Besuz ākher cho ātash gāhgāhi

Chu pir-e mā bedid u rā bar āvard
Ze jān-e ātashin chun ātash āhi

Ze rah oftād o ruy āvard dar kofr
Nah ruʾi mānd dar din o nah rāhi

Beh tāriki-ye zolf u foru raft
Beh dast āvard az āb-e khezr chāhi

Degar hargez neshān-e u nadidam
Keh shod dar bineshāni pādeshāhi

Agar ʿAṭṭār ham bā u berafti
Nayarzidish ʿālam barg-e kāhi[17]

(A moonlike beauty, drunk, devoid of all sense
entered the mosque one early dawn,

[17] ʿAṭṭār, Farid ud-Din, *Divān-e ʿAṭṭār-e Nayshaburi*, Ed. Saʿid Nafisi, Tehran, 1939, p. 345.

black-haired, black-eyed, black in the heart
she was of black deeds, clad all in black.

Blasphemy and all manner of sin oozed
from every strand of her tresses,

She came in, kneeled before our Pir,
and spoke thus: You captive to name and rank

you are frozen in your asceticism.
Burn a bit now and then, like fire!

As our Pir saw her, he heaved a sigh
from the depth of his soul, a burning sigh,

and strayed from the path, facing the way of infidelity,
Neither did he face religion again, nor treaded the path.

He sank deep instead into the darkness of her tresses,
found there a well filled with the water of immortality.

After that day I never saw a sign of him,
for in the land of the signless he attained a royal rank.

And if ʿAṭṭār too had accompanied him,
he would not value the world as much as a blade of straw.)

Here we have a figure that comes very close to an embodiment of utter drunkenness, a sort of Lady Intoxication. The woman is drunk and devoid of reason, black for head to the depth of her heart, oozing sin and irreligion. She appears before the assembly's venerable pir, chides him for his vainglory and pride, itself a deadly sin, and invites him to warm up, even move to the opposite end of what to him was *zohd* (asceticism), as she accuses him of being frigid, frozen in his ascetic practice and a captive to honor and ambition (*āb o jāh*). In asking him to burn like fire, she is, in effect, asking whether the pir might be capable of experiencing the opposite of his present state. She is careful, however, to make this only a proposition within the realm of the possible, as she tempers the challenge she issues with the words "from time to time" (*gāhgāhi*). The words alluding to various shapes that human soul can take – ice, water, fire – come in a carefully graded move away from literality and into the metaphorical realm. Whereas initially she calls the pir captive to *āb o jāh* (meaning *āberu* or honor), she does see him as capable of changing his lot, as she does in the end. The pir is said to have become frozen from his commitment to his religion and, therefore, literally resembling ice (*hamcho yakh*), needs to turn into its elemental opposite. Fire, however, is not only temporary, *gāhgāhi*, but also clearly a tentative meta-

phorical coming in the form of a command or invitation, which the pir may accept or reject. Where things become more serious is when the speaker reports the pir's reaction to the temptress's invitation: he heaves a burning sigh from the depth of his fiery soul (*ze jān-e ātashin*). Notice that the sigh is not the result of the words the lady speaks, but of the pir's vision – i.e., when he sighed when he "saw" the woman (*cho pir-e mā bedid u rā*), he heaved a sigh like fire from the depth of his fiery soul. It is not that the pir heard the woman out and considered her words; rather, he is already burning since the moment he set his eyes on her; he is now simply exuding that fire from the depth of his soul. When the same speaker, now identified with the poet through his pen name ʿAṭṭār, tells us that he too would have gone with the pir, if only he had reached the stage where the entire world would have appeared to him as utterly worthless, we are thrown back to our understanding of irreligion and sin (*kofr* and *gonāh*) in ʿAṭṭār's discourse – it is indeed the depth of spirituality freed from appearance and observance.

We know that in western cultures, a sin is classified as deadly, not merely because it is a serious mortal offense, but because it is or can become the *prima causa* of other sins – i.e., can lead to other sinful acts. Whether we go all the way back to the early Christian monastic tradition of classifying sins, which was popularized in the Muslim world through the crusades, or to Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologia*, which was articulated almost a century after ʿAṭṭār's time and can be seen as the culmination of the process of classifying sins, we come across this motivational distinction, that a deadly sin becomes a motive for the sinner to commit other sins, thereby becoming the cause of other sins, whether deadly or not. That intoxication causes evil acts is well-known in the Islamic world as well and this is clear from one of the more familiar metaphors for wine, *umm al-khabāʾes*, mother of all evils or vices. Now in the traditional catalogue of sins intoxication or drunkenness itself is not listed as one of the seven; rather, it is usually included in the fifth sin, gluttony.

The development of Sufi sects, monasteries and seminaries from Sanāʾi to Rumi included the systematization, sophistication and hierarchization of almost all the principles and practices, which can be detected to varying degrees in ʿAṭṭār and Rumi's treatment of the theme of wine and drinking. While in ʿAṭṭār we are still in the realm of ambiguities and double meanings that must be taken into account in ascribing meanings to such personages as well as principles and practices underlying them, in a narrative like Rumi's account of a famous story in Sheikh Bāyazid of Basṭām's fabled life, what guides and governs the act of interpretation is the solidity of the central per-

sonage's credentials and the certitude with which the narrator frames and guides the narrative. Here we have someone who is authorized to act as he wishes because he is privileged to be the historical figure he is reported to be. In other words, it is the name of Bāyazid that leads the reader ultimately to understand metaphorically what belies the narrative on the literal plain:

Bā moridān ān faqir-e Moḥtasham
Bāyazid āmad keh: nak, yazdān manam
goft mastāneh ʿayān ān ẕufonun
lā elah ellā anāhā faʿbodun
chun goẕasht ān ḥāl goftandash ṣabāḥ
to chonin gofti o in nabvad ṣalāḥ
goft in bār ar konam man mashghaleh
kārdhā bar man zanid ān dam haleh
ḥaq monazzah az tan o man bā tanam
chun chonin guyam bebāyad koshtanam[18]

(That eminent Sheikh and man of poverty Bāyazid
once told his followers: look, I am God!
And in the manner of an intoxicated man he added
there is no God but me, so worship ye me!
As the state he was in waned they told him at dawn
that's how you spoke, and it was not appropriate!
He said: If I ever utter such words again
stick knives inside my flesh with no hesitation,
God has no body and I am contained in one,
if I ever speak thus I deserve to be killed.)

Harkening the words of the grand Sheikh, the disciples arm themselves with knives, doubtless hoping the occasion for their use will never arise. Yet, once again, having gotten drunk again (*mast gasht u bāz*), love takes over his soul, putting reason to flight (*ʿeshq āmad ʿaql-e u āvāreh shod*) and, as Rumi has it, "as the happy bird of intoxication (*homā-ye bi-khodi*) soars in him", he utters words of apparent blasphemy again. As the bewildered disciples begin to stab their pir in different parts of his body, however, they see that wounds appearing at the same spot in their own bodies, leaving Bāyazid totally unharmed. Rumi ends the parable by repeating that, in a man like Bāyazid, the state of *bi-khodi* is the safest and most secure from harm, a fact that separates him from the rest of humanity.

[18] Jalal ud-Din Balkhi, *Maśnavi-ye Maʿnavi*, Ed. R. A. Nicholson, in Four Volumes, Tehran, Amir Kabir, Volume 2 (Book Four), 1984, pp. 401–402.

A brief comparison between ʿAṭṭār's ghazal and Rumi's verse story might help elucidate the distance that Sufism as a vision of the world and the afterlife has come in the span of half a century that separates the two poets' visions, and do so through the relationship between the kind of drinking that still retains the possibility of a literal interpretation and one that has shed literal meaning completely and become purely metaphorical. In other words, as readers, we might still interpret the drunkenness we see in ʿAṭṭār's poem as an invitation to a drinking assembly, whatever our impression might be of poetic expressions of mystical states of consciousness. Recalling the *ghazal*'s closing lines where the poet identifies with the poem's speaker by skillfully weaving in his pen-name into the texture of the poem, we are not only left wondering what happened to the pir, but more importantly see an indeterminate final thought about the poet himself expressed through a conditional sentence: "And if ʿAṭṭār too had accompanied him / he would not value the world as much as a blade of straw." By contrast, the state of intoxication we see in Rumi's story of Bāyazid and his disciples leaves no room for such an interpretation. Whereas ʿAṭṭār's poem ends at a point where we as readers are not certain what happens to the pir or to the poem's speaker, Rumi's articulation of intoxication, now increasingly articulated as a state of standing apart from one's former self (*bi-khodi*), draws us toward an entirely separate reality, one with no connection to the regular state of being among real flesh-and-blood human beings. It is there, on that elevated moral plain, that the poet imparts his message and that, as disciples of Sufism as a system of ideas, we begin to absorb the lesson the narrative means to impart: there are indeed human beings whose conditions have been elevated to that of Godhood; As a sign of that, their bodies, in fact their whole being, is subject to conditions incomprehensible to the rest of us, mere mortals with bodies of blood and flesh.

Let me move to my last textual evidence, a primary sign of all the complications that wine or the mere craving of it renders the human flesh heir to: Whether we contemplate stories like that of Bāyazid and his followers as parables of Godlike men as existentially different from and superior to not just the laity but those who have given their lives over to emulating them, we see articulations of a series of very exclusive deeply personal experiences with practically no application to the world of real human beings. In the case of this particular story, one can even see how the story is ultimately entirely asocial, devoid of a moral purpose that might relate to the aspirations of a novice Sufi or general human strivings for perfection. As we move another century along the path of history, we encounter an articulation in Hafez, the

apex of Persian lyric poetry, where the language of the mystical quest is used to make a point that is at once special and collective and ultimately running counter to the desires of mystical poets like Rumi. It is as if Hafez were trying to restore to the lofty Sufism of Rumi a dimension that he may have found missing from it, one that would make it relevant to the world of real flesh-and-blood human beings, creatures with a mix of ambitions and frailties. In the poem I have selected for illustrating this point, an account of such human shortcomings comes to us first through the concept of repentance, only to communicate the ultimate impression that, like so much else in human life, drinking is a social act, one worthy of sharing with a few kindred spirits in the congenial assembly not too different form that of Rudaki and Manuchehri, with whom our exploration in this paper began. Here's the *ghazal* in its entirety:

Beh ʿaẓm-e towbeh saḥar goftam estekhāreh konam
bahār-e towbeh-shekan miresad cheh chāreh konam

Sokhan dorost beguyam nemitavānam did
keh mey khorand ḥarifan o man neẓāreh konam.

Beh dowr-e lāleh demāgh-e marā ʿelāj konid
gar az miāneh-ye bazm-e tarab kenāreh konam

Ze ru-ye dust marā chun gol-e morād shekoft
ḥavāleh-ye sar-e doshman beh sang-e khāreh konam

Beh takht-e gol beneshānam boti cho solṭāni
ze sonbol o samanash sāz-e ṭowq o yāreh konam

Gedā-ye maykadeh-am lik vaqt-e masti bin
keh nāz bar falak o ḥokm bar setāreh konam

Cho ghoncheh bā lab khandān beh yād-e majles-e shāh
piyāleh giram o az showq jāmeh pāreh konam

Marā keh az zar-e tamghā-st sāz o barg-e moʿāsh
cherā maẕemmat-e rend-e sharāb-khvāreh konam

Ze bādeh khordan-e penhān malul shod Ḥāfeẓ
beh bāng-se barbaṭ o ney rāzash āshkareh konam.[19]

(Intent on repentance, I thought I would consult the holy Qurʾan –
spring the vow-breaker is arriving, though; what shall I do there?

[19] Shams ud-Din Moḥammad Ḥāfeẓ, *Divān-e Ḥāfeẓ*, Ed. Parviz Nāṭel Khānlari, (in two volumes), Second Printing, Tehran, 1983, Vol. 1, p. 342.

Truth be told, I cannot bear to see friends assembled
in convivial wine-drinking, and I am there only to watch.

In the season of the tulip take me in for a cure,
if I should stay away from gatherings of joy.

The friend's face has opened up the rose of my desire;
so now, I will leave the foe's head to the hardest of granite.

I will seat my beloved upon a throne of roses, like a Sultan
and adorn her neck, hands and feet in garlands of hyacinth, jasmine.

Myself I am a beggar at the tavern door, yet watch as I drink,
how I shun the highest spheres, issue commands to stars.

Budlike, as I recall my sovereign's jovial assembly I open up,
raise my cup with a smile, and joyfully tear asunder my garment.

I owe all my wherewithal but to the gold of levied tax
Why then should I chide the intoxicated wayfarer at all?

Hafez is sour but for having to drink his wine in hiding
Let us then sing his secret aloud with the melody of harp and flute.)

As the poem opens, the speaker, "intent on repentance," contemplates the coming of spring, the season of tulips and roses, wine and good companionship, and perhaps even a beloved to enthrone royally. He would of course repent of drinking if only the advent of spring "the vow-breaker" did not present him with such strong temptations. In the next breath, however, he owns up to a second shortcoming, that of being ignored by friends gathered "in convivial wine-drinking," in an assembly which, we soon learn, has been organized by the king (*shāh*). Consoling as it may be, the thought of enthroning his beloved in private and the recollection of the royal drinking assembly in private will just not do, especially for someone who still remembers the privilege of having once been invited to one such by his sovereign. Of all those who have once been in the king's favor, he now realizes that he should not look down on one who has been reduced to a drunken beggar left to the tavern or an intoxicated rend or outlaw. The contemplation of his own lot gives rise to a new realization: he is not just missing getting drunk in the privacy of his own domicile; rather, he is missing that which he once had the privilege of experiencing and which only a king can provide: drinking openly and without fear to the tune of the harp and the flute in the assembly of the king and the nobles invited to his palace for the purpose. It is as if he too is asking for an assembly not too different from that which his predecessor by three centuries Manuchehri celebrated in his poem.

Following the theme of wine-drinking over the eleven-hundred-year life of Persian poetry in the larger Iranian culture and examining the nature and functions which Persian poets have assigned to the substance at the heart of it leaves us with the distinct impression that the rich and dynamic system of signification and communication underlying this aesthetic tradition has been used imaginatively and creatively over the centuries in response to diverse demands arising from ever-changing intellectual and emotional circumstances. From the simple metaphor of "daughter of grape" to the supreme symbol expressed in the phrase "mother of all evil," from the catalyst of social interactions to the facilitator of profound spiritual transformations, wine has served as the lynch-pin of a system of poetic thought and expression that begins with contemplations of a worldly life of joy and camaraderie away from the din of society and culminates in the powerful yet silent transformer of souls, capable of refreshing the mind and curing the cares that human flesh is heir to and of preparing the bird of the soul to soar through unimaginable heights toward an ultimately unknowable deity. It has appeared as that which repels sleep and that which empowers humans to seek what lies forever beyond the reach of reason and intellect. It is at once eagerly sought passionately and it is to be avoided at all cost, a dangerous yet deeply tempting substance that can sooth or burn the soul. Through the ages, both in life and in literature, the mind-altering substance has lived up to its reputation to earn the appellation "fire-breeding liquid".

PLATES

McGovern, Iranian Wine at the "Dawn of Viticulture"



Fig. 1. One of six resinated wine jars excavated in a Neolithic "kitchen" at Hajji Firuz Tepe (Iran), dating to 5400–5000 BC. (Photograph courtesy of Hasanlu Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum, no. 69–12–15).

Klimburg, Viticulture in Kafiristan

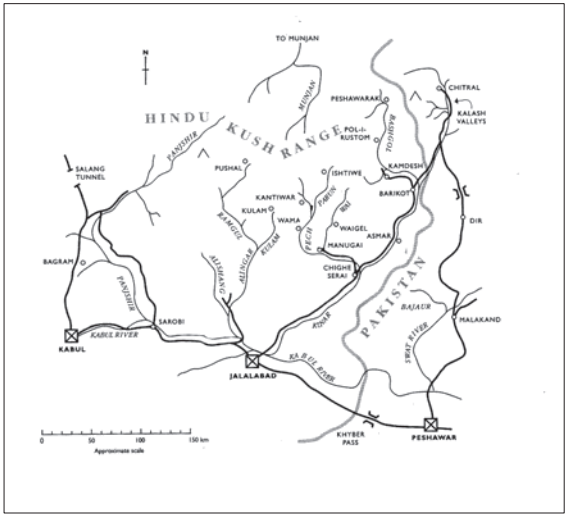


Fig.1. Map of Nuristan (Barrington et alea: 2006).



Fig. 2. The treading of grapes in Kamdesh (Robertson 1896: pl. at p. 558).

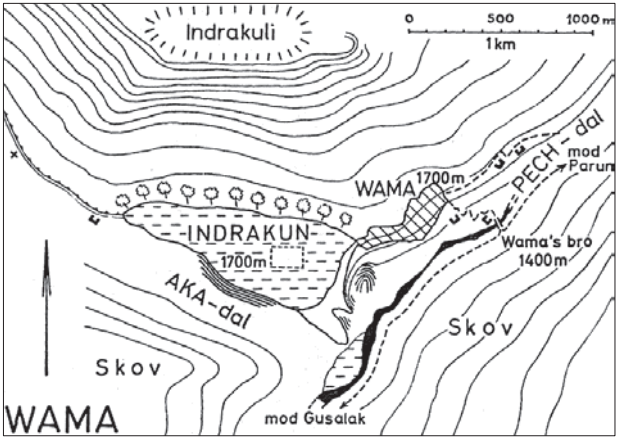


Fig. 3. Wama and the Indrakun garden (Edelberg 1965: fig. 9).



Fig. 4. The village of Wama (photograph: Max Klimburg 1973).



Fig. 5. Man in wine press in the Indrakun garden (photograph: Max Klimburg 1974).



Fig. 6. Wine press in the Indrakun garden (photograph: Max Klimburg 1974).



Fig. 7. Stone vat in the Indrakun garden (photograph: Max Klimburg 1973).



Fig. 8. The Indr-tã (cult place) in the Indrakun garden, with stone blocks as seats (photograph: Max Klimburg 1974).



Fig. 9. Three-legged iron stand with added-on *urei*-stand next to a chair of honour in the Moesgård Museum (Denmark, photograph: Max Klimburg).



Fig. 10. Cup-stand *urei-taò* in the Kabul Museum (National Museum of Afghanistan, photograph: Max Klimburg).



Fig. 11. The two silver cups *urei* shown to Edelberg (Edelberg 1965: fig. 4).



Fig. 12. Two informants with an *urei* in Nisheigram, Waigal (photograph: Max Klimburg, 1976).



Fig. 13. *Urei* from Waigal donated to the Kabul Museum (lost, photograph: Max Klimburg).



Fig. 14. Stemless *urei* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Carter: fig. 11).



Fig. 15. Wallpainting in Balalyk-Tepe (Albaum: fig. 109).

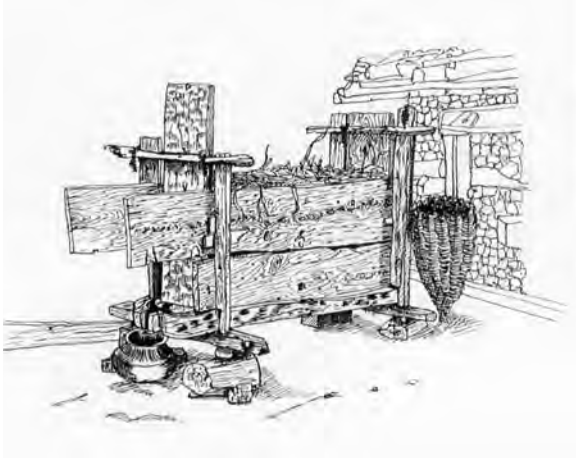


Fig. 16. Wine press in Birir (Loude & Liévre 1987: fig. 2).



Fig. 17. Wine pressing in Birir (Fentz: fig. 356).

Borbor, The Influence of Wine Culture in Iranian Architecture and the Region



Fig. 1. Wine cellar, Khāne-ye Veysi-ye Namadmāl, Dezful, 20th century (photo: Jassem Ghazban-pour).



Fig. 2. Wine cellar, Khāne-ye Mostowfi, Shushtar, Qajar period (photo: Jassem Ghazban-pour).



Fig. 3. Wine cellar, Khāne-ye Qodsiye, Isfahan, Qajar period
(photo: Jassem Ghazban-pour).

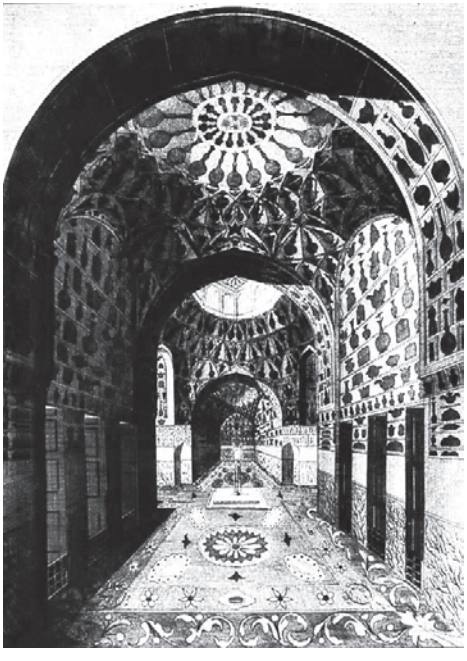


Fig. 4. Shah ʿAbbās, the Great, Wine Cellar
(17th century CE drawing in Jean Chardin, vol. VII., Fig. XXXVIII).



Fig. 5. Karim Khān Zand garden pavilion overlooking an extensive water canal, Dowlat-Ābād Residence, Yazd, ca. 1750 CE (photo: Dariush Borbor, March 2012).



Fig. 6. Karim Khān Zand interior of garden pavilion, Dowlat-Ābād Residence, Yazd, ca. 1750 CE (photo: Dariush Borbor, March 2012).



Fig. 7. Picnic and drinking scene at the Khāju bridge (mid 17th century CE), Isfahan (photo: Dariush Borbor).



Fig. 8. The interior of ʿĀli Qāpu pavilion, Isfahan (1598-1606 CE), with decorative recesses representing wine jars used with the double purpose of creating both an elegant erotic atmosphere and a sophisticated acoustical absorption treatment (photo: Dariush Borbor, September 2012).

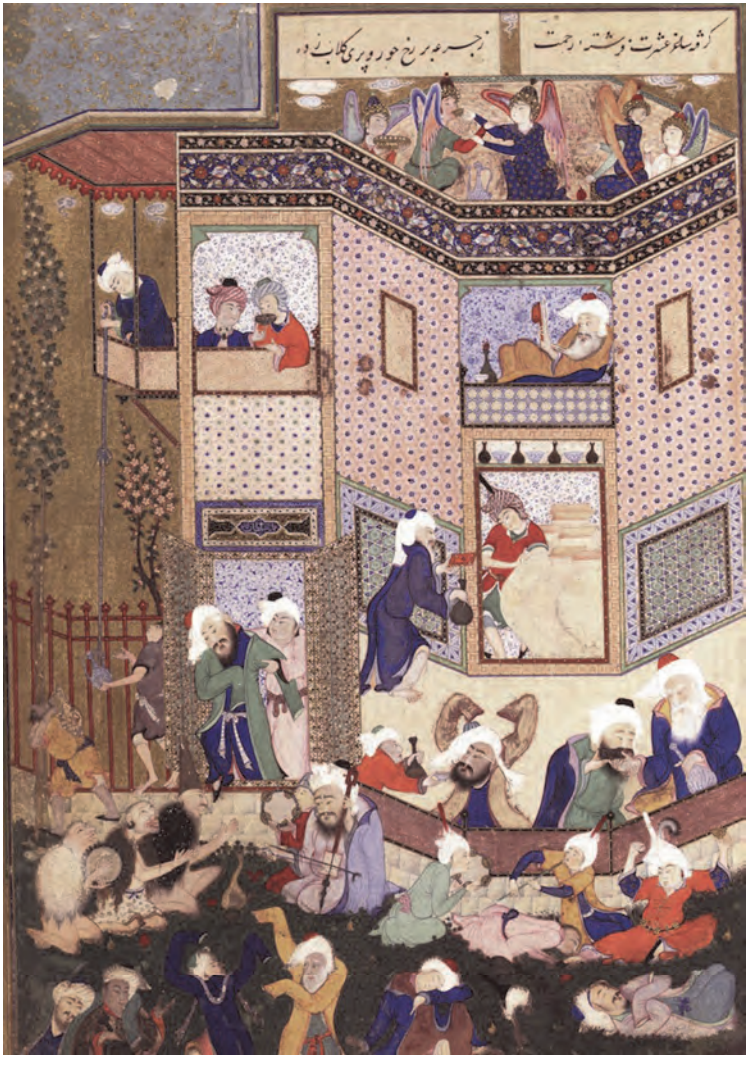


Fig. 9. Sultan Muhammad: Heavenly and Earthly Drunkenness (text, verso; text recto), folio from a manuscript of Divan of Hafiz, c. 1526-1527. Ink, color and gold on paper; 28.5 x 18 cm (11 1/4 x 7 1/16 in.) Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Stuart Cary Welch Collection, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Stuart Cary Welch in honor of the students of Harvard University and Radcliffe College, Jointly owned by the Harvard Art Museums and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988.460.1. Photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College.



Fig. 10. A private party held at a typical 16th century tavern in medieval Iran. Photo: The Art and History Collection, courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, LTS1995.2.142.



Fig. 11. Ceiling of a reception salon designed for musical performance, dancing and entertainment based on the Sabine acoustical formula (House Shams ad-Dīn Nahāvandi, Tehran, 1965, architect: Dariush Borbor).

Newid, Wenn die Liebe trunken macht – Bemerkungen zum Wein in der persischen Literatur.



Abb. 1. Das Küchenpersonal des Königs Darius trägt verschiedene Speisen zum Palast hinauf, darunter auch ein lebendes Zicklein unter dem Arm (2. Person v. l.) und einen Weinschlauch auf der Schulter (3. Person v. l.). Persepolis, Treppe zum Palast des Darius (Foto: Mehr A. Newid).



Abb. 2. Europäisches Paar dargestellt an der Außenwand des Palastes der Vierzigsäulen zu Isfahan. Die linke Person hält offensichtlich ein Weinglas in ihrer linken Hand (Foto: Florian Schwarz).



Abb. 3. Bankett des Safawidenherrschers Schah ʿAbbās (mit gefiederter Kopfbedeckung u. gegürtetem Schwert) zu Ehren des Janiden Vali Muḥammad Ḫān (Bildmitte, o. links). Abgebildet sind u. a. auch zahlreiche Karaffen, die in der Regel als Weinbehälter dienen. Isfahan, Vierzigsäulen-Palast (Foto: Florian Schwarz).

VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN ZUR IRANISTIK

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON BERT G. FRAGNER UND FLORIAN SCHWARZ

(Nr. 1–21: Veröffentlichungen der Iranischen Kommission,
Nr. 22–29: Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Iranistik,
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HERAUSGEGEBEN VON RÜDIGER SCHMITT, HEINER EICHNER,
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Band I: Die altiranischen Namen
Von Manfred Mayrhofer. 1979 (Sonderpublikation).

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Faszikel 2: Noms propres sassanides en moyen-perse épigraphique. Von Philippe Gignoux. 1986 (Sonderpublikation)

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Faszikel 7: Bactrian Personal Names. Von Nicholas Sims-Williams. 2010 (SBph, 806. Band/Iranische Onomastik, Nr. 7)

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Faszikel 4: Iranische Namen in den indogermanischen Sprachen Kleinasiens: Lykisch, Lydisch, Phrygisch.Von Rüdiger Schmitt. 1982 (Sonderpublikation)

Faszikel 5A: Iranische Personennamen in der griechischen Literatur vor Alexander d. Gr. Von Rüdiger Schmitt. 2011 (SBph, 823. Band/Iranische Onomastik, Nr. 9)

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Faszikel 1A: Iranische Personennamen in der neuassyrischen Nebenüberlieferung. Von Rüdiger Schmitt. 2009 (SBph, 792. Band/Iranische Onomastik, Nr. 6)

Faszikel 1B: Iranische Personennamen in der neu- und spätbabylonischen Nebenüberlieferung. Von Ran Zadok. 2009 (SBph, 777. Band/Iranische Onomastik, Nr. 4)

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Band VIII: Iranische Namen in ägyptischer Nebenüberlieferung

Von Rüdiger Schmitt und Günter Vittmann. 2013 (SBph, 842. Band/Iranische Onomastik, Nr. 13)