october 2007 volume X number 1

ven

viennese ethnomedicine newsletter

Traditional hospital

INSTITUTE FOR THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE, MEDICAL UNIVERSITY OF VIENNA
quondam ACADEMIA CAESAREO - REGIA IOSEPHINA 1785

department of ethnomedicine

Frontispiece

The painting by Mika (2007), a young artist from Kinshasa, Democratic Republic Congo, is disturbing. A traditional practitioner is treating a wound on the leg of a patient with a herbal remedy. The treatment must be extremely painful, for the patient's face is showing his agony. He is tightly held by his two friends, one supports him from behind, the other keeps his left arm in a firm grip to be sure he cannot escape. His two friends are visibly suffering with him. The bewildering effect of the painting is sharpened by depicting the actors as animals. The young patient is a chimpanzee, the traditional practitioner a buffalo, the two friends are a rhinoceros and an elephant.
In Africa human health problems, pain and violent emotions in art is often transformed to an animal level. In a kind of detachment progress the painter expresses fear and pain through humanized animals. In the Collection Ethnomedicine we seek to collect emotionally disturbing art of this kind. Besides, the good artistic quality of these autodidacts is intriguing. They can be seen in one tradition with producers of famous masks and statues.

Viennese Ethnomedicine Newsletter

is published three times a year by the Department of Ethnomedicine,
Institute for the History of Medicine, University of Vienna, Austria.

Editors in chief

Armin Prinz, Ethnomedicine Unit, Institute for the History of Medicine,
University of Vienna, Austria
Ruth Kutalek, Ethnomedicine Unit, Institute for the History of Medicine,
University of Vienna, Austria

Editorial board

Nina Etkin, University of Hawaii at Manoa; John Janzen, University of Kansas;
Wolfgang Jilek, University of British Columbia; Sjaak van der Geest, University of Amsterdam;
Manfred Kremser, University of Vienna; Wolfgang Kubelka, University of Vienna;
Guy Mazars, University of Strasbourg; Rogasian Mahunnah, University of Dar es Salaam;
Traude Pillai-Vetschera, University of Vienna; Jun Takeda, University of Saga;
Zohara Yaniv, Volcani Center, Israel

Content

Submissions, announcements, reports or names to be added to the mailing list, should be sent to:

Editors, Viennese Ethnomedicine Newsletter, Institute for the History of Medicine, Centre for Public Health, Department of Ethnomedicine, Währinger Strasse 25, A-1090 Vienna, Austria
FAX: (++)43-1-42779634, e-mail: ruth.kutalek@meduniwien.ac.at
homepage: http://www.univie.ac.at/ethnomedicine

ISSN 1681-553X

Diversity within Tradition. Concepts of Cupping in the Modern Arab World

Martin Kellner

Introduction

Whoever enters a bookstore in the Arab world today may be surprised by the increasing number of publications about Islamic and prophetic medicine, and alternative therapies. Most of them have been published very recently, mainly in the last few years. These books are sold as health guides, herbal medicine lexicons and publications detailing the increasing number of scientific research in support of the effects of traditional therapy. Furthermore, some Arabic TV channels offer programs about alternative, complementary and Islamic medicine. And – as far as the different national laws allow it – an increasing number of physicians and healers work on the application of traditional medicine in many Arabic countries.

This growing tendency is one form of the revival of traditional medical concepts, creating a new diversity in the medical sector – whereas the reference to "tradition" seems – in many cases – more to be a contemporary ideological statement than a return to the past[1]. This development takes place after European medicine has been established in predominant parts of the Arab world and traditional curative systems have sometimes been completely replaced by western biomedicine. This shows that the globalization – in the sector of medicine as in many other parts of life – did not bring the homogenization of life as it was expected some decades ago (Wolf and Hörbst 2003: 34). In the field of medicine there can be seen a lot of creative answers to the process of globalization – the revival of "traditional" therapeutic concepts being one of them.

On the other side, in modern Arabic books on traditional medicine, which have attracted the attention of many European authors especially in the second half of the 20th century, there are hardly any references to "Arabic Medicine". Instead of references to the Grecian sciences, the modern Arabic publications mainly deal with:

– Islamic concepts of healing, based on the Hadith-literature
– herbal medications found in different forms of folk medicine
– the scientific, laboratory and theoretical proofs of the therapeutic effects of prophetic and/or folk medicine[2].

This article is focusing on concepts of cupping in the modern Arabic world. Cupping is definitely a very prominent part of Arabic traditional medicine, and at the same time it can be seen as a universal therapeutic technique: that is to say, it is based on a universal idea of curing the body by cleaning it from "bad liquids".

Between these two points – the universality of cupping and the unique originality of this technique in a certain culture – the following questions are posed:
– How is cupping defined and explained in contemporary Arabic literature?
– Which resources do the authors rely on in their publications?
– What are the expected therapeutic effects, what indications and contraindications are given and what is the place of cupping within the modern health care system?
– Is the reference to the same source – the prophetic medicine – an integrating factor which unifies the modern concepts of reviving this tradition?

The great interest which is shown for cupping (and other forms of "complementary medicine") in some Arabic countries in the last few years shows the flexibility and the continuous changes in the health care sector worldwide. Cupping as the focus of this research, can be analyzed from several points of view:
– the biological and physiological effects of extracting blood from the body by cupping
– the psychological effect in extracting something which causes illness (bad blood in case of cupping, but also for example a tumor, any other "bad" liquid, witchcraft, etc.)

– the cultural or religious dimension which gives a frame for valuing this therapeutic intervention
– the political legal and economic dimension which allows or forbids certain therapeutic techniques, and portions the whole field of health care in a certain way, according to different interests
– the aspect of advertising and media, which can bring a new demand on the sector of medicine
– and the level of individuals, patients and healers, which are looking for ways of therapy fitting the needs of their life.

The revival of a technique like cupping must be analyzed in all these aspects: the manifestation of the "old" tradition in a new place, at a new point in history, under new circumstances, and in the hand of competent individuals, in order to understand how it may contribute to a constructive transformation within the health-care-sector.

Concepts of Cupping in Contemporary Arabic Literature

In analyzing the indications of cupping, there is a very fundamental discussion about the efficacy of cupping. Some scholars see it as an instrument of preventive and complementary medicine, others claim that cupping could be an effective remedy against nearly any kind of illness like cancer, paralysis, Aids etc. (Shaykhu 1999: 222, 328, 372; Abu al-Shabaab 2005: 81 f.). The reason for this disagreement may lie in the different practical experience of the authors in practicing cupping.

But on the other side, there is also an important ideological or religious aspect, derived from the interpretation of the Hadith: "Healing is in three things: in the incision of the cupper, in drinking honey and in cauterization with fire, but I forbid my *ummah* (followers) to use cauterization." (Ghabrah 2003:24) There are a lot of discussions about this Hadith, mainly focused on the question of exclusivity: whether these therapies are the only forms of effective healing to be considered. Ibn Hajar, one of the most important classical Hadith commentators, said about this text: "… and the prophet – peace be upon him – didn't mean the limitation to these three forms of healing, because healing can be in others, but rather he draws our attention to the roots of medical treatment." (Ibn Hajar 1977, quoted from: Abu al-Shabaab 2005: 16)

So there is disagreement about the question in which cases cupping could be helpful, but a number of diseases or physical disorders are mentioned regularly for being treated with cupping (without mentioning the differences between the publications here): cardiovascular problems, high blood pressure, hemophilia, diabetes, rheumatism, asthma, migraine, liver diseases, problems in joints and generally in the musculoskeletal systems, sterility, digestion problems, eye inflammations, psychological disorders, some forms of epilepsy, some forms of cancer (on the way of stimulating the immune system). (Ghabra 2003: 54 ff., Ja'far 2005: 175 ff., 119 ff.; Salih 2007: 359 ff.).

The procedure of cupping is described in most publications in a very similar way: After sterilization of the cups, the blades and the area which shall be cupped (and eventually shaving the skin), the cups are heated and placed on the skin. When the air in the cup cools the negative pressure sucks the skin into the cup. Sometimes a vacuum pump is used with the same effect. After some minutes the glasses are taken away and incisions of about 0,1mm depth and 4mm length are made. For every cup there should be about three cuts, with a distance of about 0,5-1cm between them. The same procedure can be repeated several times if necessary. With the first cupping normally about 100-150 ml of blood are taken (Ja'far 2005: 42 ff., Ghabra 2003: 42).

Although the technique of wet cupping is described very similarly, there is an important difference of opinion regarding some general rules of cupping, namely the area on which it has to be done and the time of cupping. In the book "The astonishing remedy" (al-dawaa' al-'ajeeb), published in 1999 by Amin Shaykhu together with a team of 13 physicians, the author presents a very rigid system of rules for cupping, referring to the Hadith-literature. The idea is that cupping should be only done in the area between the shoulders and on no other place of the body, only in the time of spring, and between the 17th and the 27th day of the lunar month, because only in this time and on this place of the body a satisfying therapeutic

effect can be reached. In the end of the book there are about 150 pages of laboratory examinations, including hundreds of blood analyses before and after cupping, showing the blood tests of the patient as well as of the "cupped" blood. The main purpose of the book seems to be defending the system of "correct cupping" in comparing laboratory tests and their results after right and wrong cupping.

This book has become very famous and is quoted in nearly every new Arabic publication about cupping. However there has also been a lot of critique about the rules which are mentioned by the authors of this book. The main controversy is that the area of cupping can not be reduced to the shoulders, because there are also many references that the prophet got cupped on other places (here it is important to see that all of these authors are referring to the same source and the same authority, giving just a different interpretation). For example, Ja'far and Salih mention about 100 places on the body where cupping can be effective – and this in correspondence to the Chinese system of meridians and to reflexology (Ja'far 2005: 77 ff., Salih 2007: 360 ff.).

The rules which are defined by Shaykhu, concerning place and time of correct cupping, are mostly criticized as concentrating on some prophetic teachings, while ignoring others (the correct explanation of the Hadith-literature is seen as the main proof in these discussions, and the biological examinations are secondary). Another debate found in the literature is the question of expertise in cupping. Shaykhu says that in every family there should be one person who is able to practice cupping, whereas Abu Abu al-Shabaab says that wet cupping should only be done by physicians. Salih gives only importance to the moral qualification of the person who practices cupping, saying that the positive effect of this technique depends on the piety of the healer (Shaykhu 1999: 185, Abu al-Shabaab 2005: 16, Salih 2007: 343).

As for the explanations of the therapeutic effects of cupping, there are several ideas, the most important one, which is also based on the etymology of the word itself in the Arabic language, is the theory of extracting bad or excrescent blood from the body. The word for cupping, *hijamah*, is taken from *hajama*/ *hajjama* which means "to minimize to basic size or to diminish in volume", and *ahjama*, which means "to withdraw or retreat from attack". Other theories in modern literature explain cupping through other approaches: by the TCM teaching of energy balance, by psychological factors, by activating the blood circulation and the lymph system, supporting the immunologic balance in the body, reducing the acids in the blood and so on (Salih 2007: 345 ff., Ghabrah 2003: 44).

One important aspect of the revival of cupping in the contemporary Arab world is its reference to what is called "prophetic medicine". In all recent Arabic publications, the main reference of cupping seems to be the Hadith-literature. This means that cupping is seen as a religion based way of healing, despite the fact that all the authors are aware of the fact that cupping existed and still exists in other cultures. There are two ways of defining the religious and the historical aspects of cupping:
-Some authors say that the prophet just experienced this method and confirmed it in his personal life, according to the therapeutic knowledge which was available in the historical and geographical milieu he was born in.
-Another opinion is that the knowledge about the merits of cupping is a part of the divine revelation; here cupping is seen as a "divine nomistic norm" which was given to all prophets and peoples, and was forgotten in many cultures and finally re-established by Islam (Ja'far 2005: 322).

The ideological aspect in the publications about cupping are obvious. Ja'far for example mentions a cupping clinic which was opened in Cairo for "the revival of the prophetic traditions", and he explains the importance of such projects as a return to the medicinal roots after the colonization displaced all traditional forms of medicine (Ja'far 2005: 299). But it would be too easy to explain this new movement towards traditional medicine as a kind of pure cultural phenomenon or – in the Arab world – as a branch of fundamentalism. The crisis of biomedicine in Europe is normally seen as the reaction to wrong or unsuccessful developments within the medicine sector. In that regard, the call "back to Islamic medicine" could also be yet an expression of disappointment with the European medicine itself.

An Example of Practicing Cupping in the Arab World

Dr. Muhyiddin al-Haddad, a specialist in orthopedic surgery and his wife Dr. Raghda Ghazzal, a specialist in general and plastic surgery, work as surgeons in several hospitals in Damascus. They have their private clinic located nearby the French embassy in Damascus which they use for cupping, beside their official work. After the morning prayer, normally about 5 a.m., they start their non-official work, receiving patients for cupping. In the main season of cupping in springtime they have some hundred patients daily. Dr. Ghazzal is treating women, while her husband works with the male patients. After that they start their work as surgeons in hospital, and in the evening they open their clinic for surgery patients.

Facing their clinic from outside, nothing shows that this is a place where cupping is practiced. Rather it is only private information that brings their "morning-patients". The frame of their work seems to be a kind of non-secret as well as non-official setting, and in this form the authorities seem to tolerate their work without allowing it. This is the reason why they were so friendly to give me plenty of time for answering my questions (after being sure that the purpose is a scientific work and after knowing that I am not one of the journalists who want to make programs about cupping for TV-channels). They, however, didn't allow me to make a voice record of this interview.

Both of them started to work with cupping in this form some years ago, about 2002. Their personal journey from academic medicine to cupping provides some interesting information about the situation of this medical heritage in the modern Arab world.

Dr. Haddad told me that he remembers his grandmother treating every kind of illness with cups, and she was so convinced about cupping that she didn't accept any other kind of medicine in her house. After studying medicine at university, cupping in his mind became a kind of childhood memory –he knew that it was something related to Islamic medicine and to the prophet's teachings, but it was clear for him that this technique could never compete with academic medicine, and so he didn't show any interest in it. In his forties, he experienced some cardiac problems, which occurred surprisingly. He didn't find any clinical explanations and no satisfying treatment. So he accepted his wife's advice and decided to give a try to cupping. His health problems disappeared from this time on, and until now he gets cupped three times a year.

His wife, being asked about how she found her way to practice this method, stated: "It was not me who found cupping but it was cupping which found me." After seeing that her husband benefited from cupping, and also through the contact to a friend of her, an oncologist working with cupping in Saudi-Arabia, she started to practice cupping in the nineties for some relatives. Then other people heard about it and cupping became a kind of hobby for her in fulfilling the requests of some people on the basis of personal relations.

In the years 2001/2002 some Arabic TV-channels started to make programs about the therapeutic effects of cupping, and from this time on many people in Syria and other Arabic countries started to look around for cuppers. In just a short time, Dr. Haddad started also to work in the field of cupping with his wife, and the surgery consultant clinic became famous as the "cupping clinic beside the French Embassy", attracting several thousand people a year.

Both doctors are mainly working with "bloody" cupping, stressing that dry cupping is only effective in the case of some muscular tensions. He is mainly cupping on the area between the shoulders, referring to the Hadith that the prophet preferred this part in cupping, while his wife – also seeing her work as a religious based therapy – has a lot of experience in cupping on various areas of the body corresponding with the TCM-system of energy lines. Both of them seem to work more on the basis of their increasing experience rather than on a rigid system of rules of what has to be done and what must not be done. The couple stresses that cupping is a therapy which has no negative side effects as long as the basic hygienic conditions are fulfilled. They mentioned this positive aspect of cupping in contrary to biomedicine, where pharmaceutical companies exploit whole countries for human experiments. Both of them

further stressed that there is an urgent need for exact scientific studies about the therapeutic effects of cupping and other alternative methods, but these studies need a lot of money and can not be done on an individual basis especially as long as the law in many countries forbids every kind of non-western medicine, due to the pressure of pharmaceutical companies. Here Dr. Haddad told me that according to his personal experience the most beneficial side of "western medicine" is the field of surgery, while in all the other fields of medicine there is an urgent need to develop "soft" therapeutic methods.

Concerning the spectrum of physical disorders which can be treated by cupping, they said that cupping is neither a magic treatment for all diseases, nor a "toothless" weak technique of folk medicine. There is no general rule for the effect of cupping, and no guaranteed result, much in the same way as biomedicine can not give any guarantee for the outcome of a therapy. However, they have had good experiences in treating rheumatism, migraine, epilepsy, cardiovascular diseases, diabetes, sterility, and also psychological/psychiatric problems as depression and schizophrenia. While they saw that, for example, skin disorders as psoriasis and eczema are better treated with other methods of traditional medicine (such as "black henna") which are more effective than cupping[3].

They also stressed that the psychological effects of cupping have to be regarded. The patient who refuses cupping won't benefit from it a lot. Further they mentioned a very interesting psychological aspect of cupping: The fact that the patient sees the "product" of this treatment – namely the blood in the cups – gives a kind of deep psychological relaxation to him. Here Dr. Ghazzal told me smiling that as a surgeon she enjoys the feeling of extracting the source of illness from the patient's body.

Concerning the rules of cupping, they agree with what is mentioned in most books: that the best time for cupping is springtime and the days of the lunar month which are given in the Hadith-literature. But seeing this time the best season for preventive cupping, they also stressed hat therapeutic cupping in its different forms can be practiced during the whole year, at every time of the month or of the day, fulfilling the needs of the patients as fast as possible.

Conclusion

In summary, I would like to stress the following points:
The two physicians, trained in a postcolonial system of western medicine, are establishing a traditional system of healing which was seen within the medical establishment as a fairy tale of pre-modern times, and they came to this system mainly by the request of patients which have been attracted to these concepts by the increasing media publicity towards traditional medicine (mainly by satellite-channel TV programs). Both of them are relying in their work on a kind of religious motivation, and they see cupping as a part of the prophetic medicine. Practically, while Dr. Haddad is mostly cupping in the areas which are recommended in the Hadith-literature, his wife is working in a system taken from the TCM-system. They are working nearby the French embassy, in a part of town where nearly everyone can afford the best form of western medicine. This shows that cupping is not a therapy for the lower class people who do not have access to modern therapeutic offers. They are working in a legal grey area, being tolerated as long as "nobody speaks too loud". They do not need anything else than mouth-to-mouth-advertising to attract their patients. As a personal impression, their work is a good example for a non-dogmatic, flexible application of complementary medicine, which enriches the local health-care-sector in a constructive way.

Notes

[1] Interestingly enough that in the modern Arabic literature the term "traditional medicine" (al-tibb al-taqlidi) is used in two opposite meanings: sometimes as the contrary to western biomedicine, or as biomedicine, to be modernized by natural medicine (Salih 2007: 345)
[2] An example for this attempt is the Zayed Complex for Herbal Research in Abu Dhabi http://www.herbal.gov.ae/eng_index.htm.
[3] A completely different opinion is found in a field study done in Iran: "In my interview with Mr. Keirandish, the head of the HRII, he said that they had very good success reports of this kind of treatment. He mentioned excellent results of *hejamat* in dermatology diseases like psoriasis and eczema and said that it works better

than routine allergic desensitization." Shekari Yazidi 2001: 21

References

Abu al-Shabaab, Ahmad (2005) Al-tadaawi bi-l-hijaamah fi al-tibb wa al-shari'ah (The therapy of cupping in medicine and Islamic law). Dar al-nafa'is, Beirut.

Ghabrah, Riyadh Ajwad (2003) Al-tadaawi bi-l-hijaamah (The therapy of cupping). Dar al-israa', Amman.

Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani: Fath al-Bari. Beirut, 1977

Ja'far, Ghassan (2005) Mawsu'ah tibb al-hijamah (The encyclopedia of cupping therapy). Dar Usaamah, Amman.

Qunbus, Akram Jameel (2006) Al-minhaj fi al-tibb al-tabi'i wa 'ulum al-'a'shaab (The curriculum in natural medicine and the herbal sciences). 'alam al-kutub. Beirut.

Salih, Sha'ban Ahmad (2007) Dalil al-mu'alejeen bi-l-a'shaab wa-al-tibb al-badeel (The guide for herbal therapists and alternative medicine). Maktabah al-safaa, Cairo.

Shaykhu, Muhammad Amin (1999) Al-dawaa' al-'ajeeb (The astonishing remedy). Dar al-basheer, Damascus.

Shekari Yazdi, Mohammad (2001) Hejamat in contemporary Iran. A brief report of my field study. In: Viennese Ethnomedicine Newsletter 4, 1: 20-22.

Wolf, Angelika; Hörbst, Viola (2003) Medizin und Globalisierung: Universelle Ansprüche – lokale Antworten. Münster, London (Medizinkulturen im Vergleich, hrsg. v. Rolf Wirsing und Beatrix Pfleiderer. Bd. 19).

An Essay on the Situation of Alcoholic Beverages (Wine) Among the Muslim Societies of the Mediterranean

Francoise Aubaile-Sallenave

Wine and all fermented and therefore alcoholic beverages are prohibited by the Coran to Muslims, although they were held in high esteem since they were the drink of those who will enter Paradise. Since the beginning of the Islam, the Arabs from central Arabia colonized countries where the use of wine was widespread: Persia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and later on Sicily and Andalusia.

Moreover, in medieval medicine, wine, when it is used with moderation, is a balanced medication, very useful in many cases. In the social life, the numerous ways of naming wine and the very different kinds of alcohol according to the countries are a testimony of their importance. In the religious life, among the Sufis, wine is very common but with a highly spiritual metaphor. So we shall try to show what wine represents in the Arabic world.

Wine and beer drinking were of very ancient use in the societies of the Middle East (Bottero 2002, Burke 1963), Egypt (Vercoutter 1963) and North Africa[1]. For example in the Middle East of the 6th and 7th centuries, the Nabateans kept their wine in big ja,rs specially prepared for the September harvest: in August, around 25 days before putting the wine in them, the tar-coated jars were put into the sun for drying so that they would not absorb the flavour of the tar[2].

Before Islam, the Arabs were allowed to drink; wine was not produced in central Arabia, but the Jews and Christians with whom they lived, consumed wine which was imported from the margins of the peninsula and so the Arabs did. Although, wine and all alcoholic beverages are prohibited by Islam since the 7th century (Coran V, 92), Muslims have been confronted since their first conquests with countries where wine was cultivated, produced and consumed such as Syria, Iraq, Persia, north Africa and Spain, with some of them also producing beer, for example Syria, Iraq and Egypt. In all of these countries, wine or beer were of ancient tradition and use. So, since the beginning of the Hegira, the Muslims have, till now, nearly always cohabited with people who drink wine, beer or other alcoholic beverages, and in countries producing them. We shall try to understand the historical behaviour of the Muslims with regard to these beverages.

It can be said that in Persia, after a day of hunting big game in royal parks, a big reception would take place in a court or a garden of the palace with a large dinner, dances by official dancers, and drinks, aromatic ones and alcoholic ones: wine, beer or palm wine. This is abundantly represented in the miniatures since the 15th century, and it had a long tradition, since at least the Sassanids. In the western Muslim countries, we also have good testimonies of that association; in the Alhambra, in Granada, southern Spain, there are frescoes of Arabian princes hunting on one side and drinking on the other, both activities being very possibly related. In the cathedral of Cefalu (Sicilia) there is a 12th century frescoe of an Arabian prince drinking wine (Gelfer-Jogenson 1979).

The Many Arabic Names for Wine

For a student in Arabic, what quickly appears is the great interest in wine shown by the number of its Arabic names. A famous lexicographer in the beginning of the 15th century, Faïrûzâbâdî, listed some 357 names for wine and he said that he could list 300 by memory Fulton (1947: 582): the most common ones were *nabîd*[3], *qahwa*, *mudâm* which designated different alcoholic beverages, *sharâb* "beverage" was very often employed in medical texts with the meaning of wine. *Mazar* was, in the preislamic Yemen, palm wine, and then it designated beer frome cereals in the Middle East and Egypt. The majority of the words naming wine were descriptive: *ad-dahabiya* "golden", *'ayn el-dîk* "cock eye", or metaphorical *umm al-khabâ'it* "mother of vices" etc. (Fulton 1947: 582).

Besides the many names for wine, the Arabic language developed an important vocabulary which always expresses a pleasant smell and a pleasant sensation of wine: *'asfah* is "the parfume, the fragrance of wine", *tallah* is a "pleasant wine", "a sweet and delicious wine" (Kazimirski 1980, II: 92); *khamr*, the "leaven and leavened products", has always a very good scent; it refers also to "wine and every fermented intoxicating beverage"[4]. The good smell of the fermentation is bound to life; it is opposed to the rot, which is stinking and bound to death, *khamtah* "pleasant smell like that of the earth, or wine" etc; *khamat* is a "pleasant and bitter smell, for milk or wine" (Kazimirski 1980, I: 634). *Mazat*, a "wine with pleasant taste" (because of its acidity)[5] and even *hlîb* "milk" (Steingass 1975: 429), one of the most valorized products among those societies, designates also wine.

Note that the word *al-kahal*, which gave our *alcoho*l, strictly pertains in Arabic to the vocabulary of chemistry and is never used with the meaning of beverage. Another remark concerning vocabulary: the word *qahwa* first designated wine, and then coffee,[6] because coffee began being prohibited just as wine was (Desmet-Grégoire 1989). One of the Arabic word for drunkenness is an old word still present in Assyrian, *shakaru*, which has a long story since it gave to our European languages Spanish *sidra*, from there French *cidre* and from there English *cider* (Aubaile-Sallenave 1995).

The Many Various Sources of Alcoholic Beverages

The abundance of vocabulary is due to the many kinds of fermented beverages throughout the Islamic world and their numerous origins: cereals and different fruits.

From the different kinds of cereals (barley, wheat) many kinds of beer, *mazar*, *fuqâ'a*, are made in Persia, Iraq, Egypt, Sind. Sometimes, such as in the 16th century in Egypt, people would add pastes called *rishta* or *shaâriya* (thin ones) but the result was hard to digest (al-Antaki 1979: 50)[7]. In that country, they liked to aromatize it with lupin seeds and leaves of *mulukhia* (*Corchorus*), or with powder made from them. In Turkey, using millet they make a beer which is more or less alcoholic called *bûza*, a Persian term, and so exist *bûzakhâne* where to drink it.

From the date-palm tree *lagmî laqmî*, *lakbî* is made; the many variants of the word come from its use among many peoples. It is the juice which runs from the top of the tree, the head of which has been cut off ; each date-palm tree can give five litres a day during three months (in Djanet, oasis in South Algeria). Antique Iraq, Egypt and Yemen knew it; it was named in pre-islamic Yemen *mzor dh-tmer* (Rodinson 1971: 1085)[8]. And now, it is still made in all the oases of north Africa and Egypt and probably

since the oldest times. The juice quickly becomes thick and bitter; when it is fermented, it is called *qashem* in south Tunisia and Lybia. In Morocco, the Jews distilled *lagmi* to get a strong drink called *'araq,* the name given to all strong drinks throughout Muslim countries (it is the *rakia* of the Serbs, plum alcohol, the *raki* of the Greeks, etc.). From unripe dates, they made a strong beverage called *fadih*, *fadîh*, pouring on hot water (Kazimirski 1980, Belot 1955). From dates, they have always made many kinds of drinks[9]; *nabîd*, one of the oldest names, is either a kind of strong beer or a wine. When they spoke of *nabîd al-arjûl* "feet nabîd" it concerns wine because the grapes are crushed by feet, and when they use *nabîd al-ayad*, "hand nabîd" it is the proper *nabîd* (of dates) (Dozy 1967 II: 635; I: 514). In the village of Abou Soumbol, in south Egypt *nabîd* was a speciality which they prepared with dates to help the fermentation; in 1844 a Swede said that it imitated perfectly Porter beer in taste and in smell (Berggren 1844: 110, 1090). To make it stronger and get a more pleasant taste, at the time of the Expedition of Egypt, they put hot pepper in it (Larrey 1823, VIII: 131)[10].
Many kinds of wine are made from grapes in northern Persia, Iraq, northern Syria, the Caucasian countries, north Africa … and anciently in Arabic Spain. In Egypt and Syria, people were making, till the end of the 19th century, a kind of wine from carubs, by fermentation of the pulp[11].
From figs, Jews of northern Africa make a special and very popular alcohol, *bûkha* or *mâ'iya*, always perfumed with aniseed. From coco milk, they fabricated in the Sind *atwâq*, an alcoholic beverage in the 10th century (Ibn Hauqal 1964: 317). From mare milk, the Turkish populations, in Central Asia, have always made *qûmis*, which is fermented and slightly alcoholized. From rice, they could obtain, in the Near East, after the *Nabatean Agriculture* (8th century) a fermented and intoxicating liquor which weakens the reason and attacks the brain (Ibn al-'Awwâm 1866, II: 61).

The Coran and Wine

The sacred book adopted two attitudes: while you are living on the earth, wine is forbidden to you, and as soon as you are dead and elected, you live in Paradise, *firdaws*, in the nicest gardens where the nicest eternally young people offer you the best wines, in cups of many forms. Its vapour will not get you drunk nor will it darken your reason. So says sourate 56 *The Judgment*[12]: The Coran even speaks of "rivers of wine" (S. 47, 15).

We find four occurrences concerning intoxicating drinks in the Coran of which only one formally forbids them; in the sourat 16, 69 Muhammad accepts and even agrees with it when he says: "From the fruits of the palm-trees and from the vines, you extract an intoxicating beverage, *sakaran*, and have an excellent food. Actually, that is a sign for reasonable people"[13]. Elsewhere (2, 216), when he is questioned about the intoxicating beverages *khamr* and the play called *maysir*, he advised against them: "They are, for men, a great sin and usefulness, but the sin is greater than their usefulness". Elsewhere again, he prescribes not to be drunk for the prayer (4, 46), the drunkenness being a stain (of which you can be purified). Finally, in the sourat V (90-92), he comes back, associating intoxicating beverages, *maysir*, erected stones and divination: "They are a stain given by the demon *Shîtan*, avoid them … With intoxicating beverages and *maysir*, the demon wants to arouse hostility and hatred among you and to push you back from invocating Allah and from the prayer. Will you stop from drinking?"[14]

In fact the Coran forbids *khamr* which means fermented, and therefore fermented beverages, although fermented food, milk, meat, fish have very positive values, as we said before.

The prohibition for wine may be explained by what Muhammad saw in his society. The pre-Islamic Bedouins made immoderate use of wine which, besides the real pleasure of drinking, meant the necessity of showing richness, prestige, this wine being a luxury. Except in Taïf, vines were not cultivated in the Arabic domain and the wine had to be brought from afar, hence its name *ar-rahîq* "the distant one". Jewish and overall Christian merchants imported it in amphoras and goatskins from Syria and Babylonia, then going from tribe to tribe. Muhammad condemned with urgency what had begun a calamity with all its excesses (Blachère 1952: 28). Let us remember the *Maqâmat* of al-Harirî (1822) (11th century), known as the *Dinar*, which tells the custom of the ancient

Arabs, before the prohibition, of drinking wine early in the morning (al-Harîrî in Silvestre de Sacy (1822: 119-120)[15].

This prohibition has been constantly infringed, so wine or beer was periodically forbidden with sudden religious decisions being taken by leaders who abruptly became conscious of its nocivity and harmfulness, be it religious, moral or physical.

For example, Sultan Hakim of Egypt († 1021), a fatimid integrist, suddenly forbade beer (*foqa'a)* and wine (*mazar*) in 385/995, the prohibition being accompanied, as always, with savage destruction of shops, cellars and barrels. At the same time he forbade lupin, which was used to give bitterness and strength to the beer (*fokah*)[16]. He also forbade *mulukhia* (*Corchorus olitorius* L.), one of the preferred vegetables of Egyptians, rocket and *motewakkeliyya* herb which took its nickname from the tenth abbassid calif Mutawakkil (847-851) and the shell named *delînas* (a kind of oblong shellfish, Kazimirski 1980) because they all were eaten while drinking (Silvestre de Sacy (1826, II: 73, 349; Maqrizî in Silvestre de Sacy (1826, I: 172). The Druzes, who venerate Hakim, don't drink wine either (Silvestre de Sacy 1826, II: 202).

Prohibitions of beer (*bûzah)* took place several times in Egypt, specially in periods of epidemics when there was revival of religious ardour linked to the desire of knowing the reasons of the anger of Allah. So, in 1505, when an epidemic of pest started, Sultan Malik Ashraf ordered searches in Christian houses in order to break the jars of wine, and to set fire to places where they smoked *hashish* and drink *bouza*[17].

Shah Abbas of Persia suddenly prohibited wine on pain of death, on 28th of August, 1620. The death was awful since they poured hot lead in the mouth of the drinker (della Valle 1745, V: 135-6). But the results in forbidding wine were worse than accepting it. After having forbidden wine in 1620, the same Shah Abbas, one year after, had to permit it again, because the soldiers had got into the habit of drinking *cocnar,* a beverage made with the peel of the capsule of poppy, roughly pure opium which had a worse effect on them, so he forbade it, and in doing so, he could not do less than permit wine again (della Valle 1745, V: 248-9).

Who Drinks Wine

The testimonies of drinking in Islamic countries are largely attested by writings of Arabic historians, poets, geographers and texts of all kinds and those of the European travellers. Many classes of the society like drinking wine. In a study done by Manuela Marin on Arab Andalusia, drinking concerned the princes and the high society of the court, some *ulemas* (men specialized in the study of the islamic law) from the Hanafi school, then the physicians, then people from the countryside, then in taverns of the suburbs (Marin 2003). But a difference appears between the sexes: women don't drink.

Princes and the Upper Classes

Always and everywhere, sultans and princes are the ones who mostly consume wine, but they drink more or less secretly. That attitude is constant since the Abbasids in Iraq till the last shahs of Persia; the Arabic historians have recounted it extensively (e.g. al-Mas'ûdî in the 10th century for the Abbassid dynasty, della Valle 1745, Chardin 1811). Nearly till now, they have drunk in meetings where poets, musicians, singers accompany the sultan and his guests.

Shah Abbas, who forbade wine for one year (1620-1621), drunk secretly and with moderation, not to cause scandal but he drunk all day long a certain number of glasses, according to the prescription of physicians. Some of the highest members of his court and the ministers who presented the same reasons of their need (to drink) had the permission to drink too, provided they did it secretly, in their room and without scandal. The funny thing is that after the princes and ministers, courtisanes asked the same question for the safety of their work (Pietro della Valle 1745, V: 137-9). So, the princes could drink in banquets, but normally they drank in restricted company with choice companions and rarely drank alone. One of the clichés is the Persian miniature showing a young and nice page offering a cup of wine (*kâs al-sharâb*) which shows the ritual in which wine was included.

continue page 14

Fig. 1:
Scarification,
by Moke,
DR Congo

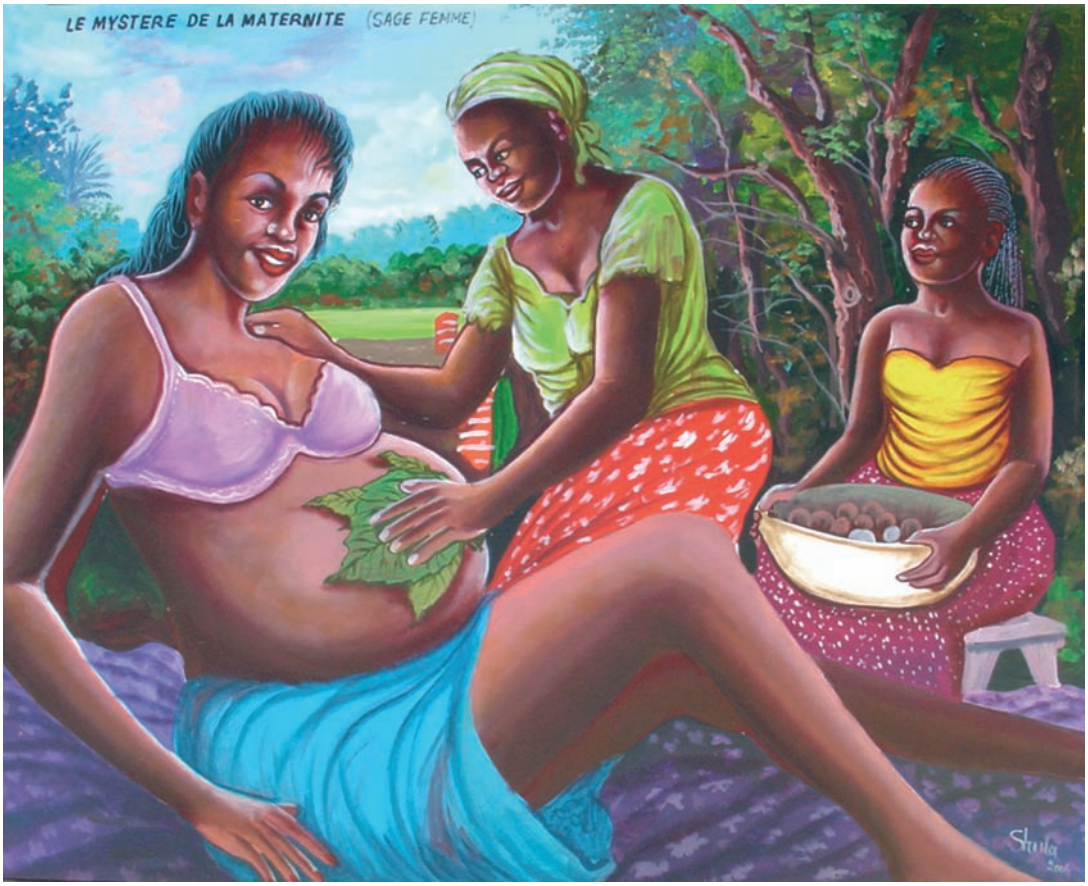

Fig. 2:
Mysteries of
motherhood,
by Shula
DR Congo

Fig. 3:
Traditional practitioner,
by Mkumba,
Tanzania

Fig. 4:
Corruption in
the hospital,
by Charinda,
Tanzania

An Essay on the Situation of Alcoholic Beverages (Wine) Among the Muslim Societies of the Mediterranean
continued from page 11

When in a banquet, it was always the prince who permitted, if he was in a good mood, the service of the wine, which could be prohibited to the people (Kakash 1602: 59).

In Arabian Andalusia, the princes had their *majlîs al-sharâb*, which can be translated by "meeting for drinking" to which the prince and his court – politics, poets, artists, singers and musicians – took part, solitarily, secretly, during the night, in an aromatic garden, with a gentle flow of water, to the sound of mixed songs and instruments. Islamic paintings in the Cefalu cathedral, Sicily, shows within the classical iconographical repertory the cycle of the Prince with a prince drinking wine. This a general feature in all classes: drinking is always a social activity. In Iraq, a country where wine is traditionally drunk, during the Abbasid dynasty, only the highest classes could drink. The literature gives many testimonies, mainly the poets and historians such as Mas'ûdî in his *Murûj ad-dahab* (al-Mas'ûdî 1928-1930 VII: 17). Later on, at the end of the 17th century, the situation is the same when Chardin describes the wine service in Ispahan, at the home of a rich Armenian merchant (Chardin (1811 VIII: 180).

Poets and Sufis

I shall just mention how much poetry was developed under the Abbassid sultans of Iraq, in the 8th -9th centuries, using and misusing the metaphore of wine, when they abundantly treated drunkenness, which often was not at all metaphorical. The materialist and sensual poetry at the court of the Abbasids, whose best known poet was Abû Nuwas († 815), exalted the "joie de vivre" (exuberance) and represents that first Abbassid time which turned its back on old Omeyad traditions which were linked to the desert subjects. A medieval poet of the Middle East, Omar, son of Faredh, could say: "The intoxicating wine of love has watered me with a profound sleep, which has taken my heavy eyelids, and my cup is the face of the one whose beauty shines with an incomparable brightness." (Abd-al-kader in Silvestre de Sacy 1826, I: 450, footnote 15) In al-Andalus too, many poets used and misused the image of wine (Pérès 1953).

Besides poetry, Sufism developed from the 2nd century after the Hegira (the beginning of Islam), a new religious movement in Iraq and Persia which spread quickly to al-Andalus in the West. With the Andalûsî Ibn al-Arabî, Sufism used abundantly the metaphorical language and expressed love and abandon to Allah through the images of wine and drunkenness. I just mention it because of its great importance and I refer to the vast bibliography on the topic (Geoffroy 1995, Bakhtiar 1977, Corbin 1958, Vitray-Meyerovitch 1978).

Among the four traditional religious schools pertaining to the *Sunna*, the tradition, the Hanafites, who rule in Turkey and Iraq are more tolerant about many points, and specially with regard to some fermented beverages. They allow the consumption of *nabîd*, while the Malikis, who rule in the Maghreb, strictly forbid it, as do the Hanbalites of Central Arabia and Shafiites of Egypt.

There has been a long controversy among the different scholars about *dib*s and *nabîd*, those oldest and popular beverages in central Arabia made from date juice: are they fermented or not? The question is that this juice ferments quickly and is converted into an alcoholic beverage of more or less strength. The influence of the tolerant Hanafîs is still strong in Iraq and Turkey and was effective among some scholars and intellectuals in the Medieval Islamic world, for example, some Andalusian Ulemas, or law people, who travelled to Iraq and were influenced by the permissive Hanafîs (Marin 2003: 289).

Historically, Drinking is Popular

We have many ancient and dispersed testimonies of drinking among the lower classes. Drinkers of *nebîd* (date wine) in 10th century Bagdad used to eat salted preserves to get the gullet dry so the strenght of the wine helped to support the bitterness of the excitant food (Mas'ûdî, 1928-1930. V 7: 170). I have already mentioned the prohibitions made by the Egyptian sultan in the 11th century.

There are dispersed testimonies about drinking alcohol among the people. In al-Andalus, people of the countryside could drink in taverns *mawâḫîr* of the suburbs where selling wine was controlled by state taxation, as was prostitution (Marin 2003: 294). The depreciative word for tavern was *kharâbât* and meant in the 10th century, "in ruins, devastated [house]"[18]. In 13th century Arabic Spain, in Ciudadela in Minorca, there was an auberge where wine could be brought to Christians and "Sarracenis" (Huici Miranda 1982: 139f.). In the Cairo, *choumari* were the houses where they sold intoxicating drinks (Browne 1800, I: 86).

An interesting testimony is given by Olearius, a German ambassador who went to the court of the Persian Shah Thamasp, son of Abbas, in 1637 and described the three kinds of taverns of Ispahan, the imperial capital, each one with its peculiarities: "the *Shire Chane*[19]" "wine cabarets" were ill-famed places where people amused themselves with brutality, playing music and dancing. They were quite different from the "*Tsai Chattai Chane*", "Chinese tea taverns" where honest people went and played chess even better than the Moscovites, then were the "*Chawa chane*", which were places for smoking tobacco and drinking a certain black water which they call *chawaa*[20]. Actually tobacco from America and coffee from south Arabia arrived approximately at the same time in the Mediterranean, in the first half of the 16th century.

In the country and zones far from the cities, as for example the oasis, the Islamic prohibition was openly ignored as Rohlfs (2002: 163-164) reports for the Libyan desert, where men drunk "*lakbi* (palm wine) daily and copiously". In central Asia, in the region of Khiva, the Ouzbeks smoked *beng* opium "to evade the wine prohibitions of the Koran" (Vambéry 1873: 137-138).

Flavoured Wine

Nevertheless, the dry and pure alcohol, such as the one we like in Europe, was and is still not appreciated by the Orientals – for them, it must be sweet (with honey or sugar) and aromatized. In the 7th century, the Coran says that in Paradise, they will be given the choicest wine, sealed by a seal of musk (Surat 83, 25f.).

Adding honey and spices to the wine is a very ancient tradition and well attested in ancient Near East. Its first purpose was probably one of preservation, followed by aromatization; the Akkadians flavoured it with sesame seeds (Dhorme 1963: 13).

Rich Arabs liked to perfume wine with ambergris, with honey (which is both, sugar plus perfume). Pedro de Alcalá (1988), a Granadian to whom the Catholic Kings, Isabel of Castilla and Juan of Aragon, had ordered an Arabo-Andalousian dictionary – an extremely precious work for us – (1505), quotes *xarâb mubâzar*, spiced wine which probably was the equivalent of our medieval *piment* "spiced wine", that is to say a wine with pepper and spices. Among the medieval Arabian high society, ambergris was one of the most in esteemed perfumes. They liked to associate flowers to drinks. Leon the African (1830, I: 351) (he redacted in 1526) saw in Fez 25 flower shops and said that the wine drinkers wanted to hold flowers, lemons or limes in their hand to smell them while drinking. On the other side of the Muslim world, Chardin (1811. VIII: 180), in the dinner offered to him by a rich Armenian merchant in Ispahan, around 1685, saw bottles of different kinds of wines each one having a bunch of flowers, roses or carnations, instead of a cork.

Traditionally they don't like pure and dry alcohol like ours, and even to-day the strongest alcohols are always perfumed and the most popular flavour in all the Mediterranean area is aniseed: the *bûḫa* of figs, the different *raki*, *araq*, etc are perfumed with aniseed. In 16th century Egypt, they could flavour their beer, *mazar* with ginger syrup which was convenient for people of cold temperament (al Antaki 1979: 50).

The Beneficial Effects of Wine: the Medieval Physicians Included Wine in their Medicine

For the whole medieval medicine, wine, when it is used moderately, is a balanced medicine: "It is useful for one thing and its contrary, said Ibn Mâsawayh (the medieval Mesue) (1980: 166) in the 9th century in Bagdad. It also has qualities for healthy people, but you must always have a moderate use of it. In those conditions, it warms the heart, helps sleeping and at last gives you joy and excitation of the spirit. This

is an excellent definition of the excellences of wine.

All the great medical scholars of the Moslem Middle Age, who know perfectly the prohibition of the Coran, have prescribed the alcoholic beverages to help a therapy or to take part in the therapy.

The Persian Abû Bakr al-Râzî, in the 10th century, wrote in his *Book of the foodstuff* a long chapter about wine where, after considering its purely clinical aspects, he lists its many qualities: "The intoxicating drinks make the heart warmer and help the digestion in the stomach … mixed with water, they stop thirst without warming the body. Wine is always of great help to maintain health. When drunk with temperance, from time to time, it helps and favorizes a good sleep". Then Râzî proposes three kinds of precautions:
(1) after eating, you must drink wine mixed with water to stop thirst
(2) you must drink wine in the good proportions to moderately animate the spirit without coming to be drunk; so drinking wine two or three times a month will give benefits without hurting;
(3) you must drink water in the morning after the night when you have drunk wine which has warmed your body and so you re-establish your equilibrium (in Waines 1994: 120-121).

Criticizing *bazmâward* a prestigious dish, a kind of "pâté" whose name significates "banquet dish", for it is not convenient for those who have diarrhoea and winds, proposes a corrected recipe: "Take the fresher and best lamb meat (*hamlûn*), a yolk and put in it ruda, some tarragon, salad, celery, some fresh thyme; when cooked, you eat it with very acid vinegar and *murî* and drink some good old wine" (al-Râzî s. d.: 34).

Al-Balkhî, another Persian and contemporary of Râzî, a geographer, and a well-known physician, was akin to the conservation of the body and spirit health because he conceived man as a union of body and spirit. Hence the title of his book "The food of the body and the spirit" in which grape wine is so important that it fills ten pages. For him "Wine is the most noble drink, the best one in its composition and the most beneficent. It profits the health and the strength of the body and is useful to the spirit giving it happiness and energy. Both things which are health and happiness are what the man looks for in this world; and there is no best food or beverage than wine which can join those virtues." (in Waines 1994: 115). He also subordinates the virtues of wine to a moderate use, considering its social role: "One of its merits is to be, for friends, a good reason to meet to talk and take his pleasure with others." (in Waines 1994: 116-117).

For Avicenne (who died in 1037), another great Persian physician, wine had to be drunk in small quantities, so you might not get often drunk and if this happened, it might not be more than once a month (1956 v. 178, nabidh v. 841, naf'â v. 845). He "proposes remedies against drunkenness: to add aromatics to the wine, to eat when drinking acid pomegranates, cucumbers, quinces, three very cold fruits" (1956 v. 848).

Samarqandî, who tragically died in 1222 during the massacres of Herat by the Mongol troops of Gengis Khan, used the same arguments in favour of the wine, for he said wine permits a man to find what he looks for in this world, that is to say a pleasant and secured life, those two benefits being first health and strength of the body and second the joy and excitation of the spirit (in Waines (1994: 123).

Not so surprising are the many popular recipes for fighting against drunkenness given by the medieval Arabic scholars and they are one of the best testimonies of the consumption of wine. They depend on half magical, half medical aspects concerning the products and their uses, for example: put a leaf of laurel behind your ear and you can drink without drunkenness (Ibn Beitar 1987, number 1619, III: 3). Cumin, a seed very much appreciated by drinkers, gives a pale complexion; a recipe for a wine which does not make you drunk: put in it oregano, lemon balm (*Melissa officinalis*), quince, skin of caper, skin of borage, powdered mastic, etc. (I. al-'Awwam 1864-67, II: 402-3.

The Present-Day Consumption

In Egypt, in the popular classes, they smoke cannabis, but in Cairo, they drink beer: Stella, Meinster or Sakkara at home, and in the popular marriages which take place in the

street. There even exists a beer without alcohol ("Birrel") which is fairly popular. They have a local production of bad copies of armagnac, pastis, whisky, gin, vodka etc. *Grosso modo*, the rich people drink, the poor ones smoke, being Moslems or Copts (in a letter of Vincent Battesti, 18 Nov. 2003).

In Yemen, there is hardly any alcohol, even in the international hotels. Nevertheless, there is contraband trafficking on the coasts of the Red Sea, but the Yemenites are mainly dependant on *qât* In the cities of the Middle East, beer is the most common alcoholic beverage. In the Maghreb, it depends on the country. In Algeria, the French colonisation brought vines and wine; till then, the only alcohol present was the fig-alcohol, *bûkha* or *mâ'iya*, made by the Jews. After the Independence, they removed the vines, in 1967, and for some years now, they grow it again for exportation. Officially they can drink since the government is laical, but the religious integrists forbade drinking and now the society strictly limits its use. It is strongly condemned to bring wine home and to drink in the village, so young people drink in groups, outside home, in town's *tberna* or elsewhere far from the houses, the house being a sacred space. Those places open at 4 in the afternoon, never in the morning, and students and workers go there to get drunk, forget their problems and be able to be violent just as a foolish one. They generally are men without any familial support, a brother, a father or an uncle, who could cure them of that vice[21].

In the main Maghrebian cities, there are many places where you can drink. In the oases of south Tunisia and Lybia, men meet at the end of the day after work in the palm gardens to drink *qeshem*, called *qâshem* in the Tunisian Jerid (the fermented *legmî*, sap of the palm-tree). They keep it in a special amphora called *batia* and drink it in a special clay cup called *dur* (from tour of clay). The *qeshem* is always swallowed in one go. It is called in Tozeur *bu namusa* "father of the mosquito", for the mosquitoes like it. For those people, *qeshem* is a panacea, and they can drink every night in the gardens where, at the same time, they have the freshness of the trees, they play *derbuka* and sing. Young men consume more and more alcohol, (mostly caused by the unemployment of the young people) but mainly drink wine (the cheap and prestigious brand Mornag, which has become a synonym of "wine"). Beer is also drunk, but in those Tunisian oases, only some official drinking establishments sell it and some hotel bars, one of which is very decrepit and popular in the town-centre of Tozeur. Regarding women, very few of them can drink, even scholarly ones.

In conclusion, we can say that now in many towns everywhere, people can drink wine, beer and other kinds of alcohol but normally it is done secretly outside the village, the home and the family, but it is generally a social activity, they drink in groups. We can only mention that being a good Muslim and drinking wine bears a contradiction in itself and that people assume that contradiction. So I won't explain it but just say that the situation has existed since the beginning of Islam and, in some cases, it is the social strength which acts more than the strictly religious one. In addition, none of the three major food prohibitions – wine, pork and blood – has ever been totally applied; they hunt and can eat wild boar in some parts of the Maghreb. They can, in extreme situations, eat blood – and even some Maghrebian sects such as the Heddawas eat blood in their magical sessions, and many eat the raw liver of the sacrified sheep, and similarly for wine. In fact, between what is *haram* "prohibited", and *hallal* "allowed" there is *mankur*, which means tolerated; it is an intermediary state which, in fact, in some cases allows those foods.

Notes

[1] Plinius, in the book 13, chapter 44, concerning dates says that the species *caryotes* is mainly used in Orient to make a wine which was heady in excess. In book 14, 81, the wine from Africa is said to be as good and valued as that of Cilicie in Minor Asia.
[2] *Agriculture Nabatéenne*, quoted by the anonymous author of the *Calendrier de Cordoue* (Xth c.) Pellat 1961: 261.
[3] The word may designate an intoxicated or not intoxicated drink; there have been many controversies among the islamic scholars about that product.
[4] The verb *khamara* means in Datinese (a language of south Arabia) «to smell good» (Landberg 1920, I: 643).
[5] Belot (1955) *sub verbo* to move closer to *mazar* «to savour drinking», *tamazar* «to take little sips» and *mazar* «beer».
[6] *Qahwa* first means every beverage which takes away appetite and even gives reluctance to food hence wine, then coffee (Kazimirski (1980, II *s. v*). Coffee, originary from east Africa, was first known in South

Arabia and arrived from there in Cairo and Istamboul at the beginning of the 16th century.

[7] *sub verbo atriya* "pasta".

[8] Of Hindi *târa*, alcohols made from date-palm tree (Vullers 1855, I: 412; Hobson-Jobson 1984: 927).

[9] see note 1

[10] In the Middle Ages, *zîa*, was an unclassified plant with which the Egyptian were intoxidated (Kazimirski 1980, I: 1035, 1089).

[11] Dauphinot, article Caroubier, *Ceratonia*. *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, Série *Agriculture* (1787, II: 760)

[12] «Les élus habiteront le jardin des délices, … ils reposeront sur des lits enrichis d'or et de pierres précieuses, ils se regarderont avec bienveillance, ils seront servis par des enfants doués d'une jeunesse éternelle, qui leur présenteront du vin exquis dans des coupes de formes variées. Sa vapeur ne leur montera pas à la tête et n'obscurcira point leur raison.» (Blachère 1999)

[13] See before what we said about *shakaru*.

[14] For the text of the Coran, I use an edition of Beirût and, for the translation, the one done by Blachère (1999).

[15] See Moritz (1923: 37f,) about the introduction and culture of vine in the Arabian peninsula.

[16] In Egypt, they used lupine since antiquity, in the making of barley beer and spicing up the taste and scent of it giving a slight bitterness which was pleasant to the taste of the Egyptians, while it was at the same time a conservative. Zozim of Panopolis, an Egyptian Greek, describes around 300 B.C., the making of beer in Alexandria from sprouting, drying, grinding barley to a powder and then making it into a paste like a slightly cooked bread which then was left to ferment in water. The Egyptians, he says, also added to their beer lupine, ruda, common cow parsnip *(Heracleum sphondylium)*, safflower or even mandragora (Maqrizi, *Histoire d'Egypte* in Silvestre de Sacy (1826, I: 172, 181). That beer was named in the 19th century *bûzah* (Lane 1860: 94, 335).

[17] The same happenned anno hergirae 769 (1367-1368 a.d.), under the reign of Ashraf Sha'bân ibn Husain, when an epidemic began (Ibn Iyâs 1955, I: 72).

[18] Garcin de Tassy, CR of the *Persian-Arabic-English Dictionary* by Fr. Johnson (1853: 483), Journal Asiatique. They were places where Muslims hid to drink wine.

[19] The transliteration adopted by Olearius is according to German phonology: ch = kh or k, ts = [c], sh = or French ch; *sh_r* is the milk and also the wine, *Chattai* is China and *chawa* [*kawa*] is coffee.

[20] Coffee was nearly unknown in France in 1660. Father Raphaël du Mans describes it in similar terms: the *cavé*, «… is a seed which comes from India and Arabia. It is cooked and burnt and then crushed, cooked again till it is a black ash; then boiled in water to obtain a black and muddy decoction. Still hot, it is presented in a tiny china cup *pialé* [*piyâle*]"» (Schefer 1890: 100f.).

[21] I warmly thank my friend Kamel Chachoua, an Algerian sociologist, who analized the present situation in Algeria.

References

al-Antakî, Dâoud b. 'Omar (1979) († 1599) Tadkirat aûlî al-albâb, Maktabat ash-shu'ubiyat, Beirût.

al-qor'ân, h.1402 (1997), Beyrût

al-Harîrî (1822) (11th c.) Maqâmat. Sylvestre de Sacy (éd.), Paris.

al-Mas'ûdî (1962-1971) (10th c.) Les Prairies d'or, Charles Pellat (transl.), Société Asiatique, Paris. 3 vol.

al-Mas'ûdî (1928-30) Murûg al-'dahab. Les Prairies d'or. Barbier de Meynard & Pavet de Courteille (éds et trads), Geuthner, Paris. 9 vol.

al-Râzî, abû Bakr (s. d.) (10th c.) Manâfi' al-agh'diya wa daf'a madâriha. Dar Sâder, Beyrout.

Alcalá, Pedro de (1988) El lexico árabe andalusí según Pedro de Alcalá (1505). F. Corriente (éd.), Departamento de Estudios Árabes e islámicos, Univ. Complutense de Madrid, Madrid.

Aubaile-Sallenave F. (1995) Vin de pommes, pommé et cidre, Histoire d'une boisson. In G. Drettas & J. Gutvirth (eds.), Hommage à Jeanine Fribourg. Meridies, 1995, MSH, Monte Real, Portugal, fasc. nr. 21-22, 465-506.

Avicenne (Ibn Sînâ) (1956) (11th c.) Urjuzza fi-tibb, "Poème de la médecine". H. Jahier and A. Noureddine (eds. and trans.) Les Belles Lettres, Paris.

Bakhtiar, Laleh (1977) Le soufisme, expressions de la quête mystique. Le Seuil, Paris.

Battesti, V. (2002) Les natures équivoques des oasis sahariennes. Les jardins du Jérid tunisien. Paris, IRD.

Belot, père Jean-Baptiste (1955) (17th c.) Al-Farâïd ad-dirrîya fî-l lughataïni al 'arabîyi wa-l faransîyi.Vocabulaire arabe-français à l'usage des étudiants. Beirût, Dit Petit Belot

Berggren, Jacob (1844) Guide français-arabe vulgaire. Leffler & Sebell, Upsala.

Blachère, Régis (1952) Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XVe siècle de J. C.. Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris.

Blachère, Régis (1923-1956) (1999) Le Coran. Traduction nouvelle. G. P. Maisonneuve, Paris.

Bottéro, Jean (2002) La plus vieille cusine du monde. Audibert, Paris.

Browne, W.G., (1800) Nouveau voyage dans la haute et Basse Egypte, la Syrie, le Dar Four (1792-1798). Dentu, Paris. 2 vol.

Burke, M. Lurton (1963) Le vin en Asie occidentale. Dictionnaire archéologique des techniques. Éd. de l'accueil, Paris, 1068-1069.

Chardin, Jean (1811) Voyages en Perse et autres lieux (1685). In: Louis Langlès (ed.) Le Normant, Paris, 10 vol. 8°.

Corbin, Henri (1958) L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn Arabî. Paris, Flammarion.

della Valle, Pietro (1745) Voyages (1618-1625). Robert Machuel, Rouen.

Dauphinot (1787) Encyclopédie Méthodique, Série Agriculture, tome II. Pancoucke, Plomteux, Paris, Liège.

Desmet-Grégoire, H. (1989) Les objets du café. CNRS, Paris.

Desmet-Grégoire, H. and Georgien, F. (1997) Cafés d'Orient revisités. CNRS, Paris.

Dhorme, Edouard (1963) L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en Akkadien. Geuthner, Paris.

Dhorme, Edouard (1951) Recueil: Etudes bibliques et orientales. Imprimerie Nationale, Paris.

Dozy, Reinhardt P.A. (1967) [1881] Supplémemt aux dictionnaires arabes. Brill, Maisonneuve et Larose, Leyden, Paris. 2 vol.

Fulton, A.S. (1947) Faïrûzâbâdî 's "wine-list". In: Bulletin of the School for Oriental and African Studies 12: 579-585.

Gelfer-Jogensen. M. (1979) The Islamic paintings in Cefalu Cathedral, Sicily. Hafna, Copenhagen Papers in the History of Art, pp. 107-177). B R in: Revue des Etudes Islamiques, 1979, XLVII: 306-7.

Geoffroy, éric (1995) Le soufisme en égypte et en Syrie: implications culturelles et enjeux spirituels. Fin époque mamelouke-début période ottomane. Inst. Français d'Etudes Arabes de Damas, Damas.

Hobson-Jobson, Yule Colonel; H. and A.C. Burnell (1984) [1903] A glossary of colloquial anglo-indian words and phrases, and of kindred terms, etymological, historical, geographical and discursive. Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi.

Huici Miranda, A. y Ma D.; Cabanes Pecourt (1982) Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón. 1258-1262. tomo IV. Anubar, Textos medievales, 55. Zaragoza.

Ibn Beitâr (1987) (13th c.) Traité des Simples. L. Leclerc trad. IMA, Paris. 3 vol. fac sim de l'éd. de 1877-1883.

Ibn Hauqal (1964) (10th c.) Le Livre de la configuration de la terre J.H. Kramers and G. Wiet (transl.), Maisonneuve et Larose, Paris.

Ibn Iyâs (1955-1960) (15th-16th c.) Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire. Gaston Wiet (transl.) 2 vol. S.E.V.P.E.N., Paris.

Ibn Mâsawayh 1980 (9th c.) Kitâb al-nawâdir al-tibiyya. Le Livre des aphorismes médicaux. Danielle Jacquart & Gérard Troupeau (trans.). Genève, Paris

Ibn al-'Awwâm (1864-67) (12th c.) Le livre de l'Agriculture. J. J. Clément-Mullet (trans.), Albert L. Herold, Paris. 2 vol.

Kakash, Etienne (1602) (1877) Iter persicum. Ch. Schafer (trad. & notes), Leroux, Paris.

Kazimirski, Albin de B. (1860) 1980 Dictionnaire arabe-français. Librairie du Liban, Beyrout. 2 vol.

Landberg, comte (1920) Glossaire datinois. Brill, Leiden.

Lane, E. G.W. (1860) Manners and customs of modern Egyptians. London, J. Murray

Larrey, baron (1823) Mémoires sur les maladies en Egypte. Description de l'Egypte. C.L.F. Panckoucke, Paris. Vol. 13.

Léon l'Africain, Jean (1830) [1556] Description de l'Afrique. Jean Temporal (transl.). Libraire à Lyon. Paris.

Marín, Manuela (2003) En los margenes de la ley: el consumo del alcohol en al-Andalus. In: de la Puente, C. (ed.) Identides marginales. CSIC, Madrid: 271-328.

Moritz, Berhard (1923) Arabien. Studien zur physikalischen und historischen Geographie des Landes. Hannover, Orient Buchhandlung Heinz Lafaire.

Olearius, Adam (1728) Voyages faits en Moscovie, Tartarie et Perse. Traduit de l'original par le Sieur de Wicquefort. Leyden.

Pellat, Charles (1961) Le calendrier de Cordoue. (publié et trad. par R. Dozy) Brill, Leiden.

Pérès, Henri (1953) La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au 11e siècle. Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve.

Pline (1860) Histoire Naturelle tome 1er (livres 1 à 20), éd. et trad. E. Littré , Firmin Didot, Paris.

Rodinson, Maxime (1971) Ghidhâ Encyclopaedia Islamica, Brill, Leiden.

Rohlfs, Gerhard (2002) Voyages et explorations au Sahara. Tome III Tripolitaine, Cyrénaïque, Siwah, 1868-1869. Karthala, Paris.

Schefer, Charles (1890) éd. le Père Raphaël du Mans, Estat de la Perse en 1660, Paris, Leroux.

Silvestre de Sacy, baron A.I. (1822) (ed.) Maqâmat d'al-Harîrî. Imprimerie Royale, Paris.

Silvestre de Sacy, baron A. I. (1826) Chrestomatie arabe. Imprimerie Royale, Paris, 2 vol.

Steingass, F. (1892) (1975) A comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary. Librairie du Liban, Beyrouth.

Tapper, Richard (1994) Blood, wine and water: social & symbolic aspects of drinks and drinking in the islamic Middle East. In: S. Zubbaida and R. Tapper (eds.) Culinary cultures. Tauris, London, New York, 215-231.

Vambery, A. (1873) (2nd ed.) Voyage d'un faux-derviche dans l'Asie Centrale, de Téhéran à Khiva, Bokhara et Samarcand. (E. D. Forgues transl.) Hachette, Paris.

Vercoutter, J. (1963) Le vin en Égypte. Dictionnaire archéologique des techniques. Éd. de l'accueil, Paris.

Vitray-Meyerovitch, E. de (1978) Anthologie du Soufisme. Sindbad, Paris.

Vullers, Ioannis Augusti (1855) Lexicon persico-latinum etymologicum. Imprensis Adolphi Marci, Bonne. 2 vol.

Waines, David (1994) Al-Balkhî on the nature of forbidden drink. in M. Marín & D. Waines (eds) La alimentación en las culturas islámicas. Agencia española de cooperación internacional, Madrid, pp. 111-126.

Conferences

2007

2nd announcement, 6th European Colloquium on Ethnopharmacology & 20. Fachkonferenz Ethnomedizin (AGEM) – Joint Meeting (Grassi Museum fuer Voelkerkunde) Leipzig, Germany, November 8-10, 2007 (English/German/French) www.agem-ethnomedizin.de
"New Trends in Ethnobotany and Ethnopharmacology"
Info www.agem-ethnomedizin.de, Ekkehard Schroeder ee.schroeder@t-online.de
http://www.agem-ethomedizin.de/download/DOC-NL17-1_2nd_announc_lpz.pdf

International Conference of the Swiss Society for Anthropology, Basel, Switzerland. November 30-December 1, 2007. Panel: "Health on the Move" (MAS, MedAnthSchweiz) www.seg-sse.ch

Annual Symposium of the Journal Medische Antropologie "Sickness and Love", Amsterdam December 14, 2007, at the University of Amsterdam. Registration via the website of Medical Anthropology & Sociology Unit www.medical-anthropology.nl under Agenda: "Sickness and Love"

2008

"Psychiatry, Nature and Culture. From singular to universal". Guadalajara, Mexico April 17-20, 2008, WACP (World Association of Cultural Psychiatry) http://www.waculturalpsy.org/contactus.php, http://www.wcprr.org

5th Conference on Medical Anthropology at Home. "Medical anthropology, health care systems and the client society – investigating interactions of practice, power and science". Aarhus, Denmark May 8-11, 2008, The Sandbjerg Estate – Aarhus University Conference Centre, Sandbjergvej 102, 6400 Sønderborg (southern Denmark), http://www.sandbjerg.dk/en/index.php Info: Mette Bech Risø, Forskningsklinikken for Funktionelle Lidelser, Barthsgade 5, 1., 8200 Århus N, Tlf: 89 49 43 29, e-mail: mbris@as.aaa.dk

16th International Congress of Anthropological & Ethnological Sciences, Kunming, China, July 15-23, 2008. http://www.icaes2008.org/

19th International Congress of the International Association for Cross Cultural Psychology
"Crossing Borders. (Cross-)Cultural Psychology as an Interdisciplinary Multi-Methode Endeavour", Bremen, Germany, July 27-31, 2008, www.jacobs-university.de/iaccp2008/

International Conference "Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Rituals". Heidelberg, Germany Sept. 29-Oct. 2, 2008. Organisation: Sonderforschungsbereich 619 "Ritualdynamik" der Universitaet Heidelberg. http://www.rituals-2008.com

10th Biennial Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA), "Experiencing Diversity and Mutuality." Ljubljana, Slovenia, August 26-30, 2008
Call for workshops: October 15, 2007.

Culture, Health and Ageing. Vulnerability in Africa-Asia-Latin America and Europe, Switzerland October 26-27, 2007. Kollegiengebaeude der Universitaet Basel, Petersplatz 1, 4051 Basel. Contact: Piet van Eeuwijk (Ethnologisches Seminar der Universitaet Basel)
http://www.agem-ethnomedizin.de/download/DOC-NL18-6_MAS-Symposium_2007_Ageing_Flyer_August_2007.pdf

Many thanks to Ekkehard Schröder and the AGEM (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Ethnomedizin) for these informations!

The Austrian Ethnomedical Society

President: Manfred Kremser, Vicepresidents: Wolfgang Kubelka and Armin Prinz,
1. Sectretary: Ruth Kutalek, 2. Secretary: Christa Kletter, Treasurer: Doris Burtscher

Dear friends and colleagues!

If you want to become a member of the Austrian Ethnomedical Society and to get the VEN regularly (three times a year), please send the completed form back to:

ÖSTERREICHISCHE ETHNOMEDIZINISCHE GESELLSCHAFT
(AUSTRIAN ETHNOMEDICAL SOCIETY)
c/o Unit Ethnomedizin
Zentrum für Public Health
Institut für Geschichte der Medizin
Währingerstraße 25
A-1090 WIEN
AUSTRIA

MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

Member (Euro 20,–) ❑

Student Member (Euro 10,–) ❑

MEMBER NAME:
……

……

ADDRESS:
……

……

FAX: …… **PHONE:** ……

E-MAIL: …… **PAYMENT BY VISA AND MASTERCARD POSSIBLE**

DATE: **SIGNATURE:**

With your membership you help us to publish this newsletter.
If you are already a member, please hand forward this application form to somebody who might be interested in our work.

Contributing Authors

Françoise Aubaile-Sallenave is a researcher in Cultural Anthropology attached to the laboratory of Eco-Anthropology and Ethnobiology of the Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle of Paris. She has done field research among the Maghrebian societies and has published several papers and books on anthropology of food and the ethnoscience of Muslim cultures.

Martin Kellner, M.A. Ph.D., studied social and cultural anthropology in Vienna and Islamic law in Damascus, Syria. Main Interests: medical anthropology, comparative bioethics, medicine in Islam. He is curently working as a teacher for German language and didactic trainer for language teachers in Damascus, Syria.

Photograph last page

The painting by Ekunde of the DR Congo depicts the troubles with a non-compliant patient. Obviously drunk, the patient pours himself another glass of beer, while the doctor, nurse and visitors disapprove of his misbehaviour.

Non-compliance

Sponsored by

Vienna International Airport

A-1090 WIEN · WÄHRINGERSTRASSE 25 · AUSTRIA · TEL ++43(0)1/427763412 · FAX ++43(0)1/42779634