



Wines of the Bible

By

A.M. Wilson

The Wines of the Bible

THE WINES
OF
THE BIBLE

AN EXAMINATION AND REFUTATION
OF THE
UNFERMENTED WINE THEORY

BY THE
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Preface

The question as to the nature of Ancient Wines in general, and of the Wines of the Bible in particular, has been forced into special prominence by recent discussions of the Wine of the Communion. Whether the writer of the following pages has been successful in exhibiting the true nature of these Wines, or has failed in the effort, he has at least, the satisfaction of knowing that he has done what he could. Having been a teetotaler for more than thirty years, his personal habits, associations, and sympathies have all been in favor of the unfermented theory; but the facts encountered in the present investigation, have constrained him, reluctantly, to conclude that, so far as the Wines of the Ancients are concerned, Unfermented Wine is a myth.

E. U. Manse,

Bathgate, April, 1877

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Publishers Introduction

It is with extreme pleasure to reproduce A.M. Wilson's epic book, "The Wines of the Bible." It has been out of print for years and almost impossible to obtain a copy. This present reproduction was taken from photo copies obtained over 30 years ago from a borrowed library loan copy. The following pages were hand typed over many hours and so all spelling errors are due to the present publisher rather than the original copy used.

This work has never been repudiated. Indeed, I know of no one that has even attempted to respond to this works. It is so thorough and well documented it would be impossible to repudiate if intellectual honesty is a guiding virtue.

C.H. Spurgeon upon reading Wilson's book said:

'UNFERMENTED wine' is a non-existent liquid. Mr. Wilson has so fully proved this that it will require considerable hardihood to attempt a reply. The best of it is that he is a teetotaler of more than thirty years' standing, and has reluctantly been driven 'to conclude that, so far as the wines of the ancients are concerned, unfermented wine is a myth.'Mr. Wilson has written the thick volume now before us to settle the matter, and we believe that he establishes beyond reasonable debate that the wines of the Bible were intoxicating, and that our Lord did not ordain jelly or syrup, or cherry juice to be the emblem of his sacrifice.' - Charles Haddon Spurgeon (emphasis mine).

Nearly every single modern defense of the unfermented wine theory, especially William Patton's book "Bible Wines or the Laws of Fermentation" is drawn heavily from such published works that

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Wilson exposed as based upon fraudulent and abusive use of ancient documents, history and customs.

It will help the reader to understand that Wilson was exposing the false scholarship found in *Tirosh Lo Yayin* published by Dr. Frederick Lees in 1841, and the *Bible Temperance Commentary* published by Dr. Frederick Richard Lees and Dawson Burns in 1863, and *Lectures on Biblical Temperance* by Dr. D.E. Nott published in 1868 along with the writings by Moses Stuart, and several others. These men and those who use them as their sources (as William Patton did) have built an elaborate explanation in defense of their unfermented theory upon complete fabrication of original sources. Hence, it is necessary to go back to their original sources and place their misused quotations back in context in order to expose their erroneous conclusions. Wilson has done this for the reader, thus exposing the false but complicated and elaborate arguments they palm off on their readers as “historical facts.”

It will also help the reader to understand some of the ancient historians and writers from which Wilson, a classical Greek scholar, drew from:

- Herodotus, (484 – c. 420 BC), Halicarnassus, "Father of History", wrote the *Histories* that established Western historiography
- Thucydides, (460 – c. 400 BC), Peloponnesian War
- Berosus, (early 3rd century BC), Babylonian historian
- Xenophon, (431 – c. 360 BC), an Athenian knight and student of Socrates
- Ptolemy I Soter (367 BC — c. 283 BC), General of Alexander the Great, Founder of Ptolemaic Dynasty.
- Manetho (3rd century BC), Egyptian historian and priest from Sebennytos (ancient Egyptian: Tjebnutjer) who lived during the Ptolemaic era.

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- Timaeus of Tauromenium, (c. 345 – c. 250 BC), Greek history
- Quintus Fabius Pictor, (c. 254 BC – ?), Roman history
- Gaius Acilius, (fl. 155 BC), Roman history
- Polybius, (203 – c. 120 BC), Early Roman history (written in Greek)
- Julius Caesar, (100 – c. 44 BC), Gallic and civil wars
- Diodorus of Sicily, (1st century BC), Greek history
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (c. 60 – after 7 BC), Roman history
- Livy, (c. 59 BC – c. 17 AD), Roman history
- Marcus Velleius Paterculus, (c. 19 BC – c. 31 AD), Roman history
- Quintus Curtius Rufus, (c. 60–70), Greek history
- Flavius Josephus, (37 – 100), Jewish history
- Pamphile of Epidaurus, (female historian active during the reign of Nero, r. 54–68), Greek history
- Athenaeus – (2nd century AD), Greek historian. The value his work lies partly in the great number of quotations from lost works of antiquity that he preserves, with nearly 800 writers being quoted, and partly in the variety of unusual information it affords on all aspects of life in the ancient Greco-Roman world.
- Thallus, (early 2nd century AD), Roman history
- Plutarch, (c. 46 – 120), would not have counted himself as an historian, but is a useful source because of his Parallel Lives of important Greeks and Romans.
- Gaius Cornelius Tacitus, (c. 56 – c. 120), early Roman Empire
- Suetonius, (75 – 160), Roman emperors up to Flavian dynasty
- Appian, (c. 95 – c. 165), Roman history
- Arrian, (c. 92–175), Greek history
- Lucius Ampelius, (3rd century AD?), Roman history

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- Dio Cassius, (c. 160 – after 229), Roman history
- Herodian, (c. 170 – c. 240), Roman History

The reader will see that Wilson gives the unfermented advocates the benefit of the doubt and presents their case in the most favorable light before he simply places their historical quotations back into the context from which they jerked them out, which is sufficient to expose their manipulated perversion of historical sources.

Often it is objected that wine contains leaven and thus cannot be suitable for symbolizing the sinless blood of Christ. However, when the fermentation process is completed the leaven settles to the bottom as “lees” and it is not contained in the wine drunk.

“After the yeast has exhausted its life cycle, they fall to the bottom of the fermentation tank as sediment known as lees. Yeast ceases its activity whenever all of the sugar in must has been converted into other chemicals or whenever the alcohol content has reached 15% alcohol per unit volume; a concentration strong enough to halt the enzymatic activity of almost all strains of yeast.”

In regard to the Biblical references to wine, Wilson provides the true historical background behind the Biblical uses and references to wine showing how the unfermented wine advocates have brutally abused the Scriptural references. It is difficult to see how any objective person who has read and examined the evidence provided by Wilson in this book could even give the idea of “unfermented wine” any serious consideration. Indeed, after looking at the quotations placed back in their original historical contexts, the response will be righteous indignation toward those who teach such a myth.

Mark W. Fenison, ThM
May 1, 2014

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INTRODUCTION

The reader of the sacred Scriptures cannot fail to observe that wine is referred to, more or less frequently, in almost every book, from Genesis to Revelation. On glancing over the texts we find wine and strong drink spoken of in 256 passages; and from the references we learn that, with some exceptions, wine was commonly used by Jews and Christians, in varied quantities and of different qualities, - old and new, sweet and sour, strong and weak, mixed and unmixed. It was drunk by the best men as well as by the worst; by the rich and poor, young and old, men and women, patriarchs and prophets, kings and people, not excepting even our blessed Lord. It was employed in domestic, social, religious, and national festivities; in banquets and suppers, in marriages and funeral ceremonies; in Jewish rites and Christian ordinances.

Some temperance writers admit that the wines of the Bible were, more or less alcoholic; that the moderate use of such liquors is in itself lawful, and was anciently sanctioned, when the people were distinguished for sobriety; but they allege that, in the present state of society, when intemperance has become a great national evil, such use is not expedient. This plea of expediency is rejected and disowned by a more advanced section of temperance advocates. Dr. Johnston, in an article on the Wine Question, in the *Princeton Review* for January, 1872, observes, - "We say it again, therefore, fearless of sustainable contradiction, that if Christ and the Bible are so on the side of the use of intoxicating wine, within the limits of sobriety, as it is held they are by those who say that wine is not wine unless intoxicating

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then the doctrine of Christian expediency, in its application to the Wine Question, is not worth a puff' of empty air."

Dr. Lees also says, - "Those who contend that liberty to abstain is all that is need as an argumentative basis for abstinence, will find themselves undeceived when they attempt to urge the practice upon others as a duty; for how can that be a duty, it will be asked, the opposite of which is sanctified by both the *letter* and the *spirit* of the divine Word?"¹ The same writer says that both the Church and the world "put awkward questions, which have never been answered. For example-How can it be good to abstain permanently from that which God made to be used for our daily good? It may be reasonable to abstain from finery, but not from clothes; from gluttony, but not from food. Are abstainers wiser than God, and the Son of God? Wiser than He who supplies wine in His perpetual providence? Wiser than He who called it into being by miraculous power? If we are to cure drunkenness by temporary abstinence, and it is 'expedient' now to abstain, because drinking and drunkenness go together, then we may drink *after a while*, when drunkenness has vanished? But if drinking then will not *originate* drunkenness, and that call in turn for abstinence, why should drinking do so now? If it will, why should we drink ever? And if it is *never* expedient t drink, because social drinking can never be disassociated from prevalent drunkenness, then 'expediency' is only *necessity* disguised."²

Rejecting, as above, the plea of expediency, and maintaining the unlawfulness of using intoxicating wine as a beverage, these advanced abstainers allege that the wines of the Bible were of two kinds, fermented and unfermented; that both kinds were in

¹ *Temperance Bible Commentary*. By Frederick Richard Lees and Dawson Burns, p. xi. For the sake of convenience this book will be quoted as the work of Dr. Lee's, but without any intention of ignoring the joint-editorship of Mr. Burns.

² *Works*, iii. Cci.

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common use among the ancients, Jews and Gentiles; and that the one is forbidden and the other is allowed in Scriptures. Dr. Ritchie says, "It appears manifest that this diversity of expression in Scriptures proves, beyond all reasonable doubt, a difference of character in these wines. The conclusion seems irresistible that it is an innocent, unintoxicating wine which the Spirit of God in His Word commends; while it is a deleterious, inebriating wine which he condemns."³ Moses Stuart also says, "Facts show that the ancients not only preserved wine unfermented, but regarded it as of a higher flavour and purer quality than fermented wine. What, then, is the difficulty in taking the position that the *good* and *innocent* wine is meant in all cases where it is commanded and allowed? Or that the alcoholic and intoxicating wine is meant in all cases of prohibition and denunciation."⁴ And Dr. Lees says, "If there is but one kind of wine – i.e., intoxicating, - criticism and argument are at an end, since the use of wine of some sort is palpably sanctioned by God in the Bible, and not merely permitted."⁵

If these allegations as to the existence and use of two kinds of ancient wine can be established by satisfactory evidence, every sincere inquirer will bow with reference to the imperial authority of truth and duty; but if it is found, on examination, that this theory of unfermented wine has no basis in fact, the inquirer must, with equal reverence for truth, conclude that the allegations in question are more dogmatic and unproved assertions. What, then, are the facts? Before entering upon an examination of the wines of the ancients, it will be desirable to inquire into their drinking habits and customs, as these may serve

³ Scripture Testimony against Intoxicating Wine. p. 9

⁴ Temperance Cyclopaedia, p. 365

⁵ Tem. Bib. Com., p. xix

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to indicate the qualities of the liquors in command use among the people.

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I. – WINE DRINKING OF THE ANCIENTS

1. Female Intemperance

A Writer in one of our serial publications gives expression to an opinion commonly relied on by those who believe in the alleged “sobriety of the ancients,” when he says, “At the time of our Savior on earth, and for a longer period after, it was considered infamous for a woman to taste wine. For a guest to offer a glass of wine to one of the women of the household was looked upon as a deep insult, as it implied a want of chastity on her part. History records several instances where women were put to death by their husbands because they smelled of ‘tometuam’ [?]. The consequence of this physical training, and abstinence from all intoxicating liquors was, that the Romans were noted for their endurance and strength.”⁶

These statements are probably founded on the fact that, at an early period in history of Rome, when the foundations of the city were laid, women were forbidden to use wine by Romulus and Numa, although a later period they were allowed to drink *passum*, a sweet raisin wine, made from the *uvae passae*, or sun-dried grapes. But long before the period referred to by the writer as “the time of our Saviour on earth,” that prohibitory law had become a mere tradition of mythic times, and women drank wine freely, without any restrictions to kinds or qualities. It is true, Athenaeus quotes a Sicilian writer, to the effect that “all women in Italy avoid drinking wine” on account of a story about Hercules

⁶ Brit. Work, No. 198

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having petrified a cask of wine because a woman having opened it for her own use, would conceal the theft from her husband, and give the demi-god only water to drink. "And this fact is proved," says he, "by the conduct of the women of the country, among whom it is reckoned disgraceful, to this day, to drink wine, on account of the above-mentioned reason."⁷ It is observable that the alleged abstinence of "all the women in Italy is here attributed, not to any prohibitory law, but to an apocryphal story about Hercules. And the alleged fact itself is disproved by the concurrent testimonies of more competent witnesses than this Sicilian writer.

Evans, in his notes to Juvenal, says, "Cicero, knowing the propensity of his country women to wine-bibbing, would exclude them from officiating at any sacred rites (at which wine was always used) after night-fall. The festival of the Bona Dea is the only exception he would make." In this Cicero, probably, had in view the fact that, in certain of the sacred festivals of Greece and Rome, wine was not only freely used, but even dipsomania was cultivated as an essential part of their religious devotions. Martial recommends a father not to spare "the old Falernian," with the view of leaving casks of such precious liquor to his young daughter, but to use it himself, and let her "drink the new wine," that "the wine-jar, now new, may grow old along with its mistress."⁸ says of women – "They sit up as much, drink as much" as men; "nay, in their very appetites they are masculine too; they have lost advantage of their sex by their vices." Homer testifies that the wealthy ladies and great princesses of early times drank wine at the banquets of their lords, and on other occasions. He tells us that when Nausica was going down to the river to wash

⁷ Athen, x., 56

⁸ Sympos, iii. 2

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the household linen, her mother supplied her with provisions, and “poured wine into a flagon of goatskin” for her use. Plutarch discusses the question how it is that old men are more easily overcome than women by wine, in which the hard drinking of the latter is assumed as a well-known fact, and various reasons are alleged for their immunity, but without the slightest allusion either to abstinence or to the use of unfermented liquor.⁹ Apuleius speaks of women “drinking neat wine as for a wager.”¹⁰ Pausanias tells how the Thracian women, “in a drunken fit,” destroyed Orpheus.¹¹ Plato says, “The Scythians and Thracians indulging in wine, both their wives and themselves, to excess, and pouring it over their garments, think they observe an honorable and excellent custom.”¹² Ovid says – “See! My nurse is pouring wine upon the flames of favourable omen, and she says, ‘Tomorrow we shall be mire,’ and then she drinks.”¹³ He says Dipsas is “never in a sober state;” “her eyes are bleared with wine.”¹⁴ Describing the sacred rites of Tacita, he says, “Wine, too, she drops on it; whatever of the wine is left she either drinks it herself or her attendants, yet she herself takes the greater part....and then the drunken hag goes forth.”¹⁵ On the Ides of March, is the mirthful festival of Anna Perenna. “They pray for years as many as the cups they quaff, and reckon as they drink. There you will meet with the man who can drink off the years of Nestor; the woman who becomes old as the Sibyl, by the number of her cups.” Fill out

⁹ Ep. vi. 27

¹⁰ Works, p. 176

¹¹ Book ix

¹² De Leg., i. 9.

¹³ Heroidus, xix. 154

¹⁴ Amores, i. 8.

¹⁵ Fasti

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pure wine.¹⁶ Aristophanes speaks of the women of his day slaughtering jars of wine, and drinking the wine unmixed with water. He says, "Don't they also drink in the assembly? Yes, by Diana! And that too, unmixed wine." He represents Praxagora as recommending the state to employ women, in describing their character, says "They like their wine unmixed, just as before." The undiluted Thasian wine, of which he speaks as the favourite drink of women, is referred to in another passage, in which he says, "But the Thasian jars again, far surpass all these; for they abide in the head a long time, whereas all the rest lose their bloom, and fly off. Therefore, they are far the best, - far, certainly, ye gods! Fill out pure wine; it will cheer the women the whole night, who select whatever has the most fragrance."¹⁷

The testimony of Scripture agrees with that of profane history. Accordingly, Dr. Lees admits that, before the times of the Hebrew monarchy, female intemperance had become a prevalent social evil. He says, "That the readiness with which Eli concludes as to Hannah's inebriation indicates a prevailing corruption of morals, which had taken this peculiar form, and had deeply affected even the female population."¹⁸ In the times of the apostles drunkenness is noticed and condemned, and warnings against being "given to much wine" are addressed to both men and women (1 Tim. iii.8; Tit. ii. 3). Dr. Lees admits the intemperance of women at this period, but he repeatedly asserts that the intemperance which existed was merely an excessive use of unfermented grape juice. Thus he says, "An excessive addiction to liquors-even such as would not readily, or at all, intoxicate-was a vice of the apostolic age, and one that abounded in Corinth, the

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ecclez.

¹⁸ Temp. Bib. Com. P. 80

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most profligate city of Greece.”¹⁹ Again, “Excessive drinking, even of uninebriating drinks, was a vice prevalent in the days of St. Paul, and corresponded to gluttony, also common, -the excessive use of food, but of of an intoxicating kind.”²⁰ The wine used by women in the times of the prophet Samuel was an *inebriating* liquor, as admitted above, but it had become *unintoxicating* in the days of St. Paul! The writer cannot get rid of the fact of female intemperance, and therefore, to climate the alcohol from the wine, he emasculates the intemperance, and transforms it into a gluttonous imbibitions of unfermented grape juice!

He asserts, further, that “not satisfied with the use of *passum*, a sweet raisin wine which had been anciently permitted, fashionable ladies had come to rival men in drinking orgies; and Juvenal draws a disgusting picture of the zest with which they made even innocent *must* to pander to their debauched and morbid tastes.”²¹ Again, “The fact is, that by the Greek and Roman laws wine generically was prohibited to women under thirty or thirty-five years, but after that age, the unfermented wines were allowed. Now, both men and women were in the habit of drinking such wines to excess; and it is from the ancient platform that we must interpret these texts. Take, as a proof, this curious passage in Lucian :-‘I came, by Jove, as those who drink *gleukos* (swelling out of their stomach) required an emetic.’”²²

We shall inquire into the nature of *passum*, and the other alleged “unfermented wines,” as we proceed. Meantime, it is to be observed that, according to the above statements, the ladies of the olden time had gone from bad to worse. The “sweet raisin wine,” although it was an innocent, unfermented liquor, no longer

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 329

²⁰ Ibid. p. 368

²¹ Ibid., p. 369

²² Works, ii. 95, 96

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satisfied them. It was either not weak enough, or not sweet enough, and it was discarded for “innocent *must!*” The appetite for drink grew by what it fed upon, and the *passum* drunkards became drinkers of “innocent *must!*” The unfermented juice of dried grapes did not satisfy their “debauched and morbid tastes,” and, therefore, they had recourse to the unfermented juice of fresh grapes! And they came “to rival men in drinking orgies” drinking “innocent *must!*” The theory which gives birth to these wonders is surely the quintessence of innocence!

The writer refers us to Lucian, Juvenal, and Athenaeus for evidence as to these extraordinary drinking habits of women. Now, as to Lucian, what is there in the “curious passage” which we must “take as a proof” of the alleged excessive use of “innocent *must!*” It is the reference to an emetic? Or the allusion to a swelling of stomach? Or the designation of the liquor? It cannot well be the first of these, unless emetics are required and used only by those who drink unfermented grape juice. But we suspect that both ancient and modern wine drinkers have had recourse to this remedy when they transgressed the bounds of moderation in the use of fermented liquors. Athenaeus says, “So getting drunk is a bad thing, my good friends;” and the same Alexis says, with great cleverness, to those who swallow wine in this way-

“Are you, then, full of such a quantity
Of unmixed wine, and yet avoid to vomit?”

He also quotes Mnsitheus, the Athenian physician as saying: “Occasional hard drinking for some days” is advantageous, the wine being “both liquid and heating.” “But, when you are drinking hard,” says he, “you should guard against three things, - against drinking bad wine, against drinking unmixed wine, and against

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eating sweetmeats while you are drinking. And when you have had enough, then do not to sleep until you have had a vomit, moderate or copious, as the case may be; and when you have vomited, then go to sleep after having taken a slight bath.”²³ Thus the use of an emetic to empty the stomach of a “liquid and heating” wine, consumed by hard drinkers, cannot be accepted as proof of the use of “innocent *must*” by women.

As to the swelling of *the stomach* nothing requires to be said, for large draughts of wine would effect that distension, whether the liquors were fermented or unfermented. Accordingly Elihu says:- “My belly is as wine which hath no vent; it is ready to burst like new bottles” (Job xxxii. 19). The wine of this text is identified by the Seventy with Lucians’s *gleukos*: so that the mere swelling of the stomach affords no proof that the distending liquor was an “innocent *must*.” And, as to the *designation of the wine*, the argument is equally worthless, unless, indeed, the alleged proof can itself be proven. For Dr. Lees knows that the term *gleukos* simply designates new, fresh, sweet wine; and he acknowledges “the ambiguous meaning of the Greek *gleukos*, and the Latin *mustum*, which were undoubtedly sometimes applied to the juice of grapes in an initial state of fermentation.”²⁴ The same term occurs in Acts 2:13, where the apostles are charged with being “full of new wine” (*gleukos*). Even Dr. Ritchie repudiates the unfermented gloss which is put on this passage, and is “inclined, at once, to admit that *gleukos*, in this text, denotes an intoxicating liquor.”²⁵ Thus there is not a fragment of evidence in the whole passage of Lucian which can be regarded as a “proof” of the use of “innocent *must*” by either men or women.

²³ Athen, x. xi

²⁴ Temp. Bib. Com. P. xxiii

²⁵ Sc. Test., p. 221

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As to Juvenal, the second authority appealed to by Dr. Lees, where does that plain-speaking satirist exhibit the “disgusting picture” referred to? We have examined his satires carefully, and have failed to discover any such reference. But we have found the following graphic sketch of female drunkenness:-

“For what does a drunken woman regard?
She knows not the difference between her top and bottom.
She who eats large oysters at midnights,
When ointments, mixed with Falernian wine, foam,
When she drinks ut of a shell, when now, with a whirl, the house
Walks round, and the table rises up with double candles” – (Sat. VI.)

Here there can be no reasonable doubt as to the intoxicating quality of the Falernian wine imbibed by these “fashionable ladies,” which makes the house whirl round, and the table rise up with double candles, reminding us of the epigram on Pitt,-

“I can’t see the Speaker, Hal; can you?
Not see the Speaker? I see two.”

Eupripides, in like manner, makes Pentheus says: - “And, indeed, I think I see two suns, and twin Thebes, the seven gated city.” And our own Burns says-

“The rising moon began to glower,
The distant Cummock hills out owre.
To count her horns, wi’ a’ my power,
I set mysel’:
But whether she had three or four,
I couldna tell.”

Juvenal proceeds, in his Satire, to describe the intemperance of their women in the sacred festivals:-“The secrets of the Bona Dea

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are well known: when the pipe excites them, and inflamed alike with the horn and the wine, these Maenads of Priapus rush wildly around, and whirl their locks, and howl.”²⁶ Here, again, there can be no question as to the quality of that *inflaming* wine which drove these women frantic.

Euripides gives an animated picture of the drunken revels alluded to by Juvenal. He describes, in the *Bacchae*, the wine-complexioned cheek of Bacchus; says, “he is, in fact, to man, at once the most terrible and the mildest of deities;” and indicates the character of the latter, saying, he who does not care for “the liquid drink of the grape,” which Semele has given to mortals to deliver from grief, and which gives sleep an oblivion of daily evils, and than which there is not any other medicine for troubles, “hates to lead a happy life by day and by friendly night.” Pentheus, wishing to see the women in their cups, is conducted by Bacchus to their place of meeting, when he beholds the holy *Bacchae* “frantic with the inspiration of the god.” One of them, Agavae, in her inebriated fury, blindly kills her own son: and Pentheus thereafter exclaims:—“Where the joy of the grape cluster is present at a feast of women, I no longer say anything of their mysteries.”

It is observable that these drunken revels were practiced by women as a religious service, and were imposed or sanctioned by religious laws and customs. The wine used on such occasions was obviously no mere “innocent must,” but a fermented and inebriating liquor; and yet that alcoholic wine is designated “the liquid drink of the grape,” and “the joy of the grape cluster.” The effects of the wine are spoken of as “at once the most terrible and the mildest;” the reference being to moderate use in the one case, and excessive indulgence in the other, and not to two

²⁶ Sat. vi

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different kinds of liquor. For “the mildest of deities” is given to mortals to “deliver from grief,” to “give sleep,” to induce “oblivion of daily evils,” and to be the best “medicine for troubles;” all which reads like a heathen commentary on the text-“Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that be of heaven hearts. Let him drink and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more” (Prov. xxxi. 6,7).

Juvenal further describes the proceedings of these fashionable ladies when enjoying the luxury of the bath, -

“At last she comes somewhat ruddy, thirsting after
A whole flagon, which, in a full pitcher, is presented
Placed at her feet; of which another sextary
Is drunk up before meat, to provoke an eager appetite.
Till it returns, and strikes the ground with washed inside.
Rivers hasten on the pavement, or of Falernian
The wide bason smells; for thus, as if into a deep cask a long
Serpent had fallen, she drinks and vomits. Therefore her husband
Turns sick, and restrains his choler with his eyes covered.” – (Sat. VI)

Here, indeed is a “disgusting picture” of “debauched and morbid tastes;” but the designation of the wine use as “Falernian, and the description previously given of the intoxicating quality of that liquor, together with the fact that Pliny intimates that this is the only wine which “takes fire on the application of flame,”²⁷ show that the satirist has in view a fermented wine, and not a mere “innocent *must*.” He refers again to the same wine in another passage, -

“But they had rather betray
A secret, than drink of stolen Falernian,
As much as Lanfella, sacrificing for the people, drank.” – (Sat. IX)

²⁷ B. xiv.

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This Lanfella was a “priestess of Vesta, who, in celebrating the rites of the Bona Dea, together with the women worshippers, drank herself into drunken fury.”²⁸ So that the Falernian wine consumed by the women in the bath must have been an intoxicating liquor; and, therefore, the testimony of Juvenal affords no proof of the excessive use of “innocent *must*.”

We come not to Athenaeus, the last of the authorities appealed to by Dr. Lees on this point, and we find that in speaking of the use of wine in connection with the bath, he quotes Hermippus the lines-

“As to mischevious habits, if you ask my vote,
I say there are two common kinds of self-slaughter;
One, constantly pouring strong wine down your throat,
Together, plunging in up to your throat in hot water.” (B.I.)

As to the common practice of wine drinking by women, he says,-
“It is a well known fact that all the race of women is fond of drinking. And it is not without some art that Xenarchus introduces in his Pentathlum a woman swearing this most horrible oath,-

“May it be granted me to pass from life
Drinking abundant draughts of wine, while you,
My darling daughter, live and prosper here.”

And Axionicus says in his Philinna,-

“Just trust a woman to drink only water.” (Ibid.)

Similar references occur throughout the work, of which the following are examples: - Of one woman, Clio, it is said, that no

²⁸ Madan.

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man “could at all contend with her in drinking.” Antiphanes, describing certain women among the Greeks who were addicted to intemperance, represents one of them as saying, “there is a certain neighboring victualler, and he, whenever I arrive, being thirsty, is the only man who knows the proper way to mix my wine, and makes it not too full of water, nor too strong and heady.” Alexis says, “But women are quite sure to be content if they have only wine enough to drink. But, by the heavenly twins, we now shall have as much as we can wish; and it shall be sweet, and not griping,-rich, well seasoned wine, exceeding old.” He also refers to a certain woman whom he calls “that wine cask.” Antiphanes, speaking of the drinking habits of women says, “He is a wretched man who ever marries, except among the Scythians, for their country is the only land which does not bear the vine.” Plato, in his *Phaon*, describing how many things happen to women because of wine, says, “Come now, ye women, long ago have I prayed that this wine may thus become your folly for you don’t think, as the old proverb goes, that there is any wisdom at a vintner’s.” Hermippus says that the Illyrians “take their wives to their entertainments, and it is reckoned a decorous custom for the women to pledge the guest who are present.” Pherecrates relates how the women contrived, with the aid of the potter, to provide goblets for the men “scarcely holding more than a mere shell, more like to tasting cups;” but for themselves they get “downright wine-carrying transports, wide and round of delicate substance, swelling in the middle. A crafty order; for with prudent foresight they were providing how, without much notice, they might procure the largest quantity of wine to drink themselves; and then when we reproach them that ‘tis they who’ve drunk everything, they heap abuse on us, and swear they they, poor injured dears, have only drunk one cup, though their one is larger than a thousand common cups.” Hedylus refers to a woman who

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“contended against men in drinking,” and “when feasting, drank three whole choes of wine.” Theopompus says the Tyrrhenians “pledge whoever they please in their cups, and that they are wonder women to drink.” Aristophanes speaks of women somewhat advanced in age, pouring into their stomachs, “without restraint, from good-sized cotylai, dark Thasian wine, the whole contents of a large earthen jar, urged by their might love for the dark wine.” Phyllilius says of a woman, “She was always in the company of young men, who did nothing else but drink; and with a lot of aged women too, who always delight in good-sized cups.” Meander says, “The old woman did not leave untouched one single cup, but drank of all that came.” The same author says, - “And then, again, she carries round to all a cup of unmixed wine.” Euripides, in his *Cretan Women*, says, - “Farewell all other things, as long as cups of wine go freely round.” And Ararus, or Eubulus, says, “Right well must you have known the natures and the hearts of women, that they are not well pleased with scanty cups.”

The references in these extracts to the hard drinking of women; the particular descriptions of wine used, unmixed, Falernian, and Thasian; the banquets they attended, drinking with and pledging the guests, &c., show that the ladies of the olden time were not distinguished for their abstinence or even sobriety; nor did they limit themselves, in their portions, either to unfermented *passum* or innocent *must*. So that Athenaeus, like Juvenal and Lucian, gives no countenance to the assumption that the intemperance of women was a mere gluttonous imbibitions of unfermented grape juice.

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2. Intemperance of Nations

The “sobriety of the ancients” is so frequently and confidently asserted, that one is almost tempted to ignore all the facts of history, and believe that the “drink curse” is quite a modern experience. Dr. Lees exhibits a more accurate knowledge of the facts, when he says:-“Contrary to modern and superficial notions, which confine temperance to northern climes, and exclude it from vine-growing countries, the people of Israel, following the example of their chief men, were addicted to the grossest indulgence in intoxicating liquors”²⁹ And “this picture crowns a series of prophetic declarations which conclusively negative the statement put forth by some writers and speakers, without any historical ground, that *wine* countries are sober countries, and that the insidious progress of the lust for liquor is not to be dreaded in the native ‘habitats of the vine.’ Neither a beautiful climate, nor sanitary and social laws, nor special teaching, nor religious privileges, nor peculiar circumstances, were safeguards against the growth of the drunkard’s appetite in all ranks.”³⁰

These conclusions as to the intemperance of Eastern countries are confirmed by the testimonies of competent witnesses, who lived among the people for many years, and have been familiarly acquainted with their social habits and customs. Thus, in an article on the Wine Question in the *Princeton Review* for January, 1872, Dr. Jessup, of Syria, says:-“The great besetting sin of the village is wine drinking. This part of Lebanon is famous for its vineyards and wine, and the people are more given to excessive drinking than those of any district I have known.” Rev. J.S.

²⁹ Temp. Bib. Com., p. 160

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 171, 172

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Cochran, of the Nestorian Mission, writes of his place of labour in the wine making season. "The whole village of male adults will be habitually intoxicated for a month or six weeks." Rev. J.H. Shedd, missionary at Oroomiah, in Persia, says:-"Every since the days of Noah that region has been the house of the vine. The wine is made in a very primitive manner, and is entirely unadulterated. All the varieties are very light. If any in the world are harmless, they are. But the fact remains that beastly intemperance is the besetting sin of the people. During the wine season beastly drunkenness is too common to excite comment. I have been in large villages on a feast day, when it was really impossible to find a sober man in the place."

The modern drunkenness described above is a true picture of ancient intemperance. The sobriety of the ancients is a myth, "without any historical ground." The drink curse, if not co-eval with the race, comes not far short of the antiquity of man. It may have come in with the flood; but however this may be, it has certainly flooded the earth to such an extent as to cover all the land, leaving indelible marks of its ravages in all countries, and nations, and times. In fact, the world has been a wine drinking, drunken old world, from the remotest ages known to us by ancient traditions, sculptures, or paintings, stretching far back beyond the furthest limits of any written historical records.

It is not intended by this that intemperance, or even wine drinking; has not been absolutely universal, without exception or limitation. For Dr. Lees, in his *History of Teetotalism*, has shown that "everywhere-in China, in India, in Persia, in Egypt, in Greece-amongst the oldest traditions of the earth, we meet with distinct traces of this doctrine, as, in later periods, we find it embodied in some of the most pure and potent of the practical systems of

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ancient philosophy.”³¹ This is true, as far as it goes. We do, indeed, meet with those “*traces*” of abstinence, but we also find, going before, and running alongside of them, deep and well worn ruts which intemperance has made in the paths of nations.

A. Persia

It is to be observed, however, that the abstinence of which traces are discoverable is, in its reasons or grounds, altogether different from modern total abstinence. Thus, according to Herodotus, the early Persians were “strangers to the taste of wine; they drink water only.” But these people abstained from wine, not from any religious scruples as to its use, but merely because, at that period, it was unknown to them. They are described as “men who are clothed with the skins of animals; who, inhabiting a country but little cultivated, live on what they can procure, not on what they wish.” Accordingly they were not only “strangers to the taste of wine,” but “even figs are a delicacy with which they were unacquainted, and all our luxuries are unknown to them.”³² After this, however, they became acquainted with the previously unknown liquor; and Herodotus says:—“Of wine they drink profusely.....They are accustomed to deliberate on matters of the highest moment when warm with wine; but whatever they in this situation may determine is again proposed to them on the morrow, in their cooler moments, by the person in whose house they had before assembled. If at this time also it meet their approbation, it is executed, otherwise it is rejected. Whatever, also, they discuss when sober is always, a

³¹ Works, ii

³² Herod., i. 71

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second time, examined after they have been drinking.”³³ This testimony is confirmed by Plato, who classes the Persians with other nations addicted to downright intoxication.³⁴ Heraclides, referring to Persian customs, says, when the king as a drinking party, and he has one very often, the guests eat by themselves, but they are invited to drink with the king. They do not have the same wine, “and when they are very drunk, indeed, they go away.”³⁵ Xenophon also says:—“It was likewise a rule among them not to bring *prochoides* (large cups) to their banquets; evidently thinking that abstinence from drinking to excess would tend less to impair their bodies and their minds; and the custom of not bringing such vessels still continues; but they drink to such excess that, instead of bringing in, they are themselves carried out, since they are no longer able to walk out upright.”³⁶

B. Ethiopia

The Macrobian of Ethiopia also abstained from wine, and drank milk as their beverage.³⁷ But their abstinence, like that of early Persians, was not founded on any objections to the use of such liquor, but to the want of it in the country; for to this day, although the Sacrament is administered in Abyssinia in wine made from raisins steeped in water, and “excellent red wine, honey wine, or hydromel, and a species of beer” is made and used, “wine is scarce in the country.”³⁸ Accordingly, Herodotus tells us

³³ Herod., i. 133

³⁴ Jowett’s Trans. iv. 158

³⁵ Athen. iv. 26

³⁶ Cyrop. viii. 10

³⁷ Herod, iii. 23

³⁸ Dufton’s Narrative, pp. 89-97

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that when Cambyses sent a cask of palm wine, along with a purple robe, gold, bracelets, and rich perfumes to the Prince of the Macrobian, the monarch despised all the other gifts; but “when he came to the wine, and learned how it was made, he drank it with particular satisfaction.” And when he had ascertained from the ambassadors how the Persians lived-“I am not at all surprised, said the Ethiopian prince, that, subsisting on dung, the term of life is so short among them; and unless, he continued, pointing to the wine, they mixed it with t his liquor, they would not live so long; for in this, he allowed that they excelled the Ethiopians.”³⁹

D. Germany

One of the German tribes, the Suevi, is said to have abjured the use of wine, “believing that by it men are enervated, made effeminate, and incapable of enduring labour.” If this was so, the abstinence must have been limited to that particular tribe; for Athenaeus says, “The Germans, as Posidonius relates in his 30th book, eat for dinner meat roasted in separate joints; and they drink milk and unmixed wine.”⁴⁰ Peter Heylin, in his *Cosmographie*, alleges that the ancient Germans were much addicted to intemperance; and he appeals to the testimony of Tacitus in evidence, “that it was no disgrace, *nulli approbrium*, to spend the whole day and night in drinking,” and “that they consulted over their cups of their weightiest businesses.” Even Dr. Lees himself is not ignorant of that intemperance; for he also appeals to Tacitus that they “took counsel first when drunk, and then when sober. And the historian adds, ‘They deliberate when unable to devise anything, they decide when not able to go

³⁹ Herod, iii. 22

⁴⁰ Book, iv. 39

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wrong.”⁴¹ So that, however abstinent that one tribe of the Suevi may have been, these testimonies show that, as a people, the early Germans were grossly intemperate.

D. Spain

Spain is also said to have abstained from the use of wine, for Phylarcus is cited by Athenaeus as saying, that “all the Spaniards drink water, though they are the richest of all men.”⁴² But if this be so, the *water* which they drank must have been of that kind described by Pliny, when he says, “Alas! What wondrous skill! And yet how misplaced! Means have absolutely been discovered for getting drunk upon water even.”⁴³ For, in the opening words of the paragraph, Pliny says:—“The people of the Western world have also their intoxicating drinks made from corn steeped in water. These beverages are prepared in different ways throughout Gaul and the provinces of Spain – under different names, too, though in their results they are the same. The Spanish provinces have even taught us the fact that these liquors are capable of being kept till they have attained a considerable age.”⁴⁴ Plato is also quoted by Athenaeus as classing the Spaniards among those who are addicted to drunkenness.⁴⁵ Justin intimates that Italy imported from Spain “not only great plenty of corn, but also wine, honey and oil.”⁴⁶ Livy informs us that when Cato was Consul, and in command of the troops in Spain, both he and the Spaniards

⁴¹ Temp. Bib. Com. P. 110

⁴² Book ii. 21

⁴³ Book xiv. 22

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Athen, Book x. 39

⁴⁶ Hist. xlv. 1

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refreshed themselves with “victuals and wine.”⁴⁷ And he says, “the discipline of the army was greatly relaxed through inactivity and intemperance.”⁴⁸ Polybius describes the royal palace of one of the Spanish kings, and says, “There stood in the middle of the palace huge silver and golden goblets full of wine made of barely.”⁴⁹ It thus appears that, instead of drinking water only, the Spaniards used both beer and wine to such an extent as to be ranked among drunken nations.

E. Carthage

Carthage had a prohibitory liquor law, but it was limited to the soldiers when in camp, and to judges and magistrates during the year of their magistracy.⁵⁰ With these exceptions, the Carthaginians both made and used wine to excess. Pliny, referring to their method of preparing wine, says, “They do contrary to all others, in that they use pitch to their houses, and lime to their wines, for in truth they turn up their new wines with lime.”⁵¹ And Plato, “not talking of the mere practice of drinking or not drinking wine in general, but about downright intoxication,” ascribes this “custom” of drinking to excess to the Carthaginians, in common with the Scythians and other drunken nations.⁵²

⁴⁷ Xxxiv. 16

⁴⁸ xl. 1

⁴⁹ Athen, i. 28

⁵⁰ Plato

⁵¹ Book xxxvi. 22

⁵² Jewett, iv. 158

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F. China

China must also be included in the list of wine-drinking and drunken nations; for although, according to Dr. Lees, one of its emperors, about eleven hundred years before Christ, “forbade the use of wine, as what proves the cause of almost all the evils which happen on the earth,” we find that “twenty-two hundred years before Christ,” wine was introduced into China. Heavy duties were imposed in vain. “Those who had tasted could not refrain from tasting again, and indulging to excess; so that a sort of modern Tzar, named Kya, about 1500 B.C., filled a lake with it in one of his freaks of autocratism, and made three thousand of his subjects jump into it! Grape wine was always esteemed there the ‘wine of honor.’ Yet mandates have been issued at various periods for rooting up the vines, until the grape was almost forgotten. Grape wine is spoken of in the annals of China long before the birth of Christ. Rice and palm wine are made in large quantities.”⁵³

G. India

In India, according to Aristobulus, cited by Strabo, there is “a vine that produces wine;” whereas, according to the latter, “other authors affirm that there is no wine in India.”⁵⁴ But, Athenaeus informs us, on the authority of Chares of Mitylene, that “among the Indians a deity is worshipped who is called Soroadeus, which

⁵³ Redding on Wines, pp. 309,310

⁵⁴ Xv. 1,22

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name, as interpreted in Greek, means winemaker.”⁵⁵ The divinity referred to here is, probably, either “Suradevi, the Hindoo goddess of wine,” or the Indian Bacchus – of whom Redding says, “The Indians said, according to Diodorus, that Bacchus first taught them the art of pressing grapes and making wine, and that he resided in his capital of nyssa, in the modern Punjaub, that he ruled India with justice, and was after his death adored as a god.”⁵⁶ Dr. Lees alleges that “far as tradition and history carry us into the past of India, we find that the founders of sects and of empire, the priests, the sages, and the physicians united in teaching the doctrine of abstinence from intoxicating wine;” and he appeals to a passage from Megasthenes, preserved by Strabo as bearing out his statement: - “The Brachmanas, Germanas, and Hylobius, who abstained from wine.”⁵⁷ Now, in the first place, Strabo says, “Generally speaking, the men who hitherto have written on the affairs of India were *a set of liars*. Deimachus holds the first place in the list, Megasthenes comes next”⁵⁸ In the second place, “It is said that the Indians are divided into seven castes. The first in rank, but the smallest in number, are the philosophers.”⁵⁹ “Megasthenes divides the philosophers again into two kinds, the Brachmanes and the Garmanes.”⁶⁰ “Of the Garmanes, the most honorable, he says, are the Hylobii.” “Second in honor to the Hylobii are the physicians.”⁶¹ In the third place, of all these, the only persons to whom abstinence is ascribed by Megasthenes are the Hylobii, “who live in the forests, and subsist-

⁵⁵ i. 48

⁵⁶ Wines, p. 367

⁵⁷ Works, ii. 4

⁵⁸ ii. 1, 9

⁵⁹ Xv. 1, 39

⁶⁰ Ibid, section 59

⁶¹ Ibid., section 60

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on leaves and wild fruits; and abstain from commerce with women and from wine.” In the fourth place, the philosophers, thus divided into Brachmanes, Garmanes, Hylobii, and Physicians, are further divided into two sections, the one inhabiting the mountains, and the other the plains. And “he says that those who inhabit the mountains are worshippers of Bacchus,” and “the philosophers, who live in the plains, worship Hercules.”⁶² As these philosophic “worshippers of Bacchus” can hardly be regarded as “teaching the doctrine of abstinence from intoxicating wine,” and as the entire body of philosophers was “the smallest in number” of all the seven castes, the Indian teachers of abstinence at this period must have consisted of a very insignificant proportion of the millions who inhabited the country.

Dr. Lees further appeals to the one of the maxims of Buddha, “drink not liquors that intoxicate or disturb the reason.”⁶³ But either that law was limited to the Buddhists, or was generally disregarded; for the doctor, elsewhere, classes the Indians among those nations which have been “remarkably intemperate on wine.”⁶⁴ And even Strabo, who alleges on the authority of Megasthenes, whom he has branded as an untruthful witness, that “all the Indians are frugal in their mode of life, and especially in camp.....They never drink wine but at sacrifices. Their beverage is made from rice instead of barely;”⁶⁵ represents them as giving their elephants “dark wine” to drink, as a remedy for disease;⁶⁶ says, “the fifth caste consists of fighting men, who pass the time not employed in the field in idleness and drinking;”⁶⁷ and

⁶² Ibid., section 58

⁶³ Works, ii. 5

⁶⁴ Ibid., iii. 64

⁶⁵ Xv. 1, 53

⁶⁶ Section 43

⁶⁷ Section 47

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“a woman who puts to death a king when drunk is rewarded by becoming the wife of his successor.”⁶⁸ Athenaeus also testifies that, instead of being distinguished for their abstinence, they were, on the contrary, remarkable for their love of wine. He intimates that Chares, in his history of Alexander, says: - “And he instituted, because of the great fondness of the Indians for wine, a contest as to who should drink the greatest quantity of unmixed wine.....And of those who entered for the prize, and drank the wine, thirty-five died at once by reason of the cold, and a little afterwards six more died in their tents. And he who drank the greatest quantity, and won the prize, drank four choes of unmixed wine, and received the talent; and he lived four days after it, and he was called the champion.”⁶⁹

H. Group of Tribes and Nations

Among the wine-drinking ancients there are a number of uncivilized tribes and nations, who may be grouped together here. Thus the Celtae are classed by Plato among the peoples who are given to “downright intoxication,” and whose drink was wine and beer.⁷⁰ The Scythians, whose excessive intemperance gave rise to the old proverb, “to drink like a Scythian.”⁷¹ The Thracians, of whom it is said that, when Alcibiades was at Thrace, he “outdrank even the Thracians themselves.”⁷² The Byzantium makes all the merchants drink;” and Phylarcus says, “the Byzantians are so exceedingly fond of wine that they live in the

⁶⁸ Section 55

⁶⁹ X. 49

⁷⁰ Athen, iv. 36

⁷¹ Ibid., x

⁷² Ibid., xii. 47

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wine shops.”⁷³ The Medes, of whom it is said that Cyaxares the king, with his officers and servants, “drank to intoxication.”⁷⁴ The Armenians, who used “old wines of great fragrance,” and “very strong barley wine.”⁷⁵ The Lotophagi, who make and use a description of wine from the lotus.⁷⁶ The Thebans, whose cavalry behaved “like men who had drunk a little too much in the heat of noon.”⁷⁷ The Corcyraeans and the Carducii, who possessed “well-constructed wine vaults.” The Mossyoeci, whose wine was disagreeable “by reason of its roughness when unmixed, but both fragrant and sweet when mixed with water.” The Babylonians, whose principle article of commerce is palm wine, which they carry in casks,” and who were attacked and destroyed by Cyrus while they were reveling in wine.

Truly does Athenaeus say, “And whole nations are mentioned as addicted to drunkenness.”⁷⁸ And with no less truth does Pliny say, “Indeed, in no part of the world is drunkenness ever at a loss.”⁷⁹

I. Egypt

We have, until now, purposely omitted all references to the drinking habits of the Jews and those nations whose histories are in some measure interwoven with theirs; and to these we must now direct attention. And, first, as to Egypt. Dr. Lees says, “Now, from the accession of Menes to the reign of Psammeticus a period

⁷³ Ibid., x. 59

⁷⁴ Herod

⁷⁵ Xenophon

⁷⁶ Pliny

⁷⁷ Xenophon

⁷⁸ X. 59

⁷⁹ Xiv. 22

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embracing twenty-five dynasties of kings, teetotalism was taught and practiced by them.”⁸⁰ This statement is made on the authority of Plutarc, who says, “that wine was wholly forbidden to the kings of Egypt, and that Psammeticus, who reigned about 600 years before Christ, was the first of the regal line who drank it.”⁸¹ And the statement of Plutarch is made “upon the authority of Eudoxus,” who had it “from the priests themselves.” Now, assuming the alleged fact to be true, it merely proves the abstinence of a certain number of successive kings; but what of the social habits and customs of the millions of people over whom they reigned? The alleged fact, however, is not only doubtful, but it is expressly contradicted by other equally competent witnesses. Herodotus, who also travelled in Egypt, and visited the priests, more than a hundred years before Eudoxus, is quoted by Dr. Lees as testifying “that the kings, like the priestly caste of which they were members, had a portion of wine allotted to them – a portion not large enough indeed, to satisfy them all.”⁸² The doctor further informs us that hecateus, who lived about two hundred years before Eudoxus, and Diodorus Siculus, a later writer, “whose history is, in the main, a compilation from more ancient works, state that King Boccoris, who reigned B.C. 766, enacted that the kings should take as much wine as would refresh but not inebriate.”⁸³ If the king referred to by these writers be the same Bocchoris spoken of by Lysimachus, Josepheus says, “That is one thousand seven hundred years ago.”⁸⁴ So that according to these testimonies, inebriating wine was used by the kings of Egypt some hundreds of years before the reign of Psammeticus.

⁸⁰ Works, ii. 8

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Temp. Bib. Com. P. 19

⁸³ Ibid

⁸⁴ Apion, ii. 2

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Sesostris, who lived some ages before the Trajan war, is said to have nearly burned to death by his brother, who “made him and his attendants drunk, and in the night set fire to his apartments. The guards, being intoxicated, were unable to assist their master; but Sesostris, imploring the interposition of the gods, fortunately escaped.”⁸⁵ Herodotus, referring to the times of Rhampsinitus, who succeeded Proteus, shows that even at the remote period inebriating wine was used in Egypt, for he relates a stratagem whereby the royal guards were made drunk with wine.⁸⁶ And Moses testifies that Pharaoh and Joseph, his prime minister, drank wine; and of the latter it is said his brethren “drank and were merry with him.” (Gen. xliii. 34).

But, even admitting that Psammeticus was the first king who used wine, there is abundant evidence that, at least after that period (B.C. 600), wine was freely and extensively used in Egypt both by kings and people. Herodotus frequently refers to their drinking usages, and explains that, besides the usual wine of the grape, palm wine, imported foreign wines and a species of home-made barley wine, were used by the people. He attributes the gift of the vine and the art of wine-making to the Egyptian deity Osiris, whom he identifies with the Grecian Bacchus. He notices the provision made for the “sacred ministers,” the priests, and says, “they have also wine.” He says, “A libation of wine is poured upon the altar” in their sacrifices, and “this is indiscriminately observed by all the Egyptians.” He tells us that palm wine is used in embalming the dead, and that “twice in every year” wine is imported into Egypt from Greece and Phoenicia. Describing their sacred festivals, and referring to that of Diana, which is “the first in dignity and importance,” he says “upon this occasion a greater

⁸⁵ Dio. Sic

⁸⁶ ii. 121

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quantity of wine is consumed than in all the rest of the year. The narrative report that at this solemnity seven hundred thousand men and women assemble, not to mention children.”

Athenaeus, a native of Naurcratis in Egypt, cites Dion as testifying that the Egyptians are “fond of wine and fond of drinking;” and he confirms the testimony, appealing for evidence to the means employed “as preventives against drunkenness.”⁸⁷ He says the poor people drank beer, with which they were so pleased, “that they sang and danced, and did everything like men drunk with wine.”⁸⁸ Referring to the observance of a sacred festival, he says they make a libation, and, after that, “each of them takes two cotylai of wine, except the priests of the Pythian Apollo, and of Bacchus, for each of them receives double portion of wine.”⁸⁹ He quotes Apollonius, who wrote a treatise on the feasts of the Egyptians, that “formerly” they drank “only as much wine as was calculated to put them in cheerful spirits.”⁹⁰

The drinking habits of the people are also indicated by Apuleius who describes Crassus as “celebrating his orgies” at Alexandria, frequenting “dens,” and “seated in a wine-shop”⁹¹ And Juvenal adds his testimony: -

.....”Rising from their cups, which day and night
These men had sat at till the sun’s seventh light.
Egypt is still debauched; this truth know I,
Each poor town may with lewd Canopus vie.
Add that a victory comes easy, when
The foes are tippled, lisping, reeling men.” Sat. XV.

⁸⁷ i. 61, 62

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ iv. 32

⁹⁰ iv. 18

⁹¹ Works, 306

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To all these testimonies from ancient writers must be added the still more emphatic and enduring evidence afforded by the wall of pictures of Egypt – pictures which exhibit the customs and manners of the people at an early period of their history. Dr. Lees acknowledges that “the wall pictures prove that both men and women drank at feasts to intoxication, and some of the artists seem to have taken a sarcastic pleasure in holding up the intemperance of their contemporaries to ridicule.”⁹² Miss Marineau, in her *Eastern Life*, gives us a graphic description of the domestic and rural life of the ancient Egyptians in her account of the scenes represented on the tombs at Eliethyea. After depicting the processes of husbandry, she says—“Here is a winepress: no wonder! For we are coming presently to the picture of a banquet. We know that the kings and priests were much restricted in the use of wine; but the sculptures and paintings show that there was much wine-bibbing among gentlemen and ladies generally. Every landed proprietor seems to have had his winepress, as far as this evidence goes; and the sick and tipsy guests at banquets are really a scandal to those old times.”⁹³ Sir G. Wilkinson, in his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, referring to the alleged teetotal age extending “from the accession of Menes to the reign of Psammeticus,” says it is improbable that the Egyptians committed excesses like the Romans; “but even before the close of the sixteenth dynasty, or about 1600 B.C., they had already begun to indulge in nearly the same habits as the later Pharaonic ages; and it appears from Diodorus and Plutarch that their original simplicity gave place to luxury as early as the reign of their first king Menes. Excesses they no doubt committed, especially in the use of wine, both on private and public occasions, which is not

⁹² Temp. Bib. Com., p. 17

⁹³ p. 167

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concealed in the sculptures of Thebes; and in later times, after the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, and the accession of the Ptolemies, habits of intemperance increased to such an extent, and luxury became so general among all ranks of society, that writers who mention the Egyptians at that period describe them as a profligate and luxurious people, given to an immoderate love of the table, and addicted to every excess in drinking.”⁹⁴

All these varied testimonies show that at different periods, within the limits of Bible times, intemperance greatly abounded in Egypt.

J. Greece

Passing from Egypt to Greece and Italy, we are informed by Dr. Nott that “the ancient Greeks, like the ancient Romans, heathens though they were, furnished by their exemplary abstemiousness a severe rebuke to modern Christians. Their festivals were schools of temperance and sobriety.”⁹⁵ But on a subsequent page we read – “If this drunkard’s drink is to be hereafter drunk by Christians, let it be done by the authority of reason, and in the name of Ceres or Vesta, and not of religion and Jesus.....These exciting and maddening mixtures are in every sense profane, and befit the orgies of Bacchus rather than the festivities of Christians.”⁹⁶ Here the “exemplary abstemiousness” of the Greeks and Romans is associated with drinking the drunkards drink in “the name of Ceres or Vesta,” and their festive “schools of temperance and sobriety” are accompanied by “the orgies of Bacchus!”

⁹⁴ ii.381-2

⁹⁵ Lectures, p. 83

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 125

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In contrast with this writer's idea of the ancient festivals, take the description of them given by Philo – "In every festival and assembly among men, the following are the most remarkable and celebrated points: - Security, relaxation, truce, drunkenness, deep drinking, reveling, luxury," &c.⁹⁷ Athenaeus says that the custom of drinking wine to excess on the occasion of some sacred festival was "the origin of the names *θοιvai*, *θαλιαi*, and *μεθαι*, *θοιvai* meaning that men thought it right *δία θεους οivousθαι*, to be drunk with wine on account of the gods."⁹⁸ And Sir Edward Barry says, "Aristotle observes that these festivals were called *ειvαι*, *εovαι*, *αλiαι* [**Editor's note: first letter in each of the preceding three Greek terms is unrecognizable**] because they thought they were obliged, in honor of the gods, to get drunk on these occasions. *Ethic. Ad Nichomac., lib. viii.*"⁹⁹ Plutarch, in his *Banquet of the Seven Wise Men*, represents them as drinking wine, and he gives the following from Solon:-

"I love that ruby god whose blessings flow in tides."

He also makes Anacharsis say – "When there is a reward promised to the hardest drinker, why should I not demand my reward, having drunk down all my fellows; or inform me of any other end men drive at in drinking much wine but to be drunk?" Plato in his *Banquet* represents his guests as drinking wine to such an extent that Athenaeus says, "Men drink in such quantities that they cannot even stand on their feet."¹⁰⁰ Xenophon also, in his *Banquet*, represents the wise Socrates as saying, "I, too, my friends shall be very well pleased to drink; for really wine, by

⁹⁷ Cain, 27

⁹⁸ ii. 11

⁹⁹ Wines, p. 247

¹⁰⁰ v. 8

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moistening the spirits, lulls care to rest, as mandragora puts men to sleep, and wakes up pleasant thoughts, as oil excites a flame.....So if we, likewise pour into ourselves drink in too great quantities, our bodies and minds will soon become powerless, and we scarcely shall be able to breathe, much less to articulate anything; but if our servants refresh us from time to time with small cups, as with gentile dew (that I also may speak in the phraseology of Gorgias), then, not being forced to grow intoxicated with wine, but being aptly persuaded by it, we shall arrive at more agreeable mirth.”¹⁰¹ At a late stage of the banquet, the old philosopher makes the apology, “If I express myself somewhat more freely than ordinary, do not be surprised, for the wine excites me.”¹⁰² Athenaeus quotes the utterance of Socrates on the above occasion,¹⁰³ and elsewhere says, “He drinks out of the bowl cleverly, like a man who is used to it.”¹⁰⁴ It is evident from these references that the wisest men of ancient Greece were accustomed to drink wine, and that of an intoxicating nature.

It is probable that the festive schools referred to by Dr. Nott are those of ancient Sparta, of which Plutarch says – “At all these public meetings they used a great deal of moderation, they being designed only for schools of temperance and modesty, not for luxury and indecency.”¹⁰⁵ But although the Spartans exhibited an “exemplary abstemiousness.” They did not abstain from wine. Their festive assemblies were, indeed, schools of sobriety, as compared with others, but in these schools of abstinence was neither taught nor exemplified. For Plutarch informs us that all

¹⁰¹ ii. 14-16

¹⁰² viii. 24

¹⁰³ B. xi. 3

¹⁰⁴ B. v. 18

¹⁰⁵ Laws and Customs of Lacedemonians

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the Lacedaemonians were required to eat at public tables, and “each of them was obliged to bring in monthly a bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese,” &c. And “after they had drunk moderately they went home without lights.”¹⁰⁶ Critias says, - “This is an old fashion, well established, and sanctioned by the laws of noble Sparta, that all should drink from one well-filled cup, and that no healths should then be drunk to any one....But those wise youths whom Lacedaemon breeds drink only what may stimulate their souls to deeds of daring in the adventurous war, and rouse the tongue to wit and moderate mirth.”¹⁰⁷ In the Peloponnesian War provisions were sent to the Spartans in the island of Sphacteria, consisting, among other things, of “two half pints of wine” for each person, “with half this quantity for the servants.”¹⁰⁸ Xenophon also informs us that the kings of Sparta received “the first of every libation,” and if they do not dine at the public tables, “a cotyla of wine is sent to their respective houses; but if they are present they receive a double portion.” Speaking of Clembrotus, the Spartan general, and his officers, who held a council of war after dinner, he says, “As they had drunk a little at noon, it was said the wine in some degree inspired them.” In his *Government of Lacedaemon*, he tells us that Lycurgus, “having put a stop to all unnecessary drinking, which weakens alike the body and the mind, he gave permission that every one should drink when he was thirsty, thinking that the drink would thus be most innoxious, and most pleasant. When they take their meals together in this manner, how can any one ruin either himself or his family by gluttony or drunkenness?...The practice of taking meals away from home is also attended with these advantages, that the people are obliged to walk in taking their departure

¹⁰⁶ Lycurgus

¹⁰⁷ Athen, x

¹⁰⁸ ii. 17

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homewards, and to be careful that they may not stagger from the effects of wine, knowing that they will not remain where they dined.”¹⁰⁹ Plato’s Spartan says, “Any one who meets a drunken and disorderly person will immediately have him punished, and will not let him off on any pretence, not even at the time of a Dionysiac festival.”¹¹⁰ Athenaeus, also has several references to Spartan drinking usages. He says the feasts called Copides consisted, among other things, of “warmed wine.” At the Phiditia “a cup is placed before each person to drink whenever he pleases,” and every one contributes “about eleven or twelve choes of wine.” Referring to the banquets given by Clemenēs, this Spartan general, “a man of eminent wisdom,” he says, “And here was placed on a tripod a brazen wine-cooler, and a cask, and a small silver cup.....And wine was not brought round to drink unless any one asked for it, but one cyathus was given to each guest *before supper*; and had thus given the signal, the rest also asked for some wine.....And *while they were eating* they all kept silence; but a slave stood by, holding in his hand a vessel of mixed wine, and poured out for every one who asked for it. And in the same manner, *after supper*, there was given to each guest not more than two cyathi of wine, and this too, was brought to each person as he made a sign for it.” Later they had “come to such a pitch of luxury” as to serve up “many cups of wine,” and to use in their banquets “foreign wines.”¹¹¹ So that the Spartan “schools of temperance and sobriety” were schools of moderate drinking and not of abstinence from wine.

The Cretan customs were somewhat similar to those of Lacedaemonians. In every town of Crete two houses are set apart for the entertainment of strangers. “A bowl of wine is placed on

¹⁰⁹ i. 17

¹¹⁰ Jowett, iv. 158

¹¹¹ B. iv.

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each table, mingled with water, and all drink of this in common at the common table; and when they have finished supper, then another bowl is put on the table. But for the boys one common bowl is likewise mixed; but the elders have liberty to drink more if they feel inclined.”¹¹²

Reference is made to Homer in evidence of the abstinence of the ancient Greeks, and the lines are quoted in which Hector says-

“Let chiefs abstain, and spare the sacred juice
To sprinkle to the gods, its fitter use.”

But Athenaeus explains the lines thus – “Hecuba, thinking that then he will remain in the city all the rest of the day, invites him to drink and to pour libations, encouraging him to abandon himself to pleasure. But he, as he is going out to action, puts off the drinking. And she, indeed, praises wine without ceasing; but he, when he comes in out of breath, will not have any. And she urges him to pour a libation, and then to drink; but he, as he is all covered with blood, thinks it impiety.”¹¹³ According to this explanation, Hector on one occasion refused the stimulating draught proffered by his mother, because as he was “going out to action” he feared its effects on his prowess; and on another occasion he declined the goblet, because, being “all covered with blood,” he thought it would be impiety to offer a libation with bloody hands. Hesiod forbids to “make libations of dark wine to Jove with hands unwashed.”¹¹⁴ A similar reference is found in the Aeneid, where Aeneas says, - “Do you, father, take in they hand the sacred symbols, and the gods of our country. For me, just come from war, from so fierce and recent bloodshed, to touch

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ i. 17

¹¹⁴ Works and Days, 723

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them would be profanation, till I have purified myself in the living stream.”¹¹⁵ Accordingly, Earl Derby brings out the spirit and meaning of Homer-

“No, not for me, mine honoured mother, pour
The luscious wine, lest thou unnerve my limbs
And make me all my wonted prowess lose.
The ruddy wine I dare not pour to Jove
With hands unwashed.”

That Homer, had no intention of intimating that either the Grecian or Trojan chiefs abjured the use of wine, appears from the fact that he represents Agamemnon, Achilles, Ulysses, Nestor, Menelaus, and, in fact all the most eminent chiefs, as wine drinkers; and some of them, notably the king and leader of the Grecians hosts, Agamemnon, and wise old Nestor, as hard drinkers too. Athenaeus says, “And of all heroes, the greatest drinker is Nestor, who lived three times as long as other men; for he evidently used to stick to his wine more closely than other people, and even than Agamemnon himself, whom Achilles upbraids as a man given to much drinking.”¹¹⁶ Plutarch also says that Achilles calls the king a drunkard, “alleging his great drinking as the chiefest of faults.”¹¹⁷ And Athenaeus says, “Homer represents the Greeks also as drinking hard when sailing away from Troy, and on that account quarrelling with one another, and in consequence perishing.”¹¹⁸ So that instead of Pope’s notion, “Let chiefs abstain,” Homer’s idea is more correctly represented in the lines,-

¹¹⁵ ii. 716

¹¹⁶ Sympose., v. 4

¹¹⁷ i. 18

¹¹⁸ On the Athenians.

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*“The ruddy wine for chiefs alone reserved,
Though other drink their share.”*

Plutarch informs us that the Athenians celebrate a naval victory on the 16th August and that on this occasion *the conduits of the city run with wine*.¹¹⁹ He also refers to Diogenes, who first put on his cloak “at a time when the Athenians celebrated a festival with extraordinary banquets, night-drinking, sports, and pageantry, usual at great solemnities.” The philosopher, as he lay in the corner of the street, rebuked himself, saying, Art thou out of humour because “thou canst not have the privilege at this merry time *to be drunk as well as others*.”¹²⁰

As an indication of the widely extended character of the drinking habits of the Greeks, we group together the following brief extracts from Athenaeus. The Macedonians “had no notion of moderation in drinking, but started off at once with enormous draughts before eating, so as to be drunk before the first course was off the table, and to be unable to enjoy the rest of the banquet.”¹²¹ The Thebans were “gluttons in eating and drinking.”¹²² A great feast was given at Daphne by Aniochus Epiphanes, which lasted thirty days, at which every one that came was entertained, and much wine was drunk.”¹²³ The intemperance of Philip and Alexander is so well known that quotations are unnecessary. “The Thessalians were an intemperate race.”¹²⁴ Dioysius “encouraged and received those who had squandered their estates in drunkenness;” and of Philip

¹¹⁹ Progress in Virtue

¹²⁰ lii. 91

¹²¹ iv. 30

¹²² v. 22-24

¹²³ vi. 76

¹²⁴ vi. 77

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it is said, “those who lived in gambling and *drunkenness he praised and honoured.*” The Boeotians “turned to feasting and drunkenness.”¹²⁵ The Greeks “having taken indolence and laziness for their allies, they have indulged in drinking in an immoderate and disorderly manner.”¹²⁶ “The nation of the Tapyri is so fond of wine that they never use any other unguent than that” and the Phigaleans “are addicted to drinking.”¹²⁷ “The Argives, too, are ridiculed by the comic poets as addicted to drunkenness.” The Tyrrhene race “fights all its battles when drunk.” The Milesians “are very insolent when they are drunk.” Of the Eleans it is said, “Elis is always drunk, and always lying; as is each single house, so is the city.” The Chalcidians in Thrace are described as “rushing readily with great eagerness to drinking and laziness, and every sort of intemperance.” The Methymnaeans “live on the most sumptuous food, lying down and drinking.” The Illyrians “take their wives to their entertainments, and it is reckoned a decorous custom for the women to pledge the guests who are present. And they lead home their husbands from their drinking parties.” The Arieans “get drunk every day, and make large entertainments, and are very intemperate in their eating and drinking.”¹²⁸ Of the Colophonians it is said, “to such a degree did they carry their dissoluteness and unseemly drunkenness, that some of them never saw the sun either rise or set.”¹²⁹ The Byzantians “were very intemperate, and in the constant habit of feasting and drinking at the winesellers.”¹³⁰ The Chalcedonians “fell into ruinous luxury, and from having been most temperate and moderate in their

¹²⁵ x. 11

¹²⁶ x. 31

¹²⁷ x. 59

¹²⁸ x. 59,60

¹²⁹ xii. 31

¹³⁰ xii. 32

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daily life, they became a nation of hard drinkers, and very extravagant.”¹³¹ The Thessalians “spend all the day in dice and drinking, and similar pastimes.”¹³² The Arycandians of Lycia “got involved in debt on account of the intemperance and extravagance of their way of living.”¹³³ The Athenians “spent more money on their public banquets and entertainments than on the provision necessary for the well-doing of the State.”¹³⁴ Of the Aeolians it is said, “We see that a fondness for banquets and for amorous indulgences is common to the whole nation, and they indulge in every sort of relaxation.”¹³⁵

Dr. Lees adds his testimony to the same effect when he says that Greece has been “in other days remarkably intemperate on wine.”¹³⁶ Again, “the apostle, in the above passage, draws a dark picture of the times, but the testimony of contemporary writers corroborates its truth. The profligacy of the Gentile world was boundless, and associated in all its exercise with the intoxicating liquors then in use.”¹³⁷ And again, “Concerning the corruption of morals engendered by this conduct, and the degree in which it abounded both Pliny and Philo, contemporaries of St. Paul have left pictures of the gross sensuality of that age.”¹³⁸

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² xii. 33

¹³³ xii. 35

¹³⁴ xii. 43

¹³⁵ xiv. 19

¹³⁶ Works, iii. 64

¹³⁷ Temp. Bibl. Com., p. 385

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 349

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K. Italy

Italy is classed by Dr. Lees among the nations which “have been, in other days, remarkably intemperate on wine.”¹³⁹ But Dr. Nott, as we have seen alleges that the ancient Romans were distinguished for their “exemplary abstemiousness;” and Dr. Lees, elsewhere, quotes Bayle to the effect that in punishing a married woman with death who had been “detected as a wine drinker,” Romulus, “the first king of Rome, but followed therein the old laws of Italy.”¹⁴⁰ We are very much in the dark as to the “old laws of Italy before the reign of “the first king of Rome.” And could have wished that some evidence of these penal laws had been given. But however it may have been with those unfortunate women, and however abstemious the ancient Latins may have been, it is certain that, neither before nor after the reign of Romulus were the people of Italy abstainers from wine. When Aeneas arrived at Latium, about five hundred years before the birth of the first king of Rome, he gave a banquet to his followers, and “placed the wine profusely on the boards.”¹⁴¹ He was entertained at a banquet by Evander, “the founder of the Roman power,” at which the chosen youths “dispense the joys of Baachus.”¹⁴² The Rutulians, the ancient people of Latium, attack the Trojan camp, but at night, stretching themselves on the grass “they indulge in wine, and drain the brazen bowls.”¹⁴³ During the siege the Rutulians are repeatedly found “buried in sleep and wine.”¹⁴⁴ “Fiery Tarchon,” attempting to rouse the “dastardly

¹³⁹ Works, iii. 64

¹⁴⁰ Works ii. 12

¹⁴¹ AEneid, vii. 134

¹⁴² viii. 192

¹⁴³ ix. 166

¹⁴⁴ ix 192, 235, 318

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faint-hearted Tuscans” to renew the fight, exclaims, - “But not so slothful are ye.....when the bent pipe of Bacchus hath summoned of choirs to wait for the banquets and bowls at the sumptuous board.”¹⁴⁵

Plutarch, in his Roman Questinas, tells us that “mezentius, the Etrurian general, sent to make a league with Aeneas upon the condition that he might have a yearly tribute of wine. Aeneas refusing, Mezentius engaged to the Etrurians, that he would take the wine by force of arms, and give it to them. Aeneas, hearing of his promise, devoted his wine to the gods; and after the victory, he gathered in the vintage, and poured it forth before the temple of Venus.” We find also that Romulus himself, who is credited with the prohibitory law against female wine-drinkers, was not an abstainer from wine; for, on the occasion of his triumph, “as soon as he entered Rome, they presented him with wine, and before the houses spread tables for those of the soldiers who wanted to refresh themselves.”¹⁴⁶ So that in the time of these “old laws of Italy” the people indulged themselves with wine.

L. General

Whenever we extend our inquiry into the drinking habits of the ancients, we find, more or less, direct evidence of the almost universal use of wine. Duris says, “that in ancient times the nobles had a positive fondness for getting drunk.”¹⁴⁷ Philochorus says, “that the ancients, when making libations, celebrate Bacchus with wine and drunkenness.”¹⁴⁸ And accordingly, the Dionysiac

¹⁴⁵ B. xi. 737

¹⁴⁶ Hooks History, i. 2, 12

¹⁴⁷ Athen, xii. 66

¹⁴⁸ Athen., xiv., 24

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festivals in Greece, and the Bacchaalian orgies in Italy, were occasions of such gross intemperance that it is painful even to read of these old times. Athenaeus and Pliny devote entire chapters to the exposure of prevalent drunkenness; the former alleging that exposure of prevalent drunkenness; the former alleging that “whole nations” were addicted to it, and the latter declaration that “in no part of the world is drunkenness ever at a loss.” Plato, who taught “that no man should be allowed to be drunk but at the solemnities of the god that gave them wine,” says, - “Among our Tarentine colonists I have seen the whole city drunk at a Dionysiac festival.”¹⁴⁹ Speaking about “downright intoxication,” he intimates that this was “the custom of the Scythians, and Persians, and Carthaginians, and Celts, and Iberians.” Whitby says, “And when Megillus, the Lacedaemonian, had told the Athenians that he saw their whole cities drunk at the solemnities of Bacchus, and that the inhabitants of Tarentum did the same, - ‘Marvel not at that,’ saith the Athenians, ‘for the law with us requires it.’” (Com. Eph. v. 18) The Author of Anacharsis intimates, on the authority of Pausanians, that at the festival of Bacchus in Pellene, a city of Achaia, “wine is copiously distributed to the multitude.” Athenaeus says, “It was customary in Sicily to make a sacrifice from house to house in honour of the Nymphs, and for men to spend the night around their statues when quite drunk.”¹⁵⁰ The Tyrrhenian women “pledge whoever they please in their cups,” and are “wonderful women to drink.”¹⁵¹ Of Italy and Sicily, Plato is quoted as saying, “that as for being temperate and virtuous, none of them ever think of it.”¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Jowett, iv. 158

¹⁵⁰ B. vi. 56

¹⁵¹ xii. 14

¹⁵² xii

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The drinking habits of the ancients is further evidenced by the following facts: - Hortensius left to his...ten thousand casks of Chian wine.”¹⁵³ Cato says that “the general allowance of wine to each servant in the family for a year was ten amphorae, which is somewhat more than a pint and half a day; but that during the time of the *Saturnalia*, he allowed to each of his servants a congius of wine every day, which is somewhat more than seven of our pints.”¹⁵⁴ Lucullus, “when he returned from Asia, distributed as a largess among the people more than a hundred thousand congiaria of wine,” – about seven hundred thousand pints.”¹⁵⁵ Sir Edward Barry says, “In these times no limits were fixed to their profusion and intemperance. Suetonius says, that those usually given by Caligula were so extra-ordinary, that he almost exhausted the treasures of the empire. Dio mentions that Vitellius spent in one year twenty-two thousand five hundred myrriads of drams or seven million two hundred and sixty-five thousand, six hundred and twenty-five pounds. Tacitus says he spent the same sum within a few months.”¹⁵⁶ Ptolemy Philadelphus made a great procession in honour of the gods, which exceeded everything of the kind that had ever been seen before. In the Dionysiac procession there were a number of wagons drawn by 300 and 600 men each, filled with casks of wine, which was allowed to escape and flow over on the road. The multitude who were assembled to witness the spectacle were liberally treated to draughts of wine.¹⁵⁷ Conon feasted all the Athenians. Alcibiades feasted the whole assembly at the Olympic games. Leophron did the same. And Ion of Chios gave a pot of Chian wine to every Athenian

¹⁵³ Pliny, xiv. 14

¹⁵⁴ Barry, On Wines, p. 150

¹⁵⁵ Pliny, xiv. 14

¹⁵⁶ Wines, p. 255

¹⁵⁷ Athen., v. 25-35

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citizen.¹⁵⁸ A rich citizen of Galatia gave notice that he would give all the Galatians a banquet every year. He divided the country into convenient stages, erected tents, in which he placed huge kettles of meat and casks of wine. The whole population, and even passing travelers, were invited by persons appointed for the purpose, and pressed to partake of the free entertainment.¹⁵⁹ Lyernius “enclosed a fenced space of twelve furlongs in length every way, square, in which he erected wine presses, and filled them with expensive liquors, and he prepared so vast a quantity of eatables that for very many days any one who chose was at liberty to go and enjoy what was there prepared.”¹⁶⁰ Heracleon the Beroean, gave entertainments to the soldiers, making them sit down on the ground in the open air by thousands; and the entertainment consisted of large loaves and meat; and their “drink was any sort of wine that could be got, mingled with cold water.”¹⁶¹ “When a general who is celebrating a triumph furnishes the entertainment, the whole preparation of the banquet is of a Herculean character; for honey wine is served out to the guests as wine, and the food consists of huge loaves,” &c.¹⁶² Among the Tarentines “the chief body of private individuals is always occupied in banquets and drinking parties.”¹⁶³ “When Sopater entertained his companions at a banquet, the preparation was very splendid, and foot tubs full of wine and spices were set

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 5

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, iv. 34

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, iv. 37

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, iv. 38

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, iv. 61

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before all who came in.”¹⁶⁴ In Sicily the “men do nought but drink like troops of frogs.”¹⁶⁵

Drinking was also fostered and encouraged by the sacred oracles and religious rites of the ancients. Athenaeus quotes an ancient oracle to the effect –

“Better your condition

By taking Bacchus for your sole physician.” – (i. 41.)

The gods, with some exceptions, were worshipped with libations of wine, and the festivals held in their honor were observed with mirth and revelery. These festive gatherings were very numerous. Dr. Robinson, in his *Archaeologia Graeca*, gives “not a complete collection of the Grecian festivals,” but only “the principal of them,” and yet his list numbers between two and three hundred festivals. Besides these there were numerous private, domestic, and social banquets of frequent occurrence, at which wine was freely used. Athenaeus further informs us that “wine appears to have a very attractive influence in promoting friendship, as it warms and also melts the soul. On which account the ancients did not ask who a man was before drinking, but afterwards; as honouring the laws of hospitality itself, and not this or that particular individual. But the lawgivers, taking care beforehand of the banquets of the present day, have appointed feasts for the tribe and feasts for the borough; and also general banquets and entertainments to the ward, and others called *orgeonica*.....And the Prytanes were accustomed every day to meet in well-regulated banquets, which tended to the advantage of the State.”¹⁶⁶ He also tells us that “all the natives and inhabitants of

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., iv. 67

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., iii. 59

¹⁶⁶ Athen., v. 2

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Syria are accustomed to make frequent feasts after their necessary labours;” and at their public entertainments they live “as if in their own houses, and gratify their stomachs the greater part of the day with wine and meat, and also carry away a quantity of the same to their own homes.”¹⁶⁷

As these festivals, banquets, entertainments, and drinking parties were so numerous as to be of almost daily occurrence, and as wine was more or less freely used at all these festive gatherings, the daily consumption of wine must have been very large. But the following paragraphs from Athenaeus will make this more certain: - Philochorus says, “The Athenians, in the festivals of Bacchus, originally used to go to the spectacle after they had dined and *drunk their wine*; and they used to witness the games with garlands on their heads. But during the whole time that the games were going on, *wine was continually being offered* to them.....and when the choruses entered, *they were offered wine*, and also when the exhibition was over, as they were departing, *wine was offered to them again*. And Pherecrates bears witness to all these things, and to the fact that down to his own time the spectators were never left without refreshment.”¹⁶⁸ And the same Philochorus says, “When they pour libations, they celebrate Baachus with wine and drunkenness, but Apollo with tranquility and good order.”¹⁶⁹ Ehippus says, it was the custom at the Amphidromian festival “to drink many cups of undiluted wine.”¹⁷⁰

It is manifest from the evidence we have adduced above that wine drinking was almost universal throughout the States of Greece and Italy; that intemperance was a common, widespread, and prevalent evil; that whole cities, the entire body of people,

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. v. 46

¹⁶⁸ xi. 13

¹⁶⁹ xiv. 24

¹⁷⁰ ii. 70

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were found drunk on particular occasions; that drunkenness at those seasons was deemed lawful, approved by philosophers, imposed by legislation, observed as a religious duty, and offered as homage to the gods. How can any one, in the face of these facts, believe in the “exemplary abstemiousness” of the Greeks and Romans? or in the “sobriety of the ancients?” or in their festivals being “schools of temperance and sobriety?” Is there a nation or people on earth at this time, among whom the “drink curse” is so prevalent, or is regarded and treated as it was in Greece or Italy?

“In every street were found
Voluptuous Sybarites with roses crowned;
The rank Miletan and the Tarentine,
Lewd, petulant, and reeling ripe with wine.”

M. Judea

Passing out of the heathen world into the Holy Land, Dr. Lees says of the Jews, after the exodus from Egypt, that “whatever else might be their faults and failings, they were on their entrance into the promised land, at least, a sober people.”¹⁷¹ This may be true of the limited period referred to; for when they were “making bricks without straw” in Egypt, and while wandering in the wilderness for forty years, they had little or no opportunity for indulgence. Accordingly Moses says, “Ye have not eaten bread, neither have ye drunk wine or strong drunk” (Deut. Xxix. 6). But after their exile and wanderings were over, and they had settled down in tribes and townships, in “a land of wheat, and barley, and vines” (Deut. Viii. 8), their enforced sobriety vanished; and Dr.

¹⁷¹ Works,, ii. 34

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Lees will inform us of the result: - "Not till long after the settlement of the Hebrews in Palestine do we find notices of the use of wine as a common beverage, or as a prized and prominent article of diet. Still, however, drunkenness does increase; the lust of liquor 'grows by what it feeds upon.' In the four centuries intervening between the conquest of Canaan and the reign of David, we have abundant proof of the fact that intemperance was fatally increasing." Then follows a detailed account of the drunkenness of all classes – prophets, princes, and people – which at length reached such an extent that, with idolatry, it became the chief cause of the second captivity. The writer then says – "Now the prophets show how intemperance retarded the Messiah's advent, by hindering this preparation; and how drunkenness, with its kindred vices, stupidity of intellect, and sensualness of heart, compelled to the great captivity. Then 'men rose up early in the morning to follow strong drink,' making it, as many now do, the business of life, and 'continued until night till wine inflamed them.' No rank or order of men were free from the vice; from priest and people, and from peasant to prince, 'all tables were filled with vomit and filthiness, and there was no place clean.'"

The picture exhibited to us here of Israel's social condition is very dark and very sad, but it is a faithful representation of the people's character, founded on the united testimony of many of the sacred writers. At this period the Jews were not a sober people. Drunkenness was a prevailing vice of the nation and of the age. But Dr. Lees alleges that this national evil was eradicated; and that the painful experience acquired in the second captivity awoke repentance, and, with other causes, effected a thorough and permanent temperance reformation. He says, "But let us leap the gulf of centuries; let us pass from the lamentation by the river of Babylon to the celestial song on the plains of Bethlehem, and what is Judea now? Enough of selfishness, and pride, and

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oppression; still more, as now, of hypocrisy, are there; but we find little drunkenness. The Son hath come, and come at least to a *sober land*, prepared by the providence of the Father."

According to this statement, the reformation effected by the causes alleged was a mere exchange of vices; the substitution of selfishness, pride, oppression, and hypocrisy, for drunkenness; the casting out of one devil for the entrance of seven other evil spirits. But before we "leap the gulf of centuries," which is rather a wide leap in this inquiry, it might be well to know something of the centuries themselves. Before the captivity there was "no rank or order of men" in Judea "free from the vice of drunkenness. During the captivity the people had tears for their drink, and their regimen was, as before, an enforced sobriety. But after the seventy years had expired, and the exiles came up from Babylon, as they had aforesaid returned from Egypt, and became again a settled nation, dwelling every man under his own vine and fig tree, what were their social habits? Had the lesson which they had learned in captivity given them an abhorrence of their old national sin? Did they thenceforth utterly abjure the use of the cup which had led them astray, and imposed on them the painful discipline of the captivity? On the contrary, they have scarcely got settled in their own land and when we read of their vines and vineyards, wines and winepresses, titles and libations of wine. And so intent are they in looking after their vinous interests, that complaint is made of their violating the holy Sabbath in treading their winepresses, and bringing home their wines, even on the sacred day (Neh. xiii. 15). And their great and good leader, himself, acknowledges that there was prepared for his own table, "once in ten days, store of all sorts of wine" (Neh. v. 8).

Now, if the Jews did not abandon the wine cup on their return from captivity, as is shown above, neither did they do so to any subsequent period of their history, as far as we can discover.

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There had been abstaining Rechabites and Nazarites before that time, and probably there were such after it also. A new ascetic sect, the Essenes, arose somewhere about the time of the second exodus. But these were fragmentary sections of the people, inconsiderable in number, and of little social influence; for the very fact of their separation and isolation from the nation is itself evidence that the Jews, as a people, were not abstainers from wine as a common beverage. If, then, the Jews were wine drinkers, as their history shows, and yet a “sober people,” as alleged by Dr. Lees, must we thence conclude that they are standing witnesses that a nation may be sober without being teetotal? And that wine may be used in moderation without the usual attendant excesses? And that it does not always follow, as asserted, that “the lust of liquor ‘grows by what it feeds upon?’”

However this may be, what were the agencies by which the alleged temperance reformation of Israel was effected? Dr. Lees says, “Teetotalism and teetotalers were everywhere honourably associated with the grand work.” Be it so. If these agencies were “everywhere” associated with the work, they must have been associated with it *somewhere*? But where? In Babylon, or out of it! In their captivity the people were neglected and despised pariahs, for whom the heathen exhibited neither sympathy nor kindly consideration. Out of captivity they were fully occupied in rebuilding the old waste places, and were almost incessantly engaged in warfare, until they were at length finally broken and subdued under the iron heel of Rome. Who, then, were the teetotalers which, during either of these periods, effected their reformation? It could hardly have been a teetotal agency which left the reformed people wine-drinkers. But “affliction and foreign teaching” are named by Dr. Lees as associated in the work. Be it so. The Babylonian affliction possibly brought the people to repentance, and may have contributed to make them a sober

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people; but, as we have seen, it left them wine-drinkers, and did not take the specific direction of teetotalism. And who were those foreign teachers from whose heathen lips or lives the proud and holy seed of Jacob were likely to receive or accept this moral instruction? The writer says, - "The now felt excellence and superiority of the Nazaritish self-denial led to reflection and reform." This, of course, was not the foreign teaching referred to, but an old method of native instruction, which the nation had possessed almost from its foundation. It was none of the less valuable on that account. But if this old law led to that new "reflection and reform," is it not curious that the reform which it effected did not take its own shape of self-denial? It made the Jews a sober people, but not a nation of Nazarites. If they had really felt the excellence of the law; and if that feeling had really led them to "reflection and reform," it is certain that they would have practiced the self-denial which the law had taught them. But they did not, for they were wine drinkers. So that whatever agency may have contributed to the alleged reformation, it could not have been the Nazarite law which, as a nation, they never observed.

Who, then, were the teachers of the reformed Jews? Dr. Lees says, the "illustrious example of Daniel and his brethren – and, in later period of the captivity, by the Persian teachers of temperance in the train of Cyrus. It was in the palaces of Babylon that the great Conqueror and the great Prophet, both teetotalers, probably conversed together, - on the rebuilding of Jerusalem." If Daniel and his brethren, and the Persian teachers, and the great Conqueror, were all Israel's teachers; and if these illustrious persons combined teaching effected Israel's reformation from drunkenness, it is not surprising that the reformation which they effected, instead of taking some teetotal shape as their own, should merely have assumed the form of sober wine drinking? But

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what evidence is there of the alleged teetotalism of the teachers themselves? Daniel and his brethren refused to eat the king's meat, or to drink his wine, not from any teetotal scruples or aversion either to the meat or the drink itself, but solely because, as Jews, they would not profane themselves by partaking of anything which had been defiled by heathen observances. Accordingly, it is expressly said, "But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself with the portion of the king's meat, nor with the wine which he drank: therefore he requested of the prince of the eunuchs that he might not defile himself" (Dan. i. 8). To construe this rejection of the king's *meat* and *wine* into a teetotal objection to the use of wine, and to allege therefrom that these Hebrew children were teetotalers, is not to interpret, but to pervert the facts of history.

As to Cyrus, who is also said to have been a teetotaler, we are referred by Dr. Lees to Xenophon, who represents him as refusing to taste wine at the court of his grandfather, because it was poisonous liquor. We might object to this testimony on the ground that, according to Cicero and Plato, the *Cyropaedia* was intended rather to show what a prince ought to be, than to give a true history of what Cyrus really was. But apart from this, the fact that the young prince abjured wine when he was a little boy affords no evidence that he also did so when he had become a man. Xenophon himself testifies to the contrary; for he tells us that, when preparing for a long march, Cyrus said to his officers, we must "collect of wine only so much as is enough to accustom us to drink water, for a great part of the way is entirely unprovided with wine.....that we may not, therefore, by being suddenly left without wine, fall into diseases, we must act thus: - let us at once begin to drink water with our food; for by so doing now, we shall make no very great change.....But if, after a meal, we drink a little wine upon it, our appetite, not having less than

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usual, rests satisfied. We must, however, proceed to diminish the quantity that we drink after our food until we become insensibly water drinkers; for an alteration, little by little, brings any nature to bear a total change."¹⁷² Now, if all this elaborate arrangement was necessary, "little by little," to prepare both Cyrus and his troops for a "total change" of habits, when their provisions of wine had failed them on the march, they could not at that time have been abstainers from wine.

Moreover, it is reported, on the authority of Polyænus, that in an account of the daily provisions consumed in the royal establishment of Cyrus, found by Alexander, inscribed on a brazen pillar at Persepolis, 3750 gallons of wine are recorded. We find also that, before the battle of Thymbra, Cyrus drank a little wine, pouring libation to the gods before drinking, and "all the company followed his example."¹⁷³ Herodotus also informs us that, in the attack on the Massagetæ, Cyrus had recourse to a stratagem, by which he intoxicated the young prince and defeated his army; upon which the queen, addressing her conqueror, said to Cyrus, "When you yourself are overcome with wine, what follies do you not commit? By entertaining your bodies it renders your language more insulting. By this poison you have conquered my son, and not by your prudence or your valour."¹⁷⁴ Thus, the, although "the great Conqueror and the great Prophet" may, as alleged, have "conversed together on the rebuilding of Jerusalem," or other topics of which we have no information, it is morally certain that they never did, and never could have done so, as being "both teetotalers."

As to the "Persian teachers of temperance in the train of Cyrus," we are utterly in the dark as to who these were. Possibly

¹⁷² Cyr. vi. 2

¹⁷³ Rollin, i. 170

¹⁷⁴ i. 212

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Zoroaster, or Pythagoras, or some of their followers may be intended. But if the learned Prideaux is to be credited, these reformers did not appear until long after the time of Cyrus. Dr. Lees referring to the Jews, says, "It is remarkable that they learned sobriety at last in the court of Cyrus, the Magian teetotaler – royal fashion and Persian philosophy doubtless co-operating to that end."¹⁷⁵ The fact is, indeed, "remarkable," if it be a fact, and not a mere fancy of the writer. Instead of frequenting "the court of Cyrus" to learn "royal fashion and Persian philosophy," the exiled Jews hung their harps upon the willows, and bewailed their hard fate beside the streams of Babylon. Daniel, indeed, and it may be the three Hebrew children, may have been favoured by royalty; but being already, as alleged, abstainers from wine, they had no lessons to learn in this direction either from "royal fashion" or "Persian philosophy." Moreover, the Persians did not get a "philosophy" till Zerdusht or Zoroaster came and transformed the crude nations of people, which he licked into the shape of his philosophy. But this reformer did not appear till Cyrus was in his grave, and Darius Hystaspes reigned in his stead.¹⁷⁶ Cyrus may, indeed, have been a Magian, as the Persian kings after Darius, at least, usually were; but why should he be termed a "Magian teetotaler"? Darius assumed the title, after the death of Zoroaster, of Archimagus; and according to Porphyry, cited by Prideaux, "he ordered, before his death, that among other his titles, it should be engraven on his monument, that he was *Master of the Magians*." But this Archimagus could not have been a teetotaler, or possessed of any special aversion to the use of wine; for, among other of his gifts to the Jews on their return to Palestine, he ordered that they should be supplied

¹⁷⁵ Text Book, p. 138

¹⁷⁶ Prideaux

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with a liberal allowance of wine for the service of the house of God at Jerusalem (Ezra vi. 9). And if Cyrus was a Magian teetotaler, his son Cambyses, who succeeded him on the throne, must have been Master of the Magians also; but if so, he must have been a Magian anti-teetotaler; for he was so greatly addicted to intemperance, that he behaved more like a madman than a rational being. On one occasion an old servant was asked by Cambyses what the Persians thought of him? Prexaspes replied, "Sir, in all other respects they speak of you with honour, but it is the general opinion that you are too much addicted to wine." "What!" returned their king in anger, "I suppose they say that I drink to excess, and am deprived of reasons." And the drunken despot, in revenge for the plain speaking which he had himself invited, and to demonstrate the steadiness of his aim, threw his spear, and killed the old man's son on the spot.¹⁷⁷ We find also that Cyrus the younger, who was trained up in the precepts of the Magi, and who, as competitor for the crown, claimed the office of Archimagus, which was now held by the kings of Persia, not only had no teetotal aversion to wine, but when writing to the Lacedaemonians for assistance against his brother Artaxerxes, actually founded his claim for their support on the assurance that "he had a stronger heart than his brother, and could drink more wine unmixed than he, and bear it better."¹⁷⁸ Is this the kind of Magian teetotalism, royal fashion, or Persian philosophy by which the Jews "learned sobriety at last in the court of Cyrus"?

But whoever may be intended by Dr. Lees in the reference to "Persian teachers of temperance in the train of Cyrus," it is evident that if these persons did not, or could not, effect the

¹⁷⁷ Herod., iii. 36

¹⁷⁸ Plutarch's Apothegma

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teetotal conversion of their own people, it is highly improbable that they were more successful in converting the high-spirited Jews, whom they held and treated as slaves. Israel was eventually restored by Cyrus, and was protected and liberally supplied with wine by Darius and Artaxerxes. Immediately on their return to Palestine the people made and used wine. Their pious governor, instead of abjuring wine, was the king's cupbearer, and possessed "store of all sorts of wine." Looking, then, at the wine-drinking of all the restored Jews; the drinking habits of the Persians, as shown elsewhere; and the use of wine by Cyrus and his successors, it is obvious that whoever these "teachers of temperance" may have been, they cannot be credited with the honour of having effected the teetotal conversion of either Jews or Persians.

Passing on to the period of the Grecian conquests, Dr. Lees says, that with these "the doctrines and discipline of the famous Pythagoras also spread, and, as Josephus intimates, his principles were adopted by the purest sect of the Jews." But even accepting this testimony of the Jewish historian, the fact that these Pythagorean principles were adopted only by a single "sect" of the Jews, and that an inconsiderable sect, numbering altogether about four thousand persons, including both the Therapeutae of Egypt and the Essenes of Palestine, is far from proving that Judea was thereby transformed into either a sober or a teetotal land. On the contrary, it implies that, to whatever extent that small sect may have been influenced by these "principles," the alleged reformation was limited to that section of the Jews, and did not extend to the general population. As Geiseller says – "The Essenes led an ascetic life in retirement, and exerted but little influence over the people."¹⁷⁹ They were men who, according to Pliny, had been drawn together "by the tempests of fortune, and

¹⁷⁹ Church History, i. 38

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wearied with the miseries of life.”¹⁸⁰ In this mood they adopted an austere mode of life; withdrew from Jewish society, and lived by themselves in small communities, having little intercourse with the world; and were not likely to have had much influence in moulding or reforming the character of the people from whom they had separated themselves, and who neither adopted their principles nor followed their practices.

Those Jews who were living in Gentile cities may, indeed, have been more or less influenced by their intercourse with the heathen; but the Jews of Palestine, who had suffered for their religion, and fought for their independence, were too jealous of foreign interference, too proud of their own institutions, and too intolerant of others, to accept pagan philosophers for their teachers, especially in the direction of social and moral improvement. Geiseller justly says, “Oppression under a foreign yoke, and especially the persecution of religion by Antiochus Epiphanes, had produced among the Jews a strict separation from all that was un-Jewish, inflaming their contempt and hatred for all foreign customs, and at the same time, raising to a higher degree their national feelings and attachment to the religion of their fathers. But, alas! A spiritual feeling for religion had expired with the spirit of prophecy.....Hence, there arose at this time the most obstinate attachment – yea, a fanatical zeal for the Mosaic ceremonial, apart from any real religious feeling and moral improvement, and accompanied rather by a more general and deeper corruption of the people.”¹⁸¹ After this the character of the nation, instead of exhibiting an improvement, became more depraved; so that Josephus was constrained to say, “Never did any age ever breed a generation more fruitful in wicked practices,

¹⁸⁰ Book v. 17

¹⁸¹ Church History, i. 36,37

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than this was, from the beginning of the world.”¹⁸² “Indeed, that was a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices, insomuch that no kind of evil deeds were then left undone; nor could any one so much as devise any bad thing that was new, so deeply were they all infected.”¹⁸³

If, then, the Grecian conquests brought Pythagorean principles to the sect of Essenes, we may well ask, did these conquests also bring sobriety and morality to the general population of Jews? or did they not rather import some of their own drinking habits and looseness of manners? The Jews were slow to learn goodness from any one, but they were ready enough to follow evil example in anything that ministered to their cupidity or sensual indulgence. Even in captivity, when suffering for their sins, they took unto themselves foreign wives, in defiance of the law (Ezra x. 2), when they put away on their return to Palestine (v. 11), but brought back again when the fit of repentance was over (Neh. xiii. 23). They also became lax in their observance of the holy Sabbath, and other religious duties after the captivity, for which they were censured by Nehemiah. So that it seems to us incredible that a people who were so easily lead into evil by the contagious example of the heathen, should at the same time have become a reformed nation through that means of pagan philosophers or their ascetic philosophy.

Admitting that, after the return from Babylon, the Jews were brought into more frequent intercourse with the Grecians, was that intercourse more likely to affect them for good or for evil? Was Alexander, the great drinker, or were his boon companions, or successors, the kind of persons to reform a previously besotted people? Or were these Grecian conquerors, with the attendant

¹⁸² Wars, v. 10, 5

¹⁸³ Ibid., vii. 8, 1

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philosophers and friends fit representatives of the “teetotalism and teetotalers” who are said to have been “everywhere associated with the grand work” of Israel’s reformation? We fear that if “foreign teaching,” whether in Babylon or in Palestine, had any effect on Jewish thought and life, its influence tended in an altogether different direction. The heathen world was beginning to be what it subsequently became, religiously atheistic, socially depraved, and morally corrupt to the very core. The gods were superstitiously revered by the ignorant multitude, who were being gradually educated out of their ancient beliefs by the contempt of the philosophers, and the ridicule of the dramatists. Men had to a great extent, lost faith in the spiritual and unseen; and the lowest forms of materialism and sensuousness pervaded the literature and thought of the age. The multitude took the power of deification into their own hands, and voted divinity to a successful general, as promptly, and devoutly, as they decreed him a triumph. The popular motto of life was embodied in the maxim, - “Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die.” The appetite for evil grew by what it fed upon, and the last state was worse than the first. Schools of philosophy arose, embodying opposite extremes, and in antagonism to each other; until at length we find that Socrates and Plato philosophized, Cato and Cicero moralized, Junvenal and Persius satirized, Euripides and AEschylus dramatized, Horace and Virgil poetized, with view of averting or arresting the demoralization of the age. But their united efforts were as futile as the attempt to bind the sea with fetters, or to sweep back the advancing tide with a broom. The world was sick and out of joint, waiting for the advent of the great Physician; and, therefore, the “foreign teaching” of heathen life and manners was not of a kind to engraft either teetotalism or eminent sobriety on the social character of the Hebrews.

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We proceed now to examine the evidence furnished by Scripture; and here it may be observed in the outset, that in the condensed summary of the world's history before the flood, we have no reliable information as to the cultivation of the vine, or the use of wine, in the regions covered by the deluge, so that we are wholly ignorant of the usages of "the worlds grey fathers" in that respect. They may or may not have been addicted to intemperance. If they were, the fact may partly account for their sin and its punishment. If they were not, the fact will serve to show that, notwithstanding their abstinence from wine, they were a world of incarnate wickedness.

Separating the Old from the New Testament period, we find in the former numerous references to and examples of drunkenness, with divine warnings, threatening, and prohibitions against the evil, couched in such language, and so frequently repeated, as to indicate the prevalence of the sin in the times covered by the references. Thus, immediately after the flood, Noah "drank of the wine and was drunken" (Gen. ix. 21). Lot's daughters "made their father drink wine" until he became stupefied (Gen. xix. 35). "This our son is a glutton and a drunkard" (Deut. Xxi. 20) "I shall have peace, though I walk in the imagination of mine heart, to add drunkenness to thirst" (Deut. xxix. 19). "Nahbal's heart was merry within him, for he was very drunken" (1 Sam. Xxv. 36). David made Uriah drunk (2 Sam. Xi 13). King Elah was in Tirzah "drinking himself drunk" (1 Kings xvi. 9). Benhadad, King of Syria was "drinking himself drunk in the pavilions, he and the kings, the thirty and two kings that helped him" (1 Kings xx. 16). Eli thought Hannah to be drunken, and said to her, "How long wilt thou be drunken! Put away thy wine from thee" (1 Sam. i. 13-14). "I was the son of the drunkards" (Psalm lxix. 12) "The drunkard and the glutton" (Prov. xxiii. 21). Who hath woe? "They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine" (Prov. xxiii. 29-35).

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“Blessed art thou, O land, when thy princes eat in due season, for strength, and not for drunkenness” (Eccl. X. 17). “Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink, that continue until night till wine inflame them” (Isaiah v. 11). “Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink” (Isaiah v. 22). “Woe to the drunkards of Ephraim.....them that are overcome with wine.....The drunkards of Ephraim shall be trodden under feet....But they also have erred through wine, and through strong drink: they are swallowed up of wine; they are out of the way through strong drink; they err in vision, they stumble in judgment. For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness, so that there is no place clean” (Isaiah xxviii. 1-8). “His watchmen are blind.....Yea, they are greedy dogs which can never have enough.....Come ye, say they, I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink” (Isaiah lvi. 9-12). “I am like a drunken man, and like a man whom wine hath overcome” (Jer. Xxiii. 9). “Awake, ye drunkards, and weep, and howl, all ye drinkers of wine (Joel i. 5). “While they are drunken as drunkards, they shall be devoured” (Nah. i. 10). “Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that putteth thy bottle to him, and maketh him drunken also, that thou mayest look on their nakedness” (Hab. li. 15).

References of a similar kind occur in the Apocryphal books, which, although without canonical authority, may be accepted as illustrative of the social usages of the period. Thus we read of “men in their cups” (1 Esd. iii. 22). “Raguel said, Eat and drink, and be merry” (Tob. vii. 9). “Fear not to drink wine and be merry with us” (Jud. xii. 13). “Press not on him with urging him to drink” (Ecclus. xxxi. 31). “Wine is good if it be drunk moderately” (Ecclus. xxxi. 27). “Wine, measurably drunk, bringeth gladness of heart” (Ecclus. xxxi. 15). “Drink not wine to make thee drunken” (Tob. iv. 15). “A drunken woman causeth great anger” (Ecclus. xxvi. 8).

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“Wine, drunken with excess, maketh bitterness” (Ecclus. Xxxi. 29). “Nor let drunkenness go with thee in thy journey” (Tob. iv. 15). “He did lie in his drunkenness” (Jud. Xiii. 15). “A man given to drunkenness” (Ecclus. Xix. 1). “Wine proves the hearts of the proud by drunkenness” (Ecclus. Xxxi. 26). “Drunkenness increaseth the rage of a fool.” (Ecclus. Xxxi. 30). “Let us fill ourselves with costly wine” (Wisd. li. 7). “Wine and women will make men to fall” (Ecclus. Xix. 2). “Wine is as good as life to a man if it be drunk moderately” (Ecclus. Xxxi. 27). “Wine and music rejoice the heart” (Ecclus. Xi. 20).

Passing on to the New Testament, we find there the same allusions to, warnings and threatening against excess of wine. Thus we read, “To eat and drink with the drunkards” (Matt. Xxiv. 49). “To eat and drink, and be drunken” (Luke xii. 45). “Take heed to yourselves lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness” (Luke xxi. 34). “These men are full of new wine” (Acts ii. 13). “These are not drunken, as ye suppose” (Acts ii. 15). “Let us walk honestly, as in the day, not in rioting and drunkenness” (Rom. Xiii. 13). “But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a drunkard, with such an one no not to eat” (1 Cor. V. 11). “Drunkards shall not inherit the kingdom of God” (1 Cor. Vi. 10). The works of the flesh are “drunkenness, revellings, and such like; of which I tell you before, as I have told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God” (Gal. v. 21). “Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess” (Eph. v. 18). “Therefore let us not sleep as do others, but let us watch and be sober. For they that sleep in the night; and they that be drunken in the night” (1 Thes. V. 6, 7). A bishop must be “not given to wine” (1 Tim. iii. 3). Likewise must the deacons be “not given to much wine” (1 Tim. iii. 8). “The aged women likewise “not given to much wine” (Tit. ii. 3). “The time past of our life may suffice us

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to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in – excess of wine, revellings, banqueting; wherein they think it strange that ye run not with them to the same excess of riot” (1 Peter iv. 3,4). “One is hungry and another is drunken” (1 Cor. Xi. 21). “And such were some of you” (1 Cor. Vi. 11).

Without burdening this section with corroborative evidence from Philo and Josephus, or any of the Rabbinical writers, the above references may suffice to show that in Judea, as in almost every other part of the ancient world, intoxicating liquors were freely used by the people, with a few trifling exceptions of individuals, tribes, and sects; and that in private and public life, in domestic and social usages, in religious and national festivities, drunkenness as the bane of the old world, as it is of the new. In the remote ages of national history, extending far away back amid the obscurities of mythical traditions, when the foundations of ancient empires were laid, we find “traces” of ascetic abstinence, and strong grapplings with intemperance. Thus we have the prohibitory laws of Romulus and Numa in Italy, Solon and Lveugus in Greece, and emperor in China, a king in Thrace, Zerdusht in Persia, Buddha in India, with Brahminical priests, Pythagorean philosophers, Jewish Nazarites, Rechabites and Essenes. All these we find different ages and among different nations, separated in some cases by great gulfs of space and time; but everywhere, alongside of these inconsiderable sects, and more or less partial prohibitory laws, we have evidence both of the use and the abuse of fermented wine.

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Summary

That the ancient world was a drunken old world, can hardly be denied by anyone conversant with its history; and, if all the circumstances are duly considered, it seems impossible to arrive at any other conclusion. 1. *The ancients possessed extraordinary facilities for indulging in wine.* In the lands of vineyards, where almost every man sat under his own vine and fig tree, grapes must have been abundant, and wine plentiful. In those places where the vine was not grown at all, or only partially cultivated, the date-tree supplied the people with “palm wine;” and grain, steeped in water, gave them a species of beer or “barley wine.” Where the fruits and grain were so abundant, the wine manufacture must have been extensive; and where the foreign exports were comparatively small, the home consumption must have been large. 2. *Wine drinking was almost universal.* The exceptions are so inconsiderable as merely to confirm the general rule. In particular periods when the vine and its wine were unknown, certain tribes and nations drank milk or water as their beverage; but in later periods of their history, when they had learned to cultivate the vine, the use of wine became general. Accordingly, whenever we find a fragment of ancient history we discover some references or allusions to the use of wine as a common beverage. Prohibitory laws enacted by one monarch were repealed by another, or fell into desuetude. Absent tribes and nations became wine-drinkers. And the contagion of example and common usage would inevitably tend to maintain, develop and extend the practice. 3. *The occasions of drinking were almost innumerable.* At births, deaths, and marriages; at the “morning meal, which we call akratismos, because we soak crusts of bread

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in pure wine, *akratos*;¹⁸⁴ at the mid-day meal and evening supper; at private banquets and public entertainments; at religious and national festivities; at social and sacred observances; at the harvest and the vintage seasons; in summer and winter; in the city, the village, and the country, wine was used by all ranks and classes, in more or less moderation or excess. Wine manufactories were established in different places; wine shops were opened; *Thermopolia* were instituted; and wine-waggons travelled the country for the supply of the vintners and private customers. Drinking matches were held, and prizes given to the greatest drinkers. Casks of wine, bestowed as donations were broached on the public streets for the free use of the populace by competitors for their political support, and by successful generals on occasion of their triumphs. 4. *And, finally, wine-drinking was interwoven into the very fabric of ancient society, both civil and religious.* It was not only an integral part of an ancient meal; it was also a religious observance. It was not merely an act of pleasure or of convivial enjoyment; it was also a religious duty. It was no mere transient custom of questionable propriety, but a permanent and authoritatively recognized institution of the Church and State. The priests had a legal claim on the tithes and offerings of the people, among which wine was included. The first-fruits of the increase of the field were offered in worship, and with these a libation of wine was included. At every meal, in banquets, and other festive gatherings, a portion of wine was poured forth to the gods. Some deities, from the character which they were supposed to represent, were worshipped with milk instead of wine libations, and in other cases milk, or even water, was used for this purpose, where wine was not available. In some festivals the gods were honoured not only with wine offerings,

¹⁸⁴ Athen. i. 19

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but also with exhibitions of absolute drunkenness on the part of the worshippers, both men and women. But excluding these observances, the use of wine was almost universal in ancient rituals, particularly in connection with meals and banquets, sacrifices and other acts of worship, and at nearly all the religious festivals held at different seasons, and in connection with the worship of different deities. Now, as these occasions were occurring daily, and as wine was used in almost every case, and as the worshippers partook even of the cup of libation offered to the gods, it is evident that the people had endless opportunities and inducements to drink to excess. And with those established and recognized usages it is simply inconceivable that they could have been pre-eminently distinguished either for their abstinence or sobriety.

Even among the Jews, with a purer faith and ritual, the use of wine formed an essential part of religious worship. Here we have wine included among the tithes and first-fruits to which the priests and Levites had a claim, and which were provided for their own use as well as for the service of the sanctuary. Almost all the numerous sacrifices were accompanied with libations of wine as "drink offerings." In their social gatherings and religious festivals wine was used. And notwithstanding the warnings and threatening of priest and prophet against excess, intemperance abounded. The heathen were not thus restrained by religious laws, and hence, as we have seen, a world-wide drunkenness.

3. Drinking Laws and Customs

A. Prohibitory Laws

Appeal is made by some writers to a particular class of ancient laws and customs relating to the use of wine, which are thought to evidence the sobriety of the old world, and to smile favourable on the unfermented theory. In the early days of ancient history sumptuary laws were enacted by the rulers of some nations, which were subsequently either relaxed or wholly abrogated by succeeding legislators. Thus Zachary Bogan, in his *Archaeologiae Atticae*, informs us that the ancient Greeks fed on acorns, and “afterwards, when fine wheat and teeth came up, it was made a punishment to use it,” as Suetonius says, “decimates hordes pavit.”¹⁸⁵ Chrysippus also says – “And at Rhodes, though there is a law against shaving, still no one ever prosecutes another for doing so, as the whole population is shaved. And at Byzantium, though there is a penalty to which any barber is liable who is possessed of a razor, still every one uses a razor none the less for that law.”¹⁸⁶ And Plutarch tells us that the Spartans, observing the corrupting influence of money, called upon their rulers to send all the silver and gold out of the country “as evils destructive in the proportion they were alluring.” Accordingly a decree was passed “that no coin, whether gold or silver, should be admitted into Sparta, but that they should use the money that had long obtained.” This money, says Plutarch, “was of iron, dipped in vinegar while it was red hot, to make it brittle and unmalleable, so that it might not be applied to any other use. Besides, it was heaven and difficult of

¹⁸⁵ Vi. 4

¹⁸⁶ Athen., xiii. 18

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carriage, and a great quantity of it was but of little value.”¹⁸⁷ But the love of money in this case, like the love of fine wheat, shaving, and razors in the others, proved too strong for the prohibitory law, and therefore silver and gold were again introduced into Sparta, “and brought avarice and meanness in their train, on the one hand; on the other, profusion, effeminacy, luxury;” so that “the State soon degenerated from its original virtue, and sunk into contempt.” Not by the use of the “cursed drink,” but by the use of the “cursed gold.”¹⁸⁸

The prohibitory laws of the ancients relating to the use of wine are of different kinds. Thus Zaleucus, King of the Locrians, decreed that “if any one drank untempered wine, except by the express command of his physician, and for the sake of his health, he was liable to be punished with death.”¹⁸⁹ Amphictyon, King of Athens, who is said to have learned to mix wine with water from Bacchus himself, is also said to have “enacted a law that only wine tempered with water should be drunk at entertainments, which, being afterwards disused, was revived by Solon.”¹⁹⁰ It appears from Horace, Plato, and others, that the Thracians were greatly addicted to wine. This fact may explain the cruel treatment which Lycurgus, King of Thrace, and namesake of the Spartan lawgiver, received at the hands of his subjects. According to mythologists, he drove Bacchus out of his kingdom and abolished his worship, for which impiety he was severely punished by the gods. “he was put to death in the greatest torments by his subjects, who had been informed by the oracle that they should not taste wine till Lycurgus was no more. This fable is explained by observing that the aversion of Lycurgus for wine, over which Bacchus presided,

¹⁸⁷ Life of Lysander.

¹⁸⁸ Life of Agia

¹⁸⁹ Athen, x. 33

¹⁹⁰ Potter’s Antiq. ii. 360

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arose from the offence which the vice of intoxication gave him; and therefore the monarch ordered all the vines of his dominion to be cut down, that himself and his subjects might be preserved from the extravagance and debauchery which are produced by too free use of wine.”¹⁹¹ Clearly the wine of Thrace, like that of the Locrians, was an intoxicating liquor.

The Carthaginians enacted a law “that no sort of wine be drunk in the camp, nor anything save water, and that every judge and magistrate abstain from wine during the year of his magistracy.”¹⁹² And yet we find Hannibal’s troops disregarding the law, and drinking wine freely in Italy; so much so, indeed, that they became utterly demoralized by their excesses. Pittaeus, one of the seven wise men of Greece, and the chief ruler of Lesbos, made a law “that if a man committed a crime while drunk, he should receive double punishment, in the hope of deterring men from getting drunk, as wine was very plentiful in that island.”¹⁹³ However, “innocent” the Lesbian wine may have been, the above statement shows that it was an intoxicating liquor. Solon, another of those wise men, decreed that “an Archon, who was the chief magistrate, if seen drunk in public, was to be punished with death.”¹⁹⁴ This law was limited to one officer, “the chief magistrate,” to one offence, “seen drunk,” and to that one offence when exhibited “in public.” But certainly the wine of that ancient time was an intoxicating liquor. Solon himself was no abstainer, for Plutarch gives us some of his verses in praise of wine-

“I love that ruby god whose blessings flow in tides” – Banquet

¹⁹¹ Lempriere.

¹⁹² Plato

¹⁹³ Dio. Laert. 36

¹⁹⁴ Lee’s Works, ii. 11

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“The sports of Venus now are my delight,
Or else with Bacchus to carouse.” – Love

“Wine, wit, and beauty, still their charms bestow,
Light all the shades of life, and cheer us as they go.” – Life of Solon

We are frequently reminded by the advocates of the unfermented theory that Romulus made libations with milk and not wine, and that his successor issued an edict to the effect, “Sprinkle not the funeral pyre with wine.” All this may be admitted, but it is utterly irrelevant. It affords no evidence that these ancient rulers, or their people, were abstainers, or that they abjured alcoholic liquor, and used only unfermented wine. Pliny infers that the laws were passed “in consequence of the remarkable scarcity of that commodity in those days.”¹⁹⁵ But Plutarch supplies us with information which explains, both the laws in a much more natural and satisfactory manner. He says the libations of milk made by Romulus were offered to “the goddess who presides over the nursery, Rumilia, whose rites they celebrate without wine, and only with libations of milk.”¹⁹⁶ And elsewhere he explains that the goddess “did not permit wine, as being hurtful to the infants.”¹⁹⁷ We have shown in the previous section that Romulus himself was not an abstainer from wine; for when he entered the city “they presented him with wine, and before the houses spread tables for those of the soldiers who wanted to refresh themselves.” The prohibition of Numa had reference to certain funeral rites, and to these only, for wine was used in other observances. Plutarch says, “His sacrifices, too, resembled the Pythagorean worship, for they were without any effusion of blood, consisting chiefly of flour, libations of wine, and

¹⁹⁵ Book xiv.

¹⁹⁶ Life of Romulus.

¹⁹⁷ Roman Questions.

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other very simple and inexpensive things.” Referring to Numa’s precepts, which also resembled the Pythagorean, he says, - “As not to offer to the gods wine proceeding from a vine unpruned, nor to sacrifice without meal;” and these he interprets as signifying that agriculture is a part of religion. He remarks further - “They tell us that Numa having mixed the fountain of which they used to drink, with wine and honey, surprised and caught” the Sylvan deities¹⁹⁸ These statements are remarkable as evidencing that even the Pythagoreans, whose precepts and forms of worship resembled those of Numa, did not uniformly abjure the use of wine. But however this may be, they show that the first kings of Rome did not abstain from wine, and that the wine then used was, as the last paragraph indicates, a fermented liquor.

Plato was not a lawgiver, but a philosopher. It was not his work to found a state, or to enact laws for its government, but he sketched a model republic, and gave an outline of the laws by which it should be administered. In doing so, he discourses at length on the subject of wine-drinking, and proposes a series of laws for its regulation. He appears to be altogether ignorant of the existence or use of unfermented wine; for he says, “Let us not then simply censure the gift of Dionysius as bad and unfit to be received into the state. For wine has many excellencies.” And the nature of that wine, having “many excellencies,” may be gathered from the observation,-“There is a tradition or story which has somehow gone about the world, that Dionysius was robbed of his wits by his mother Here, and that in revenge for this he inspires Bacchic furies and dancing madneses in others, *for which reason he gave men wine.*”¹⁹⁹ He thinks that drinking, even to intoxication, may be permitted “under due regulations, and with a

¹⁹⁸ Life of Numa

¹⁹⁹ Jowett’s Plato, iv. 193

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view to the enforcement of temperance;” but he would limit the indulgence to particular seasons, for he says, “Drunkenness is always improper, except at the festivals of the god who gave wine.”²⁰⁰ he also proposes to regulate the age at which wine should be used, saying, “Shall we begin by enacting that boys shall not taste wine at all until they are eighteen years of age; we will tell them that fire must not be poured upon fire, whether in the body or in the soul, until they begin to go to labour; this is a precaution against the excitableness of youth; afterwards they may taste wine in moderation up to the age of thirty; but while a man is young he should abstain altogether from intoxication and excess of wine; when at length he has reached forty years, and is feasted at public banquets, he may invite not only the other gods, but Dionysius above all, to the mystery and festivity of the elder men, making use of the wine which has given them to be the cure of sourness of old age.”²⁰¹

If these regulations are not attended to, and “if the State makes only an amusement of it, and whoever likes may drink whenever he likes, and with whom he likes, and add to this any other indulgences, I shall never agree or allow that this city, or this man, should adopt such a usage of drinking. I would go farther than the Cretans and Lacedaemonians, and am disposed rather to the law of the Carthaginians, that no one while he is on a campaign should be allowed to taste wine at all; but I would say that he should drink water during all that time; and that in the city no slave, male or female, should ever drink wine; and that no rulers should drink during their year of office; nor pilots of vessels, nor judges while on duty, should taste wine at all; nor any one who is going to hold consultation about any matter of importance, nor in

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 291

²⁰¹ Jowett’s Plato, pp. 186,187

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the daytime at all, unless in consequence of exercise or as medicine; nor again at night, when any one, either man or woman, is minded to get children. There are numberless other cases also in which those who have good sense and good laws ought not to drink wine; so that if what I say is true, no city will need many vineyards.”²⁰²

In all these references there is not the slightest allusion to, or exception in favour of an innocent, unfermented wine. Certain persons, at certain times, are not to drink wine at all; other persons at other times may drink it even to intoxication. But the wine forbidden in the one case, and permitted in the other is the same liquor. It is neither to be censured a bad, nor to be universally prohibited, for “it has many excellencies.” It is the gift of a god, the produce of the vineyard, useful in labour, exercise, and medicine, fit for banquets and festivities, and given for “the cure of the sourness of old age.” But it is “fire poured upon fire” it inspires “furies” and “madnesses”; it is not to be drunk by “whoever likes,” and “whenever he likes,” but under proper regulations, for it is unsafe for soldiers, sailors, pilots, judges, and others. Clearly, therefore, that wine was a fermented and alcoholic liquor.

The prohibitory laws of the ancients affecting women are noticed by several writers. Plutarch says, “Romulus made the drinking of wine, as well as adultery, a capital crime in women. For he said, adultery opens the door to all sorts of crimes, and wine opens the door to adultery. Numa also taught them to be sober, and accustomed them to silence, entirely to abstain from wine.” Pliny, in like manner says, “At Rome it was not lawful for women to drink wine.....And Cato tells us that it was the usage for the male relatives to give the females a kiss, in order to ascertain

²⁰² Ibid., p. 195

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whether they smelt of '*temetum*'; for it was by that name that wine was then known, whence our word "*temulentia*," signifying drunkenness." Athenaeus, Polybius, and others give similar account of this old law; but further quotation is unnecessary.

It will be observed that this ancient prohibition dates back to the semi-mythic age, when the reputed sons of gods ruled the earth. It was originally devised by Romulus, who is said to have been the son of Mars, and the founder and first king of Rome, some time after the Trojan war. It was re-enacted by Numa, his successor; and the latest notice of its existence is given by Athenaeus, on the authority of Theophrastus, who lived about 400 B.C. he says, "And among the people of Massilia there was a law that the women should drink water only. And Theophrastus says that to this day that is the law at Miletus."²⁰³ But in Pliny's time the law had apparently become obsolete in Italy, and was spoken of as an ancient tradition of early Rome.

It would appear also that in course of time the rigour of the old law had become so far relaxed that the women were permitted to drink *passum* as their beverage, a true wine made from raisins, or dried grapes, but not classed among the ordinary grape wines. And at the time when the Twelve Tables were introduced as Roman laws, the old prohibition which forbade the *use* of wine was limited to its *abuse*; for, according to Hook's version of these Tables, the prohibitory enactment stands thus:—"If a man catches his wife in adultery, or *finds her drunk*, he may, with the consent of her relatives, punish her even with death."²⁰⁴ After that period the law was either abrogated, or had fallen into neglect, and become a dead letter; so that in the later times of Roman history it was known only as an ancient tradition.

²⁰³ Athen., x. 33

²⁰⁴ Rom. Hist. ii. 27

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Besides these ancient laws relating to wine, there were others of a similar character pertaining to particular nations, tribes, and sects, which need not occupy our attention here. From all these prohibitory enactments we infer, (*a*) that wine was extensively used in the remotest times; (*b*) that its free use had developed dangerous excesses; (*c*) and that the wine thus used and prohibited was a fermented and alcoholic liquor.

B. Drinking Customs.

Passing from the laws to the drinking customs of the ancients, we are informed by Dr. Lees that prizes were often offered with the object, not of producing inebriation, but of testing the powers of incontinent imbibitions to the utmost.”²⁰⁵ The Rev. B. Parsons also appeals to this practice, and refers to the younger Cicero and others, who were notorious for their vinous excesses. “These facts,” says he, “show that to drink an immense quantity, without being intoxicated, rather than to take liquor for the sake of inebriation, was the custom of the people of old.”²⁰⁶ It is inferred by these writers, from the large quantities of wine consumed on such occasions, that the liquor must have been unfermented. But in this, as in many other instances we shall have to notice, the inference is not justified by the facts.

It may be that these prizes were offered, as Dr. Lees says, “with the object, not of producing inebriation, but of testing” the drinking powers of the combatants; but the purpose of the contest was to determine as Mr. Parsons puts it, who could drink the largest quantity of liquor “without being intoxicated.” Those

²⁰⁵ Temp. Bib. Com., p. 368

²⁰⁶ Anti-Baachus

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who were able to bear their wine best carried off the prize. But how could such a test be applied, if the wine used in the contest was not intoxicating liquor? It may be also, that the prizes were offered, not with the object of *producing* intoxication, but they were certainly given with the object of testing the intoxicating power of the quantity of liquor consumed; and how could this be determined if the wine was not an intoxicating liquor?

Pliny begins his chapter on Drunkenness with a description of the quality of wine used, which he terms “a liquid that deprives man of his reason, and drives him to frenzy, and to the commission of a thousand crimes.” Surely that wine was an intoxicating liquor. He then details the various expedients resorted to by drinkers to create an artificial thirst, such as “a dose of hemlock before they begin to drink, that they have the fear of death before them to make them take their wine” – this liquor being regarded as an antidote to that poison. After noticing these strange devices of the intemperate, he says, “Thus we see wines quaffed out of impurities, and inebriety invited even by the hope of a reward, - invited, did I say? may the gods forgive me for saying so, - purchased outright. We find one person induced to drink upon the condition that he shall have as much to eat as he has previously drunk, while another has to quaff as many cups as he has thrown points on the dice.” Then, as if to remove all doubt as to the quality of the liquor used, he proceeds to describe the effects of the potations: - “Should he, however, fortunately escape all these dangers, the drunkard never beholds the rising sun, by which his life of drinking is made all the shorter. From wine, too, comes that pallid hue, those drooping eyelids, those sore eyes, those tremulous hands, unable to hold with steadiness the overflowing vessel, condign punishment in the shape of sleep agitated by Furies during the restless night, and the supreme

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reward of inebriety, those dreams of monstrous lustfulness, and of forbidden delights.”

He next specifies some of the most noted of those champions of drink, among whom he names Mark Antony and the younger Cicero, referred to by Mr. Parsons, and says, “Tergilla reproached M. Cicero, the younger, that he drank two gallons at a single draught, and that, one day being intoxicated, he had thrown a glass at the head of Marcus Agrippa. Truly these are the works of drunkenness. But doubtless Cicero, the son, wished to take from Mark Antony, the murderer of his father, the palm of drunkenness; for it is well known that before him Antony had been very jealous of the title of a first-rate drinker, and even published a treatise on his drunkenness, in which he dares to apologize for that vice. But this treatise persuades me only, that the drunkenness of Antony was the cause of all the evils with which he has afflicted the earth.”²⁰⁷ Athenaeus informs us that when Antony was staying at Athens, he converted the threate into an exhibition of Baachus, “and sat there with his friends, getting drunk from daybreak.” He then crossed over to the Acropolis, “and after that he ordered himself to be proclaimed as Baachus throughout all the cities in that district.”²⁰⁸

Surely no one can read these lines, and fail to perceive that here is no mere “incontinent imbibitions” of innocent *must*, but a veritable contest for the “palm of drunkenness” in the consumption of intoxicating wine.

If we could be certain as to the capacity of the Roman measure referred to by Pliny, it must be confessed that the quantities of liquor consumed by these ancient toppers, who were truly “mighty to drink wine” (Isaiah), are excessively large, almost incredibly so,

²⁰⁷ Book xiv. 22

²⁰⁸ Book iv. 29

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whether the liquor was wine or water. But there have been men of beastly appetites, both gluttonous and drinkers in all ages. The practice was not uncommon in our own country during the last century. Accordingly, we are told that “men in those days not only drank inordinately for fellowship’s sake, but were mighty in drinking; and to compete with accomplished toppers at the board was a task of any social Hercules.” Bishop Hall’s Duke of Tenterbelly, drinks off a large goblet of twelve quarts. Joseph Paisely, the Gretna-green parson, frequently drank a pint of brandy at a draught; and on one occasion the parson and a fellow toper, in the course of three successive days, drank no less than ten gallons of liquor. At a convivial party in Venice a German drank as much wine as would be laid a dozen Italians on the floor. It was not uncommon to designate persons by their drinking capacities. Thus certain individuals are spoken of as two, three or five bottle man; and the head of a ducal house was noted as a six bottle man; these being quantities of alcoholic wine consumed by the individual at a sitting. During the contest for the Whistle, celebrated by Burns, it is said that the poet drank two bottles of ardent spirits, the one of brandy, the other of rum, while the combatants, after having consumed six bottles of wine a piece, continued the contest, and drank one or two bottles more.

Examples of inordinate drinking are common also among the ancients. Seneca speaks of certain senators noted for such excess in wine as to have been carried to the Senate House repeatedly in a state of intoxication. Aristotle tells us that Dionysius, the younger, would sometimes continue in a state of intoxication for ninety days at a time. The Emperor Zeno, who was in the daily practice of drinking till he was insensible, was taken up in one of these drinking fits by order of his wife Aradne, and committed to the tomb, where he was left to perish. Caius the emperor, surnamed Caligula, “was not only called the young Bacchus, but

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was also in the habit of going about dressed in the entire dress of Bacchus, and he used to sit on the tribunal as judge in that dress.” The Emperor Tiberius was so dissipated, that it is said he was only drunk once in his life, and that was from the moment he became intoxicated to the day of his death.

Athenaeus discourses at length on the huge gluttons and wine drinkers of ancient times, in the course of which he describes a contest between Proteas, a very great drinker, and Alexander the Great, who was equally notorious for his excesses, of which the former died. He tells us of Darius, whose tomb bore the inscription, “I was able to drink a great deal of wine, and to bear it well.” Philip of Macedon was “a very hard drinker, and very often would attack the enemy while he was drunk.” And he says, “Theopompus gives us a regular catalogue of men found of drinking, and addicted drunkenness;” and then follows a list of these famed drinkers, with remarks on their intemperance. One of them was called “The Funnel,” because he used such an instrument in his potations. Another cut himself to pieces when he was drunk. He also notices the drinking contests, already alluded to, “as to who should drink the greatest quantity of *unmixed* wine,” at one of which forty-one persons died. Then follows another list of noted drinkers, who are variously described as being “very fond of drinking and delighting in drunkenness,” “addicted to drinking and drunkenness,” incessantly drunk both night and day,” “a great drinker, and was drunk the greater part of the day,” &c., &c.²⁰⁹

Referring to the “venerable line” of “ancient worthiness” who “not merely preached teetotalism as a theory, but adopted it as a practice,” and among whom the first place is given to Pythagoras, Dr. Lees says – “Nor should we forget here the Italian Samson,

²⁰⁹ Book x.

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Milo, a disciple of Pythagoras, who was so strong that he carried a four-year-old bullock on his shoulders a distance of forty yards,"²¹⁰ But, in relating the acts of prowess performed by this ancient athlete, why does Dr. Lees not tell us the whole story? Why does he suppress the important fact that this illustrious *teetotaler* was as famous for his exploits in eating and drinking as for feats of strength? Athenaeus gives us the story of the bull, but he also informs us that "Milo of Crotona, as Theodorus of Hierapolis tells us in his book upon games, at twenty minae weight of meat, and an equal quantity of bread, *and drank three choes [about 9 quarts] of wine.*"²¹¹

It is evident from these references to the excessive drinking of the ancients, the copious draughts consumed, the drinking contests held, the prizes offered to the greatest drinkers, the inebriation thereby "invited" or "purchased," and the habits of intemperance resulting from those indulgences, that the wine used was an intoxicating liquor. So that these drinking customs afford no evidence in favour of the unfermented theory. Confirmatory evidence of this conclusion is furnished by some other ancient practices, which indicate the quality of ancient wines.

At one time, as we have seen, the law was invoked to prescribe the kind of liquor to be used by women, the dilution of their wines by men, the times and seasons for abstinence and indulgences by soldiers, judges, and magistrates; and the violation of the law in these cases subjected the offenders to punishment and even death. Special examples were in some instances added to public laws, with the view of inculcating lessons of sobriety. The poor oppressed helots were made drunk, and exhibited to Spartan

²¹⁰ Works, ii. 14

²¹¹ B. x. 4

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youths in banqueting halls as public spectacles of the degrading effects of drunkenness. Plutarch says, "The ancient Spartans at their feasts used to compel the helots to drink an excessive quantity of wine, and then bring them into the public halls where they dined, to show the young men what drunkenness was."²¹² This was not done to enforce total abstinence from wine upon the Spartan youths, as has been falsely alleged, but, as Plutarch elsewhere says, to preserve them "from all kinds of intemperance and excess of wine, by presenting before them all the indecencies of their drunken helots."²¹³ However desirable the object sought may have been, this ancient custom would have been more honoured in the breach than in the observance; for, apart from its brutalizing tendency on the poor slaves,-

*"Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As to be hated needs but to be seen;
But, seen too oft, familiar to the face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace."*

At an early period, also, the drama was employed to ridicule the foolish sayings and doings of the worshippers of Bacchus and other inebriates; but the well-meaning effort to make the stage a school of virtues failed in its object, and the theatre degenerated into something like a school for scandal. Religion also, was invoked, and the people were taught to make libations to the gods of all their drinks in all their domestic and social festivities, both private and public, secular and sacred; as if, thereby, to place them under some measure of religious restraint, and thus promote a well-regulated sobriety. In some of the festivals, such as the worship of Ceres, the Rumilia, the Sun, the Furies, it was

²¹² Life of Demetrius

²¹³ Laws and Customs of Lacedaemonians

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not lawful to offer libations of wine, and therefore in these cases wineless libations were presented. Hence the Chorus, in directing CEidipus to propitiate the goddesses, expressly exhorted him μηδε προσφερειν μεθυ, "not to bring wine." Among the Greeks, as well as the Egyptians the worshipper of the Sun "make their libations of honey, as they never bring wine to the altars of the gods."²¹⁴ But when Ulysses and his companions were on a desert island of the sun, having neither wine nor honey, they offered libations of water. At Rome, as we have seen, libations were made to Rumilia, the goddess of the nursery, with milk instead of wine.

Ancient writers do not seem to be agreed as to the social habits of the gods themselves. Homer, in one place, says –

"They eat no bread, they drink no ruddy wine;
Thence are they bloodless, and exempt from death."

But, in the hymn to Venus, he describes Ganymede as cup-bearer to the gods, "a marvel to behold, honoured among all the immortals, pouring ruby nectar from a golden cup." We frequently read of the banquets of the gods, at which the cup circulates freely; and we are told that when Vulcan had fastened his mother, Juno, in the golden throne with concealed springs, none of the gods could set her at liberty, until Bacchus intoxicated him and got him to release her. Plato, in his *Republic*, referring to the gifts which Musaeus and his son offer the just, says, "They take them down into the world below, where they have the saints feasting on couches, with crowns on their heads, and passing their whole time in drinking; their idea seems to be that an immortality of drunkenness is the highest need of virtue."²¹⁵ Thus, even in the

²¹⁴ Athens

²¹⁵ Jowett, ii. 183

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other world, the wine of the just is represented as an intoxicating liquor!

Cicero says that the poets, speaking of the gods, refer to “their indulgences in all kinds of intemperance;” but neither he nor Aristotle believed in these representations. The latter interprets them as being spoken metaphorically;²¹⁶ and the former says, “These were mere inventions of Homer, who gave his gods the imperfections of men. I would rather that he had given men the perfections of the gods.”²¹⁷ However this may be, there can be no doubt that among the Greeks and Romans the popular belief, which is always the most powerful over a people, ascribed these bibulous propensities to the deities; and this notion was not only fostered by the poets and mythologists, but was confirmed by the prevailing religious customs of the age, when line libations were almost universal, and the gods were worshipped with the accompaniments of “Bacchus furies and dancing madneses.” Nay, it would seem as if some of these religious festivals were specially intended to enforce general sobriety, by providing occasional seasons of universal license, when an entire population gave itself up to vinous excesses. Hence, perhaps, the curious notion of Plato, already quoted, as to the practice of drinking to intoxication “with a view to the enforcement of temperance,” and his approval of drunkenness “at the festival of the god who gave wine.”

It is obvious that the social habits of the people were not likely to improve under such teachings and customs. Accordingly the Sattrists appeared, holding the mirror up to nature, and severely castigating the vicious follies of the age. With them were associated the Philosophers, who taught the people to get drunk

²¹⁶ Poetic., xxv. 14

²¹⁷ Tusc. Disp., xxvi

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only under proper regulations and at proper seasons.²¹⁸ Aristotle recommended moderation in all things, saying, "In like manner drink and food, whether there be too little or too much of them, destroy health; but moderation in quantity causes, increases, and preserves it."²¹⁹ Anacharsis taught "that a vine bore three bunches of grapes. The first, the bunch of pleasure; the second, that of drunkenness; and the third of disgust."²²⁰ Apuleius quotes a similar utterance – "The first cup is for thirst, the second for mirth, the third for delight, and the fourth for madness."²²¹

It cannot be said that the people were altogether indifferent to the ridicule or counsel of their teachers. On the contrary, they appear to have been desirous of carrying the precepts or sobriety into practice; but instead of abjuring the wine cup, they had recourse to various expedients to lessen the potency of their liquors, and to prevent or counteract the inebriating effects of their potations. To accomplish the former of these objects they filtered, diluted, and partially boiled their *fermented* wines, as we shall see in future sections. And to effect the latter purpose they adopted the following measures: - On sitting down to a banquet they encircled their heads with wreaths or garlands of flowers, with the view of thereby binding and cooling their temples when drinking, and by their fragrance preventing or diminishing the headiness resulting from the alcoholic wine. Anointing the head with fragrant oil was also resorted to for the same purpose; and various substances were introduced into the wine, or used along with it, as antidotes to drunkenness. Athenaeus notices several of these, and Pliny mentions others, such as a black stone, called

²¹⁸ Plato

²¹⁹ Ethics, ii. 2

²²⁰ Dio. Laert. p. 47

²²¹ Works, p. 402

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“Dionysias;”²²² the “sea grape putrefied in wine,” which will excite a “loathing and dislike” for wine.²²³ And “if you would know a remedy against drunkenness, mark this experiment; Give for three days together to great drunkards the eggs of an owl continually in their wine; They will take a loathing thereto, and forbear drinking. Whosoever taketh the lights of a mutton roasted, and eateth the same before he sit down to drinking, shall not be overtaken or drunken, how freely soever he poureth down the wine. The ashes of swallows’ bills incorporate with myrrh will secure any man from drunkenness, and cause him to bear his drink well, in case the wine that he drinketh be spiced therewith. And Horus, King of the Assyrians, devised first this recipe against drunkenness”²²⁴ “To conclude, for to avoid drunkenness take the lungs of a hog, be it boar or sow, it matters not; in like manner of a kid, and roast it; whosoever eateth thereof fasting shall not be drunk that day, how liberally soever he takes his drink.”²²⁵

Besides these curious remedies for the prevention and cure of drunkenness, Pliny and Athenaeus give special prominence to the virtues of cabbage! The latter, in the closing section of his first book, exhibits the power of this popular vegetable as an antidote against drunkenness. “The citizens of Sybaris also, as Timaeus says, used to eat cabbages before drinking. And so Alexis says, -

*“Last evening you were drinking deep,
So now your head aches. God to sleep;
Take some boiled cabbage when you wake,
And there’s an end of your headache.”*

²²² Book xxxvii

²²³ Book xxxii

²²⁴ Book xxx, Holland’s Translation

²²⁵ Book xxviii. Ibid.

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And Eubulus says, somewhere or other,-

*“Wife, quick! Some cabbage boil, of virtues healing,
That I may rid me of this seedy feeling.”*

And Amphis tells us, -

*“When one’s been drunk, the best relief I know
Is stern misfortune’s unexpected blow;
For that at once all languor will dispel,
As sure as cabbage.”*

Now, if unfermented wine was a common beverage among the ancients, as alleged by the advocates of that theory, it is surprising that, in devising these various remedies for the prevention an cure of drunkenness, no reference is made to that innocent drink, nor any suggestion given for the substitution of the unfermented in place of the fermented and intoxicating liquor. This fact we take to be a strong indication that, so far as these ancient writers, lawgivers, and philosophers are concerned, unfermented wine is a myth.

II. Ancient Wines – General

Having shown the intemperance of the ancients, and some of their drinking laws and customs, we proceed, in the next place, to inquire into their wines. The field of inquiry is very wide; for according to Pliny, there were “no less than one hundred and ninety-five different kinds” of drink in use among the ancients; “indeed,” says he, “if all the varieties are reckoned, they will amount to nearly double that number.”²²⁶ But we have no intentions of travelling over the entire length of that wide field, or of inquiring into the specific qualities of such a large variety of liquors. We shall merely try to discover if, among all these, there were any unfermented wines.

Tropical and Proleptical Usages.

A. Fruit of the Vine

In prosecuting this inquiry we find, in the outset, that wine is spoken of on one occasion by our Lord as “the fruit of the vine,” and from this it is inferred that the liquor designated must have been the unfermented juice of the grape. But why should this be so? What is there in the words to necessitate such a conclusion? It is said that Christ carefully avoids using the word οἶνος, and employs this phrase, “fruit of the vine,” instead. Be it so; but it is οἶνος which the cup contained when he said, “Drink ye all of it.” What else could it have been? It is true the word γεννημα

²²⁶ Book xiv. 22

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“produce” or “offspring” is used interchangeably with καρπος, “fruit,” in Luke xii. 17,18; and both terms are employed there to denote solid produce. But it cannot be supposed that the communion cup contained *solid* fruit, or that Christ himself intended to intimate that he would not again drink solid fruit until He drank it new in the kingdom of his Father. As He certainly refers to a liquid *drink*, how otherwise can the expression be regarded than as a simple periphrase for wine? And as Dr. Lees interprets οξος as “sour wine,’ οινος being understood,”²²⁷ and γλευκος as “sweet,’ οινος, ‘wine,’ being understood,”²²⁸ why should the words fo our Lord not be similarly interpreted with οινος understood, so that the sentence will stand thus, εκ τουτο οινου, του γεννημητος της αμπελου, “I will not drink henceforth of this wine of the fruit of the vine?”

In using this particular phrase, our Lord may have intended thereby to distinguish the wine which is the produce of the vine from other wines, the produce of the palm tree, barely, honey, and the like; as the Jews commonly disitinguished *Yayin* from *Shechar*, and as Herodutus distinguishes οινος αμπελος, “wine of the vine,” from οινος κριθινοσ, “barely wine.” Anacreon, whose drinking songs are of the true Bacchanalian type, nevertheless, uses an expression somewhat akin to that now under consideration, when he calls wine γονον αμπελον τον οινον; and Pindar, in like manner, designates it παιοα αμπελον. As, however, the words of our Lord were spoken on the occasion of his last Passover and first supper, they had doubtless reference to the usual formula in the paschal thanksgiving, -“Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the King of the Universe, who hast created the fruit of the vine.” We shall

²²⁷ Temp. Bib. Com., p. 300

²²⁸ Ibid., 313

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find in an examination of these two ordinances that there is nothing in the circumstances or records of either of them to justify the conclusion that the wine thus referred to was an unfermented liquor. Reserving this point for future consideration, it is, meantime, alleged that, as the vine does not produce a fermented wine, the produce of the vine must be regarded as the unfermented juice of the grape. But it might with equal propriety be asserted that as whisky is a Celtic term, *uisque*, signifying water, and is termed *aqua vitae*, the liquor so designated must be an innocent unintoxicating beverage, for *water* is not an intoxicant. The same might be said of other spirituous liquors, whose names are equally innocent. Thus *Perry*, an old English beverage, is “pear water.” *Kirchwasser*, a Swiss drink, is “cherry water.” *Aguardiente*, a Mexican strong drink, is “burning water;” hence also the “fire water” of the American Indians. *Ardent spirits* used to be called in this country “distilled waters.” *Brandy* is still termed *eau de vie*, “water of life.” Old Giles Fletcher, speaking of a Russian fermented drink, called *Quass* or *Kvas*, describes it as “nothing else but water turned out of his wittes, with a little brawn meashed with it.” And Pliny, referring to certain fermented liquors made from grain, and of the nature of modern beer, says, “Means have absolutely been discovered for getting drunk upon water even.”²²⁹ In like manner, when Erasmus says, “Well may Burgundy be called the mother of man, suckling him with such milk,” it might be alleged that Burgundy wine is an unfermented liquor, for milk is not intoxicating.

If the vine does not produce a fermented or alcoholic liquor, neither does it produce an inspissated or boiled liquor; and yet Dr. Lees admits that “grape juice, previously boiled down,” is a true

²²⁹ Book xiv. 22

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“fruit of the vine.”²³⁰ It may be objected that fermentation totally changes the nature of the liquor, and converts it into a different substance, the product of art, and not of nature. This may be quite true, and yet the changed liquor may none the less truly be designated “the fruit of the vine.” Anacreon’s “offspring of the vine,” Herodotus’s “wine of the vine,” and “barley wine,” and Pindar’s “son of the vine,” are, for anything that appears to the contrary, designations of fermented wines. The innocent terms water and milk are also, as we have seen, applied to fermented and distilled liquors.

Moreover, we read in one passage, “They shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof;” and in another, “They shall plant vineyards, but not drink the wine thereof” (Amos ix. 14; v. 11). Now “the wine thereof” (lit. “their wine”) is clearly the wine of the said *vineyards* – i.e., “the fruit of the vine.” In another text it is said of Noah, “he planted a vineyard, and drank the wine (lit. ‘from the wine’), and was drunken” (Gen. ix. 20). The wine he drank was the wine of his vineyard he had planted; and the wine of the vineyard, as before is “the fruit of the vine,” and yet in this case, an intoxicating beverage. Scripture also speaks of the *butter of kine* (Deut. xxxii. 14), and of *the cheese of kine* (2 Sam. xvii 29). But before these substances can be produced and preserved for domestic use, their constituents must be separated from the milk of the cow by artificial means; and in each case there is a true fermentation. “Milk, whilst in the udder of the cow,” undergoes, in a healthy state, no alteration of its properties. But in contact with air milk coagulates without any evolution of gas, and becomes acid; the casine separates in the form of a curdy mass. “The cheese of animal milk begins to undergo alteration from the instant it leaves the udder of the cow, and the change proceeds in

²³⁰ Temp. Bib. Com. p. 283

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it continuously, although it only becomes perceptible after the lapse of some time in the coagulation of the milk.”²³¹ “When milk turns sour, its alkali is gradually neutralized and overpowered by lactic acid produced by the fermentation of sugar of milk.”²³² *Rennet*, “decomposed mucous membrane,” having the same properties as *yeast* or *leaven*, when introduced into milk in making cheese, communicates its decomposition “to the milk sugar, the elements of which transpose themselves into lactic acid, which neutralizes the alkali, and thus causes separation of the cheese.”²³³

The fruits of trees, including the solid “fruit of the vine,” when stored up for use undergo fermentation. “The maturation, as it is called, or sweetening of winter fruits, when stored up for their preservation in straw, is called the result of true fermentation. Unripe apples and pears contain a considerable amount of starch, which becomes converted sugar by the nitrogenous constituent of the juice passing into a state of decomposition, and transmitting its own mutations to the particles of starch in contact with it.”²³⁴ Bread also undergoes a true fermentation. The porosity and lightness of bread “are produced in the dough by a process of fermentation.”²³⁵ Where leaven is employed in the manufacture, “the yeast induces the vinous fermentation in the sugar of the flour, and the alcohol and carbonic acid escaping, raise the bread and render it porous.”²³⁶

Even a mutton chop is not exempt from that transformation. “From the moment the animal is slain, the herb gathered, or the

²³¹ Liebig’s *Letters*, xvii. , xviii.

²³² Gregory’s *Chem.*, p. 504

²³³ Liebig, xviii.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, xxxii

²³⁶ Gregory, p. 509

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cluster of the vine plucked, the process of decay commences, which, unless arrested, will continue in each till all alike are rendered unfit for use by progressive fermentation.”²³⁷ “The process of decay is a process of combustion taking place at the common temperature, in which the products of the fermentation and putrefaction of plants and animal bodies combine with the oxygen of the atmosphere. No organized substance, no part of any plant or animal, after extinction of the vital principle, is capable of resisting the chemical action of air and moisture.”²³⁸

If, then, preserved grapes, to say nothing further of the other substances, may be designated the “fruit of the vine,” notwithstanding the initial fermentation which they have undergone when removed from the living tree, there is no apparent reason why the expressed juice should not similarly designated, even although it also has undergone that fermentation.

The same tropical usage obtains in all countries and ages. Thus, although all grapes are alike sober and unintoxicating, Pliny describes one kind, called the “inerticula,” but which, he says “might with more propriety have been styled the ‘sobria.’”²³⁹ Columella probably refers to the same species when he designates a particular description of grape the *amethyston*, or unintoxicating, both writers having reference to the quality of the wine made from that kind of grape. Anarcharsis, as we have seen, used to say that “the vine had three clusters – the first, which produced pleasure, the second intoxication, and the third remorse.” And Dr. Lees quotes the Turkish proverb, “A devil lurks in every berry of the vine.” There is, therefore, nothing incongruous in designating fermented wine “the fruit of the vine,”

²³⁷ Nott’s *Lectures*, p. 76

²³⁸ Liebig, xix.

²³⁹ Book xiv.

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which produces different effects according as it is used. Philo calls the vine “the tree of drunkenness,”²⁴⁰ and speaks of the intoxication which proceeds from the vine.²⁴¹ Speaking of wine in connection with drunkenness, and therefore of intoxicating wine, he says, Moses “was in all respects great and wise on this subject; for, in many places of his history of the giving of the Law, he mentions wine and *the plant which produces wine – namely, the vine*; and commands some persons to drink it, but some he does not permit to do so,” &c.²⁴² He says also, - “Bacchus rendered the vine susceptible of cultivation, and extracted a most delicious drink from it, which.....causes every city on earth, both Grecian and Barbarian, incessant festivity and mirth, and entertainment and revelry; for all these things is good wine the cause.”²⁴³ This “delicious drink,” extracted from the vine, is clearly the “fruit of the vine,” and, yet, an intoxicating beverage. Sir Robert Porter speaks of drinkers “reveling in the juice of the vineyard.”²⁴⁴ Josephus, also, referring to Pharoah’s butler, says, “He let him know that God bestows the fruit of the vine upon men for good; which wine is poured out to him, and is the pledge of fidelity and mutual confidence among men; and puts an end to their quarrels, takes away passion and grief out of the minds of them that use it, and makes them cheerful.”²⁴⁵ The effects here attributed to the fruit of the vine are such as were usually regarded by the ancients as flowing from the moderate use of fermented wine, of which more anon. Pliny, describing the vine-clad hills of the Campania, uses the expression, *temulentia nobilis succo per omnes terras*,

²⁴⁰ The Planting of Noah

²⁴¹ Dreams

²⁴² Drunkenness

²⁴³ Ambassadors

²⁴⁴ Travels, i., p. 436

²⁴⁵ Ant., ii. 5,2

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which Holland paraphrases – “The hills full of vineyards an famous for drunkenness, proceeding of strong wine and the liquor of the grape, commended so highly in all countries.”²⁴⁶ This “liquor of the grape,” was clearly the “fruit of the vine” grown on these hills, and yet it was an intoxicating beverage.

There can be no doubt that the juice in the grape is an unfermented liquor; but there can be as little doubt that the juice extracted from the grape may still be designated the juice of the grape, or the fruit of the vine, even after it has undergone fermentation. Thus Horace tells Maecenas that if he comes to visit him at his Sabine farm, he will “drink the juice of the grape of the Caecuban and mild Caleno; for neither the produce of the Falernian vines, nor that of the Formian hills, mingles with the tempering water,” –

*“Caecuban et praelo domitam Caleno
Tu bibes uvam; mea nec Falrnae
Temperant vites, neque Formiani
Pocula colles.”* (Odes, i. 20)

A similar usage is found in both modern and ancient poetry. Hence, -

Milton, -

*“first from out of the purple grape
Crushed the sweet poison of misused wine.”*

*“I drank, from the clear milky juice allaving
Thirst, and refreshed; nor envied them the grape,
Whose heads that turbulent liquor fills with fumes.”*

²⁴⁶ Book iii. 5

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Oriental, -

*"This day be rapture, let no bosom rue!
Son of the clouds! The grape's fair daughter woo."*

*"I drank the water of the vine. That draught had power to rouse
Thy wrath, grim father! Now, indeed, 'tis joyous to carouse."*

*"Who of the fruit of life can share,
Yet scorn to drink of the grape's sweet dew."*

Spenser; -

*....."Forth she brought
The fruitful vine; whose liquor, bloody read,
Having the minds of men with fury fraught,
Might in them stir up old rebellious thought,
To make new war against the gods again:
Such is the power of that same fruit."*

Campbell says of whisky-

*"And plied the beverage from his own fair sheaf,
That fired his Highland blood with mickle glee."*

Atheneaus –

*....."Other poets call wine
Fruit of the field, which makes the heart to leap."*

Hybrias, -

*...."And from the vine
Squeeze out the heart-delighting wine."*

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Horace, -

*"Say, shall I drink this heady wine,
Pressed from the rough Falerian vine?"*

Plutarch, -

*"See the cluster-bending vine!
See, and drink, and drop supine."*

Astymadus says that Bacchus –

*"gave men the vine, which cures all mortal grief,
Parent of genial wine."*

Ion, the Chian, referring to the vine and its grapes, says, -

*"And from its buds burst forth a numerous race
Crushing, as one upon the other pressed;
But when the noise has ceased they yield their juice,
Divinest nectar, which to moral men
Is ever the sole remedy for care,
And common cause of joy and cheerfulness.
Parent of feasts, and laughter, and the dance,
Wine shows the disposition of the good,
And strengthens all their noble qualities.
Hail! Then, O Bacchus."*

Antiphanes explains the usage, -

*"Shall I speak of rosy sweet from Bacchie spring?
I'd rather you'd say wine. Forbear those sad, long-winded
Sentences, those long and round-about periphrases."*

It is evident from these varied references, sacred and profane, ancient and modern, that the phrase, "fruit of the vine," is a simple periphrasis for wine; and that there is nothing in the

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expression to necessitate the conclusion that it is, and must be, a designation of unfermented grape juice.

B. Blood of the Grape

The “blood of the grape” is another of those tropical expressions for wine which we find in Scripture, and from which it is inferred that the wine so designated was an unfermented liquor. Dr. Lees says, - “‘Blood’ is a poetical name for ‘juice’ and is evidence of the ancient signification of *yayin* as ‘the juice of the grape’ prior to fermentation.”²⁴⁷ But this is a mere assumption; for neither the term “blood,” nor the word “juice,” nor the phrase “blood, or juice of the grape,” furnishes any evidence of a *yayin* “prior to fermentation.”

Virgil says, -

*“Legean juice
Will stamm’ring tongues and staggering feet produce.”*

Swift, -

*“And Bacchus for the poet’s use
Poured in a strong inspiring juice.”*

Burns, -

*“I sing the juice Scotch beare can mak’ us
In glass or jug.”*

²⁴⁷ Temp. Bib. Com., p. 22

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The expression “blood of the grape” is used in a similar manner. Dr. Lees, in a note, quotes from Achilles Tattius to the effect that “Bacchus once being entertained by a Tyrian shepherd, gave him some wine to drink. The shepherd, after he had tasted it, asked Bacchus, ‘Where did you procure blood so sweet’” Bacchus answered him ‘This is the blood of the grape.’”²⁴⁸ The quotation bears to be part of an extract from “*Tirosh to Yayin*, pp. 67,68. (1841).” But this part of the extract is dropped from the edition of that work published in the works of Dr. Lees, 1853; and, doubtless, with good reason. For the wine given to the shepherd, and designated “blood,” was a fermented liquor, as the following words show: - “Having taken a hearty draught, and *becoming very jovial from its effects*, he said, ‘Whence, stranger, did you procure this purple water, this delicious blood? It is quite different from that which flows along the ground; for that descends into the vitals, and affords cold comfort at the best; whereas this, even before entering the mouth, rejoices the nostrils, and though cold to the touch leaps down into the stomach, and begets a pleasurable warmth.’ To this Bacchus replied, “This is the water of an autumnal fruit, this is the blood of the grape’; and so saying, he conducted the neat-herd to a vine, and squeezing a bunch of grapes, said, ‘Here is the water, and this is the fountain from whence it flows.’ Such is the account which the Tyrians give as to the origin of wine.”²⁴⁹

The “blood of the grape” is described in Deut. xxxii. 14, as *Khemer*, the Hebrew equivalent of the Chaldee *Khamar*; and this latter is the term employed to designate the intoxicating wine used by Belshazzar and his lords on that night of drunken revelry when the King of the Chaldeans was slain. Pliny informs us that

²⁴⁸ Temp. Bib. Com., p. 181

²⁴⁹ Achilles Tattius, Book ii.

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Androcydes wrote to Alexander the Great:- “My good lord, saith he, remember when you take your wine that you drink the very blood of the earth; hemlock, you know, sir is poison to man, even so is wine to hemlock.”²⁵⁰ Wine is frequently called “the blood of Bacchus,” as modern beer and whiskey are termed “the strong heart’s blood of Barleycorn.” Timotheus, referring to the wine with which Ulysses intoxicated the Cyclops, represents it as mixed with water –

*“And twenty measures of the sober stream
He poured in, and with the blood of Bacchus
Mingled fresh tears, shed by the weeping nymphs.”*

Athen., xi. 13

Plutarch quotes an ancient epigram on earthen vessel of wine –

*“The Grecian earth now hardened by the flame,
Holds in its hollow belly Bacchus’ blood,
And has its mouth with Isthimian branches stopped.”*

Sympos.

Bayard Taylor, describing the Drunken Bacchus, by Michael Angelo, says, “Perhaps, too, the rich blood of the Falernian grape produced a more godlike delirium than the vulgar brandy which upsets the moderns.”²⁵¹ He also says, “Wine is the universal beverage of the laboring classes in Italy, or I might say of all classes; it is, however the pure blood of the grape, and although used in such quantities, one sees little drunkenness,- far less than in our own land.”²⁵² But the “pure blood of the grape” Mr. Taylor does not mean mere fermented grape juice, but unadulterated

²⁵⁰ Book xiv. 5

²⁵¹ Views, A—Foot, ii. 264

²⁵² Ibid., p. 286

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fermented wine; for he describes its manufacture in an “enormous tun,” “covered air-tight, and left for three or four weeks, after which the wine would be drawn off at the bottom.”²⁵³

Redding, referring to the freedom from acidity of German wines, and attributing it to the perfect fermentation which they have undergone, says this is the safest wine to be drunk of “any blood of the grape whatever.”²⁵⁴ A similar expression was employed by Rev. Dr. Duff several years ago, which has been taken advantage of by the advocates of the unfermented theory; but, as we learn from a letter recently published, contrary to the meaning of the eminent missionary. Referring to the wine used by the French peasants, the doctor had said:—“Instead of milk he has a basin of pure unadulterated ‘blood of the grape.’ In this is native original state, it is a plain, simple, and wholesome liquid; which, at every repast, becomes to the husbandman what milk is to the shepherd, not a luxury but a necessary; not an intoxicating, but a nutritive beverage.”²⁵⁵ In the letter recently published, Dr. Duff explains the above reference: - “On inquiry I found it was the pure juice of the grape which, as you know, ferments spontaneously when expressed from the husk – *fermented, therefore, but still pure, i.e.,* wholly undrugged or unadulterated with any extraneous matter of any kind. It was also very weak, that is, contained very little spirit, but still enough to preserve it. Being so weak, and so free from all adulterating mixtures, and taken in the manner in which I saw it taken, it was utterly incapable of intoxicating a child, and constituted a wholesome refreshing beverage, instead of milk, which was not to be had in that quarter. That is the sum and substance of what I wrote, or meant to write. *Such a thing as*

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Wine, p. 222

²⁵⁵ Richie’s Sc. Test. p. 77

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unfermented wine I never heard of in any country.” Thus the “pure blood of the grape,” referred to by Dr. Duff, was a fermented and alcoholic liquor.

The tropical usage now under consideration is further illustrated by the following examples, in which fermented wine is exhibited as the “blood of the grape.” Thus an American wine is described as-

*“The fiery flood,
Of whose purple blood,
Has a dash of Spanish bravado.”*

Byron says,-

*“Fill high the bow with Samian wine!
Leave battles to the Turkish hordes,
And shed the blood of Scio’s vine.”*

Scott speaks of –

*“A goblet crowned with mighty wine,
The blood of Valez’ scorched vine.”*

Sir. D. Sanford says,-

*“With this I tread the luscious grape,
And drink the blood-red wine.”*

Spenser, as we have seen, speaks of

*“The fruitful vine, whose liquor, bloody red,
Having the minds of men with fury fraught,” &c.
Another poet says, -*

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*“Come, fill the bowl, the golden bowl,
With the blood of the blushing grape!
On its bountiful stream the jovial soul
May make for its cares escape.”*

So far then as this designation is concerned, it is evident that a wine may be described as the “blood of the grape,” and yet be a fermented liquor; for there is nothing in the expression to necessitate the conclusion that the liquor so designated unfermented grape juice.

C. Wine in the Grape

Various passages in ancient authors are appealed to in behalf of the unfermented theory, in which the words *yayin*, *oinos*, and *vinum*, and employed to designate the grape itself, and the juice itself, and the juice in the grape, *vinum pendeus*: and from this usage it is inferred that these three terms are designations of two kinds of vinous liquor, fermented and unfermented. But the inference is not well founded; for whatever may have been the primary and real signification of *yayin*, and its cognate terms, it is manifest that in such cases as the above they are used proleptically. If for example, *yayin* is derived from *yon*, and signifies a fermenting and effervescing liquor;²⁵⁶ or from *yun-yavan*, and signifies a pressed out liquor;²⁵⁷ or from *yavan* or *yanah*, “the primary idea of both being turbidness, or ‘boiling up,’ so characteristic of the appearance of the grape juice as it rushes foaming into the wine-vat,”²⁵⁸ it must be used proleptically, and

²⁵⁶ Gesenius

²⁵⁷ Fuerst

²⁵⁸ Lees

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not in its true primary signification, when it is applied as above; for neither the grape itself, nor the juice in the grape is a fermenting, effervescing, pressed out, turbulent, foaming, or boiling up liquor. If this be so, then instead of signifying two different kinds of wine – fermented and unfermented – this usage proves that hanging grapes, and the juice in the grapes, are not yet *yayin*, *oinos* or *vinum*, but are called proleptically, or by way of anticipation.

On the other hand, when Pliny speaks of a grape which might properly be styled the *sobria*, and Columella of a *grape* called the *amethyston*; and Layard says, the love songs of the poets produce an excitement which “exceeds that of the grape;”²⁵⁹ and Sir Robert Porter speaks of “the genial flow of the grape;”²⁶⁰ and Sir Walter Scott says, “I love to feel the grape in my very finger ends before they make the heart-strings tinkle,”²⁶¹ the word “grape” is used tropically for the *wine* made from it.

In like manner, when a modern housewife is preparing her domestic preserves, she calls the boiling *juice* currant or apple *jelly*, before it has *congealed*. We say of a boy, “the child is father of the man”; and little children are called “the *men* and *women* of the future.” “Centuries before the dawn of history,” the terms son and daughter were used proleptically, “the son, *suma*, the begetter, not the begotten, named from what he was to be, not from what he was; and the daughter, *dhughtar*, the milker, so named, not because she was the primitive dairymaid, but because she was to be a giver of milk, a full-breasted nurse.”²⁶² The farmer speaks of his grain crops, *while still in the blade*, as oats, wheat, or barley; and of his green crops, *ere ever a root or bulb is formed*, as

²⁵⁹ *Nineveh and Babylon*, xiv. 329

²⁶⁰ *Travels*, i. 348

²⁶¹ *Ivanhoc*

²⁶² *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, By A.M. Fairbairn, p. 273

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turnips, potatoes, or the like. All these are examples of a proleptical usage, in which the particular terms are employed to designate the persons and things referred to, not as they then really are, but as they shall be. In this way it was said to Abraham, while he was yet childless, "I have made thee a *father* of many nations;" which the apostle explains was spoken by the way of anticipation by "God, who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which be not as though they were (Rom. iv. 17).

Thus the "wine in the grape," the "growing wine," the "hanging wine," the "expressed wine," and the like, are expressions which, like the farmer's "growing turnips," or the housewife's "boiling jelly," denote, not what the liquid juice then was, but what it was to be, as when Addison says,-

*"On foreign mountains may the sun refine
The grape's soft juice, and mellow it to wine."*

Or Burns, -

"let half-starved slaves in warmer skies
See future wines, rich clustering rise."

Dr. Lees says, - "To affirm, as Mr. Rule does, that 'grape juice is not wine, and more than chaff is bread,' is to overrule the plainest facts in language, and to mistake a contrast for a comparison. Chaff is the *husk* of corn, not the material of bread; but 'grape juice' is the very substance of wine, as Thomas Aquinas has it, of 'the specific nature of wine.'"²⁶³ But for "chaff," read *flour* in the objection, and what then? Flour is the very substance of bread. Is it, therefore, bread? Is the flour of the miller identical with the bread of the baker? And is a sack of flour precisely the

²⁶³ Nott's *Lectures*, p. 222

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same thing as a bag of biscuits? The expressed juice of the garden fruits, unboiled and unfermented, is juice only, and neither domestic jelly or home-made wine. The juice of the barley, extracted from the grain by steeping it in water, but unfermented, though it could be kept for a thousand years, would be barely water still, and not barley wine. And it would be quite as appropriate for a jar of that barely water to receive “honourable mention” as a jar of *unfermented beer*, as for the mere juice of the grape to be distinguished as unfermented wine.

The distinction between mere *juice* and real *wine* is fully recognized by both ancient and modern writers. Thus, in the Talmudic legend of the trees of Paradise, the palm tree says “O that he would prefer me. I will feed him with my golden dates, and the *wine* of my *juice* shall be his beverage.” The Rev. Dr. Ritchie, an advocate of the unfermented theory, speaks of the *must* “which flowed from the clusters,” and which was reserved for manufacturing a particular species of rich *wine*.²⁶⁴ He discourses on the properties of “ordinary *wine*,” which is “made from *grape juice*.”²⁶⁵ Dr. Lees, in like manner, says, “So far as is known of the ancient uses of the filter, whether applied to *wines* or *musts*, it is obvious,” &c.²⁶⁶ And again, “thus whether *must* or *wine* were used at discretion, one of them formed the basis of the compound,” &c.²⁶⁷ He also gives a variety of directions from ancient authors for the manufacture of different kinds of *wine* from *must*. Thus campanian, wormwood, hyssop, myrtle, and other wines, are not merely various kinds of *musts*, but are different sorts of *wines* made from *must*, with particular medicinal herbs added in the manufacture.

²⁶⁴ Sc. Test, p. 91

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 230

²⁶⁶ Review of Nott, p. 16

²⁶⁷

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Abarbanel speaks of the “*wine* and *must*” being delightful products of the earth. Columella says, “Before you take the *must* from the vat, fumigate the vessels with rosemary, laurel, or myrtle, and fill the vessels full, that, in fermenting, the *wine* may purge itself well.” Here the liquor in the vat is *must*, and in the vessels *wine*. Varro also says, “The *must* that is put into a dolium, in order that we may have wine, should not be drawn while it is fermenting, and has not yet advanced so far as to be converted into *wine*.” Here again, the liquor before fermentation is merely *must*, and it is fermented that it may be “converted into wine.” Pliny says the mixture of different varieties of vines “deteriorates the flavour not only of the *must*, but the *wine* even as well.” “Thus it is, too, that *wine* is more odoriferous than *must*.” “There is a difference, too, between the kinds of *must* from which wine is made, and those from which *passum* [raisin wine] is prepared.” This writer not only distinguishes between *must* and the *wine* made from it, as above, but he almost expressly intimates that wine was a fermented and alcoholic liquor. He says, “There is no subject that presents greater difficulties than this, or, indeed, a more varied field for discussion, it being extremely difficult to pronounce whether wine is more generally injurious in its effects or beneficial. And then, in addition to this, how very uncertain is it, whether the moment we have drunk it, it will be productive for salutary results, or turn out no better than so much poison.”²⁶⁸ He says, “It is the property of wine, when drunk, to cause a feeling of warmth in the interior of the viscera, and when poured upon the exterior of the body, to be cool and refreshing.”²⁶⁹ This clearly shows that the wine was alcoholic. Distinguishing between oil and wine, and remarking that the former becomes unusable if kept

²⁶⁸ Book xiv.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

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beyond the year, he explains that this is a wise provision of Nature to render the use of oil “common and universal by the very necessity there is of using it while fresh;” whereas, “wine, which is only produced for the drunkard, she has seen no necessity for us to use when new” – *Quippe temulentia nascentibus tinis vi necesse non est.*²⁷⁰ He also says, “We must bear in mind that wine is nothing else but juice which has acquired strength by the process of fermentation;” or, as Holland puts it, “But this we must remember, every one of us, that the liquor of wine gets all the force and strength that it hath by working, sparging, and seething (as it were) in the lees while it is must,” – *Meminerimus succumbesse, qui fervendo vires e’ musto sibi fecerit.*²⁷¹ And finally, as if to settle the question, he intimates that it was precisely this fermentation which in his day was regarded as differentiating mere grape juice from wine, for he says, “Taking care that the must does not ferment; for so they call the passage of must into wine,” – *Id evenit cura quoniam fervere prohibetur; sic appellant musti in vina transitum.*²⁷²

Now if these ancient writers, to say nothing of modern authors and advocates of the unfermented theory, such as Drs. Lees and Ritchie, thus distinguish between *must* and *wine*, and ascribe the difference between the two sorts of liquor to the process of fermentation; and if they are to be credited with a sufficient knowledge of the usages of their age, we must conclude that the ancient wines were fermented liquors – “for so they call the passage of must into wine.”

²⁷⁰ Book xv. 2

²⁷¹ Book xxiii. 1

²⁷² Book xiv. 9

III. ANCIENT WINES – GREEK AND ROMAN

1. Fermentation

The inquiry we are now presenting is not a question of grapes, but of wine; not mere grape juice, but of grape preserved and used as a beverage by the ancients. Therefore, although the advocates of the unfermented theory should produce passage after passage, and pile argument on argument to prove that the growing grape was anciently called *vinum pendens*, “hanging wine,” and that the juice in the grape, or expressed from the fruit into the vat, was an unfermented liquor, called *yayin* by the Hebrews, *oinos* by the Greeks, and *vinum* by the Latins; after that mountain in labor has brought forth its little mouse, they must then produce evidence that the wine preserved in the cask or bottle, poured into the drinking vessel, and served up at the festive gathering, was also an unfermented liquor. We have no concern here with grapes, or with any sort of grape juice, but such as was thus preserved and used by the ancients as a beverage; for the question at issue in this controversy relates to the drinking usages of the people, and in substantially this – Were any of the vinous beverages of the ancients unfermented liquors?

We are not prepared to affirm with some writers that it is “quite impossible to preserve” grape juice unfermented, for Liebig and other chemists have shown that it is quite possible, and have explained the means by which it may be effected. Dr. Lees also testifies that he has “not only preserved such imported from Florence for sixteen years together,” and has “induced an able chemist to prepare such wine extensively, for both medical and

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sacramental uses,” but that “for many years past such wine has also been at a vineyard in the neighbourhood of Cincinnati.”²⁷³ Without further questioning the right of such a preserved juice to the name of wine, we respectfully submit that these facts can in no way determine the question now at issue. Able chemists and others may have discovered, by the aid of modern science, methods of preserving the juice of the grape unfermented, but what evidence is there that these modern discoveries have been anticipated by the ancients? The so-called Passover Wine, for example, bears that it is prepared “only by Frank Wright.” Had the ancients any knowledge of such a mode of preserving the juice? Or is it “only” the recent discovery of one “able chemist” in the nineteenth century? If they were ignorant of that chemical process, was there any other method of preservation known to, or practiced by them? Before answering these questions, it may be well to know by what means grape juice can be preserved unfermented.

Liebig gives directions for this purpose, telling us that it may be effected by filling a bottle with juice, making it air-tight, and then heating it for a few hours in boiling water; but he informs us that when the flask is again opened, and its contents brought into contact with the air, “from this moment the same alteration begins to manifest itself which fresh juice undergoes. After the lapse of a few hours the contents of the flask are in full fermentation, and this state may be again interrupted and suspended as at first by repeating the boiling.”²⁷⁴ Bande says, - “Grape juice expressed in an atmosphere of hydrogen or carbonic acid, may be kept for months, if excluded from air or oxygen; but the admission of a few bubbles of either of these latter causes

²⁷³ Temp. Bib. Com. p. xxxiv

²⁷⁴ Letters, xx

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fermentation presently to commence, and it goes on if it once begins.”²⁷⁵ Frank Wright’s Passover Wine, which is “preserved in *vacuo*,” is prepared, we understand, by an elaborate steaming process, in which the juice is heated to a certain point, both before and after bottling. Now, these modern preparations of grape juice “in a flask,” and “expressed in an atmosphere of hydrogen,” and “preserved in *vacuo*,” savour more of the exact processes of eminent chemists in their laboratories, than of the rude appliances of unscientific peasants in the open vineyards of ancient times. Moreover, although the wine vessels of the ancients were of different kinds and sizes, some of them were wooden casks of large capacity. Pliny speaks of a wine cask containing fifteen amphorae, which is equal to about 135 gallons.²⁷⁶ Virgin speaks of a wine jar so large as to conceal a fear stricken soldier who sought to hid himself behind it.”²⁷⁷ And Strabo, referring to Cisalpine Gaul says, “Their casks give evidence of the abundance of wine; these are made of wood and are larger than houses.”²⁷⁸ The size of these huge casks precludes the idea that the wine contained in large vessels of that description could have been subjected to processes like those described above with flasks and bottles. And the fact that when the flask of preserved juice is opened for use, though it should only be to fill a cup, and the exposure be only momentary, fermentation begins and goes on till the whole contents of the vessel have become alcoholic, shows that the common wines of the ancients, used as beverages much have been fermented liquors.

This will be further evident if we duly consider the nature and results of the fermenting process. Dr. Lees tells us, on the

²⁷⁵ Chem., ii. 1649

²⁷⁶ Book ix

²⁷⁷ AEnid., ix

²⁷⁸ V. 1. 12

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authority of the *Penny Cyclopaedia*, “It is known also that the juice of the grape, or vegetable juice in general, becomes *turbid* when in contact with air *before fermentation commences*, and this turbidity I sowing to the formation of an insoluble precipitate of the same nature as ferment.”²⁷⁹ The doctor adds, - “The process is this: the oxygen of the air *first* unites with a nitrogenous substance (albumen) in the grape, causing its decay, and, in fact, converting it into yeast or ferment: this *next* proceeds to excite the vinous fermentation, which consists in the decomposition of the sacchar or sugar, and its conversion into alcohol and carbonic acid.”²⁸⁰ The fermentation of grape juice is here exhibited in two stages of its operation, “first” and “next.” But these are, in fact, two *inseparable* stages in one process. The “first” *necessitates* the “next.” The decomposition of albumen, by which it is “converted into the yeast or ferment,” is as certainly a true fermentation as the “decomposition of the sacchar or sugar.” And the yeast thus formed in the first stage must, in the very process, and to the precise extent of its formation, act as a ferment in the next stage in decomposing the sugar of the juice, thereby converting it into alcohol and carbonic acid. Accordingly, Dr. Lees elsewhere describes “the well known nature of ferment as the *product* and producer of *corruption*.”²⁸¹ He also informs us – “now, it must have been patent to all careful observers, *first*, that the juice of crushed grapes did ferment – ‘boil up’ or ‘bubble’ – when left exposed to the air for some hours, and without the adoption of preventive measures; and *secondly*, that the cause of this fermentation was the prior fermentation of something (gluten) in the grape, which had thus become a powerful ferment, i.e., a *seor*. This *seor* decomposes the sugar of the grape juice (*glucose*),

²⁷⁹ Works, ii. 186-86

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ Temp. Bib. Com. p. 328

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the elements of which, entering into a new chemical relation, are changed into alcohol and carbonic acid gas.”²⁸² Here again are the two stages of that one process: first, the *boiling up* (and *turbidity*) of the expressed juice; the said boiling up evidencing the fermentation of the *gluten*, and conversion into “a powerful ferment;” and, secondly, the fermentation of the glucose by the operation of that ferment, and the production of alcohol and carbonic acid. Thus, upon his own showing, the boiling up and turbidity of the juice in the vat ‘exposed to the air’ is demonstrative evidence of its actual fermentation. The decomposition of the sugar and its conversion into alcohol is caused by the action of a “powerful ferment.” This ferment is produced by the ‘prior fermentation’ of the gluten. And this prior fermentation is the cause of that boiling up and turbidity of the liquor. It was, doubtless, in view of this fact that Thomas Aquinas “cautioned against the use of *must* just expressed on *account of its turbidness*.”²⁸³ For, as Dr. Lees says, “Feather-white wine (wine fermenting in the vat) is far more pernicious than fully fermented wine. ‘Feather-white wine,’ so called in Germany, incautiously drunk may produce a most incurable ferment of the blood itself (as in putrid fever), the poor victim’s vital fluid being literally dried up.”²⁸⁴

Such being the nature and results of the fermenting process, when does it begin? We purposely say *begin*, that we may keep in view the two stages in the one process pointed out above, and not confound the beginning with the continuance, or with the end of the process; the initial fermentation with its completion. The two stages, as we have seen are inseparable and inevitable, “without the adoption of preventive measures,” which will be

²⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 28

²⁸³ *Ibid.* p. 285

²⁸⁴ Nott’s *Lectures*, p. 202

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inquired into further on. Meantime it is to be observed that “the juice of the grape, while it is protected by the external skin from contact with atmospheric air, scarcely undergoes any perceptive alteration, but the slightest perforation through its external covering, as *with the point of a needle*, for instance, is sufficient to alter all the properties of the juice.”²⁸⁵ If this be so, the crushing of the grapes, and the consequent exposure of the expressed juice in the vat to the air, must necessitate an immediate fermentation. Accordingly Liebig says, “It is obvious that, by the contact of these organic bodies with the oxygen of the air, a process begins, in the course of which their constituents suffer a total change in their properties.....The continuance of these processes, even when the oxygen, the original exciting cause of them, no longer acts, shows most clearly that the state of decomposition which has been produced among the elements of a *particle* of the mass, exercises an influence on the other particles which have not been in contact with the oxygen of the air: *for not only the first particle, but by degrees, all the rest, undergo the same change.*”²⁸⁶

Thus the action of the oxygen begins on the first particles of the juice exposed to the air, and proceeds, by degrees, until the whole is changed. Dr. Lees speaks of *debash*, the honey of dates, “in its natural state,” as exhibiting a “remarkable tendency to ‘corrupt *immediately*;” whereas the dates themselves “were not liable to *sudden* fermentation and corruption like the liquid *shechar* or ‘honey.’”²⁸⁷ Dr. Nott also says, “From the moment.....the cluster of the vine is plucked, the process of decay commences, which, unless arrested, will continue in each, till all alike are rendered unfit for use by progressive fermentation.”²⁸⁸ Schutzenberger

²⁸⁵ Liebig’s *Letters*, xvii

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ *Works*, ii. 78

²⁸⁸ *Lectures*, p. 76

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says, "Gay Lussac proves by well known experiments that fermentation is only developed in the must of grapes when it has been placed for *a moment* in contact with air; he concludes from his experiments that oxygen is necessary to commence the fermentation, but that it is not required to continue it."²⁸⁹ Pereira and Brande both refer to these experiments, and the latter says, - "Gay lussac found that even a *momentary* exposure of bruised grapes to air confers on them the capability of fermenting."²⁹⁰ Liebig says, the change once begun "continues when, *after transient contact with air*, the atmospheric oxygen is entirely excluded." "The affinity of these substances for oxygen is very powerful; *during the short space of time necessary to transfer wine from one cask into another*, they absorb oxygen from the air, and induce a state of acidity in the wine, which goes on irresistibly if it be not checked by artificial means."²⁹¹ "the state into which an organic substance is brought by contact with the atmosphere, although this contact may have been but for an instant," may "be destroyed by a high temperature," &c.²⁹² When "the flask is again opened, and its contents brought into contact with air, from this moment the same alteration begins to manifest itself."²⁹³

Now if the process of fermentation be so immediate in its action as that a momentary exposure of the grape juice to the atmosphere is sufficient to induce it, and if the action once begun by the absorption of "a few bubbles of air," irresistibly goes on to complete fermentation, it must have been simply impossible for the ancients to have preserved their juice *liquid* and *unfermented*,

²⁸⁹ On Fermentation, pp. 35,36

²⁹⁰ Chem., ii. 1640

²⁹¹ Letters, xix.

²⁹² Ibid., xx

²⁹³ Ibid.

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unless they had boiled it in air tight flasks,²⁹⁴ or had expressed it in “an atmosphere of hydrogen and carbonic acid,”²⁹⁵ or had subjected it to a steaming process, and preserved it in *vacuo*.²⁹⁶ But they trod their grapes in an open winepress, and pressed out the juice into an open vat, in the open air, so that fermentation was inevitable. When an active fermentation was desired they left the juice in the vat for a time, and then transferred it to the wine vessel in which the fermentation was completed. When a slow fermentation was sought, they hastened the transference from the vat to the cask, but not before the liquor had imbibed “an appreciable volume of oxygen;” so that fermentation was again inevitable.

It will be observed further, that no amount of care to prevent the access of oxygen to the grape juice after the liquor has been casked, and the vessel has been made air-tight, could possibly avert fermentation; for it had been demonstrated by Gay Lussac and others “that oxygen is necessary to commence the fermentation, but that it is not required to continue it.” M. Pasteur, who holds the germ theory of fermentation, has reported a series of carefully conducted experiments which show that “it is not the air which brings germs of the alcoholic ferment which propagate and multiply so rapidly in the must of grapes, or if it brings any, they are in so minute a quantity that they would not be sufficient to set up fermentation in so short a time. These germs are found on the very surface of the fruit, on the grapes which contain the saccharine liquid, the decomposition of which they excite as soon as they are placed in contact with it when the fruit is pressed.”²⁹⁷ To prove this M. Pasteur washed in water part

²⁹⁴ Liebig.

²⁹⁵ Brande

²⁹⁶ Wright

²⁹⁷ Schutzenberger, p. 329

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of a bunch of grapes, and introduced into ten flasks “some drops of the liquid in which the grapes had been washed. And “there appeared some flakes of mycelium some alcoholic ferment, and afterwards *Mycoderma vini*; at the end of forty-eight hours the ten flasks were in full fermentation.”²⁹⁸ Thus, the mere pressure of grapes, without regard to the action of the atmosphere introduces into the liquid juice the “alcoholic ferments,” which necessitate its fermentation; so that the juice of the grape, expressed by the ancients, gathered in the vat, and filled into the cask, must have contained in it, at each stage, the elements of an inevitable fermentation.

It was, probably, in view of these phenomena that Elihu spoke of his belly “as wine which hath no vent; it is ready to burst like new bottles” (Job xxxii. 19). Had he referred to “new wine in old bottles,” the allusion to fermentation might have been accounted for, as by some writers, by supposing that portions of decaying albumen, adhering to the sides of the old skin bottles, would act as a ferment to the new wine. But as no such substance could have been contained in the “new bottles,” we must conclude that the presence of germs, or the absorption of oxygen in the vat, before the bottles were filled and closed, originated the fermenting process which was “ready to burst” the new bottles.

2. Means of Preventing Fermentation

It thus appears that all the expressed juice of the grape, without exception, in ancient times, must have undergone, at least, an initial fermentation; and that no subsequent effort, short of destroying the existing ferment, could possibly have arrested its

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 330

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progress towards a complete fermentation. With these living “germs,” or those “few bubbles of air,” in the grape juice, which were unavoidable in the extraction of the juice, continued fermentation was inevitable, for it “goes on irresistibly if it be not checked by artificial means;²⁹⁹ and “it is impossible to procure a partly and slightly fermented wine that will stop at a given point.”³⁰⁰

If, then, it be simply impossible to extract the juice from the grapes as the ancients did it, without inevitably fermentation; and if the expressed juice can only be preserved unfermented by destroying the ferment “by artificial means,” were they acquainted with any such method of destruction? Or was any such practice resorted to by them for this purpose? The advocates of the unfermented theory maintain the affirmative, and appeal to a variety of processes in ancient manufacture, which we must now inquire into. Before doing so, however, it may be well to repeat that we have no concern with “wine in the grape,” “hanging wine,” “growing wine,” and the like. These have been disposed of already, and it only remains to inquire into the wines prepared, preserved, and used as beverages, or for other purposes.

The ancient wines were of two classes, which we may describe as table wines and medicinal wines, the latter being chiefly used as remedies for particular diseases. These ancient wines, also, were made from different substances. Thus there were grape wines, barely wines, date wines, raisin wines, honey wines, and wines made from a variety of garden and other fruits. Were all of these, or any of them, unfermented liquors? Whatever they may have been when used as beverages, all of them, as we have seen,

²⁹⁹ Liebig.

³⁰⁰ Lees in Nott, p. 88

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must have undergone an initial fermentation in the preparation; and if they were subsequently preserved and used as unfermented beverages, then ferment, unavoidably present in the extracted juice must have been destroyed “by artificial means.” Was any such practice employed by the ancients for this purpose?

Referring to the words of Christ, “neither do men put new wine in old bottles,” &c., Dr. Lees says, “The facts stated by the Saviour are only intelligible in the light of the efforts used by the ancients to prevent grape juice from fermenting, by straining the juice so as to free it from much of its gluten, and then bottling it with sulphur fumigation; or by subjecting the juice to a boiling heat, which checks all incipient fermentation, and then enclosing it in bags or other vessels made air-tight.”³⁰¹ Here, then, are three methods of preventing fermentation “used by the ancients,” viz., *filtration*, *fumigation*, and *inspissations*.

A. Filtration

There can be no doubt that filtration was extensively employed by the ancients, both in the manufacture and the preparation for use of their wines. 1. In some cases the *must* was strained after pressure. Dr. Nott quotes from Delphin Notes on Horace: - “Certainly the ancients strained and defecated their *musts* through the filter repeatedly, before they could have fermented; and by this process, taking away the foeces that nourish and increase the strength of the wine, they rendered them more liquid, weaker, lighter, sweeter, and more pleasant to drink.”³⁰² This statement is so far correct, if the fermentation referred to be

³⁰¹ Temp. Bib. Com. p. 266

³⁰² Lectures, p. 79

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understood, not as the initial fermentation unavoidable to the expressed juice, but the complete fermentation effected after the juice had been transferred from the vat to the wine vessel. But no amount of filtration could possibly “prevent” either the one fermentation or the other. The straining of the juice would no doubt “free it from much of its gluten;” but how could that “prevent grape juice from fermenting,”³⁰³ if some of the gluten still remained in the liquor? Filtration might also take “away the foeces that nourish and increase the strength of the wine,” and thereby render “it more liquid, weaker, lighter,” &c., but how could this prevent fermentation? Pliny says, “The most useful wine is that which as all its strength broken by the filter,” but to break the strength of the wine is not necessarily to avert fermentation. Nicrus, in Plutarch, objects to the practice, alleging that “they certainly take off all the strength of the wine by straining it;” but Aristo, while admitting that “purging the wine takes from it all the strength which inflames and enrages the mind, and gives it instead therefore a mild and wholes temper,” denies that the liquor has thereby lost its force, for he says, “Nor have I brought you wine to the table, but such as is only purged of its dregs and filth.”³⁰⁴ It is evident from all this that the wine thus “purged of its dregs and filth,” was, none the less, a truly fermented liquor; and that while the straining might lessen the force of the wine, it could not, by any possibility, convert that fermented liquor into an absolutely innocuous, or unfermented wine. On the contrary, the exposure of the juice to the atmosphere in the vat before filtration, and its continued exposure to the air during repeated or frequent filtrations, render fermentation absolutely inevitable; and if this initial fermentation

³⁰³ Lees

³⁰⁴ Sympose

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once sets in, it must go on to a complete fermentation, unless means be taken not merely to strain out the lees, but to destroy the ferment already existing in the filtered liquor. So obvious is this, that even Dr. Lees admits that “however interesting it might be to establish the fact that alcohol could be dissipated by any ordinary filtrations, we must still doubt the success of any resort to Greek and Roman writers in its verification.”³⁰⁵ The object of the ancients in filtering the must in the manufacture of wine was not to prevent fermentation, which was simply impossible, but to weaken its strength by straining out the lees which increased the potency of the liquor. If, however, the must was thin and weak, a quantity of lees was added to it, with the view of increasing the strength of the wine. Hence, Columella says, - “If you wish to preserve it to grow old, add to every cadus of two urnae one sextarius of the very best wine, or three sextarii of fresh and generous lees; or if you have vessels from which wine has been recently taken, mix it up in them. Anything of this kind will make the wine better and fuller bodied.”

2. After the must had become wine, the fermented liquor was again strained before it was fully sealed up in the ampora. Pliny says: - “Hyginus recommends us to strain and even rack off the wine at the seventh day after the winter solstice.”³⁰⁶ According to Pliny, the mass of grapes was left floating on the top of the liquor for five days; and according to Mago, “after it had remained for twenty days in this state it was racked into another vessel, closed up from the air, and covered with a skin.”³⁰⁷ Now, the fact that the grape juice, with its lees remaining in it, continued to be exposed to the air for five days, in one case, and twenty days in another, before the liquor was racked off into another vessel,

³⁰⁵ *Review of Nott*, p. 17

³⁰⁶ *Book xviii*.

³⁰⁷ *Muspratt*, p. 1107

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proves, beyond question, that this strained wine was a fermented liquor. The object of this second filtration may have been to clarify the wine, or to weaken its strength. Harmer says: - "Thevenot, I remember, tells us the wine of Shiraz in Persia, is full of lees, and therefore very heady; to remedy which, they filtrate it through a cloth, and then it is very clear, and free from fumes."³⁰⁸ And Vizetelly, referring to certain modern wines, says: - "The Vernatsher red varieties were somewhat sweet, a circumstance due to the custom of filtering the must through sacks, after the first turbulent fermentation, and suppressing all further ebullition."³⁰⁹ Pliny also says: - "So vast are our efforts, so vast our labours, and so boundless the cost which we thus lavish upon a liquid which deprives man of his reason, and drives him to frenzy, and to the commission of a thousand crimes! So great, however, are its attractions, that a great part of mankind are of opinion that there is nothing else in life worth living for. Nay, what is even more than this, that we may be enabled to swallow all the more, we have adopted the plan of diminishing its strength by pressing it through filters of cloth, and have devised numerous inventions whereby to create an artificial thirst," &c.³¹⁰ Clearly, these filtered wines must have been fermented liquors.

3. A third filtration was given to the wine when it came to the table. Accordingly we find that, among the prisoners taken by Alexander from Darius, there were "seventeen artists who mixed drinks, and seventy slaves who strained wine."³¹¹ Pherecrates describes certain maidens who "did through a strainer pour red mantling cups of fragrant wine for all who wished to drink."³¹²

³⁰⁸ Obs., ii. 143

³⁰⁹ Wines of the World, p. 73

³¹⁰ Book, xiv. 22

³¹¹ Athen., xiii. 87

³¹² Ibid., vi. 9

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Apelles at a banquet given by Arcesilaus attempted to strain the wine, but from want of practice blundered, “so that the wine appeared much thicker than usual.”³¹³ Pherecrates says: - I’ll give you then some wine to drink; put over the cup a strainer, and then pour in some wine.”³¹⁴ Martial also has several references to this practice, but without any allusion to the alleged purpose of preventing fermentation. He says, “you may use linen strainers for inferior wines.”³¹⁵ He speaks of “straining turbid Caecuban anxiously through linen filters.”³¹⁶ He also says: “Let the contents of this amphora, diminished by the lapse of a hundred consulships, flow forth, and let it grow brighter, turbid as it now is, strained through the purifying linen.” And that this filtered wine of great age was a fermented liquor, appears from the succeeding line – “When will it be mind to be warmed with wine so fitly quaffed?”³¹⁷

It must be evident from what has been said, that no filtration, however, frequently or carefully conducted, could, by any possibility, either prevent or arrest fermentation. The strainer might abstract the lees, and thereby both clarify and weaken the liquor, but it could not neither prevent, nor remove, nor destroy, the “alcoholic ferment,” whether germ or oxygen, which originates and maintains the fermentation. Therefore, the use of filter by the ancients furnishes no evidence in favour of unfermented wines.

³¹³ Ibid. x. 16

³¹⁴ Ibid., xi. 61

³¹⁵ Ep., xiv. 103

³¹⁶ Ibid., xii. 69

³¹⁷ Ibid., viii. 45

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B. Sulphur Funigation

This is the second “artificial means” attributed b Dr. Lees to the ancients, as having been employed to prevent the grape juice from fermenting. After the filtration came the “bottling with sulphur fumigation.” Dr. Ritchie asserts the same, observing that the action of this vapour “neutralized and destroyed the fermenting principle, existing as yet undeveloped in the must fresh pressed from the grape, leaving untouched the saccharine parts.”³¹⁸ But neither of these writers furnish any evidence of this alleged usage; and until that is done, their statements must be regarded as mere unproved assertions. Sulphur fumigation, we believe, is employed in modern manufacture; but the only allusion to its use by the ancients which we have been able to discover, occurs in a reference by Pliny to the preparation of fermented wine.

It appears that various substances were introduced into the liquor at different stages in the manufacture, and for different purposes; but none of them, so far as we can learn, for the prevention of the primary or alcoholic fermentation. Gypsum and lime were to “neutralize the acidity” of the wine. Potters’ earth, pounded marble, and salt, to “briskness to their wines when too flat.” Brown pitch, resin, old wine lees, and vinegar, to “season them.” *Sapa* and *defructum* to “modify their harshness, &c.”³¹⁹ “And the method used for seasoning wines is to sprinkle pitch in the must during the first fermentation, which never lasts beyond nine days at the most, so that a bouquet is imparted to the wine, with, in some degree, its own peculiar piquancy of flavour. It is generally considered that this is done most effectually by the use

³¹⁸ Test., p. 85

³¹⁹ Book xiv.

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of raw flowers of resin, which imparts a considerable degree of briskness to the wine; while, on the other hand, it is thought that erapula [“headache,” i.e. heady wine, seasoned with resin³²⁰] itself, if mixed, tends to mitigate the harshness of the wine and subdue its asperity, and when the wine is thin and flat, to give it additional strength and body.” After remarking on the different kinds of pitch to be used, Pliny proceeds to say, “Cato recommends that wines should be got-up, *concinnari* is his word, by putting of lie ashes, boiled down with defrutum, one-fortieth part to the culens, or else a pound and a half salt, with pounded marble as well; *he makes mention of sulphur* also, but only gives the very last place to resin. When the fermentation of the wine is coming to an end, he recommends the addition of the must, to which he gives the name of tortium, meaning that which is pressed out the last of all.”³²¹

Here, indeed, is a very brief reference to the usage appealed to – “he makes mention of sulphur also” – but in that reference there is not the remotest allusion to any practice of “bottling with sulphur fumigation” to prevent the grape juice from fermenting. Whatever object may have been intended by the use of sulphur, whether to prevent or correct acidity, it is evident from the whole paragraph that it had no reference to the prevention of the primary fermentation, for it was employed in the *getting up* of wines, and was introduced while the liquor was undergoing fermentation. Hence the words “during the first fermentation,” and “when the fermentation of the wine is coming to an end.” So that here is no evidence of that grape juice of the ancients was prevented from fermenting by the alleged practice of “bottling with sulphur fumigation.”

³²⁰ Book xxiii. 1

³²¹ Book xiv. 20

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C. Depuration

Dr. Lees, elsewhere, refers to a third effort on the part of the ancients to preserve “some of their wines by depurating them.” He quotes from Carr’s Roman *Antiquities* to the effect that “the must or new wine was refined with the yolks of pigeons’ eggs,” and adds, “which occasioned the subsidence of the albumen or ferment.”³²² It is hardly conceivable that the doctor is serious in appealing to this practice as an ancient method of preventing the grape juice from fermenting. The very authority from whom he quotes, and in the very words quoted, expressly intimates that the purpose of the practice referred to was not to prevent fermentation, but to *refine* the liquor. And it is difficult to conceive how the mere “subsidence of the albumen or ferment,” which neither removed the obnoxious substance, nor destroyed its properties, could possibly avert fermentation in the already fermented or fermenting liquor!

Horace refers to the practice appealed to, and indicates its true purpose when he says, -

*“He who with art would pour a stronger wine
On smooth Falernian lees, should well refine
The’ incorporated mass with pigeons’ eggs;
The falling yolk will carry down the dregs.”*

But neither the carrying down, nor the entire removal of the “dregs” from the liquor, whether effected by the purifying linen, or by the refining eggs, could possibly abstract or destroy the “alcoholic ferment” in the wine. So that here, again, is no evidence of the use of “artificial means” by the ancients to prevent grape juice from fermenting.

³²² Works, ii. 160

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D. Fumaria

The Rev. Mr. Parsons, asserts, "on the highest chemical authority, that juices which are thick and syrupy are not of a consistence sufficiently liquid to admit of vinous fermentation." And he quotes Dr. Ure, - "The saccharine solution must be sufficiently diluted with water; when too much concentrated it will not ferment, hence very sweet musts furnish wines containing very much undecomposed sugar. For a complete fermentive action, one part of sugar should be dissolved in ten parts of water." Mr. Parsons then observes: - "In the facts given above respecting fermentation, it is worthy of remark, that Dr. Ure affirms that if 'the sugar in the juice be concentrated' fermentation will not take place; now, both by placing their wines in fumaria or ovens, and by boiling them down, the wine manufacturers of former days concentrated the saccharine matter of grape juice, and rendered it unfermentable. By filtering they abstracted the yeast, by ovens or boiling they concentrated the sugar, and therefore, rendered fermentation impossible."³²³

The "facts" most "worthy of remark" in this statement are the careless inaccuracy of the quotation, the false reasoning founded upon it, the slipshod mixing together of different processes, and the unwarrantable inferences deduced therefrom. Dr. Ure does not affirm that "if 'the sugar in the juice be concentrated,' fermentation will not take place," or how could he add, "hence very sweet musts furnish wines containing very much undecomposed sugar?" He merely says, "when *too much* concentrated it will not ferment." And even in this he evidently refers, not simply to fermentation, but to "a complete fermentive action," which has for its object the decomposition of all, or

³²³ Anti-Bacchus, pp. 84,85

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nearly all, the sacchrine matter, and the consequent production of a strong alcoholic liquor. In making certain descriptions of modern sweet wines, the fermentation is artificially arrested at a particular stage, with the view of retaining "very much undecomposed sugar" in the liquor. Redding says, - "An agreeable sweet wine is made in the island of (Madeira) by checking the fermentation, and adding brandy to the must."³²⁴ Moreover, luscious wines furnished by "very sweet musts," and containing "very much undecomposed sugar," like that of Homer, referred to by Mr. Parsons, and others yet to be noticed, were in fact, as we shall see, fermented and highly intoxicating liquors; and some of the strong and heady wine of modern manufacture are distinguished by their lusciousness.

The writer appeals to three different processes in evidence of the preparation of unfermented wine by the ancients, and which he alleges "rendered fermentation absolutely impossible."

The first of these, *filtration*, we have already noticed, and our readers will judge for themselves whether it supports this conclusion or not. The last of the processes, *inspissations*, will be inquired into as we proceed with our investigation. There remains, therefore, for present consideration, the use of the *fumaria*, which may be reckoned the fourth of the "artificial means" alleged to have been employed by the ancients to prevent grape juice from fermenting.

What, then, are the facts as to this usage? There can be no doubt that wine was anciently smoked in fumaria, and in blacksmith's forges; but the liquor subjected to that treatment was an already fermented wine, and the practice was resorted to, not for the purpose of preventing fermentation, which had already taken place, but with the object of mellowing the

³²⁴ Wines, p. 265

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harshness of the new wine, giving the fermented wine a factitious appearance of age, and artificially maturing it. The process is referred to and condemned both by Pliny and Martial. The former says, - "Some grapes receive from the smoke of the blacksmith's forge that remarkable flavour which it I also known to impart to wines."³²⁵ And he characterizes the practice as follows: - "Wine that has been mellowed by the agency of smoke is extremely wholesome – a fraudulent method of preparation that has been invented in the wine-lofts of the retail dealers. At the present day, however, this plan is adopted in private families even, when it is wished to give the appearance of maturity to wines that have become carious.....and yet we, on the other hand, persuade ourselves that as adventitious age may be imparted to wines by the bitter twang derived from smoke."³²⁶ Martial also says: - "Whatever the dishonest wine vaults of Marseilles contain, whatever cask has assumed age by the help of the flame, comes to us, Munna, from you: to your unfortunate friends you send, across seas and by circuitous paths, cruel poisons."³²⁷ And again, - "Since your sportula attracts to you hundreds of citizens, you may set before them the smokey wines of Marseilles."³²⁸

It will be observed that Pliny denounces the practice as a "fraudulent invention" which makes the wine "extremely unwholesome," and martial declares that these liquors come from "dishonest wine vaults," and are "cruel poisons." Notwithstanding, however, of these unfavourable opinions, and as illustrating how tastes differ, Horace says: -

³²⁵ Book xiv.

³²⁶ Book xxiii.

³²⁷ Exp. x. 36

³²⁸ Ibid., xiii. 123

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*“We’ll pierce a cask with mellow juice replete,
Mellowed with smoke, since Tully ruled the state.” – Odes, iii. 8)*

Ovid also says: - “he draws the wine which he had racked in his early years, when stored in a smoky cask.”³²⁹

The same practice is still resorted to by modern manufacturers, Redding, referring to Maderia, says, - “They ripen and mellow their wines in stoves, which they keep in a temperature from 80° to 90° of Fahrenheit, by which they save six years of age; but a voyage to the East or West Indies gives a preferable quality to the wine.”³³⁰ Muspratt, in like manner, says, - “The wines were placed in a smoky receptacle to ripen, the object being the same in ancient as in modern times, to assume maturity.....It is well known that Madeira ripens rapidly if the bottles are plunged into a hot bed, or into stable dung. Madera and such like wines are sent to warm countries to improve. Mulder had Madeira which had been seven times in cask to the East Indies and back, and truly, says he, such nectar was unknown to the gods of the ancients.”³³¹

It will be seen from these references that the use of this ancient smoke was intended for something altogether different from that alleged by Mr. Parsons; and that the practice appealed to affords no evidence of the existence or use of unfermented wine.

³²⁹ Trist.

³³⁰ Wines, p. 265

³³¹ Chem. Pp. 1107, 1108, 1120

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E. Immersion

Appeal is also made to a fifth effort on the part of the ancients to preserve grape juice from fermenting, which is thought to be referred to by Pliny when he says, "*Medium inter duleia vinumque est quod Graecia aigleukes vocant, hoc est semper mustum,*" &c.³³² Dr. Laurie, in an article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1869), drops the conjunction *que* from *tiam*, and translates the passage; "The medium quality amongst sweet wines is that which the Greeks," &c. He is thereupon accused "of mis-reading the text of an ancient author, and then foisting upon the reader a translation not faithful even to the reading so perverted."³³³ The accuser should have made sure of his facts before publishing such a serious charge against the character of the writer. Is he quite certain that Dr. Laurie has misread the text? In the folio edition of Pliny, published in "*Coloniae Allobrogum,*" 1615, the *que* is dropped in the marginal reading, and *vinum est* is given as the reading in the oldest manuscripts. This being so, Dr. Laurie has simply followed that old reading, of the existence of which his accuser is apparently in ignorance; and if that reading is correct, *dulcia vinum* must denote sweets of the genus *vinum*, vinous sweets, or sweet wines. We are inclined to think, however, that the *que* has been dropped from the text by some old copyist, either by accident or design; for Pliny further on makes a similar distinction between the *vina* and the *dulcia*.³³⁴

It is of little importance to the general question whether we interpret the *medium* of the text as "medium quality," according to Dr. Laurie, or an "intermediate thing," according to his critic, or

³³² Book xiv. 9

³³³ *Answer to the Unanswerable*, p. 153

³³⁴ Book xiv. 13

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the liquor of “middle quality,”³³⁵ or as “intermediate article,”³³⁶ there can be no doubt that the reference is to a species of wine occupying an intermediate place between the *dulces*, previously described, and the *nobilia*, or generous wines, afterwards described. The former (*dulces*) include different varieties of *passum*, *sapa*, and *defrutum*; and the latter (*nobilia*) exclude secondary wines (*deuteria*), and embrace “eighty different kinds,” “which may with propriety be reckoned in the class of *nobilia*,” generous wines. So that this intermediate liquor will be a wine of medium quality, partaking partly of the nature of the sweets, and partly of the nature of the best wines – i.e., it will be a special preparation of sweet fermented wine.

It is to be observed, however, that there were different varieties even of this description of intermediate liquor. One was a Greek wine, *quod Graci aigleukos vocant*, “which the Greeks name aigleukos,” always sweet; and in the preparation of which was conveyed directly from the vat to the cask before active fermentation had set in; and the filled cask was there after plunged into water, and left there until the winter solstice was past. Another variety was a native wine, of which Pliny says, “There is another kind, again, of natural *aigleukos*, which is known in the province of Narbonensis by the name of *dulce*, and more particularly in the district of the Voconti.” In the preparation of this variety of *aigleukos*, special attention was given to the grape, and its mode of treatment. Accordingly it is said, “The only grape, however, that is used in these various processes, is that of the vine known as the *helvinnaca*,” and “in order to make it [the aigleukos], they keep the grape hanging on the tree for a considerable time, taking care to twist the stalk. Some, again,

³³⁵ Bohn’s Trans.

³³⁶ Lees.

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make an incision in the bearing shoot, as deep as the pith, while others leave the grapes to dry on tiles." The object of this treatment was obviously to increase the saccharine quality of the fruit, by partially drying the grapes in the sun, as in the preparation of *passum*, one of the *dulces*, thereby thickening and sweetening the juice, and fitting it for preparation of the *aigleukos* known "by the name of *dulce*."

Besides these two varieties of this intermediate wine, there are three others mentioned by Pliny, which "some persons add to the list of these sweet wines." One of these is named *diachyton*, "poured," or "strained through." It was made almost in the same manner as, and appears to have been nearly identical with, the "natural *aigleukos*" just described. Another is the liquor known as *melititos*, honey wine. "It differs from *mulsum* in being made of must," and it was prepared by boiling. And to all of these is known as *protropium*; such being the name given by some to the must that runs spontaneously from the grapes before they are trodden out."

Such, then, were the wines of medium quality, which were assigned an intermediate place between the *dulcia* and the *nobilia*; and which partook of the sweetness of the one class, and the generous quality of the other. Were these intermediate wines unfermented liquors? We shall find in another section that even *passum*, one of the *dulces*, was fermented. We are told by Pliny that the *protropium*, classed with the intermediate sweet wines was put into flagons, "and allowed to ferment" (*defervere*). And as "the only grape" used in "these various processes" of preparing the *aigleukos* was that of the vine known as the *helvonnaca*, we are further informed by Pliny that "it is generally agreed, however, that the produce of the vine called *helvonnaca*, if taken

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in too large a quantity, is trying to the head;" ³³⁷ so that thus far there is nothing to indicate the absence of fermentation in the intermediate wines.

It is, however, urged that the wine is termed *aigleukos*, which Pliny interprets as *hoc est semper mustum*, and that both terms *gleukos* and *mustum*, designate the unfermented juice of the grape. This is no doubt true in many cases, but there are numerous instances in which these words are used to denote fresh newly made, fermented wine. Even Dr. Lees admits this, and says, "*Gluekos* is properly an adjective signifying 'sweet,' and *oinos* is always implied, so that *gluekos* in a certain condition, - one of great sweetness, frequently but not necessarily free from fermentation."³³⁸ Referring elsewhere to the Hebrew *Ahsis* he says, "It is grape juice purely; and never seems to have acquired the ambiguous meaning for the Greek *gluekos* and the Latin *mustum*, which were undoubtedly sometimes applied to the juice of grape in an initial state of fermentation."³³⁹ And he says again, "Mr. Rule contends, and contends rightly, that both *mustum* in Latin, and *gluekos* in Greek, included an intoxicating liquor."³⁴⁰

This being so, the mere use of these "ambiguous" terms, in the above connection can afford no certain evidence in favour of the unfermented theory. The intoxication attributed to the apostles (Acts ii. 13) is expressly ascribed to the use of a liquor called *gleukos*; so that a wine may be truly *aigleukos* - "always *gleukos*," - and yet none the less a fermented liquor. Moreover, if the term *aigleukos*, with its explanation by Pliny, *semper mustum*, were intended to designate "grape juice purely," it would apply to all grape juice of every kind, when newly expressed from the fruit,

³³⁷ Book xxiii. 1

³³⁸ Temp. Bib. Com. pp. 431-32

³³⁹ Ibid. p. xxiii

³⁴⁰ Nott's Lectures, p. 222

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whereas it is here limited to one particular description of liquor, made from one particular description of grape, and preserved in one particular way. We conclude, therefore, that the wine so designated was *semper mustum*, “always fresh,” or *aigleukos*, “always sweet,” – i.e., it was justly called “by the name of *dulce*,” for it was a sweet wine which retained its freshness, and was not so liable to acidity as some of the other wines were.

It is further alleged, that the *aigleukos* was prepared “by using great precaution, and taking care that the must does not ferment,” from which it is inferred that the reference is to the preparation of unfermented wine. But it must be obvious that if the supposed “precaution” be possible, and be taken with the juice of any kind of grape, the liquor will be preserved unfermented, and be *semper mustum*, “always must.” The *aigleukos* in question, however, is made, as we have seen, from only one kind of grape, and is preserved only in one particular way; so that it cannot have been a mere preserved must. It is true that in making this wine care was taken to prevent fermentation; but the question is, what fermentation? And when? In modern wine manufacture the fermentation passes through three stages – first in the vat, second in the cask, and third after the wine has been racked. “Fermentation in the vat is what is called “tumultuous.” “The second fermentation in the case is a miniature repetition of that in the vat. A precipitation again takes place, and the wine is afterwards racked. A third, called the insensible fermentation, continues for a long period after the wine appears as perfect as art can mature it.”³⁴¹ The same writer says, “if the quantity in the vat be considerable, and the weather warm, the wine should remain but a short time, for the

³⁴¹ Redding, p. 62

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fermentation is quickly perfected.”³⁴² When a strong wine was required, the ancients appear to have fermented the must in the vat before filling it into the dolia or amphora, in which the fermentation was completed; but when a weaker and sweeter liquor was desired, they hastily transferred the must from the vat to the cask in the earth, or immersed it in water, as in the present case. If this had not been the purpose intended in the preparation of the *aigleukos*, it is certain that no subsequent immersion or burial could possibly have averted fermentation, if the juice had once, and only momentarily, imbibed a few bubbles of air. Now as the must of the *aigleukos* was taken from an open vat, after exposure to the atmosphere, such an absorption of oxygen must have taken place as would have rendered fermentation inevitable. Therefore the fermentation sought to be averted in the manufacture of this “always sweet” wine, must have been the active fermentation of the juice in the vat before it was casked and immersed.

This conclusion is confirmed by all the facts of fermentation already noticed, and may be further established by the following considerations. Thus Brande says, “Contact of air is unnecessary, and sometimes even injurious during the progress of fermentation.” Fabroni says, “Wine is formed equally well in closed vessels as in the open air.” Gay-Lussac has shown “that oxygen is necessary to commence the fermentation, but that it is not required to continue it.” M. Pasteur found the mere washings of grapes in full fermentation in closed flasks. “M. Bechamp had already proved by former experiments, that grapes bear on their surface all that is necessary to cause saccharine water to ferment, even when protected from the air.”³⁴³ Liebig says, “In many cases

³⁴² Ibid., p. 66

³⁴³ Schutzenberger, p. 331

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the change once begun in organic matters, continues when, after transient contact with air, the atmospheric oxygen is entirely excluded. Must, the fermenting grape juice, continues to ferment in closed vessels; and the fermenting wine, in the manufacture of champagne, often bursts the strongest bottles. Milk, once exposed to the air, coagulates, and becomes sour, even in hermetically sealed vessels.”³⁴⁴ Dr. Lees admits that “a slow and slight fermentation will, however, form carbonic acid gas in wine closed .p (as in the making of champagne), which, being retained, accounts for the headiness that has been ascribed to such wine.”³⁴⁵ Wirtzung informs us that “in Liefeland they have in some places a custom that they hoop their vessels with iron, and so bury the meade under the earth, and this will be stronger than any wine.”³⁴⁶ Redding says, “Though wine will ferment when excluded from atomospherical communication it then ferments exceedingly slow.”³⁴⁷ He also says, “The wine being barreled, is removed into the first cellar. The best cellars should be slightly humid, and as deep under ground as the nature of the soil will permit them to be, *even fifty feet.*”³⁴⁸ Burchardt, describing the manufacture of palm wine in Nubia says, “It is then strained, and the clear juice put into earthen jars, which are well shut up, and *then buried in the ground*, where it ferments.”³⁴⁹ Niebuhr says, “At Loheya we bought a sort of wine prepared from an infusion of dry grapes in water in a pot, which is *buried in the ground* to make the liquor ferment.” He also refers to a fermented liquor called *Busa*, which is “common in Armenia, where the inhabitants keep

³⁴⁴ *Letters*, xviii.

³⁴⁵ *Works*, ii. 150

³⁴⁶ *Practice of Physic*, p. 748

³⁴⁷ *Wines*, p. 60

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 67

³⁴⁹ *Lees Works*, ii. 150

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it in large earthen pots, *half buried* in the ground.”³⁵⁰ Liebig, referring to the desirability of discovering some method “to preserve wine and beer for an unlimited period,” says, “Experimental art has discovered a means of accomplishing this purpose perfectly. It consists in keeping the fluid at a low temperature when undergoing fermentation.”³⁵¹ Accordingly he recommends wine-growers to “employ in the manufacture of wine the deep rocky cellars, which are found so advantageous for the making of the finer sorts of beer in preference to all others.” And he says, in explanation, “Thus we obtain from the same grape juices, when fermented in different temperatures, wines of different quality and character; for, according as the temperature of the air in the harvest season is high or low, according to the depth of the fermenting cellar, and its temperature during the fermentation, the quality, the smell, and the taste of wine varies.”³⁵²

To obtain a wine that would thus keep “for an unlimited period,” and be “always sweet,” the ancients hastily transferred the must from the vat to the cask before active fermentation had set in, and then immersed the vessel in water, or buried it in the earth, much in the way recommended by Liebig as above.

Sir Edward Barry refers to a similar practice when he says, - “Baccius mentions that some of the Spanish wines were in great estimation at Rome in his time, and were exported in large quantities to different countries on account of their superior qualities. Their usual method of preserving them, after they had been well depurated, was to *bury them underground*, in earthen vessels, for two or three years, and afterwards to dig up every year as many as they expected a demand for, which they

³⁵⁰ Travels, ii. 186

³⁵¹ Letters, xix

³⁵² *Ibid.*, xvii.

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immediately removed to their cold vaults. The coldest was always preferred to any other in which the wine gradually acquired more strength, and such a delicate fragrancly, that even the smell of it quickly revived the spirits; and taken in moderate quantity, was particularly useful to sick persons in a low and languid state.”³⁵³ A still closer imitation of the ancient method is noticed by Sir Edward in a description of wine made in England by the Hon. Charles Hamilton. After referring to the careful gathering of the grapes, and the flow of the juice by the pressure of their own weight, which was “clear as water, and sweet as syrup,” he proceeds, - “As fast as the wine ran from the press into a large receiver, it was put into the hogheads, and closely bunged up. In a few hours one could hear the fermentation begin, which would soon burst the casks, if not guarded against by hooping them strongly with iron, and securing them in strong wooden frames, and the heads with wedges; in the height of the fermentation I have frequently seen the wine oozing through the pores of the staves. These hogheads were left all the depth of winter in the cool barn, to reap the benefit of the frosts.”³⁵⁴ Muspratt says, “The wine being in casks is directly placed in the cellar. The cellars are deep in the earth, *like mines*, with huts over them.”³⁵⁵

Redding also describes the manufacture of a wine which was prepared somewhat after the manner of the Greek *aigleukos*, and was like it a *wine for keeping*, “always sweet” and yet fermented. He says, “The white wines *de garde*, or wines for keeping, as it may be rendered, are made of the best white grapes, from the must of a single pressure. The must is put up in iron-bound casks, very strong, as it comes from the press. The bung is made as close as possible, and they cover it with linen soaked in oil, over which

³⁵³ Wines of the Ancients, p. 74

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 474

³⁵⁵ Chem. P. 1117

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are placed fine ashes well pressed down. The wine is racked twice at the end of eight or ten months from the vintage. After this the cask is left without closing or filling up for ten or twelve years, when the wine is bottled, and improves the longer it is kept.”³⁵⁶

The immersion of the casks in water, or burying them in the earth, was evidently intended by the ancients, not to prevent fermentation, which, as we have seen, was impossible, but to lessen the activity, to prevent acidity, and to keep the wine cool and sweet. Accordingly we find that several of the wines already noticed were similarly treated, and when a Grecian lady was asked how she kept her wine so cool, she replied, “I cool it in a well.”³⁵⁷ Athenaeus refers to this custom of immersion when he says, “We use our wells to cool it in, and then we mix with snow.” And again, “Your father has just dropped down into the well to cool himself, as men cool wine in summer.”³⁵⁸ In like manner the *aigleukos* was immersed in water, and left to remain “until frosty weather has made its appearance.”

The tendency towards acidity is noticed by several ancient writers, and seems to have been the chief difficulty which had to be encountered in the manufacture of ancient wines. Ovid speaks of wine flowering, “and the scum covers the casks.”³⁵⁹ Apuleius says, - “One of the servants came running from the wine cellar, and announced that all the wine that had long ago been racked off, was boiling up in all the vessels, with a heat as if a large fire had been put under it.”³⁶⁰

To avert this evil various substances were introduced into the liquor in the process of manufacture, such as pitch, resin, &c. But

³⁵⁶ Wines, p. 187

³⁵⁷ Anacharsis, v. 216

³⁵⁸ iii. 98

³⁵⁹ Fasti

³⁶⁰ Works, p. 187

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the Greeks seem to have followed the advice of Pliny, when he says that to avert “a spontaneous fermentation a second time,” “weak thin wines should be kept in dolia sunk in the ground.”³⁶¹ Plutarch also says, - “That the air will impair wine no man doubts, and therefore we usually bury or cover our barrels, that as little air can be might come near them.”³⁶² Redding explains that fermentation is “rendered active by warmth, while it is retarded by cold”; that “when excluded from atmospherical communication it then ferments exceedingly slow”; and that “it is an excellent thing to throw cold water over the casks, and apply ice below them, when there is reason to apprehend that wine is turning, thus early allaying the elements of mischief.”³⁶³

Reviewing the whole of these facts, and taking into consideration the method of preparing the *aigleukos*, we seem to be shut up to the conclusion that the special object sought by the manufacturer was to prepare a wine which would keep, free from acidity, and always sweet. And if it was so difficult to preserve even fermented wine from degenerating into vinegar, it must have been simply impossible to preserve the grape juice unfermented by any of the “artificial means” already noticed. Indeed, the author of *Tirosh lo Yayin*, with all his pleadings on behalf of the unfermented theory, is constrained to admit that there was only one possible means of preservation: - “It is also a well authenticated fact that the more luscious the grape, the greater tendency to the acetous fermentation; and the warmer the climate, the greater the proneness to lusciousness in the grape. In Palestine, then, even more than in Italy, *the necessity*

³⁶¹ Book xiv. 21

³⁶² Sympose

³⁶³ Wines, pp. 58, 60, 74

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existed for boiling down the grape juice to preserve it at all as wine."³⁶⁴

If this be so, and there can hardly be a doubt of it, then – (a) filtration, fumigation, depuration, immersion, &c, were neither intended nor fitted to prevent grape juice from fermenting; (b) the ancients had no means of preserving the juice unfermented except boiling it; (c) if any unfermented wine was prepared, preserved, and used by the ancients as a beverage, it must have been boiled wine; (d) if any preserved, unfermented wine is spoken of in the Bible as the beverage of Jews or Christians, or otherwise employed, it must have been grape juice boiled down. (e) Accordingly the whole controversy as to the existence and use among the ancients of unfermented wine as a beverage, converges on this point, and must be fought out on this line. If such a beverage was known or used, it must have been boiled wine. This being so, we now proceed to examine the sixth effort of the ancients to prevent grape juice from fermenting.

F. Inspissation

The advocates of the unfermented theory appeal, with almost endless iteration, to the fact, which no one acquainted with ancient usages ever thinks of denying, that it was a common practice with the ancients to boil their grape juice. This appeal is so strongly insisted on, and so confidently relied upon by these writers, that they seem to think it entirely conclusive of the whole question at issue; and accordingly, the boiling fact is thrust forward on every opportunity, and *sapa* or *defrutum* crops up on almost every page. Now, in this they have either deceived

³⁶⁴ Sec. xix

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themselves by an imperfect investigation, or they are desirous of misleading their readers in regard to three important facts. In the first place, they speak of *sapa* or *defrutum* as if it were the only boiled grape juice known to the ancients; whereas, in fact, there were several preparations of this kind. In the second place, they infer that boiling was resorted to for the exclusive purpose of preventing fermentation; whereas, in fact, it was employed for several different purposes. And in the third place, they allege that this *sapa* or *defrutum* was an unfermented wine, the common and favourite drink of the people, whereas, in fact, it was not a beverage at all.

(a.) Wines Boiled and Fermented

Sapa or *defrutum*, the one differing from the other merely in the degree of its consistence, was undoubtedly boiled grape juice; but so also were several of the ancient wines, some of which, at least, were manifestly fermented liquors. Athenaeus says, "Aleman somewhere speaks of a wine as free from fire and smelling of flowers, which is produced from the Five Hills, a place about seven furlongs from Sparta.....The Carystian wine is that which comes from Carystus, in Laconia, on the borders of Arcadia. And he calls it "free from fire," as not having been boiled; for they often used boiled wines."³⁶⁵ The Abbe Barthelmeny, and Potter, in his *Antiquities*, ii. 360, inform us on the authority of Democritus and Palladius, that this boiled wine of Laconia was used by the Spartans; that it was boiled till a fifth part had evaporated; and that it was kept four years before it was used. And the former says, it was drank in moderation on account of its intoxicating power, for "such is the spirit of the answer which a Spartan

³⁶⁵ i. 57

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returned one who asked him why he was so moderate in the use of wine? 'That I may never,' said he, "stand in need of reason of another,"³⁶⁶ Horace intimates that the Chian, one of the famous Greek wines of the Augustan age, was a boiled wine; for he says, - "A little Chian's better when 'tis boiled"³⁶⁷; and we shall see in another section that this was a fermented wine. Pliny and other writers refer to a variety of wines which were boiled in their preparation. Thus *axymel*, sour honey wine, *hydromel*, sweet honey wine, *passum*, raisin wine, *lora*, the *vinum operarium* of the Latins, *andmyrtites*, a species of myrtle wine, were boiled and fermented.

The same practice is still followed in modern times. Accordingly Redding says, - "Boiled wines, *vins cuits* (*vino cotto*, Italian), are of ancient date, having, it is supposed, passed very early from Asia into Greece. They are common in Italy, Spain, and France.....This wine is very pleasant to the taste, of a deep amber colour, delicate and generous. Corsica is famous for such wines, which are treated so judiciously in the boiling, that in the north of Europe they are taken for Malmsey or Canary. When very old they are often passed off for Cyprus, Tinto, or Malaga, of the best kind.....Boiling is also adopted to make new wine have the appearance of old.....Bordeaux wine two years old will thus acquire the flavour of that which is ten or a dozen in age. Port wine is often thus treated in England, by placing the bottles in tepid water, and raising it to the boiling point."³⁶⁸ Clearly these boiled wines were fermented liquors. Dr. Bowring also says that in Syria "the habit of boiling wine is almost universal, and destroys its character," in his opinion. Redding says, "Marco Polo, the traveler, met with boiled wines on the confines of Persia as long

³⁶⁶ Anacharsis, iv. Pp. 185-7

³⁶⁷ Sat., ii. 8

³⁶⁸ Wines, pp. 78, 79

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ago as the middle of the thirteenth century. He says that the Mahomedians of Taurus, to whom wine was forbidden by their religion, used to boil it, by which means they changed the taste of wine, and consequently the name, whence they might lawfully drink it, through the gloss thus flung over the stumbling block which their faith cast in the way of their enjoyment. The same writer adds that *the people were great drunkards*.³⁶⁹ In Wilkes' *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, we learn that the Chilians manufacture some of their grape juice "into a hard and acid wine, called *masta*, or boil this juice down to the favorite drink of the lower classes, called *chichi* which somewhat resembles Perry or cider in flavour."³⁷⁰ "The *chichi* is made by boiling down the clear grape juice *after fermentation*, for several hours, over a slow fire. After this process, it was put in enormous earthen jars, containing from 60 to 120 gallons, which are covered over and tightly luted."³⁷¹ And that this boiled wine was an intoxicating beverage is evident, not only from the express statement "after fermentation," but also the subsequent reference to the stupidity of the guide who had "indulged too much in his favourite *chicha*."³⁷²

³⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 305

³⁷⁰ Pp. 187, 188

³⁷¹ Ibid., p. 193

³⁷² 198. Dr. Lees manipulate this testimony as follows: - "It is pitiable to see you settling the tastes of all the world by your own taste for teddy or brandied port. A passage from Wilkes *U.S. Exploring Expedition* may be usefully cited: - 'They (the Chilians) only manufacture some grapes into a hard acid wine, called *masta*, - or boil the juice down to the favorite drink of the lower classes, called [dulces, but] after it has passed through a fermentation, *chicha*.' (i. 68-72). You confound sour wine, boiled wine, alcoholic wine, and grape juice altogether." (Works, iii. Liv).

Here we have – (a) a wrong reference to the pages of the volume, as will be seen from our quotations above; (b) "*dulces*" is interjected as the name of the boiled juice, whereas no such term is used by the explorers, the liquor being termed *chicha* ; (c) the passage is made to read as if the Chilians made two

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The famous wines of Lebanon are for “the most part boiled.” The golden wine “called *vino d’oro*, is in much esteem there, a dry delicate wine, which, when boiled, sparkles like champagne.”³⁷³ Volney, in his travels, did not appreciate “the wines of Lebanon, so boasted by the Grecian and Roman epicures. The Europeans may try them, and see how far they agree with the ancients in opinion; but they should observe that the passage by sea *ferments boiled wines a second time*, and bursts the casks.”³⁷⁴ Sir Francis Head describes the manufacture of a low classed wine in France, in which the pulp is put into a cellar made for the purpose; several pails of water are added, it is then left to boil for five or six days, and after that it is distilled for brandy.³⁷⁵ Lady Hester Stanhope’s physician, describing the vintage at Meshmush on Lebanon, says, - “Those who wish to have a dry wine put the juice thus expressed into large earthenware jars, which hold from nine to eighteen gallons or more, where it remained to ferment.....Those who are desirous of having a sweet wine, put the juice on the fire in a cauldron, and heat it short of boiling, until a scum forms on the surface, which they take off. They then put it in the same kind of jars for fermentation.”³⁷⁶ Mr. Homes, missionary, says, - “Whether boiled or not, whether sweet or sour, all the known wines are intoxicating.....We might say the same of the sweet wines, that, although by drying the grapes in the sun, or by boiling the must, the wine is preserved sweeter

kinds of boiled juice, the one unfermented, and called *dulces*, and the other fermented, and called *chicha*, whereas only one kind of boiled juice is spoken of, and that a fermented liquor, and its name *chicha*.

Is it not “pitiable” for a writer to manipulate his authorities in that fashion?

³⁷³ Redding, p. 307

³⁷⁴ Travels, pp. 382, 382

³⁷⁵ Faggot of French Sticks, i. 376, 377

³⁷⁶ Travels, ii. 391-94

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than it would otherwise be, such wines are still intoxicating, and some of them extremely so. In some districts the people regard the boiled wines as stronger than the simple fermented ones. Those of Mount Lebanon are stronger than the majority of the wines of France.”³⁷⁷ Eli Smith, an American missionary in Syria, having inquired into the nature of the wine manufacture in seven districts of Mount Lebanon, says there are three different processes. “Sometimes the simple juice of the grape is fermented without any previous preparation. The quantity thus made is small, and does not keep well.....Sometimes the grape juice is desiccated or boiled down before fermentation. The quantity made in this way is very great.....As soon as this [scum] ceases to rise, the boiling is stopped, and the must set aside for fermentation. The quantity is usually diminished only four or five per cent. By boiling, and the wine is commonly sweet. A third process is to dry the grapes partially in the sun, ere they are thrown into the winepress.....Sometimes Mr. Smith adds, there is a combination of these various processes. The practice of adding to the strength of wine by the infusion of brandy is unknown in these regions, and drugged wines are equally unknown.”³⁷⁸

It will be seen from these various testimonies, to which others might be added, that the boiling of grape juice is not an uncommon practice either in ancient or modern times; that it was not limited to the preparation of *sapa* or *defrutum*; and that there can be no doubt of the fact that a boiled wine may be, nevertheless, a fermented liquor. All quotations, therefore, which merely show that the grape juice was boiled by the ancients, though they were as numerous, would be as valueless in this

³⁷⁷ Eadie's *Ency.*, Art. "Wine"

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

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controversy as the autumn leaves that strew the value of Vallambrosa!

(b.) The Purpose of Boiling the Juice

It being admitted that the ancients sometimes boiled their grape juice, it is assumed by the advocates of the unfermented theory that the purpose of this boiling was to prevent fermentation; and it is hence inferred that the boiled wines were unfermented liquors. The author of *Tirosh lo Yayin* says, - "The object of the inspissations was to prevent fermentation, and it seems to have answered that purpose very well."³⁷⁹ If by this it is intended that the only purpose of the boiling was to prevent fermentation, we deny the assertion, and appeal to the facts advanced above to prove the contrary. In some preparations, indeed, to be noticed immediately, such prevention was undoubtedly secured, but in making wines the boiling had a totally different object, as we have seen.

When the purpose of the manufacturer is to make grape syrup for table use, the juice must needs be boiled to the required consistency, and by this boiling a sweet preserve or jelly may be prepared, free from fermentation. In making grape syrup for seasoning wines and other similar purposes, the juice is also boiled to the required consistency, and is free from fermentation. See Muspratt, Redding, Vizetelly, and Pliny for evidence of this usage. But as these grape syrups are not vinous beverages, they do not concern us at present.

The wine manufacturer sometimes aims at producing a sweet and strong wine, and for this purpose condenses the grape juice

³⁷⁹ See xvi

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by boiling before fermentation, as in the preparation of the boiled wines of Lebanon. At other times, in consequence of the nature of the grape, or on account of the unfavourable season, the expressed juice is defective in saccharine matter, and consequently thin, weak, and watery. The wine is made from such juice must inevitably partake of the same bad qualities, and therefore boiling is resorted to, not with the view of preventing the alcoholic fermentation, but in order to promote it. By this means a certain proportion of the watery fluid is dissipated by evaporation, the consistency of the juice is increased, the primary fermentation is promoted, the secondary fermentation (acetous) is averted, and the general result is an improved and superior wine. In certain districts, noticed by Pliny, where the produce of the vine was inferior, and in particular seasons when the weather had been unfavourable, this boiling process must have been frequently employed by the ancients. They appear to have had great trouble with their wines. Do what they could, there was a constant and almost universal complaint at times, that the wine would not keep. Careful racking and straining were resorted to, resin and other substances were introduced into the liquor, the casks were immersed in water buried in the earth, stored in cellars, seasoned with syrups, preserved on the lees, matured in ovens, exposed for weeks to the sun; but whether from saccharine defect or other causes, the wine would not keep. Now, wherever this tendency was indicated, the boiling of the liquor, with the addition of honey, or *defructum*, or old wine, must have been employed to prevent, not the primary fermentation, which it was designed to promote, but the secondary fermentation, which it was sought to avert. And thus this boiling was intended to make good wine which would keep, and to prevent the good wine from degenerating into a worthless *vappa*, or vinegar.

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In addition to all these varied boiling, there was yet another which was employed for an altogether different purpose. In the case of the former the liquor was boiled, either to prevent or to promote fermentation, as the special object required, but in the case of the latter the liquor subjected to the boiling process was an already fermented and alcoholic wine, and it was boiled with the object of lessening the potency of the liquor. It is known that Alcohol boils and passes off as vapour at 180° Fahr., while water requires 212°. Accordingly, in boiling a strong fermented wine, a certain portion of the alcohol is thereby abstracted, and the boiled wine is made proportionately weaker in alcoholic strength. This fact is noticed by the *Christian Guardian*, the organ of the Wesleyan Church in Canada, in an article in favour of unfermented wine, reprinted in this country in the *Social Reformer*, the organ of the Scottish Permissive Bill Association. The writer says, "No educated man need be told that when we boil fermented wine, we drive off its strength in the form of alcohol; but when we boil unfermented wine, we concentrate its strength in the form of molasses."

Now, it is to be observed that Aristotle, in a treatise on Drinking, says, "If the wine be moderately boiled, then, when it is drunk, it isles apt to intoxicate; for, some of its power has been boiled away, it has become weaker."³⁸⁰ The practice referred to by the Stagivite could not have been the boiling of grape juice to prevent fermentation; for, in that case, the boiling of the liquor would simply have "concentrated its strength in the form of molasses," and the only "power" which could have been "boiled away" would have been the power of water! Neither could it have been the boiling of grape juice to promote fermentation; for, in that case, the boiling would have concentrated the liquor,

³⁸⁰ Athen., x. 34

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promoted its alcoholic fermentation, and increased its potency. It must, therefore, have been an already fermented wine which he directed to be “moderately boiled,” that, by the evaporation of some of its alcohol, it might lose a portion of its alcoholic strength, and thus “become weaker,” and be “less apt to intoxicate” the drinker. In all this there is not, as yet, a fragment of evidence of the preparation of an unfermented boiled wine.

C. Sapa and Defrutum

Among the preparations of boiled grape juice made by the ancients, *sapa* and *defrutum* hold a conspicuous place. They are the chief, and we might also say the only pillars of the unfermented wine theory. As such they demand a full and careful examination. Before entering, however, directly upon the investigation as to their nature and uses, a preliminary inquiry here presents itself. The author of *Tirosh lo Yayin* raises the question, “Which of the sweet wines noticed were the most popular and most frequently used in Palestine?” And he adds, “Bearing in mind the preliminary definitions, the contest will clearly rest between *ausis*, fresh pressed juice, or must, - *sobhe*, *sapa*, inspissated wine, - and *hhometz*, vinegar or sour wine. Whichever it was, the most ordinary beverage was water.”³⁸¹ Extending the inquiry beyond the narrow limits of Palestine, and giving up must, as popularly deemed injurious,³⁸² and vinegar, as too acid for the sweet tooth of the people,³⁸³ we seem to be shut up to the conclusion that *sapa*, or boiled grape juice, was the

³⁸¹ Athen, x. 34

³⁸² “Every kind of must is unwholesome to the stomach.” – Pliny, xxiii. 1

³⁸³ “Sour or acid wine we scorn and loathe.” – Athen, iii. 97

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“most popular and most frequently used” vinous beverage of the ancients. Was this so? We shall see.

1. If *sapa* was an unfermented liquor, and the favourite drink of the people, it must have been chosen either from taste or principle. We shall find in another section that the popular taste was not in favour of unfermented beverages; and if this be so, then unless the masses of the people were ascetics who deprecated the use of alcoholic stimulants, such a beverage as *sapa* could never have obtained the preeminence as *sapa* could never have obtained the preeminence thus assigned to it. Ancient abstainers, of whom more anon, would undoubtedly abjure fermented liquors, and restrict themselves to water, or other equally innocent drinks; but if neither taste nor principle intervened, it is simply inconceivable that such liquors would be used as beverages. The presumption, therefore, is, that if *sapa* was an unfermented wine, it certainly could not have been the “most popular and the most frequently used in Palestine,” or anywhere else.

2. We have abundant evidence in ancient writings of the use of water, milk, wine and other liquors as beverages, by different nations, tribes, classes, and sects in all ages of the world. Water and milk were the exclusive drinks of certain persons who abstained from wine. *Posca*, or *lora*, was used by soldiers and slaves. *Passum* was, at different periods, the prescribed drink of women. Beer was extensively used among those people where wine was scarce. But, apart from water, “the most ordinary beverage” everywhere, wine was the common and favourite liquor. Pliny, who discourses at length, with much pathos and indignation, on the great “industry of man” in making wine, the “vast labour” and “boundless expense” lavished in procuring it, and the various extraordinary methods adopted by certain drinkers to stimulate their appetite for it, describes the endless

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variety of liquors used by men, and says, - Democritus is the only person who has been of opinion that every kind could be enumerated; but "the rest of the authors have stated that they are quite innumerable and of infinite extent.....The varieties are very nearly as numberless as the districts in which they grow." "There are eighty different kinds of generous wines" (*nobilis*). Of the various kinds of drink "there are no less than one hundred and ninety-five different kinds of it; indeed, if all the varieties are reckoned, they will amount to nearly double that number."³⁸⁴ After describing certain liquors made from fruits, herbs, &c., he says, "Different beverages, too, are made from the cereals – *zythum* in Egypt, *caelia* and *cerea* in Spain, *cervesia* and numerous liquors in Gaul and other provinces."³⁸⁵ "The people of the Western world have also their intoxicating drinks made from corn steeped in water. These beverages are prepared in different ways throughout Gaul and the provinces of Spain; under different names, too, though in their effects they are the same. The Spanish provinces have even taught us the fact that these liquors are capable of being kept till they have attained a considerable age. Egypt, too, has invented for its use a very similar beverage made from corn; indeed, in no part of the world is drunkenness ever at a loss. And then, besides, they take these drinks unmixed, and do not dilute them with water, the way that wine is modified; and yet, by Hercules! One really might have supposed that there the earth produced nothing but corn for the people's use. Alas! What wondrous skill, and yet how misplaced. Means have absolutely been discovered for getting drunk upon water even."³⁸⁶

It is uncertain whether, by this intoxicating water, Pliny refers to the foreign beer he has spoken of, or to the otherwise unrecorded

³⁸⁴ Book. xiv.

³⁸⁵ Book xxii.

³⁸⁶ Book xiv.

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discovery of distillation, or to such strong waters, as those spoken off by other writers. Theopompus says “that near the river Erigone all the water is sour; and that those who drink of it become intoxicated, just like men who have drunk wine.”³⁸⁷ Pliny says, “Let a man drink of the Lake Ciltorius, he shall take a misliking and loathing of wine, saith M. Varro. And yet Eudoxus and Theopompus report that the water of the fountains before said make them drunk that use it.”³⁸⁸ Ovid, who refers also to the “Clitorian Spring,” says of the River Lyncestis that “as soon as any one has drunk of it with immoderate throat, he reels just as if he had been drinking unmixed wine.”³⁸⁹

However this may be as to that water, it is to be observed that ancient writers, in describing the personal and social habits and customs of different peoples and nations, take notice of the several kinds of food, fruits, and liquors used; remarking on abstinence from wine and other things; referring to fermented and unfermented bread; speaking of the fermentation, boiling, seasoning, keeping, spoiling, and drinking wine; describing its manufacture and the substances from which it is made, as grapes, dates, orchard fruits, herbs, roots, cereals, &c.; and noticing its different varieties, qualities, and characteristics, such as sweet and sour, old and new, thick and thin, strong and weak, austere and mellow, fierce, fiery, heady, and mild, light and innocent. –

*“And to wash all those dainties down,
There’s wine, both native and imported,
White and red, and sweet and acid,
Still or effervescent.” – Athen. lv. 7*

³⁸⁷ Athen., ii. 18

³⁸⁸ Book xxxi. 2

³⁸⁹ Meta., xv.

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Now, if *sapa*, or any other fermented wine, was preserved by the ancients, and, especially, if it was “the most popular and most frequently used” beverage of any people, it is surely not unreasonable to expect some evidence of that popularity and frequent use. But although we have found innumerable references to the use of water and milk, fermented and unfermented bread, the sour drink of the slaves, and the sweet drink of the women, we have not been able to discover the slightest vestige of evidence anywhere that *sapa* or *defrutum* was the common and favourite beverage of any one.

3. It is admitted that there have been abstainers from wine, more or less numerous, in nearly all ages and nations of the world. Notices of such persons, tribes, and sects are found in the works of Pliny, Strabo, Plutarch, Herodotus, Philo, Joesphus, Athenaeus, and others. From these references we learn the reasons of that abstinence, the modes of life followed by the abstainers, and the beverage which were substituted for the liquors abjured. But nowhere can we find an instance of unfermented wine, whether *sapa* or *defrutum*, or any other, having been included among these substituted drinks. *Passum* was permitted to women, while wine was forbidden, but no exception was made in favour of the more innocent *sapa*. Ascetics abstained from wine as an unlawful drink, but they made no exception in favour of *sapa* as a lawful beverage. Indeed, ancient writers seem to have been ignorant of any prepared drink between wine and water, which abstainers either could, would, or did use. Hence, when these latter are spoken of, they are usually described as being “water drinkers;” and when their dietetic usage is referred to, the contrast is uniformly between wine and water, and not between fermented and unfermented wine, as in those cases where a contrast is made between the use of leavened and unleavened bread.

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Eubulus says that “water makes those who drink nothing else very ingenious, but wine obscures and clouds the mind.” Amphis, on the contrary, says, -

*“There is, I take it, often sense in wine,
And those are stupid who on water dine.”*

Phylarcus says that Theodorus, the Larissean, was a water drinker. He asserts also that all Spaniards drink water. Pythermus mentions Glaucon as having been a water drinker. Hegesander says that Anchimolus and Moschus were water drinkers all their lives. Matris, the Athenian, as long as he lived, abstained from wine and every other kind of drink, except water. Lamprus, the musician, was a water drinker; and Machon, the comic poet, mentions, Mosehion as a water drinker. Polemo, the Academic philosopher, from the time that he was thirty years of age to the day of his death, never drank anything but water. Demosthenes, the orator, who may well be admitted as a witness in his own case, says, that he drank nothing but water for a considerable length of time. Pythias contrasts the conduct of Demosthenes with that of Demades, saying, “the one is a water drinker, and devotes his nights to contemplation, as they say; and the other is a debachee, and is drunk every day, and comes like a great potbellied fellow, as he is, into our assemblies.”³⁹⁰ Dr. Lees also supplies some extracts to a similar purpose. Of the Macrobian it is said, “their meat is baked fresh, their drink milk.” The Suevi of Germany “live for the most part on milk and flesh. No wine is allowed to be introduced among them.” The Spaniards – “their common drink water, seldom wine.” Epicurus – “Wilt thou support life, says the philosopher? Have bread and water.” Seneca

³⁹⁰ Athen., ii. 19-22

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– “himself a water drinker.”³⁹¹ It will be observed that in all these cases the contrast is invariably between wine and milk, or wine and water, never between fermented and unfermented wine, or wine and *sapa*.

Moreover, we find that references to wine are scattered profusely through all ancient literature. Poets and philosophers, historians, geographers, naturalists, and others, discourse at length of its power and flavour, its medicinal qualities and special characteristics, its use in moderation and excess; but they are silent as to the employment of any kind of liquor like unfermented *sapa*, in social usages or public festivities. With them, as before, the common distinction is between wine and water. Clement of Alexandria says, “I admire those who desire no beverage than water, the medicine of a wise temperance, avoiding wine as they would fire.”³⁹² Athenaeus says, “Among the Greeks, those who sacrifice to the sun make their libations of honey, as they never bring wine to the altars of the gods, saying, it is proper that the god who keeps the whole universe in order, regulating everything, and always going round and superintending the whole, should be in no manner connected with drunkenness.” From which it may be inferred that these old Greeks knew nothing of an unfermented wine, otherwise they would have been under no necessity of “making libations of honey” that the sacrifice might not be “in no manner connected with drunkenness.”

It may further be observed here that *passum*, not *sapa*, was the beverage prescribed to women; that *posca* or *lora*, not *sapa*, was the common drink of the soldiers and slaves; that milk or water, not *sapa*, was the usual beverage of abstainers; and that various sorts of wines, not *sapa*, were the favourite beverages of other

³⁹¹ Works, ii.

³⁹² Temp. Bib. Com. p. 352

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classes. Whatever, therefore, *sapa* may have been, and by whomsoever or for whatever purpose it may have been used, it certainly was not “the most popular and most frequently used “vinous beverage in Palestine, or anywhere else.

4. It is admitted that the practice of boiling grape juice is of very ancient date, and was resorted to alike by the Jews, and the Greeks, and the Romans. One description of inspissated juice had a special designation among the Israelites, which we shall examine in our investigation into the wines of the Hebrews; while among the Greeks it was known as *siraion* and *hepsema*, and among the Romans as *sapa* and *defrutum*. These latter designations are all included and explained by Pliny in the following paragraph: - “As to *siraeum* [or *siraion*], by some known as *hepsema*, and which in our language is called *sapa*, it is a product of art, and not of nature, being prepared from must boiled down to one-third: when must is boiled down to one-half, we give it the name of *defrutum*.” Some differences are found in particular writers as to the exact proportions of the condensation: Varro, reversing the order of Pliny, making the *sapa* a half, and *defrutum* a third, Columella agreeing with Varro; and Palladine slightly differing from both, but all agreeing that the two substances were preparations of boiled grape juice.

Accepting this conclusion, from which there is no escape, the first point to be determined is the question, For what purpose was this boiling resorted to? The author of *Tirosh lo Yayin*, who is followed in this by other advocates of the unfermented wine theory, summarily settles the matter in the ex-cathedra fashion, - “The object of inspissations was to prevent fermentation, and it seems to have answered that purpose very well.”³⁹³ Granting that the inspissations secured that result, was this the special object

³⁹³ Sec. xvi.

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sought, or the purpose for which must was boiled? We have shown that boiling was practiced to effect condensation, to promote fermentation, to prevent acidity, and to lessen the potency of a fermented liquor. The object, therefore, of the inspissations of *sapa* and *defrutum* may have been to prepare and preserve a liquor, or to manufacture a solid – i.e., to prepare a grape *wine*, or to make a grape *jelly*. These writers argue as if the mere fact of the boiling determined the purpose of the inspissations, which is absurd and illogical. Because a modern housewife boils currant juice, must we therefore assume that her intention is to make currant wine? Is it not equally possible and probable that her object is to make currant jelly?

It is for the advocates of the unfermented theory to establish their position by facts, and not by mere assumptions and dogmatic assertions. Where, then, are their facts? What are their proofs that *sapa* and *defrutum* were liquids and not solids? Or that this boiled juice was “the most popular and most frequently used” beverage of the ancients, whether Jews or Gentiles? We find that *sapa* and *defrutum* turn up often enough in their writings, but without a shred of evidence that they were beverages, and not jellies.

We find minute and detailed accounts given by Pliny, Athenaeus, and other writers of the drinking habits and social usages of the ancients, of the different kinds of cups and wines used, with full particulars of the processes of vine culture and wine manufacture, and the like; but when, where, or by whom is *sapa* or *defrutum* ever spoken of in connection with these drinking habits and social usages? We have references to persons of sober, and abstinent, and intemperate habits; to the drinking laws and usages of different nations and ages; to the use of water and milk, and *passum* and *lora*; to preferences for old wines, to preferences for old wines, and sweet wines, and strong wines,

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and mixed wines, and unmixed wines; but nowhere can we discover and reference to the common and popular use of *sapa* and *defrutum*. Ancient writers were familiarly acquainted with the two substances, their properties, and modes of preparation, and the purposes for which they were used. Now, if they had been common and popular beverages, is it conceivable that, amid all these varied references, there should have been no allusion to their use as favourite drinks? *Credat Judaeus Apella!*

It is true, *sapa* and *defrutum* are included by Pliny in the chapter in which he discourses on *dulcia*, sweets,³⁹⁴ but *murrina*, *passum*, *defrutum*, and honey are all classed together, and “reckoned not only among the wines, but among the sweets (*dulcia*) also.”³⁹⁵ It is evident, therefore, that the mere association of different varieties of sweets affords no more evidence that sweet *sapa* was an unfermented wine. Moreover, in another passage, instead of intimating that *sapa* was a wine of any description, he carefully and expressly distinguishes it from vinous beverages, saying, - “*Sapa* has a close affinity with wine, being nothing else but must boiled down to one-third.” – *vino cognate res sapa est usto decoct donec tertia pars supersit.*³⁹⁶ Columella, also, distinguishes it from the beverages, when he says, “*Defrutum*, however carefully made, is liable to grow acid just as wine does.”

What, then, was this boiled juice? With what object was it inspissated? And for what purpose was it used? Pliny, in a paragraph describing its nature and various designations, says, - “All these mixtures have been devised for the adulteration of honey.” If *sapa* was a thickening syrup or jelly, it might easily have been used to mix with honey; but if it was a liquid wine, and a common and popular beverage, it would have been utterly unfit

³⁹⁴ Xiv. 9

³⁹⁵ Xiv. 13

³⁹⁶ Book xxiii. 2

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for such a purpose. The same writer informs us that *sapa* was employed, with other substances for fattening periwinkles;³⁹⁷ and that *defrutum* was used as food for bees.³⁹⁸ Ramsay tells us that *carenum*, *defrutum*, and *sapa*, were boiled preserves, and says, “these jellies were used for a great number of domestic purposes.”³⁹⁹ Pliny mentions that *sapa* was employed as a preserve for olives;⁴⁰⁰ as a preserve for grapes;⁴⁰¹ as a preserve for sorbs;⁴⁰² that *defrutum* was used in making *elecampane*, a fruit conserve;⁴⁰³ that *sapa* was used in a variety of medicinal preparations – with flour as a poultice,⁴⁰⁴ with purslain,⁴⁰⁵ and with the seed of the nettle.⁴⁰⁶ He also intimates that wines were “got up” with the aid of *defrutum*;⁴⁰⁷ that *sapa*, and other substances, were used for seasoning wines,⁴⁰⁸ and to modify their harshness,⁴⁰⁹ The Author of *Tirosh lo Yayin* says, “Cato notices it both as a condiment for other wines, like the *vin cuit* of Provence, and the *vinu cotto* of modern Italy, and also as syrup for preserving grapes, apples, pears, sorbs, and even olives.”⁴¹⁰ The same author refers also to Columella, who describes it as useful “to season (*comdire*) the must made from (the produce of) old

³⁹⁷ Book ix. 56

³⁹⁸ Book xxi. 14

³⁹⁹ *Antiquities*

⁴⁰⁰ Book xv. 3

⁴⁰¹ Book xxiii. 1

⁴⁰² Book xv. 21

⁴⁰³ Book xix 5

⁴⁰⁴ Book xxii. 5

⁴⁰⁵ Book xx 20

⁴⁰⁶ Book xxii. 13

⁴⁰⁷ Xiv. 20

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid. 21

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid. 19

⁴¹⁰ See xvi.

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vineyards.”⁴¹¹ Rev. Mr. Burns describes the soveh of the Hebrews, which Dr. Lees and others identify with the Latin *sapa*, as “a rich thick, and probably boiled wine, greatly relished, not for any alcoholic property, but for its luscious quality, being more of a jelly than a liquid.”⁴¹² Alexis, also, places it among his seasonings.⁴¹³ Antiphanes includes it in his catalogue of seasonings for food.⁴¹⁴ Ovid speaks of it as being used to sweeten milk as a drink.⁴¹⁵ Virgil represents the busy housewife preparing her domestic preserves for the season –

*“Or boils in kettles must of wine, and skims
With leaves the dregs that overflow the brims.”*

He also directs that a preparation be made for sickly bees, -

*“Mix it with thickened juice of sodden wines,
And raisins from the grapes of Psythian vines,”*

It will be observed from these various references to the purposes for which this boiled juice was used, that it was not a vinous beverage at all, but merely a grape syrup, or, as Mr. Burns says, “more of a jelly than a liquid.” This being so, it is as absurd to rank it among the ancient wines, with which it has merely “a close affinity,” as being like them prepared from the juice of the grape, as it would be to class our modern fruit preserves among our domestic, or home made wines.

Dr. Lees quotes from a variety of authors, to show the modern use of this boiled juice. Some of the quotations are indeterminate;

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Basis of Temperance Reform, pp. 91-92

⁴¹³ Athen, ii. 77

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., iv. 69

⁴¹⁵ Fasti.

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but those which describe the nature and use of the minate; but those which describe the nature and use of the boiled juice show that it is an article of food rather than a vinous beverage. Thus Capt. Frankland says, it is boiled “and becomes a rich syrup,” and it is “used by the mountaineers as *a substitute for sugar*.”⁴¹⁶ Dr. Robinson says, “The juice is boiled down to a *syrup*, which, under the name of *dibs*, is much used by all classes wherever vineyards are found, as *a condiment with their food*.”⁴¹⁷ Capt. Treatt says, “The poor people mix flour with theirs, while boiling, to make it go further. It is eaten at their meals with bread, and very nice it is.”⁴¹⁸ Alexander speaks of “the comfortable meal of fine bread, dipping it into yeourt (cruds) sweetened with sheera, or the boiled juice of the grape.”⁴¹⁹ Capt. Cook speaks of the palm juice, of which “both a syrup and coarse sugar” are made, and says that “the *syrup* is not unlike treacle in appearance, but is somewhat thicker,” and it was *eaten* by the sailors in very great quantities.⁴²⁰ Rev. S. Robson says, “*dibs is eaten with bread*,” and is a very common meal in winter and spring.⁴²¹ Tavernier says, “They prepare all sorts of *conserves*, dry and liquid, and several sorts of *syrups*.”⁴²² Dr. Ranwolff says, “They have many sorts of preserves, very well done with sugar and honey.”⁴²³ Curzon “ate biscuits and *jelly* of dried grape juice.”⁴²⁴ Olearius describes a “syrup of sweet wine,” made in Persian, boiled down to a “drug, called *duschab*, reduced to a “paste,” cut “with a knife,” and dissolved in water! In

⁴¹⁶ Works, ii. 136, 137

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 144

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁹ p. 148

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴²¹ p. 152

⁴²² p. 155

⁴²³ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁴ p. 156

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another case it is mixed with beaten almonds, flour, &c., put under pressure and made into a paste, “which grows so hard that a man must have a hatchet to cut it!!” A conserve is also made of it “like a pudding,” with a thread of cotton inserted “to keep the paste together.”⁴²⁵ And all this is a “syrup of sweet wine!!” Ranwolff speaks of two kinds of boiled juice, “one very thick, and the other somewhat thinner;” the former is the best, and it is exported; the latter, mixed with water, is given to servants “instead of a julep.”⁴²⁶ Brown describes *dibs* as “a confection made of the grounds of wine and almonds.”⁴²⁷ Burchardt says, grapes “are boiled to form the sweet glutinous extract called *dibs*, which is a substitute for sugar all over the East.”⁴²⁸ Buckingham describes “a very curious article” of desert, “*probably* resembling the dried wine of the ancients, which they are said to have preserved in cakes.” This article was made out of the “fermented,” or, as he afterwards thinks, the unfermented “juice of the grape made of *jelly*.”⁴²⁹ And Capt. Frankland notices a curious description of “preserve made of boiled grapes.”⁴³⁰ Thus every one of his own authorities negatives the very theory which they are produced to support, each of them testifying that the modern *sapa* is a grape jelly, and not a vinous beverage.

An appeal is also made to testimony of Mr. Alsop in favour of the existence and use of an unfermented boiled wine in France.⁴³¹ And what does the respected Friend say? In the first place, he carefully distinguishes between boiled grape *juice* and *wine*. In the

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ P. 157

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ Temp. Bib. Com. p. xxxv

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third place, he intimates, he intimates that the former (“*syrup*”) is “an article of domestic manufacture in almost every house in the vine districts of the south of France”; whereas the use of the latter (“*wine*”) is “almost entirely confined to the men.” And finally, he expressly says that the boiled juice is a “syrup” for making “family preserves” and embalming fruit; and, therefore, he substantially testifies that the unfermented boiled wine is a myth, the only boiled juice of which he knows anything being a “syrup” for “family preserves,” and not a vinous beverage at all.

The author of *Tirosh lo Yayin* is not more successful with his testimonies. He quotes from a few modern writers, and with very much the same result as the above. Thus Paxton says, “The juice that was extracted when I visited the press *was not made into wine*, but into what is called *dibs*. It resembles molasses.....It forms a pleasant article *for table use*, and is decidedly preferable to molasses.”⁴³² Dr. Bowring says, “the habit of boiling wine is almost universal”;⁴³³ but the boiled wine of Lebanon, as we have seen, was a fermented liquor. Sieber’s reference to “the process of making wine by boiling in large coppers”⁴³⁴ is indeterminate, as nothing is said as to the quality of the boiled liquor. It is the same with the observation of Eustace as to the “boiling and storing the wine.”⁴³⁵

The Manual for the Tuscan vine grower says, “Sapa is now used for sauce.” The French Encyclopaedia describes *raisine* as, “in domestic economy, a kind of preserve made of the juice of the grapes before it is fermented, and which is called also *rob de*

⁴³² Sec. xiv

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Sec. xx

⁴³⁵ Sec. xxii.

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raisins, or sapa.” It is “used as a nutritious *article of food;*” and “this rather sharp preserve is a cordial.”⁴³⁶

There is, in fact, a general consensus of opinion among modern travelers and others, as to the nature of this boiled juice, and the purposes for which it is used. Mr. Homes, missionary, says, “The boiling which the people of certain districts choose to give to their must, for the purpose of securing a wine that will keep better, should not be confounded with the boiling of the same must for the purpose of making sugar and molasses. In the former case it is boiled perhaps half an hour, and not reduced one-twentieth in bulk; in the latter case it is reduced more than three-fourths in quantity. And hence an ‘inspissated wine’ should never be confounded with ‘inspissated grape juice.’ The former gives us an intoxicating liquor, and the latter a *syrup*, or molasses.”⁴³⁷ The Rev. W.G. Schauffler, a missionary, says, “The article of *syrup* made of must boiled down before fermentation to a third, or to a half the original contents, was not only known to the ancient Greeks and Romans – for this would never seriously affect our question, - but it was and is known among the natives of the East. The American residents in this place use it with great pleasure in the place of molasses. Its name in Persian and Turkish is pronounced *petmez*, and the Arabs in Syria call it *dibs*. It should not be forgotten, however, that these words never designate *wine* or must, and that the articles themselves are no more considered a drink, or used as such, than molasses in America.”⁴³⁸ Dr. Robinson, who describes the method of preparing *dibs*,⁴³⁹ says, “The Arabs give

⁴³⁶ Sec. xxxv.

⁴³⁷ Eadie’s Cyclo., Art. “wine.”

⁴³⁸ American Bib. Rep., viii 290

⁴³⁹ Bib. Reseraches, iii. 381

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this name (*dibs*) to the *syrup* made from the juices of grapes by boiling. The same word in Hebrew signifies honey.”⁴⁴⁰

In an article in the *Princeton Review* on the Wine Question (Oct. 1871), the following testimonies are given on the point under consideration. Dr. Perkins says, “The juice of the grape is used three ways in Persia. When simply expressed it is called ‘sweet,’ i.e., sweet liquor. It is not drunk in that state, nor regarded as fit for use, any more than new unsettled cider at the press in America; nor is it even called wine till fermented. A second and very extensive use of the grape is the syrup made from boiling it from this sweet state, which resembles our molasses, and is used in the same way for sweetening, but is never used as a drink. This is in fact neither more nor less than Oriental molasses.”⁴⁴¹ Dr. Van Dyck says, “Syrup is made of the juice of the grape, and molasses, as you know, but nothing that is called wine is unfermented.”⁴⁴²

We quote these extracts apart from, and without any reference to, the question raised and discussed in the *Review* by the missionaries, as to the existence and use of unfermented wine in the East, which they deny, and solely with the view of showing the nature and use of this modern *sapa*. Whatever may be the facts as to the former question, there is here satisfactory evidence as to the latter, for the several writers all agree that the boiled juice is a grape *syrup* or *jelly*, and not a vinous beverage.

Passing from the *Review*, we have still further evidence to the same purpose. Mr. Baird, in his book on *Modern Greece*, says, grape juice “enters into the composition of a number of national dishes. Mixed with flour it forms the *mustallerria*, a refreshing food of about the consistency of the ‘apple butter’ of our Western

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40

⁴⁴¹ p. 587

⁴⁴² p. 589

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States, which it resembles in colour also.”⁴⁴³ A friend of our own, long resident in Smyrna, writes us that “grape juice is boiled to the consistency of thick treacle or stiff starch, and is used with bread as an article of diet, by the poor people, much as treacle is used in England.” Dr. Russell, describing the food of the people of Aleppo, says, “Bread, *dibs* – the juice of grapes thickened to the consistence of honey, - *leban* – coagulated sour milk, - butter, rice, and a very little mutton, make the chief of their food in winter, as rice, bread, cheese, and fruits do in the summer.”⁴⁴⁴ Dr. Shaw and Pococke take notice of the custom among the Arabs of breaking their bread or cakes into little bits, and either mixing them together in a bowl of syrup, or “dipping them into a syrup called *becmes*, which is made by boiling the juice of grapes to a consistence.” And to this observation Dr. Adam Clark appends the remark, - “This is not infrequent in the West Currant jelly is often eaten with bread here in England.”⁴⁴⁵ Lady Hester Standhop’s physician mentions that among the articles for sale at Khudder, between Saida and Tyre, he found “*dibs*” a kind of treacle;” he made a poor supper at Hassyah on “treacle and durra bread;” he was entertained by the Arabs to a dish of cakes and *dibs*, which had “much the taste and appearance of treacle; it is a favourite dish with all the Arabs;” among these people he had “nothing but dry bread and treacle;” his food at Maronite monastery was “*dibs*, grape juice concentrated;” and in describing the vintage at Lebanon, he says, “At the same time with the wine was made likewise *dibs*, called in French *raisine*, which in taste and appearance resembled treacle, and formed an important article of food throughout Syria, more especially among the middle and

⁴⁴³ P. 26

⁴⁴⁴ Harmer, i. 393

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 411

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lower classes.”⁴⁴⁶ Frederika Bremner, in her book *Greece and the Greeks*, referring to a dinner at Thebes, says, “Amongst the delicious viands of which I must mention, one called *musta*, a jelly of unfermented wine, which is especially agreeable and refreshing.”⁴⁴⁷ Volney describe *dibs* as “a confection of grapes,” and intimates that it is used as an article of diet in Egypt.⁴⁴⁸ Redding says that in Germany the people “use the sweeter unfermented juice for syrup, in place of sugar,” and that, in the south of France, the must is “employed in making a rich confection with citron and aromatic sweets.”

Thus, then, ancient and modern writers, including those appealed to by the advocates of the unfermented theory, unite in testifying that this boiled grape juice is variously designated by different nations; that it is a thick, sweet substance, of the consistence of “thick treacle or stiff starch;” that it is a syrup, a conserve, a treacle, a jelly, a great delicacy, a favourite dish, an article of food; that it is used as a seasoning for wines, a substitute for sugar, a syrup for preserving fruits, a domestic jelly; that it is eaten with bread for dinner, supper, &c. But that it is not a beverage of any description, nor has ever been the common and popular drink of any people, ancient or modern.

If, then we accept the statement of the author of *Tirosh lo Yayin*, that in Palestine, even more than in Italy, “the necessity existed for boiling down the grape juice to preserve it at all as wine,” we must conclude that the only unfermented wine, preserved and used by the ancients, was this boiled juice, named *siraeum* and *hepsema* by the Greeks, and *sapa* and *defrutum* by the Latins. If this be so, then the alleged unfermented wine of the Bible, which has a blessing in it, which cheereth God and man, which was

⁴⁴⁶ *Travels*, i. ii.

⁴⁴⁷ li. 186

⁴⁴⁸ *Travels*, p. 153

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poured out as a libation in the sacrifices, drank at the Passover, made by our Lord at the marriage of Cana, used in the Supper as a symbol of the shed blood of Christ, recommended by Paul to Timothy, directed to be used in moderation, and the like, was, after all, a solid, not a liquid; a food, not a drink, a grape syrup or jelly, not a vinous beverage! And as this boiled juice was the only unfermented wine which could have been preserved and used by the ancients, it follows that all wines alleged by the advocates of the unfermented theory to have been innocent, pure, unfermented, unintoxicating, and however otherwise designated as the “fruit of the vine,” the “blood of the grape,” and the like, were not wines at all, but merely grape syrups or jellies!

If, however, that boiled juice is to be reckoned a liquor, drink, beverage, or wine, we see no reason why treacle, syrup, honey, and jelly, should not also be regarded as drinks, and be classed among our domestic wines! Nehemiah was “wine-pourer” to the king; was it a grape jelly which he poured into the monarch’s cup? He had “once in ten days store of all sorts of wine” prepared for his use; was this a preparation and provision of all kinds of grape jellies? When Hannah brought a bottle of wine as an offering to the house of the Lord; when Jesse sent a bottle of wine to Saul; and when Ziba brought a bottle of wine to David, “that such as be faint in the wilderness may drink,” were all these gifts merely bottles of jelly? When the Jewish worshipper brought “the fourth part of an hin of wine for a drink-offering,” did he pour out three pints of jelly as a libation? Was it grape jelly which the governor of the feast commended so highly at the marriage in Cana? Was it also jelly which was drunk at the Passover and the Supper, and which our Lord exhibited as a symbol of His blood? We read frequently of the use of mixed and unmixed wines among the ancients in their religious worship and convivial meetings. Some persons drank their wine unmixed, and were said to drink like

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Scythians. Others of more temperate habits mixed their wine with certain proportions of hot and cold water. Was the *unmixed* wine of these hard drinkers merely undiluted syrup? And was the *mixed* wine of the others nothing more than jelly and water? These questions carry their own answers, and are sufficient to show the absurdity of this grape-jelly theory.

It is alleged that these syrups may have been diluted with water, and used in that form as beverages. Possibly they may, but were they so used? Where are the facts? But even if they had been thus used, would that use have transformed the syrups into wines? A modern housewife makes liquid drinks for invalids from oatmeal, barely, honey, jelly, and the like; but does she, or any other rational being, class these *solids*, from which those drinks are made, among her home-made or domestic wines? Barley and water is not barely wine, mead, or mulsum. Jelly and water is not currant or gooseberry-wine. And neither is *sapa* and water, even if its use could be proved, ever classed among the vinous beverages of the ancients.

3. Thickness of Ancient Wines

In defense of the jelly theory, noticed in the previous section, it is alleged that some of the wines of the ancients were thicker than any of our modern liquors; so thick, indeed, as to have been syrups, and to be entitled to the designation of “syrup wines.” In support of this assertion appeal is made by Dr. Lees to Aristotle, who “classed amongst ‘wines’ what was so thick that it could be scraped with a knife.”⁴⁴⁹ The same authority is again appealed to in evidence “that many of the oldest wines, and such as were

⁴⁴⁹ Answer to the Unanswerable, p. 36

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most esteemed, acquired a honeyed thickness and sweetness, that made their extreme dilution imperative, in order to their being drunk. Aristotle testifies that the wines of Arcadia were so thick that they dried up in the goatskins, and that it was the practice to scrape them off, and dissolve the scrapings in water.”⁴⁵⁰ The reader would naturally infer from these statements – (1.) That the wines of Arcadia were “so thick” as to solids rather than liquids; (2.) that this extraordinary thickness was the common and distinguishable characteristics of “the wines of Arcadia” in general; (3.) that these wines dried up in the goatskins because they were “so thick” in their nature; (4.) that they derived their thickness from having been boiled, and dried up after long keeping; (5.) and that these wines were unfermented liquors.

Now, on referring to Aristotle, we find that these inferences are in no way justified by anything he has said. He is speaking not of “the wines of Arcadia” in general, but of a particular phenomenon which had been witnessed on some occasion “in Arcadia.” And he has no reference either to the supposed boiling or long keeping of the wines, but to the effect which had been produced in it by the agency of smoke. Accordingly he says, *ωσπερ εν Αρκαδια ουτος αναξηραινεται υπο τον καπνον εν τοις ασκοις ωστε ξυμενος πενεσθαι*, “In Arcadia, wine was so dried up in the skins by the smoke, that it had to be scooped out to be drunk.” There are two points worthy of notice here. In the first place, the wine spoken of was not, as alleged, one of “the oldest wines,” which had “acquired a honeyed thickness and sweetness” through long keeping; and neither was it a species of *siraion* or *hepsema*, which had been boiled to the thickness of a syrup or jelly. If it had been the former, the drying up would not

⁴⁵⁰ Temp. Bib. Com. p. 295

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have been a particularly remarkable phenomenon, and the wine would have been a fermented liquor, for we have seen that, *without boiling*, the grape juice could not be preserved *at all* as wine. And if it had been the latter, the phenomenon, instead of being a wonderful occurrence, deserving of special notice, would have been among the most common and ordinary events of every household where grape syrups were made – that thickness being the normal condition of such substances. In the second place, the wine spoken of was neither thickened nor dried up, either by boiling or long keeping, but by the agency of smoke - *υπο τον καπνον*. Now, we have seen that this practice was resorted to by the ancients, not with must, but with wines; not for the preparation or preservation of a syrup or jelly, but for the cure of old wines which had become *carious*, and to give a factitious maturity to new wines. We cannot, therefore, suppose that Arcadians smoked these wines to the extent and with the intention of converting them into either jellies or scrapings. But it is quite conceivable that if, on any occasion by accident or neglect, the wine had been left in the fumarium for an undue length of time, the continued evaporation would inevitably dry up the liquor to such an extent as to exhibit the phenomenon noticed by Aristotle.

An equally wonderful occurrence is reported in an account of the excavations at Pompeii: - “Amphorae were also found ranged against the walls, in some of which the contents, dried and hardened by time, were still preserved. Archaeologists, it is said, pretend to recognize in this substance the flavour of the rich strong wine for which the neighborhood of Vesuvius is celebrated.” To this the following note is appended: - “Sir Thomas Browne would have rejoiced in this opportunity – ‘Some find sepulcall vessels containing liquors which since hath incassated into jellies. For, besides their lachrymatories, notable lamps, with

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vessels of oil and aromaticall liquors, attended noble ossuaries. And some yet retaining a vinosity and spirit in them, which if any have tasted, they have far exceeded the palates of antiquity. Liquors not to be computed by years of annual magistrates but by great conjunctions, and the fatal periods of kingdoms. The draughts of Consulary date were but crude unto these, and Opimian wine but in the must unto them.”⁴⁵¹

The scrapings of these “sepulcrall vessels, containing liquors which hath since incrassated into jellies,” and yet “retaining a vinosity and spirit in them,” do not prove that the “rich strong wine” of the Romans was an unfermented liquor, any more than the scrapings of the wine skins prove that the wines of Arcadia were of that character. It may be admitted that some unknown quantity, of some unknown wine, on some unknown occasion, was thus dried up by the smoke of the fumarium, or the blacksmith’s forge; but this is much too narrow a foundation on which to build such a top-heavy conclusion as that “the wines of Arcadia” were merely jelly scrapings! Scrapings, indeed! Pliny says that “in Arcadia there is a wine made which gives madness to men,” – *virs rabem*.⁴⁵² And Athenaeus confirms the statement, on the authority of Theophrastus, saying, “that a wine is made in Heraea in Aracadia, which, when drunk, drives men out of their senses.”⁴⁵³ So that if we accept the broad statement as to thickness of “the wines of Arcadia,” we must qualify it by the above testimony as to their potency also.

In further evidence of the alleged syrupy character of ancient wines, Dr. Lees refers to a famous old wine, of which he says, - “Some of the celebrated Opimian wine mentioned by Pliny had, in his day, two centuries after its production, the consistence of

⁴⁵¹ *Hydriotaphia*, a Treatise on Urne Buriall, chp. iii

⁴⁵² Book xiv. 18

⁴⁵³ Book i

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honey.”⁴⁵⁴ Now, it is to be observed here – 1. That the wine referred to was neither a boiled wine nor a grape jelly. It was merely the product of a particularly favourable year, when, as Pliny says, “the growth of every wine was of the very highest quality.” And if it was not a boiled juice, it must have been of “necessity” a fermented liquor. 2. No “extreme dilution,” nor, indeed, any dilution at all, was necessary, in consequence of the “honeyed thickness and sweetness” of the wine; for Pliny expressly says, “Such, in fact is the nature of wines that, when extremely old, it is impossible to drink them in a pure state, and they require to be mixed with water,” not because of their syrupy thickness, but because “long keeping renders them intolerably bitter.” The same quality is ascribed to certain modern wines of great age. “The wines of Burgundy, in particular, become bitter when extremely old.” 3. But, however this may be, it is certain that, notwithstanding the “honeyed thickness” of this old Opimian wine, it was none the less a fermented liquor. Martial says, - “Let the contents of this amphora, diminished by the lapse of a hundred consulships, flow forth, and let it grow brighter, turbid as it now is, strained through the purifying linen. When will a night so auspicious cheer my board? When will it be mine to be *warmed with wine* so fitly qualified?”⁴⁵⁵ Referring to Zoilus and “his creatures,” who drink “Opimian nectar,” the poet says, “Finally, overcome by many draughts from his large cups, he falls snoring asleep.”⁴⁵⁶ And again, - “After I have taken seven cups of Opimian wine, and am stretched at full length, and beginning to stammer from the effects of my heavy potations, you bring me some sort of papers,” &c.⁴⁵⁷ It is clear, from these references, that

⁴⁵⁴ Temp. bibl. Com. p. 295

⁴⁵⁵ Ep., viii. 45

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., iii. 82

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., ix. 87

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the “Opimian nectar” which had acquired “the consistence of honey,” whether diluted or undiluted, was neither an unfermented wine nor a grape jelly, but a veritable intoxicating beverage. Some modern wines which possess a syrupy character are also fermented liquors. Accordingly Vizetelly notices a sample of Tokay Essenz exhibited at Vienna, nearly a hundred years old, of which he says, “Although all its sugar had turned to spirit, it still had the softness which one terms silken.”⁴⁵⁸ Thus the mere thickness of the ancient wines is no evidence that they were either jellies or unfermented liquors.

4. The Dilution of Ancient Wines.

In further defense of the unfermented theory, appeal is made to the common custom with the ancients of diluting their wines with water, hot and cold, before using them; and it is inferred that this dilution was necessary, because the “syrup wines” in common use were so thick as to undrinkable until they were dissolved with water. We admit the ancient custom, but deny the inference drawn from it; and we are justified in this denial by the concessions of some of the advocates of the unfermented wine theory themselves. Thus the Rev. B. Parsons says, Ancient wine was “often diluted with 80 per cent water,” and that, not because of its thickness, but to make it “innocuous to the nerves, head, and mind.” Dr. Lees, in like manner, says, “Far too much emphasis is laid upon watering wines; for we must not forget that Aristotle says, as cited by Athenaeus, that some of the diluted wines were so strong that one and a half pints would intoxicate forty men.”⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁸ *Wines of the World*, p. 82

⁴⁵⁹ *Review of Nott*, p.17

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It may be alleged that, in making these concessions, the writers in question referred to alcoholic and not to unfermented wine, and it may be conceded that dilution was practiced with both descriptions of liquor. But even assuming the existence of an unfermented liquor, we demand evidence that any of the common wines of the ancients were so thick as to be undrinkable without dilution, and that such dilution was practiced because of that alleged thickness. The reference to a mere accidental drying up of an Arcadian wine, or to the honeyed thickness of a two hundred year old Opimian wine, affords no evidence of the character of the ordinary wines of the ancients. Dr. Lees, however, in his edition of Nott's *Lectures*, publishes an engraving of the *Thermopolium*, copied from the plan obtained by Baccius from the ruins of the Dioclesian Baths, and says, "Nothing can more clearly exhibit the contrast between the ancient wines and those of modern Europe, than the widely different modes of treating them." The inference intended to be conveyed by this observation is that, as the *Thermopolium* was an ingenious contrivance for mingling the wines of drinkers with hot, cold, or tepid water, at pleasure, this method of treatment proves that the wines so mingled must have been vinous syrups or jellies. It may be so, but where is the proof? What evidence does the engraving, or the admitted custom afford of the alleged syrups? It cannot be denied that modern wine-drinkers occasionally temper their draughts with hot or cold water, but is their practice evidence that the tempered wines are unfermented liquors? It is true that *defrutum* was used at *Thermopolium*, as well as wine, water and honey; but, as Pliny informs us, that *sapa* and *defrutum* were employed to mellow the harshness of the wine, it is to be inferred that the honey and *defrutum* were used here, not as drinks, but to soften and sweeten the mingled wine. Accordingly, the character of the liquors drunk at *Thermopolium* may be

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gathered from the following references: “It frequently happened that the servant who had been employed to mix the wine with the water at the Thermopolium drank privately of it, and sometimes so freely as to get drunk there, which is particularly mentioned by Plautus.”⁴⁶⁰ Again, - “It was usual with such who had not wine in their own cellars, on occasional entertainments, to send for it prepared at the Thermopolium, and cool it afterwards in snow; others often stopped there, as in a dram-shop, and drank the hot wine; and this vice was so common, that Thermopolare expressed a drunken fellow who had been tippling there; for wine thus heated inebriated them sooner than cold wine. On this account old debauchees, whose stomachs could no longer bear liquors cooled, drank the wine thus heated. This was a length the case of nero, who was thence called *Coldus Nero*, and *Tiberius, Biberius Coldus*. As the Thermopolium was thus a necessary part of luxury to the great, and of debauch and mirth to others, Dio mentions that Claudius, to subdue more effectually the temper and spirit of the people, ordered all the Thermopolia to be demonished.”⁴⁶¹

It is evident from these references that the hot water of the ancient wine-shop was not intended for dilution of mere grape syrups, but was employed in the preparation of mulled wine, sweetened with honey or *defrutum*. Consequently the practice appealed to affords no evidence of the syrup theory. The custom of drinking hot wine is also referred to by Philo, who says, “The men of the present day do not use wine now as the ancients did. For now they drink eagerly without once taking breath, till the body and soul are both relaxed; and they keep on bidding their cup-bearers to bring more wine, and are angry with them if they delay while they are cooling what is called by them *the hot drink*;

⁴⁶⁰ Barry's *Wines of the Ancients*, p. 166

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 168

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and in a vile imitation of the gymnastic contexts, they institute a contest among their fellow-revellers as to who can drink most wine, in which they do many glorious things to one another, biting one another's ears and noses, and the tips of the fingers of their hands, and other parts of the body they can get at."⁴⁶² The above allusion shows that the mingling of hot water with wine was a common practice, designed to gratify the taste of the "revelers," and that the wine thus treated was not a mere thickened syrup, but a veritable intoxicating liquor.

Athenaeus indicates the purpose of the ancient dilution of wine when he says, "But Homer praised that wine most which will admit of a copious admixture of water, as the Maronean. And old wine will allow of more water being added to it, because its very age has added heat to it."⁴⁶³ Cicero, referring to the intemperance of the Gauls, says, "That after this they would drink their wine more diluted, because they thought that there was poison in it."⁴⁶⁴ Plutarch says, "Water mixed with wine takes away the hurtful spirits, while it leaves the useful ones in it."⁴⁶⁵ To mix wine with water makes it "wholesome and gentle to the body."⁴⁶⁶ "When wine is mixed with a great deal of weak liquor, it is empowered by that, loseth its strength, and becomes flat and waterish."⁴⁶⁷ "They who are afraid of being drunk, pour not their wine upon the ground, but dilute it with water."⁴⁶⁸ In the libations to the gods by the Greeks the wine was thus *mixed*; hence Homer

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⁴⁶² Planting, 39

⁴⁶³ i. 47

⁴⁶⁴ For M. Fonteius.

⁴⁶⁵ A young Man

⁴⁶⁶ Sympos.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., ii. 7

⁴⁶⁸ Book xiv. 12

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*“From the same urn they drink the mingled wine,
And add libations to the powers divine.”*

But in those of the Latins the wine was unmixed. Hence Ovid – “Offer frankincense and unmixed wine to the great gods;” and hence Pliny: - “The Greek wines are excluded also from the sacred ministrations, because they contain portion of water.”⁴⁶⁹

Although wine was extensively used as a beverage by the ancients, except by those ascetics who were called “water drinkers,” the practice of drinking neat, pure, or *unmixed* wine was regarded as disreputable, and was condemned as conduct only befitting a drunkard. Aristophanes reproaches the woman “who slaughter a Thasian jar of wine, and swear over the cup – to pour no water in,” – and says, “they like their wine *unmixed*, just as before.” And in the Acharnians he relates “that, being entertained with hospitality, we drank against our will, from cups of glass and golden chalices, sweet unmixed wine.....For the barbarians esteem those only men who have the greatest power to eat and drink; while we consider wenches and debauchees as such.” So generally was this practice censured that it became a proverbial saying concerning those who drank unmixed wine, that “they were Episcythising” – the reference being to the habits of the Scythians who were notorious for their intemperance. Hence Plato, in his first book of Laws, says, “but the Scythians and the Thracians, who indulge altogether in drinking unmixed wine, both the women and all the men, and who spill it all over their clothes, think that they are maintaining a very honourable practice, and one that tends to their happiness.”⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁹ Book xiv. 19

⁴⁷⁰ Athen., xi. 39

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In earlier times, however, the Greeks themselves appear to have used unmixed wine, like the Latins, for the art of mixing it with water is ascribed to Amphyction, King of the Athenians, who erected a temple to Bacchus under the name of Orthios, “the straight god,” because, says Philochorus, “having learnt of Bacchus the art of mixing wine,” he was “the first man who ever did mix it; and that it is owing to him that men who have been drinking on his system can walk *straight* afterwards, when before they used to blunder about after drinking *sheer* wine.”⁴⁷¹ Philonides, the physicians, gives a different account of the origin of the custom, for he says, “After the vine was introduced into Greece from the Red Sea, and when most people had become addicted to intemperate enjoyment, and had learned to drink *unmixed* wine, some of them became quite frantic and out of their minds, while others got so stupefied as to resemble the dead. And once, when some men were drinking on the sea-shore, a violent shower came on and broke up the party, and filled the goblet, which had a little wine left in it, with water. But when it became fine again, the men returned to the same spot, and tasting the new mixture, found that their enjoyment was now not only exquisite, but free from any subsequent pain. And on this account the Greeks invoke the Good Deity at the cup of *unmixed* wine, which is served round to them at dinner, paying honour to the deity who invented wine, and that was Bacchus. But when the first cup of *mixed* wine is handed round after dinner, they then invoke Jupiter the saviour, thinking him the cause of this mixture of wine, which is so unattended with pain, as being the author of rain.”⁴⁷²

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 7

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, xv. 17

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That the *unmixed* wine, so frequently referred to by ancient writers, was no mere undiluted syrup, but a veritable intoxicating liquor, is evident from all the associated references in the above quotations, and will be further shown as we proceed. Athenaeus says, "Most people, my friend Timocrates, call Bacchus frantic, because those who drink too much unmixed wine become violent."⁴⁷³ Ovid speaks of one who, "reels just as if he had been drinking *unmixed* wine."⁴⁷⁴ Alexis, in his Aesop, says, "That is a good idea of yours, O Solon, and cleverly imagined, which you have adopted in your city. S. What is that? A. You don't let men drink *neat* wine at their feasts. S. Why, if I did, it would not be very easy for men to get it, when the innkeepers water it ere it comes out of the wagon. No doubt, they do not do this to make money, but only out of prudent care for those who buy the liquor; so that they may have their heads free from every pang of headache! This now, as you see, is a Grecian drink; so that men, drinking cups of moderate strength, may chat and gossip cheerfully with each other. For too much water is more like a bath than a wine cup; and the wine cooler, mixed with the cask, my friend, is death itself."⁴⁷⁵ Phhilo says, "It is plain that *unmixed* wine is a poison, which is the cause, if not of death, at least of madness."⁴⁷⁶ Referring to the ancients, he says, "Knowing, therefore, that the use and enjoyment of wine require much care, they did not drink unmixed wine either in great quantities or at all times, but only in moderation and on fitting occasions."⁴⁷⁷ He speaks of the contrivances displayed in the examination of different kinds of wine "to produce some, the effects of which

⁴⁷³ Xiv. 1

⁴⁷⁴ Meta., xv

⁴⁷⁵ Athen., x. 38

⁴⁷⁶ Planting, 36

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., 39

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shall speedily go off, and which shall not produce headache, but, on the contrary, shall be devoid of any tendency to heat the blood, and shall be very fragrant, admitting either a copious or a scanty admixture with water, according as the object is to have a strong and powerful draught, or a gentle and imperceptible one.”⁴⁷⁸ He describes some men as “introducing immoderate and incessant food, and irrigating it with an abundance of pure [unmixed] wine, until the reason is overwhelmed and disappears.” And again, “such a description then as I have here given may be applied to the man who is made frantic by the influence of *unmixed* wines, that he is a drunken, and foolish, and irremediate evil.”⁴⁷⁹ “Others, again, who seem to be a more moderate kind of feasters, when they have drunk *unmixed* wine as if it were mandragora, boil over as it were, and lean on their left elbow, and turn their heads on one side, with their breath redolent of their wine, till at last they sink into profound slumber, neither seeing nor hearing anything, as if they had but one single sense, and that the most slavish of all, namely, taste.”⁴⁸⁰

It is evident from all these references that both classes of ancient wines, mixed and unmixed, were not mere diluted and undiluted syrups, but fermented and intoxicating beverages.

The custom of mixing wine as above was very general. The relative proportions of the mixture are variously given by different writers, from which we conclude that there was no definite standard of dilution, and that the proportions of wine to water were regulated solely by the particular tastes of the drinkers. Thus, according to Athenaeus, Aleaus, “who will be found to have been in the habit of drinking at every season, and in every imaginable conditions of affairs,” calls for “one cup of wine to be

⁴⁷⁸ Drunkenness, 52

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, ii. 31

⁴⁸⁰ *Con. Life*, 5.

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mixed with two of water.” Anacreon, who “likes his liquors stronger still, “demands “five measures of water with three of rosy wine.” Philetærus” complains of “having drunk two measures of water, and only three of wine.” Pherecrates declares that “two measures of water to four of wine” is “such a watery mixture,” that he who gives it is “fit to serve as cup-bearer to the frogs!” Sophilus says, “And wine was given in unceasing flow, mixed half-and-half; and yet, unsatisfied, they ask for larger and for stronger cups.” Alexis says, “Don’t give him wine quite drowned in water now. Dost undersand me? Half-and-half, or nearly so. That’s well; a noble drink.”

Ovid recommends a judicious mixture of wine and water, saying, - “Pray both to father Nyctilius and his nocturnal rites, that they will bid the wine not to take effect on your head.”⁴⁸¹ Evenus employs a similar poetic usage, - “The best measure for Bacchus is what is not much, nor very little, for he is the cause either of grief or madness. He rejoices in being mixed, himself the fourth, with three nymphs; and then he is most ready for the rites of wedlock. But if he breathes violently, he turns away the loves, and is drowned in sleep, the neighbour of death.”

*“Water your wine in moderation,
There’s grief or madness in a strong potations;
For ‘tis young Bacchus’ chiefest pleasure
To move with Naiads three in linked measure.
‘Tis then he is good company
For sorts, and loves, and decent jollity;
But when alone, avoid his breath –
He breathes not love, but sleep, a sleep like death.”*
(Greek Anthology)

⁴⁸¹ Ars. Am., i

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A few additional extracts may be given, indicating at once the quality of the wine, the proportions of the mixture, and the quantities recommended to moderate drinkers. Panyasis prescribes moderation –

*“O’er the first glass the Graces three preside,
And with the smiling Hours the palm divide;
Next Bacchus, parent of the sacred vine,
And Venus, loveliest daughter of the brine,,
Smile on the second cup, which cheers the heart,
And bids the drinker home in peace depart.
But the third cup is waste and sad excess,
Parent of wrongs, denier of redress;
Oh, who can tell what evils may befall,
When strife and insult rage throughout the hall!
Content thee, then, my friend with glasses twain;
Then to your home and tender wife again;
While your companions, with unaching heads,
By your example taught, will seek their beds.
But riot will be bred by too much wine,
A mournful ending for a feast divine;
While, then, you live, your thirst in bounds confine.”*

Mensitheus recommends both dilution and moderation, -

*“Wine to our daily feasts brings cheerful laughter,
When mixed with proper quantities of water;
Men saucy get if one-third wine they quaff;
While downright madness flows from half-and-half;
And neat wine mind and body too destroys
While moderation wise secures our joys.
And well the oracle takes this position –
That Bacchus is all people’s best physician.”*

Eubulus introduces Bacchus as saying, -

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*“Let them three parts of wine all duly season
With nine of water, who’d preserve their reason.
The first gives health, the second sweet desires;
The third tranquility and sleep inspires.
These are the wholesome draughts which wise men please,
Who, from the banquet, home return in peace.
From a fourth measure insolence proceeds;
Uproar a fifth, a sixth wild license breeds;
A seventh brings black eyes and livid bruises,
The eighth the constable next introduces;
Black gall and hatred lurk the ninth beneath,
The tenth is madness, arms, and fearful death;
For too much wine poured in one little vessel,
Trips up all those who seek with it to wrestle.” – (Athen., ii. 2,3)*

The reader will see from these extracts that the ancients largely diluted their wines with water, and that, not, as has been falsely alleged, because of the thickness of the supposed syrups, but really because of intoxicating strength of the fermented liquors. One writer limits the drinker to “glasses twain,” and another permits him to add a third glass, for these are “the wholesome draughts which wise men please.” But if those limits are exceeded, all sorts of domestic and social evils result. Now, if it was deemed a barbarous practice, fit only for drunkards, to drink wine undiluted, the wine must have been alcoholic. If the art of mingling wine with water was first devised with the object of enabling those who had been drinking to “walk straight afterwards,” or to save them from becoming “quite frantic,” or “so stupefied as to resemble the dead,” the wine must have been alcoholic. If the wine required to be diluted before use, to the extent indicated in the quotations, and for the reasons there assigned, it must have been strongly alcoholic. And if the drinker was warned not to exceed two or three glasses of wine, when

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thus diluted, if he would return sober to his “home and tender wife again,” the wine must have been pre-eminently alcoholic!

These conclusions cannot be evaded or set aside by the dogmatic assertion that all such wines must have been sophisticated or adulterated with stupefying drugs; for these drugged liquors, if used at all, or to any appreciable extent, were resorted to only by inveterate drunkards. But here is no allusion to such a vicious practice, nor to such adulterated liquors. The only sophistication hinted at is that of the vintners, who watered the wine “before it came out of the wagon;” and the references throughout are merely to the mixed and unmixed wines commonly used as social beverages by the people. So far, therefore, as the dilution of ancient wines is concerned, there is here no evidence in favour of the unfermented theory.

5. The Sweetness of Ancient Wines

The extreme sweetness of some of the ancient wines is regarded as evidence of their inspissations and unfermented nature. Appeal is accordingly made to a statement of Athenaeus in which, speaking of the use of sweet wine before eating, he says, “Let him take sweet wine, either mixed with water or warmed, especially that which is called *protropos*, the sweet Lesbian wine, as being very good for the stomach.”⁴⁸² The specific quality of the Lesbian wine will engage our attention immediately. Meantime, what evidence does this passage afford that the wine referred to was either inspissated or unfermented? Not that it was “mixed with water,” or “warmed,” as we have seen. Not that it was a “*protropos*,” or a “Lesbian wine,” as we shall see. Not

⁴⁸² li. 24

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that it is recommended for use before eating, and “very good for the stomach,” unless it be assumed that fermented wine was not thus employed or regarded, and that diluted syrup, popularly supposed to be a productive of acidity and biliousness, was anciently used, and held in esteem, as fitted to aid digestion, and good for the stomach. There remains, therefore, only the sweetness of the wine, of which we have to observe, that even Dr. Lees admits that “some of the ancient sweet wines were strong, and those of Sicily now reach 30 per cent of alcohol.”⁴⁸³ So that no argument can be based on that sweetness in favour of the unfermented theory.

The Rev. B. Parsons, however, says, “In the ninth book of the *Odyssey* we have a passage equally conclusive respecting the character of these early wines. Ulysses there tells us that he took into his boat, “a goatskin of sweet black wine, a divine drink, which Maron, the priest of Apollo, had given him.’ Describing this beverage he says, ‘that it was sweet as honey; that it was imperishable, or would keep forever; that when it was drunk, it was diluted with twenty parts of water, and that from it a sweet and divine odour exhaled.’” These facts, Mr. Parsons thinks, are very important, because, first the wine was sweet as honey, it was divine, or resembling nectar, and therefore could not have fermented, otherwise the sugar would have been destroyed, &c.⁴⁸⁴

This is an extraordinary specimen of mingled facts and fancies, not more surprising for the cool confidence of the utterance, or the boldness of the assertion, than for the recklessness or ignorance which it displays. Can the writer have read the *Odyssey*, from which the extract is taken? It is almost inconceivable,

⁴⁸³ Nott’s Lectures, p. 88

⁴⁸⁴ Anti-Bacchus, p. 79

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otherwise he must have known that this “sweet black wine,” with all its attributes of divinity, &c., and which, “therefore, could not have fermented,” was the identical liquor with which Ulysses intoxicated the huge one-eyed Cyclops, and made him drunk as a beast. After describing the pleasant black wine, the gift of Maron, son of Euanthes, priest of Apollow, Ulysses says, “Having filled a large skin with this, I carried it and provisions in a satchel;” and after thrice filling the cup for Polyphemus, who still cried for more, exclaiming, “This is what comes of ambrosia and nectar,” the wine inflamed the giants’s brain, and “reeling he fell supine; and then he lay, slanting his fat neck; and all subduing sleep seized on him, and the wine and human goblets rushed out of his throat; and he, heavy with wine, belched;” &c. When he awoke from his wine, he said to his ram, “Dost thou regret the eye of thy master, which an evil man has blinded with his troublesome companions, having subdued my mind with wine?” And, speaking to Ulysses, he says, “But now, one who is little, worth nothing, and weak, has bereft me of my sight, after he had subdued me with wine.”⁴⁸⁵

Athenaeus, referring to this scene, attributes the intoxication of the giant to the largeness of the draught; “for if it had been a small one, he would not have been so overcome with drunkenness after drinking it three times only, when he was a man of monstrous size. There were, therefore, large cups at that time; unless any one chooses to impute it to the strength of the wine, which Homer himself has mentioned, or to the little practice which the Cyclops had in drinking, since his usual beverage was milk.”⁴⁸⁶ Lucian represents the Cyclops as saying Ulysses gave him liquor to drink, “sweet indeed, and fragrant, but most insidious

⁴⁸⁵ Od., Book ix.

⁴⁸⁶ Xi. 4

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and turbulent; for all things seemed to me, after having drunk it, immediately to be carried round, and the cave itself was turned upside down, and I was altogether no longer in my senses.”⁴⁸⁷ Eurpides, also, has a play founded upon the incident, in which Uylsses says, “I carry not gold, but the cup of Bacchus.....And truly Maro, the son of the god, gave me the drink.” Silenus drinks the wine, and exclaims, “O gods! Bacchus invites me to dance. Hah! hah! hah!” Ulysses asks, “did it trickle down thy throat nicely for thee?” And he answers, “Ay, so that it came to the very tips of my nails. I would readily drain a single cup, giving the cattle of all the Cyclops in exchange, and cast myself off the white rock into the sea, having once got drunk, and bringing my eyelids down. For he who rejoices not when drinking, is mad.” Then follows a description of Maro, and the play appropriately concludes with the moral expressed by the chorus, - “Wine is terrible, and heavey to strive against.” And yet this “terrible” wine is the “divine drink,” which the Rev. B. Parson says “could not have fermented, otherwise the sugar would have been destroyed.”

Pliny, referring to the same wine, and noticing Homer’s description of its as being so strong as to be “mixed with water in the proportion of twenty measures of water to one of wine,” says, Mucianus was witness himself to the fact, that with one sextarians of this wine it was the custom to mix eight sextarii of water. And, says Pliny, “the wine that is still produced in the same district retains all its former strength, and a degree of vigour that is quite insuperable”- *vigorque indomitus*.⁴⁸⁸ The Pramnian wine eulogized by Homer, and which was sweet as “luscious nectar,” Pliny says “still retains its ancient fame;” and Athenaeus says “it is of extraordinary strength.” So that the mere sweetness of a wine

⁴⁸⁷ Polyphemus and Neptune

⁴⁸⁸ Book xiv. 4

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is no evidence of its being a boiled syrup, or an unfermented liquor.

Antinous says to Ulysses, - "Sweet wine hurts thee, which harms others also – whoever takes it too abundantly, nor drinks properly. Wine also inspired the illustrious Centaur, Eurytiion, in the palace of magnanimous Pirithous, when he came to the Lepithae; but he, when he had injured his mind with wine, in madness did wicked deeds in the house of Pirithous.....Overcome with wine, he brought the evil upon himself."⁴⁸⁹ Pindar also, speaking of the Centaurs, says, "After these monsters fierce learnt the invincible strength of luscious wine, then, with a sudden fury, with mighty hands, they threw the snow-white milk down from the board, and, of their own accord, drank away their senses in the silver-mounted horns," &c.⁴⁹⁰

Virgil says, -

*"Wine urged to lawless lust the Centaurs' train,
Thro' wine they quarreled, and thro' wine were slain." Geor. li*

Horace, in like manner, says, -

*"Yet, that no one may pass
The freedom and mirth of a temperate glass,
Let us think on the Lepithae's quarrels so dire,
And the Thracians, whom wine can to madness inspire;
Insatiate of liquor, when glow their full veins,
No distinction of vice or of virtue remains."*

Many of the modern wines are also distinguished for their sweetness. Vizetelly describes some of the finest Rhine wines exhibited at Vienna, and which were priced at £150 the hogshead,

⁴⁸⁹ Od., xxi.

⁴⁹⁰ Athen., xi

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as being “syrupy,” and of “almost too luscious character.”⁴⁹¹ He says of the Styrian samples, - “Their wines were rich and syrupy, of decreasing degrees of sweetness, but invariably of great volume, and with a fine spirituous and sub-acidulous flavour.”⁴⁹² He also says, “the grand specialty, however, of Gorz is its Picolit, a thick, sweet, spirituous straw wine, which acquires with great age a peculiar flavour, that cause it to be highly prized in the locality. Families treasure up this wine only to produce it on fete days, and even then it is partaken of but sparingly. One was not impressed by the samples of it tasted at Vienna, for it was a mere sugary syrup, spirituous, and slightly acidulated.”⁴⁹³

These several extracts show that a wine may be “thick” and “syrupy,” “luscious as nectar,” and yet be a “terrible,” “inflaming,” intoxicating wine of “extraordinary strength,” inciting to “fury” and “madness” when taken “too abundantly.” So that the sweetness of the ancient wines affords no support to the unfermented theory.

6. The Strength of Ancient Wines

Dr. Ritchie, referring to the expression, “drinking wine in bowls” (Amos vi. 6), says, “On this expression, then, we found an argument that a much greater quantity of it was drunk at a season of indulgence, than could be drunk of the brandied wines of Britain, and that, therefore, these latter possess a stronger intoxicating power.”⁴⁹⁴ Without entering into a discussion of the text on which this “argument” is founded, we might admit the

⁴⁹¹ Wines of the World, p. 53

⁴⁹² Ibid., p. 69

⁴⁹³ Ibid., p. 76

⁴⁹⁴ Sc. Test., p. 140

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conclusion of the writer, without, in any way, affecting the question at issue. But as the opinion expressed by Dr. Ritchie is somewhat generally entertained by advocates of the unfermented theory; and as it is thence concluded that, as the extensive dilution practiced by the ancients could not be employed with such weak liquors without reducing them to something akin to water, the wines so diluted must have been inspissated and unfermented liquors, it is necessary that we should inquire into the facts as to the strength of ancient wines.

The wines of the ancients, like those of the moderns were no doubt both weak and strong. Sir Edward Barry says, - "As it was an usual custom among the ancients to dilute their wines with water in proportion to their strength, they distinguished them on that account into two general classes of the ολιγοφοροι and πολυφοροι, such as would bear a greater or less proportion of wine ['water,' p-. 146], to make them more salutary and grateful."⁴⁹⁵ Some of the former class, the ολιγοφοροι, were so weak as to be little better than the washings of the wine vats. These were the *vinum operarium*, or "labourers' wines," which were allotted to slaves, harvest men, soldiers, and others of the poor. But many of the latter class, the πολυφοροι, designated "noble" or "generous" wines, were exceptionally strong, - perhaps stronger than any "brandied wines" used or known in this country.

Dr. Lees, however, objects that, "in fact, strength anciently, in reference to drinks, related rather to thickness and taste, than to intoxication;"⁴⁹⁶ and yet the same writer, in a paragraph already quoted, says, "Some of the ancient sweet wines were strong, and those of Sicily now reach thirty per cent of alcohol." And he

⁴⁹⁵ Wines, p. 39

⁴⁹⁶ Works, ii. 64

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further evidences the alcoholic strength of these wines by appealing to the testimony of Aristotle, to be cited immediately.

Pliny, referring to the Maronean wine, which was so strong as to subdue the Cyclops, says "It retains all its former strength, and a degree of vigour that is quite insuperable."⁴⁹⁷ He speaks, also, of a wine which was called by the extraordinary name of *Hippodamantian*,⁴⁹⁸ which Hardouin interprets as signifying, "strong enough to subdue a horse!" more than forty men were made drunk with a pint and a half of it, after it had been mixed with water."⁴⁹⁹ Plutarch says, "Water, not only mingled with wine, but if it be drunk by itself, between wine and water together, it makes the mingled wine the less hurtful: we should accustom ourselves, therefore, in our daily diet, to drink two or three glasses of water, which will allay the strength of the wine."⁵⁰⁰ Athenaeus, reproving those artists who represent Bacchus as if he were drunk, says, "By so doing, they show the beholders that wine is stronger than the god."⁵⁰¹ Again, "Being afraid of the strength of the wine rising into their heads, men have introduced the fashion of anointing their heads."⁵⁰² Again, "On your account we drank the whole night long, and right strong wine too, as it seems to me at least I got up with four heads, I think."⁵⁰³ He also describes a reveler as saying, -

*....."At last well beaten,
I reach my home, and go to sleep on the ground,
And for a while forget my blows and bruises,*

⁴⁹⁷ Book xiv. 4

⁴⁹⁸ Xiv. 7

⁴⁹⁹ Athen., x. 34

⁵⁰⁰ *Preservation of Health*

⁵⁰¹ X. 33

⁵⁰² Xv. 45

⁵⁰³ X. 49

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While the strong wine retains its sway and lulls me."

(B. vi. 28)

This writer has collected a large amount of information as to the strength and other qualities of ancient wines. He speaks of the Pramnian as "known to be very strong and nutritious," but "not at all good for inflammation." He says, "The dark coloured wine is the strongest.....But white wine is weak and thin." "The Setine is a wine of the first class, like the Falernian wine, but lighter and no so apt to make a man drunk." The Gauran is "a scarce and very fine wine, and likewise very powerful and oily." The Alban is "rather sour, but it is a strong wine, and good for the stomach." "The Caecuban is a noble wine, full of strength, and easily affected the head." "The Fundan wine is strong and nutritious, and affects the head and stomach." The Trebellian wine "is of moderate strength." "The Taretine, and all the other wines of that district, are delicate wines, without very much strength or body." The Iotaline is "a sweet wine and light, but there is some strength in it." The Pramnian "is of extraordinary strength." Amphis says of Acanthus, "Since you're a countryman of wine so strong, you must be fierce yourself." Aristotle describes the characteristics of wine and beer when he says, "that men who are drunk with wine show it in their faces; but that those who have drunk too much beer fall back and go to sleep; for wine is stimulating, but beer has a tendency to stupefy."⁵⁰⁴ Anacreon says of a drinking cup, "It will ten measures of water hold, and five of mighty Chian wine." Pindar speaks of "fierce monsters learning the invincible strength of luscious wine."⁵⁰⁵ Diphilius, describing the power of wine says, -

"You make the lowly-hearted proud,

⁵⁰⁴ Athen., i.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., xi

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*And bid the gloomy laugh aloud;
You fill the feeble man with daring,
And cowards strut and bray past bearing."*

And Panyias says of good wine, the gift of God, -

*"Yet rule it with a tightened rein,
Nor moderate wisdom's rules disdain;
For when unchecked, there's nought runs faster, -
A useful slave, but cruel master." (Ibid. ii)*

Philo notices the strength of ancient wines in such references as the following: - "Let us not satiate ourselves with immoderate draughts of strong wine, and so give way to intoxication, which compels men to act like fools."⁵⁰⁶ He speaks of one "who is inflamed with strong wine, and raging in a drunken manner against virtue, and being absurdly excited to his own injury by wine."⁵⁰⁷ Again, "Like those who have drunk great quantities of strong wine, become intoxicated, and in their drunkenness they attack slaves and free men all alike."⁵⁰⁸ And again, "Others, when they drink strong wine, as if they had been drinking not wine but some agitating and maddening kind of liquor, or even the most formidable thing which can be imagined for driving a man out of his natural reason, rage about and tear things to pieces, like so many ferocious dogs."⁵⁰⁹

Pliny, also has a large variety of references to a similar purpose;⁵¹⁰ but further quotation on this point is unnecessary. The above will suffice to show that, when the ancients speak of

⁵⁰⁶ *Allegories*, 53

⁵⁰⁷ *Drunkenness*, 8

⁵⁰⁸ *Humanity*, 22

⁵⁰⁹ *Con. Life*, 5

⁵¹⁰ *Book xiv*

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the strength of their wines, they refer to the intoxicating property, and not, as alleged by Dr. Lees, to the mere thickness or taste of the liquors; that the ancient wines were largely diluted with water, not on account of their syrupy thickness, but because of their alcoholic power; and that here again, is neither evidence nor indication of the existence of use of unfermented wine.

7. Sober Wine

There are a few descriptions of ancient wines which figure prominently in the writings of the advocates of the unfermented wine theory, and which have received “honourable mention” as samples of unfermented wines. Among these is a wine described by Pliny as unintoxicating. Discoursing on the qualities of different kinds of grapes, he refers to one species, of which, he says, “It is called the *inerticula*, though it might with more propriety have been styled the *sobria*” – *sobriam dicturi*.⁵¹¹ Now, as every kind of grape, while in its grapehood, must be an innocent sober fruit, it is evident that this designation is used here proleptically of the wine made from that particular species of grape, as in those numerous instances in the Scriptures and other writings, in which the growing grapes, the juice in the grape, and the like, are designated as *yayin*, *oinos*, *vinum*. From this sober grape a wine was made, of which Pliny says, “The wine from it is remarkably good, and more particularly when it is old; but though strong it is productive of no ill effects, and, indeed, it is the only wine that will not cause intoxication “- *siquidem temulentiam sola non facit*.⁵¹²

⁵¹¹ Book xiv.

⁵¹² Ibid.

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If the qualities ascribed to this wine are to be interpreted absolutely, and not comparatively; and if it were possible to preserve a liquid wine without converting it into a syrup or jelly, the above statement must be accepted as evidence of the existence of an unfermented wine. But, (a) although, according to Pliny, the ancients possessed “eighty” different kinds of generous wines,” and of the various sorts of drinks “no less than one hundred and ninety,” and, “if all the varieties are reckoned they will amount to nearly double that number,” this wine, made from that particular grape, was the “only wine” known to the historian, “that will not cause intoxication.” So that all other liquors, however prepared and preserved, must have been fermented and intoxicating beverages. (b) This non-intoxicating wine derived its innocuous qualities, not from the method of its preparation, or preservation, as an unfermented liquor, but from the nature of the grape from which it was made – the *inerticula* or *sobria*. (c) We must therefore conclude that the terms employed are not to be taken absolutely, but as indicating a fermented wine, which, as compared with other “heady,” “firery,” “maddening” liquors, was non-injurious and non-intoxicating. Horace speaks of the Lesbian wine as being *innocent*, of which more anon. Dr. Lees alleges that Plutarch “refers to a wine often cleared and filtered – that ‘neither inflames the head nor infects the mind and passions’ – not a wine that rages, but one that is ‘mild and wholesome’; “Possibly this wine may have contained an infinitesimal amount of alcohol, but it was particularly weak, and therefore called by Theophrastus ‘moral’ - ηθικον.⁵¹³ But although Plutarch refers to a *sober* wine of this kind, is that sober wine an unfermented liquor? If not, it affords no evidence in favour of the unfermented theory. Admitting that the wine alluded to possessed all the

⁵¹³Works, ii. 27

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qualities here ascribed to it – that it neither *raged* nor *inflamed*, but was “mild and wholesome,” “practically weak,” and even “moral,” was it nevertheless a “cursed drink,” – a fermented and alcoholic liquor? Undoubtedly it was, as even Dr. Lees acknowledges, for he admits that it may have contained some “alcohol.” But unfermented wine as such has no alcohol; and *every such wine in which alcohol is found is and must be a fermented liquor*. The references of Plutarch has been noticed already in a previous section, where we have seen that he is not speaking of a wine that has not been fermented, but of a wine that has been weakened in its alcoholic strength by the extraction of the lees; and even that “practically weak wine” is described as being a wine which has not, like a sword, “lost its edge,” but has merely been “purged of its dregs and filth.” While, therefore, the filtration may have lessened the potency of the liquor, it could not possibly have converted it in to an unfermented wine. Dr. Lees says further, - “As certainly, therefore, as Shakespeare meant to signify the quality of water, and to distinguish it from ‘hot and rebellious liquors’ and Horace and Theophrastus by the terms ‘innocent’ and ‘moral,’ the ‘comparative absence’ of the intoxicating principle; so certainly did Solomon intend, by the reference to mocking and raging, to designate the ‘positive presence’ of the evil spirit of wine.”⁵¹⁴ This being so, we also may, in like manner, conclude that, when Pliny speaks of a wine made from a sober grape, and describes it as a beverage that is “productive of no ill effects,” and that “will not cause intoxication,” he refers to a fermented wine which was “practically weak,” because of the “comparative absence of the intoxicating principle,” like the *innocent* wine of Horace, the *innocuous* wine of Plutarch, and the *moral* wine of Theophrastus.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., p. 28

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The Hebrew *khometz* appears to have been a *sober* wine of this description, for Dr. Lees tells us it was a “fermented drink,” and was “like the Roman *posca*, something half-way between ginger beer and vin-ordinaire.”⁵¹⁵ And the vin-ordinaire itself, although fermented and alcoholic, is usually spoken of as wine “that will not cause intoxication.” Thus Mr. Darbin, in his *Observations on France, Germany, and Italy*, says, “The common wines which are used on the soil that produce them *do not intoxicate*.....This vin-ordinaire makes a part of his (the peasant’s) breakfast, of his dinner, and of his evening meal.”⁵¹⁶ Dr. Duff, also, in the letter already referred to speaking of the wine used by the cottagers in France, describes it as the “pure juice of the grape,” “pure, i.e., wholly undrugged or unadulterated with any extraneous matter of any kind” and, although certainly “fermented,” yet containing “very little spirit,” and “*utterly incapable of intoxicating a child.*”

Further illustrations of Pliny’s meaning may be found in the following references: Aristotle says, “Sweet wine (*gleukus*) will not intoxicate;” from which it has been inferred that the wine spoken of must have been an *absolutely* unfermented liquor. But Hippocrates indicates the comparative sense of the statement, when he says, “Sweet wine is *less* calculated than any other wines to make the head heavy, and it takes less hold of the mind.”⁵¹⁷ Sir Edward Barry, referring to the class of wines denominated *αλεγοφοποι*, says, “These would not admit of a strong or continued fermentation, and were apt to degenerate into an acid state; but when well prepared and defecated, they soon acquired a proper degree of maturity, and were light, sparkling, and agreeable, but not durable.....There was another celebrated

⁵¹⁵ *Temp. Bib. Com.* pp. xxiv. 421

⁵¹⁶ *Temp. Cyclo.* P. 386

⁵¹⁷ Athen., ii. 24

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species of a light, fragrant, and more generous wine, which was made from the pressure of the grapes on each other, by their own or a very *light additional* weight. These rich juices were only suffered to pass through a light fermentation; and the wine, when defecated and transparent, soon acquired, a very fine flavour, strength, and fragrantcy.”⁵¹⁸ Again, - “These would not easily admit of any adulteration or mixture of stronger wines, which deprived them of their peculiar delicacy and flavour, an their light but generous qualities, which animated the spirits, without affecting the head.”⁵¹⁹ Redding describes some French wines as being “very heady”; but the wines of Margaux “have strength without being heady;”⁵²⁰ and the wine of Medoc, when in perfection, is “strong without intoxicating:’ it will “revive the stomach, and not affect the head.”⁵²¹ Vizetelly also describes the modern wine of Chateau Marguax as “generous without potency: it refreshes the stomach while *respecting the head*.”⁵²² He says, “The great specialty, in fact, of the Austrian and lighter German beers is their producing *neither intoxication nor drowsiness*, and which is due principally to the small quantity of alcohol they contain.”⁵²³ But all these wines and beers are fermented liquors.

Pliny’s *sober* wine may thus have been either one of the small wines, like *vin-ordinaire*, or one of the rich and more generous wines classed as *nobilis*, and described above. We incline to think it was one of the latter, and like the Lesbian *protropos*, which Horace terms “innocent.” But whichever it may have been, the above reference show that a wine may be spoken of either as

⁵¹⁸ Wine, [p. 40, 41]

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45

⁵²⁰ Wines p. 166

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 164

⁵²² Wines p. 12

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, p. 183

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“strong, without intoxicating,” or as animating “the spirits without affecting the head,” and yet be a fermented liquor.

8. Fiery Wine

There is, among another species of wine described by Pliny, which has been appealed to as furnishing evidence that nearly all the wines of the ancients were either very slightly alcoholic or altogether unfermented. He says, “There is now no wine known that ranks higher than the Falernian; it is the only one, too, among all the wines that takes fire on the application of flame” – *solo vinorum flamma acceditur*. From this statement Mr. Parsons concludes that we have here “a striking proof that the other Roman wines were not charged with alcohol;” a most extraordinary conclusion, certainly, for if this be true, we must believe that of the endless variety of liquors in use among the Romans, there was only one species of alcoholic wine – the Falernian! But we have just seen, on the contrary, that, according to Pliny, there was only one kind of sober wine, so lightly charged with alcohol as to be comparatively unintoxicating.

The description here given of the fiery Falernian cannot be intended to intimate that all the other wines were absolutely unflammable, physiologically or chemically; for ancient authors have frequently taken notice of both phenomena, and speak of them as characteristics of wine in general. Indeed, Pliny himself exhibits a correct knowledge of the spirituous effects of wine, when he says, “It is the property of wine, when drunk, to cause a feeling of warmth in the interior of the viscera, and, when poured upon the exterior of the body, to be cool and refreshing.”- Seneca says, “He that is naturally addicted to anger, let him use a moderate diet, and abstain from wine, for it is but adding fire to

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fire.” Plutarch says that Homer brought in music at the banquets and revels of the ancients, as believing it to be of the greatest advantage “to repel and mitigate the inflaming power of the wine.”⁵²⁴ He says, “Drink it allayed with very much mixture of water, for wine, being sharp and fiery, increases the disturbances of the body.”⁵²⁵ “Wine carries a great force in it.”⁵²⁶ “Wine, like fire, softened and melted their tempers.”⁵²⁷ “The heat of the wine quickens its circulation to the heart.”⁵²⁸ Bacchus taught his drunken followers to wear garlands of ivy, “that by that means they might be secured against the violence of a debauch, the heat of the liquor being remitted by the coldness of the ivy.”⁵²⁹ “The coldness of their temper quencheth the heat of the strongest wine, and make it lose all its destructive force and fire.”⁵³⁰ “Epicurus, in his Banquet, hath a long discourse, the sum of which is that wine of itself is not hot, but that it contains the atoms that cause heat.”⁵³¹ “A great quantity being taken inflames the body.”⁵³² “Wine, after it has heated and disturbed, calms the mind again, and quiets the frenzy.”⁵³³ “When the vine is outwardly irrigated with wine, it is as fire to the vine, and destroys the nutritive faculty.”⁵³⁴ Lucretius, also, describing the effects of intoxication, ascribes them to the “violent power of wine,” and says, “Why do these effects happen, unless because the

⁵²⁴ *On Music*

⁵²⁵ *Preservation of Health*

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁷ *Banquet.*

⁵²⁸ *A Flatterer*

⁵²⁹ *Sympos.*

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*

⁵³² *Ibid.*

⁵³³ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁴ *Nat. Questions*

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vehement force of the wine has exerted its customary power to disturb the soul as it is diffused through the body itself.”⁵³⁵ Plato, referring to juices of a “fiery nature,” assigns the first place to wine “which warms the soul as well as the body.”⁵³⁶ And he urges that wine should be withheld from young persons, for that it is not well to heap fire on fire.” Homer, also, speaks of “inflaming wine pernicious to mankind,” and says –

“Pours the black wine, and sees the flames aspire.”

Athenaeus quotes the bard of Cyrene as saying –

*“Wine is like fire when ‘tis to man applied,
Or like the storm that sweeps the Libyan tide;
The furious wind the lowest depths can reach,
And wine robs man of knowledge, sense, and speech.”*

And Panyasis says –

*“Wine is like fire, an aid and sweet relief,
Wards off all ills, and comforts every grief.” (Book ii. 4)*

Euriipides speaks of Hercules as quaffing the neat wine of the purple other, until “the fumes of the liquor, coming upon him, inflamed him” Virgil says –

*“Betwixt their horns the purple wine he sheds;
With the same generous juice the flame he feeds.”*

⁵³⁵ Works, iii.

⁵³⁶ Jowett’s Trans.

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Ovid says, "The flame burns bright, just as it is wont to arise when wine is poured upon it."⁵³⁷ Again, "often do I wish with wine to soothe my passions, but it increases, and drinking is flame upon flame."⁵³⁸ Again, "See! My nurse is pouring wine upon the flames of favourable omen."⁵³⁹ And again, "Venus amid wine has proved flames in flame."⁵⁴⁰ And it is said of Cyrene offering a libation, "Thrice she poured the flowing wine on the sacred fire, and thrice it flashed to the arched roof."⁵⁴¹

Vizetelly, in like manner speaks of the "fiery blood" of an American wine of the "fiery Rudesheimer," and says, "Gunine Stein of a good vintage is a potent beverage of singular vigour and fire"; "Geneva produces the celebrated and fiery red wine known as Gringet;" and, speaking of the Albanello, he describes it as "rather fiery and with somewhat of a sherry flavour."

From these varied references we conclude that, as it was common for ancient as well as modern wine to blaze up when thrown upon flame, Pliny cannot mean either to deny such a well-known fact or to limit the phenomenon to Falernian wine.

He probably means that the Falernian was a pre-eminently fiery liquor, like some of those modern wines referred to above, and was so highly charged with alcohol that it took fire when a lighted torch or lamp approached it – "on the application of flame." But, however this may be, the evidence we have adduced shows conclusively that while some of the ancient wines may have been thin and weak, others were distinguished for their fiery quality or great alcoholic strength. So that here again is no evidence in favour of the unfermented theory.

⁵³⁷ Heroides, xiii.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, xvi

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, xix

⁵⁴⁰ *Ars. Am.*, I

⁵⁴¹ *Temp. Muses*, p. 166

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9. Innocent Wine.

The last witness we should have expected to meet on the unfermented platform is the poet who sings “the jovial monarchy of wine;” and yet, if not the first, Horace is one of the chief witnesses adduced to testify in behalf of the unfermented theory. Thus we are told that “Horace was evidently aware of the distinction between intoxicating and unintoxicating wine;” and in proof this recognized distinction, four lines are quoted from Sat. ii. 4, with the following translation, -

*“Aufidius first, most injudicious, quaffed
Strong wine and honey for his morning draught;
With lenient beverage fill your empty veins,
For lenient must will better cleanse the reins.”*

Temp. Cyclo. p. 409

Now, to make this passage serve his purpose, the writer has mangled both the poet and his translator. He has transformed the poet’s mulsum, “honeyed wine,” into *mustum*, “must;” and instead of the translator’s (Francis) line –

“And smoother mend shall better scour the reins,”

he has substituted his own false rendering, -

“For lenient must will better cleanse the reins.”

As there is nothing in the passage, either in its original or modern shape, which can in any way determine the question at issue, we proceed to notice the lines which are chiefly relied on as evidence of an ancient unfermented wine; -

“Far from the burning dog-star’s rage;

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*Here shall you quaff our harmless wine;
Nor here shall Mars intemperate wage
Rude war with him who rules the jovial vine."*

Oder, i. 17

*"Hail, O Bacchus, ever dear,
You who from Lesbos drove dull care
With sparkling rosy wine." – i. 51*

Antiphanes speaks of a cup, -

*"Full of the luscious drops which o're the sea
Came from the isle of the delicious drinks,
The sea-girt Lesbos, full, and foaming up." – xi. 42*

Plato says, -

*....."Tell me, I pray you,
Did yo e'er see a grave philosopher
Drunk, or devoted to these joys you speak of?
Yes; all of them.*

*.....
The man who has a chance to pay his court
To a fair woman, and at eve to drink
Two bottles full of richest Lesbian vine,
Must be a wise man!" – vii. 9*

Archestratis says, -

*"but Lesbian is the true ambrosial juice,
And so the gods, whose home's Olympus, think it;
And if some rather the Phoenician choose,
Let them, so long as they don't make you drink it.*

*The Tasian isle, too, noble wine doth grow,
When passing years have made its flavour mellow,
And other places, too; still, all I know*

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Is that the Lesbian liquor has no fellow.” – i. 52

If the wine of Lesbos was the favorite drink of the Lesbians, and if that wine was an unfermented liquor, the people would doubtless have been as remarkable for their sobriety as their wine was for innocence. But Pittacus, one of the sages of Greece, and chief ruler of Lesbos, enacted a law that crimes committed under intoxication should receive double punishment; and this he did with the object of destroying “the plea of ignorance in the excesses to which the love of wine hurried the Lesbians.”⁵⁴² So that the Lesbian wine of that age must have been an intoxicating liquor. Athenaeus, also, tells us that whenever Alcibiades went on a journey, “he used four of the allied cities as his maid-servants.” The Ephesians furnished his tent, the Chians food for his horses, the people of Cyzicus victims for sacrifice, and “the Lesbians gave him wine, and everything else which he wanted for his daily food.”⁵⁴³ Now, if we may judge of the quality of this Lesbian wine by the habits of the drinker, it must have been an intoxicating liquor; for we are informed that the general “out-drunk the Thracians themselves,” who were notorious for their drunkenness.⁵⁴⁴ The same writer, describing the convivial habits of the poet Aleaeus, who was immoderately addicted to wine, and accustomed to drink at all seasons and on all occasions, tells us that in his misfortunes he sang, -

*“Come to me, Bacchus; you are ever
The best of remedies, who bring us wine and joyous drunkenness.”*

And, in his hours of joy, he sang, -

⁵⁴² Anacharsis, ii. 55

⁵⁴³ Xii. 47

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

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*“Now is the time to get well drunk;
Come, the, my boy, and quickly pour
A cup of luscious Lesbian wine.”*

“How then,” says Athenaeus, “could a man who was so very devoted to drinking be a sober man, and be content with one or two cups of wine?”⁵⁴⁵ And we may add, how, also, could the Lesbian wine he drank be an absolutely *innocent* and unfermented liquor, seeing that he used it as a means “to get well drunk?” And, finally, the same writer says, “Clearchus speaks of Lesbian wine which Maro himself appears to me to have been the maker of.”⁵⁴⁶ From which it may be inferred that if the Lesbian in any way resembled the Maronean wine, it may have been a comparatively *innocent*, but it as certainly a fermented liquor.

There are some other wines which are usually associated with the innocent wine of Lesbos as unfermented liquors. Dr. Lees says, “Pliny’s account of wines (B. xiv.) shows that some sorts in good repute were not fermented; and of *adunamoia* (‘without strength’), one of the artificial *vina* (wines), he expressly declares that it was given to invalids when the ordinary wines were likely to be injurious.”⁵⁴⁷ The wine so designated by Pliny was made by boiling down twenty parts of must with ten of water, until the amount of added water was boiled away. He makes no direct reference to the fermentation of the liquor, but he is equally silent as to the fermentation of the “almost innumerable varieties,” which he classes together as “artificial preparations” (*facticii*). Now, it is evident, from the nature of the substances employed, and the method of their preparation, that these artificial wines must have been fermented liquors, for they were

⁵⁴⁵ X. 35

⁵⁴⁶ i. 51

⁵⁴⁷ Temp. Bib. Com. p. 374

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made of grain dates, figs, pears, apples, mulberries, pine nuts, myrtle, garden plants, herbs, unguents, &c., &c. One of them was made of millet, in which the grain, along with its straw, was steeped in must for “six months,” and must have been a species of fermented beer. Another was made by steeping ripe dates in water, and then pressing the fruit. This, also, must have been a fermented liquor, or date wine, for it is elsewhere said to “affect the head.”⁵⁴⁸ A species of *adymamon* was made by mixing twenty parts of must with ten parts of sea water, and an equal quantity of rain water; and, instead of boiling the liquor, leaving it “to evaporate in the sun for forty days.” Now, the exposure of the liquor to the atmosphere for such a lengthened period must inevitably have induced fermentation. The wine, therefore, may, indeed, have been *adymamon*, feeble, weak, or “without strength,” and as such suitable for invalids “when the ordinary wines were deemed likely to be injurious,” and yet none the less a fermented beverage. Columella speaks of a grape called *amethystom*, which was so named because, says he, “the wine made from it is *iners*, ‘weak.’”

Dr. Lees further says, “Athenaeus also speaks of the ‘mild Chian,’ and the ‘sweet Bibline.’ He says, “The sweet wine (*gleukus*), which among the Sicilians is called Pollian, may be the same as the *biblinos oinos*’ (lib. i., chap. 56). Of the sweet Lesbian he says, ‘Let him take *glukus*, either mixed with water or warmed, especially tht calld *protropos*, as being very good for the stomach.’ (lib. ii. Chap. 24).⁵⁴⁹ Here are more wines, to which the Thasian also may be added, as supposed unfermented wines. And, first, as to *protropos*, “the sweet Lesbian,” Pliny says, “Among these varieties I ought to place what is known as *protropum*, such being the

⁵⁴⁸ Xiii. 4

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

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name given by some to the must that runs spontaneously from the grapes before they are trodden out. Directly it flows it is put into flagons, and *allowed to ferment*; after which it is left to ripen for forty days in a summer sun, about the rising of the dogstar.”⁵⁵⁰ Thus the Lesbian *protropos*, which is “very good for the stomach,” is a fermented wine.

The Thasian wine required to be strained.⁵⁵¹ Theophrastus says, “The wine at Thasos, which is given in the prythaneum, is wonderfully delicious, for it is well seasoned, for they knead up dough with honey, and put that into earthen jars, so that the wine receives fragrance from itself, and sweetness from the honey.”⁵⁵² Clearly that wine was a fermented liquor. The author of *Tirosh lo Yayin* quotes from the Geoponic authors a paragraph which explains another method of preparing Thasian wine, in which it is said, after pressing the grapes we put the wine into large vessels, “*where it has fermented* and cleared itself, we pour to it the twenty fifth part of *hepsema*, and after the vernal equinox we draw it off from the lees into moderate-sized vessels.”⁵⁵³ Here, again, even upon this author’s own showing, the Thasian wine was a fermented liquor. Aristophanes, as we have seen in a passage already quoted, testifies that the Thasian wine *abides in the head a long time*.⁵⁵⁴ Athenaeus, referring to the same passage, quotes as follows: -

*“And other women, more advanced in age,
Into their stomachs poured, without restraint.
From good-sized cotylae, dark Thasian wine,
The whole contents of a large earthen jar.*

⁵⁵⁰ Xiv. 9

⁵⁵¹ Athen., i. 51

⁵⁵² Ibid., i. 58

⁵⁵³ Sec. 27

⁵⁵⁴ Ecclez

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Urged by their mighty love for the dark wine.” - xi. 57

Alexis says, -

*“A noble drink! Where was the land
That raised this noble Bacchus? By its flavour
I think he came from Thasos.” – x. 37*

Epilycus says, -

*“for all the ills that men endure,
Thasian is a certain cure:
For any head or stomach ache,
Thasian wine I always take,
And think it, as I home am reeling,
A present from the god of healing.” – i. 51*

It is evident from these references that the Thasian was a fermented and intoxicating wine. As to the “mild Chian” and the “sweet Bibline,” they are associated with the “sweet Lesbian,” and Thasian, in some of the following passages: - Athenaeus says “white wine is weak and thin,” but “the dark coloured wine is the strongest, and it remains in the system of the drinkers of it longer than any other. But Theopompus says that black wine was first made among the Chians.”⁵⁵⁵ Epilycus says “that the Chian and the Thasian wine must be strained.”⁵⁵⁶ Antiphanes says, -

*“Tell me, I pray you, how life define?
To drink full goblets of rich Chian wine.” – i. 41*

Eubulus says, -

⁵⁵⁵ i. 47

⁵⁵⁶ i. 51

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*"In Thasian wine or Chian soak your throttle,
Or take of Lesbian and old cobwebbed bottle." – i. 51*

*"Shun, my boy, the pramnian cup,
Nor Thasian drink, nor Chian sup;
Nor let your glass with Peparethian brighten
For bachelors that liquor's too exciting." i. 52*

Hermippus says, -

*"Mendaeian wine, such as the gods distill,
And sweet magnesian, cures for every ill,
And Thasian, redolent of mild perfume,
But of them all the most inviting bloom
Mantles above old Homer's Chian glass;
That wine doth all its rivals far surpass." – i. 53*

Philyllius says, -

*"I'll give you Lesbian, Chian wine,
Thasian, Mendaen and Bibline;
Sweet wines, but none so strong and heady,
As that you shall next day feel seedy." – i. 56*

Horace, speaking of a convivial party for which a cask of Chian wine had been purchased, directs the cups to be mixed with water, in the proportion of three of water and nine of wine to the uses, and of nine of water and three of wine to the Graces; intimating thereby that the former proportion was suitable to the hard drinkers among the guests, among whom he classed the poets, and that the latter was intended for the more temperate persons, who were friends to the Graces.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁷ Odes, iii. 19

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Anacreon, calling for water with which to mix his wine, because “he calls the drinking of unmixed wine a Scythian draught,” says, -

.....*Pour in
Ten cyathi of water pure,
And five of richest Chian wine;
That I may drink, from fear removed,
And free from drunken insolence.*” – x. 29

Hedylus says, -

.....*Come,, soak me well
In cups of Chian wine, and say to me,
'come sport and drink, good Hdylus;' I hate
To live an empty life, debarred from wine.*” – xi. 45

Anacreon, referring to a wine-cup, says, -

*“It will ten measures of water hold,
And five of mighty Chian wine.”* – xvi. 50

Anaxylas speaks of –

.....*Drinking strong wine
From the island of Chios.*” – xii. 70

Aristophanes, referring to the luxury of the Sicilians, speaks of drinking and singing “loose songs at Syracusan feasts, and how to share in Sybaritic banquets, and to drink Chian wine in Spartan cups.”⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁸ Xii. 34

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It will be seen from the above extracts that all the wines referred to by Dr. Lees in the passage under consideration, are spoken of as fermented and intoxicating liquors. So that here, again, is no evidence in favour of the unfermented theory.

10. Frozen Wine.

In further evidence that some of the ancient wines were unfermented, Mr. Parsons quotes from Xenophon, who relates that, when in Anatolia, the wine “froze in their vessels,” – “a plain proof,” says Mr. Parsons, “that they were not charged with alcohol, because alcohol will not freeze.” *Mirabile dictum!* The writer must have been hard pushed to find firm footing for his favorite theory, when he thus rashly ventured to establish it on a thin crust of frozen wine. It might with equal justice be alleged that the frozen seas of the north are freshwater lakes, because salt will not freeze! Or that vinegar, “sour wine,” is an unfermented liquor because it has been frozen, and acetic acid will not freeze! Mr. Parsons should have made sure of his facts, and their correct interpretation before attempting to build his theory upon them: for it is certain that alcoholic wine, if not alcohol itself, may be, and has been frozen. Muspratt says “Alcohol of specific gravity 0.820 froze easily.”⁵⁵⁹ However this may be, and even admitting that “alcohol will not freeze,” it must be admitted that the strongest fermented wine contains water in sufficient quantity to make it liable to freeze; and Muspratt informs us that in some places in the north of Europe wine has

⁵⁵⁹ Chem. P. 52

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been exposed to serve frost, under the idea of imparting strength to it, by drawing off the unfrozen portion.”⁵⁶⁰

If the wines of the ancients had been generally either unfermented or excessively weak and watery liquors, the freezing of such wines, especially in severe weather, would have been a natural and common phenomenon which would have occasioned little or no surprise. But, on the contrary, it seems to have been a very rare occurrence; and, accordingly, Pliny exclaims, “It is a singular thing to mention, but still it has occasionally been seen, that these vessels have burst asunder, and there has stood the wine in frozen masses, a miracle almost, *as it is not ordinarily the nature of wine to freeze*, cold having only the effect of benumbing it.”⁵⁶¹

The freezing of wine, though far from being a very common occurrence, has been noticed by both ancient and modern writers. Virgil describes it when he says, -

*“With axes first they cleave the wine, and thence
By weight, the solid portions they dispense.”*

Geo., iii 569

Ovid, in his banishment, writes of having seen “the vast sea frozen with ice, and a slippery crust covered over the unmoved waters;” and he says, “Liquid wine becomes solid, preserving the form of the vessel; they do not quaff draughts of liquor, but pieces which are presented.”⁵⁶² Huish, in his account of the last voyage of Sir John Ross, and referring to the exploring expedition of Captain James, says, “Fortunately for them, they were able to collect a sufficiency of driftwood, to enable them to keep up large

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 1130

⁵⁶¹ Book xiv.

⁵⁶² Trist

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fives; but nevertheless, their wine, vinegar, oil, and in fact, everything that was liquid, was frozen so hard that they were obliged to cut it out with a hatchet.”⁵⁶³ Sir John Malcolm, in his *Sketches of Persia*, referring to the climate of Tebreez in January, says, “For at least a fortnight not an egg was to be had, all being split with the cold. Some bottles of wine froze, although covered with straw.”⁵⁶⁴ Mr. Robert Shaw, British Commissioner in Ladak, giving an account of visits to High Tartary, Yarkand, and Kashgar, relates that at Yarkand, on New Year’s Day, grapes were frozen on the table, and had to be thawed in hot water, but they soon froze again. He became acclimatized by the intense cold into taking his claret by breaking off a frozen piece, and his men went to fetch water with a hatchet and a rope. Redding also informs us that “new wine is sometime frozen.....The aqueous part of the wine is that which congeals. This has furnished wine-growers with the hint to expose their wine to a frost, that it may congeal a proportion of the watery part, and then rack off the residue, which is by some thought to be improve both in body and spirit.”⁵⁶⁵ Again, “Others, to obtain a stronger wine than usual, roll a run into the open air during a severe frost, and taking out the head, having set the cask on its end, it becomes frozen to a considerable depth in the upper part. The lower portion of the liquid is then racked off and bottled. This wine will keep long, and is very strong in quality.”⁵⁶⁶

Thus, then, the freezing of the wine of Anatolia is no evidence of its having been an unfermented liquor, seeing that alcoholic wine not only has been frozen, but is intentionally frozen by some modern manufacturers, with the special object of thereby

⁵⁶³ p. 61

⁵⁶⁴ p. 240

⁵⁶⁵ Wines, p. 75

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 192 [page number unclear]

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increasing its alcoholic strength, and producing a wine “very strong in quality.”

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IV. ANCIENT WINES – ALLOWED TO WOMEN

We come not to a special class of liquors, which it is alleged were anciently allowed to women as unfermented wines. Dr. Lees says, “Women under thirty were debarred the use of even *defrutum*, *sapa*, *siraion*, and other unfermented wines; and were totally prohibited the use of strong wines at all ages.”⁵⁶⁷ Again, “The fact is, that by the Greek and Roman laws, wine generically was prohibited to women under thirty or thirty-five years, but after that age the unfermented wines were allowed.”⁵⁶⁸ And again, “Dionysius, Valerius, Maximus, Polybius, Aulus, Gellius, Pliny, and Article XVI of the *Leges Regiae*, show that intoxicating wine was prohibited to the Italian women in the earliest ages; as also to all young men under their thirteenth year; through the use of *passum*, *lora*, *murrina*, and *dulcia* was allowed.”⁵⁶⁹

Here, then, we have wines forbidden, and wines permitted to women; a total prohibition of “strong wine,” and “intoxicating wine,” at “all ages,” and temporary prohibition of “every *defrutum*, *sapa*, *siraion*, and other unfermented wines “under thirty,” and “under thirty or thirty-five years.” And “after that age the unfermented wines were allowed.” We could have wished that, instead of the general reference to the above authors, the doctor had furnished us with chapter and verse, or with the very words of the writers who testify to these alleged facts. When, where, and by whom were “women under thirty debarred the use of even *defrutum*, *sapa*, *siraion*,” which were not drinks at all, but grape syrups? And when, where, and by whom, were laws enacted to permit these women to use those syrups after they

⁵⁶⁷ Works, iii. Bibl. Temp., 48

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 95

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, ii. 12

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had reached the mature age of thirty or thirty-five years? Alas for the rarity of Christian charity under the sun, if the young ladies of the olden time were not permitted to use such an innocent delicacy as grape syrup or jelly? But our business is with those “other unfermented wines,” and not with these ancient laws.

Now these are named “*passum, lora, murrina, and dulcia*” in the last of the above extracts; but in another passage elsewhere they are designated “*vinum operarium*, along with *sapa, defrutum* and *passum*.”⁵⁷⁰ *Sapa, defrutum, and siraion*, were, as we have shown, identical in nature, and were syrups, not wines. *Lora* and *vinum operarium* were also identified liquors under different names. So that, excluding the jellies, this extensive list of “unfermented wines” dwindles down to three kinds of beverages – *murrina, lora, and passum*; but whether these were really unfermented remains to be seen.

1. Murrina

There can be no doubt, from the accounts we have received of its liquor, that it was simply perfumed wine - i.e., myrrhed wine – a preparation of “wine mingled with myrrh.” The nature of the wine itself, to which the myrrh was added, and the purpose for which this was done, may be learned from the following references: -

Pliny says, “the wines that were most esteemed among the ancient Romans were those perfumed with myrrh,”⁵⁷¹ or, as Dr. Lees puts it, “the ancients had sumptuous wines seasoned with the scent of myrrh.” From this it appears that the *murrina* was not

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid., 96

⁵⁷¹ Book xiv. 13

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a special description of wine, with some distinguishing quality in itself, but merely the ordinary, or, according to Lees, “sumptuous” wines of the ancients, improved by the addition of myrrh as a flavouring agent. In another passage Pliny informs us that “all the luscious wines – *vinum omne dulce* – have but little aroma; the thinner the wine the more roma it has;⁵⁷² and again, “The sweet wines are inodorous, while the thinner ones have more aroma, and are much sooner fit for use than those of a thicker nature.”⁵⁷³ We must, therefore, infer that the wines flavoured with myrrh were “luscious wines,” and that the myrrh was added to supply the “aroma,” of which those sweet wines were deficient. Hence, says Pliny, “some persons are of opinion that they [‘their forefathers,’ Lees] were particularly fond of aromatic wines;”⁵⁷⁴ and this opinion is confirmed by Martial, who says, “Drink, luxurious man, if you thirst for perfumed wines.”⁵⁷⁵ Aristophanes, as we have seen, speaking of the Thasian wine drunk by women, and which *abides in the head a long time*, says, “Fill out pure wine: it will cheer the women the whole night, who select whatever has the most fragrance.”⁵⁷⁶ That fragrant wine was clearly an intoxicating liquor. Plutarch intimates that this luxury was not agreeable for the early Greeks, for he represents Thales as saying that a man when a youth, took some rich perfume, “and mixing it with a quantity of wine, drank it off, and was ever hated for it.”⁵⁷⁷ Diphilus says, if you ask a Rhodian to dinner, set a fine

⁵⁷² Book xiv. 9

⁵⁷³ Book xv. 28

⁵⁷⁴ Book. xiv. 13

⁵⁷⁵ Ep., xiv. 116

⁵⁷⁶ Eccles.

⁵⁷⁷ Sympose.

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shad or lebias before him, "he will like it better so than if you add a cup of myrrhine wine."⁵⁷⁸

From these facts we conclude – (1) that the *murrina* was simply a myrrhed wine; (2) that the myrrh was used in this case as a perfume, to give a pleasant aromatic flavour to the wine; (3) that this usage was not limited to one kind of wine, but was extended to different wines; (4) that the wines thus flavoured were all "sweet" or "luscious" wines, naturally deficient in aroma; (5) that these perfumed wines ranked as the "sumptuous" wines of the ancients; (6) that the "ancient Romans," the Roman "forefathers," the "luxurious" men, and the women of the olden times, were "particularly fond" of such aromatic wines; (7) and that these myrrhed wines were used by, and "most esteemed among the ancient Romans," both men and women.

In all this there is not the remotest allusion to *murrina* as being a perfumed syrup (*sapa*); or that it was an inferior drink used by the lower classes; or that it was an unfermented liquor, limited or specially assigned to women above thirty years of age. On the contrary, it was a "sumptuous" wine, the favourite drink of the winebibbing ancients.

It is true, Plautus associates the *murrina* with *passum*, *defrutum*, and *mella*, in one of his plays (*Psuedolus*); and Pliny infers from the association that "it was not only named among the wines, but among the *dulcia* also."⁵⁷⁹ But this is much too narrow a basis on which to found such a wide inference as that the associated *murrina* must have been an unfermented wine. *Defrutum* and *mella* were no doubt unfermented substances, but the nature of *passum* has yet to be ascertained. The association merely proves that the associated substances were *dulces*; and

⁵⁷⁸ Athen., iv. 9

⁵⁷⁹ Book xiv. 13

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this is true, for *murrina*, as we have seen, was one of the “luscious” wines, *passum* was a sweet raisin wine, *defrutum* sweet syrup, and *mella* sweet honey. The first pair are ranked together as sweet liquors, the last pair as sweet solids; but whatever other properties they may possess, they are all distinguished by the one quality of *lusciousness*, and are properly enough associated together as *dulcia*.

It is said, however, that “Pliny and Varro speak of a wine called ‘*murrina*,’ a wine not mixed with myrrh, but a very sweet aromatic drink, much approved of by Roman ladies, and conceded to them because it would not inebriate. *Dulces nec inebrians* are the words of Varro. Of this wine, Pliny also says (lib. xiv. Chap. 3), that it would not intoxicate.”⁵⁸⁰ This is another of those strange mixtures of facts and fancies which are sometimes met with in this controversy. Where did the writer learn that *murrina* was “a wine not mixed with myrrh?” If it was an “aromatic drink” what aromatic substance was used in flavouring it? If it was “not mixed with myrrh,” but with some other flavouring agent, how could it be a *murrina*, or myrrhed wine? Where, also, does Pliny say that “it would not inebriate?” Not in “lib. xiv. Chap. 3” “for *murrina* is not spoken of there at all; and in the only place where he does speak of it,⁵⁸¹ he makes no reference either to its intoxicating or non-intoxicating property, as may be seen in the passage given above. And what evidence is furnished by the words of Varro, *dulces nec inebrians*, “sweets do not inebriate,” that *murrina* was an unfermented wine? Before accepting such a conclusion we must be satisfied that Varro refers to *murrina* at all; and when that has been made certain, we must then be assured that his words are to be taken absolutely, and not comparatively, as in

⁵⁸⁰ Temp. Cyclo., p. 409

⁵⁸¹ Xiv. 13

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those cases of which we have given examples in a previous section from both ancient and modern their writers.

We find that myrrh was used by the ancients, not only as an aromatic to flavour their wines, as in those “perfumed wines” referred to by Martial and Pliny noticed above, but also, and probably in larger quantity, as a narcotic to counteract their inebriating effects. Accordingly, Aristotle, in his treatise on *Drunkenness*, is cited by Athenaeus as saying, “*Myrrh*, rushes, and other things of the same sort, are put into water and then boiled; and when this mixture is put into the wine, the drinkers are *less apt to become intoxicated*.” And in another place, he again refers to this use of *myrrh* and other things, and says, “when some of this compound is added to the wine, it has such effect in *preventing intoxication* that it even diminishes the amorous propensities, checking the breath in some degree, &c.”⁵⁸² This cure must have been as bad, if not worse, than the disease; for if myrrh was a narcotic, it could only prevent intoxication by inducing semi-stupefaction, unless on the homoeopathic principle, *similia similibus curantur*.

It thus appears that *myrrh* was added to wine in different proportions, and for different purposes. In one case it was used merely to flavour the liquor and make it a sweet aromatic wine. In another it was apparently intended to act as a counteractive to the alcohol, and make the wine a less intoxicating beverage. And in another it was employed in making the “wine mingled with myrrh,” which Dr. Lees designates a “drugged potion,” and which Christ refused to drink when it was offered to Him at his crucifixion. In all this there is no evidence that *murrina* was an unfermented liquor.

⁵⁸² Athen., xi.

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2. Lora

This wine is also designated *vinum operarium*, doubtless because it was specially prepared for the use of slaves and others, as the labourers' wine. Varro explains that it was called *lora*, because the husks of which it was chiefly made were *lota*, "watered," in the manufacture. Pliny's account of it is as follows: - "Those cannot properly be called wines which by the Greeks are known under the name of *deuteria*, and to which, in common with Cato, we in Italy give the name of *lora*, being made from the husks of grapes steeped in water. Still, however, this beverage is reckoned as making one of the labourers' wines. There are three varieties of it: the first is made in the following manner: - After the must is drawn off, one-tenth of its amount in water is added to the husks, which are then left to soak a day and a night, and then again are subjected to pressure. A second kind, that which the Greeks are in the habit of making, is prepared by adding one-third in water of the quantity of must that has been drawn off, and after submitting the pulp to pressure, the result is reduced by boiling to one-third of its original quantity. A third kind, again, is pressed out from the wine lees. Cato gives it the name of *faecatum*. None of these beverages, however, will keep the more than a single year."⁵⁸³

The differences noticed by Pliny in the preparation of these three varieties of *lora* are unimportant. There is a difference in quantities of water used; one is boiled; and one is made from wine-lees, instead of grape-husks. The first two species were made from husks, which were chopped up, or "cut round," before final pressure; and the wine was thence named *circumcidaneum* by Cato; *circumicvisum* by Columella, and *circucisitum* by Varro.

⁵⁸³ Book xiv.

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The other species was made from lees, and thence named by Cato *facatum*, or “lees wine.” Although nothing is said here as to the particular properties of this beverage, it may be inferred from the quality of the juice, the mode of its preparation, the place it occupied in relation to wines, as *deuteria*, and the fact as to its being so short-lived, that it was one of the small wines of the ancients, like the modern *piquette*, or harvesters’ wine of the Continent.

Dr. Lees, as we have seen, includes it among the alleged unfermented wines allowed to women above thirty or thirty-five years of age, and yet he identifies it with the Hebrew *khometz*, which he says was a “fermented drink,”⁵⁸⁴ and was no doubt “the thin, sour drink made from the last pressure of the grapes, with water added, and was, like the Roman *posca*, something halfway between ginger-beer and French *vinorduaire*.”⁵⁸⁵ Professor Ramsay, whom the doctor quotes as testifying that *lora* was “the drink of elderly women,” in describing the process of ancient wine manufacture, says, that the fourth product of the press was also fermented, and the result was a thin acid beverage, known as *lora*.⁵⁸⁶ The translators of Pliny (Bohn’s Ed.) say, “We have no corresponding word for this beverage in the English language – a thin, poor liquor, made by pouring water on the husks and stalks after being fully pressed, allowing them to soak, pressing them again, and then fermenting the liquor.” And Holland, another translator of Pliny, describes the *lora* as “a small, thin wine of the second running.” Dr. Ritchie, under the head of “wines allowed to women,” says, “The wine last expressed from the grapes, which was always kept by itself, must have been thin and poor enough; but a still inferior beverage was made by pouring water upon the

⁵⁸⁴ Temp. Bib. Com. p. 421

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., p. xxiv

⁵⁸⁶ Rom. Antiq.

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husks and stalks after they had been fully pressed, and allowing them to soak, pressing again, and *fermenting the liquor* thus obtained. This was given to labourers in winter, and was, along with *sapa*, the drink of elder women.”⁵⁸⁷

Thus, then, Lees and Ritchie, advocates of the unfermented theory, agree with those other writers in testifying that the *lora*, which was allowed to “elderly women,” above “thirty or thirty-five years of age,” as an unfermented wine, was, after all, “a fermented drink!” But, apart from any testimony of that kind whatever, it is self-evident that a liquor such as the above could not have been preserved without fermentation, even for the brief period noticed by Pliny. It must, therefore, have been a fermented wine, whether used by laboring men, or “elderly women.”

The satirists appear to allude to this, or some other small wine, when they speak contemptuously of “vile libations” on a festal day,”⁵⁸⁸ “meager down-the-Tiber wine,” the “refuse of our country vats,”⁵⁸⁹ “such ropy wine, as wool, which takes all liquids, would decline.”⁵⁹⁰

*“Or stooping o’er the dregs of mothery wine
Touch, with suspicious nose, the sacred sign.” – (Persius).*

Martial complains that while his luxurious friends drink rich “Setine wine, cooled in the snow,” he has to content himself with “the black poison of Corsica out of the cask;”⁵⁹¹ and addressing Amminus, he says, “In drinking Vatican wine you drink poison.”⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁷ Sc. Test, p. 92

⁵⁸⁸ Horace

⁵⁸⁹ Juvenal

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁹¹ Ep., ix. 2

⁵⁹² Ibid., vi. 92

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The elder Cato, who was distinguished for his abstemious habits, is commended by Plutarch, because “all the time he was in the army he drank nothing but water, except that when almost burnt up with thirst, he would ask for a little vinegar, or when he found his strength and spirits exhausted, he would take a little wine.” He was accustomed to work with his own labourers on his little farm, and “afterwards sit down with them, and eat the same kind of bread, and drink of the same wine;” and “even when praetor or consul, he drank the same wine with his slaves.”⁵⁹³

The beverages referred to above were obviously an inferior sort of wine, the usual drink of the peasantry, and, probably, the *lora* or *vinum operarium* under consideration. Modern writers refer to a similar description of wine still used by the labourers and others on the Continent. Sir Francis Head describes its manufacture in his Faggot of French Sticks, and intimates it is frequently sent to the distilleries for the extraction of its spirit in the manufacture of brandy.⁵⁹⁴ Redding refers to it under the name of piquette, given to the peasants in harvest time.”⁵⁹⁵ Vizetelly describes a species of wine called *mastas*, which is a “second wine, consisting of ordinary must which has profited by having the lees of Imperial Tokay steeped in it.”⁵⁹⁶ Miss Bremner, in *Greece and the Greeks*, tells us that the poor in that country “must satisfy themselves with a liquor which resembles vinegar rather than wine.”⁵⁹⁷ Conway describes the *vin-da-pays*, a French country wine, made and freely used by the peasants, which he pronounces bad, but

⁵⁹³ *Life of Cato*

⁵⁹⁴ i. 376, 377

⁵⁹⁵ *Wines* p. 76

⁵⁹⁶ *Wines* p. 83

⁵⁹⁷ i. 223

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drinks “not because I like it, but because its very thinness and sourness render it the more refreshing in hot weather.”⁵⁹⁸

Further evidence as to the character of this small wine is unnecessary. Enough has been adduced to show that the *lora*, or *vinum operarium*, of the ancients was not an unfermented wine, the special drink of “elderly women,” nor an unfermented liquor of any description.

3. Passum.

This is the third and last of the alleged unfermented wines which were allowed to women as beverages. There can be no doubt that in the early times of Roman history *passum* was prescribed, either by law or usage, for ancient writers testify that while women were forbidden to drink wine, they were permitted to use sweet *passum*. This fact has accordingly been laid hold of by the advocates of the unfermented theory, and employed with an almost endless iteration, as if it were quite sufficient of itself to determine the whole controversy. So persistent, indeed, is their appeal to *passum*, that one is almost tempted to ignore all the facts of history, and believe that the ladies of the olden time, both above and below thirty years of age, were utter strangers to the taste of wine.

It may be argued that the very nature and purpose of the ancient prohibitory law evidence that the *passum* which was permitted must have been a non-alcoholic liquor. But, (a) However it may have been in the early times of Roman history, it is certain that, “at the time of our Saviour on earth, and for a long period after,” the use of *passum* as a beverage was not peculiar to

⁵⁹⁸ South of France, ii. 283

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women of any age, for Martial describes it as the “wine of the poor man.”⁵⁹⁹ (b) If *passum* was the usual drink of women at any period, the facts as to female intemperance show that it was an alcoholic liquor. (c) *Passum* may or may not have been fermented, so far as the prohibition and permission in question are concerned, for neither of these indicators anything as to its specific properties. (d) The distinction made between the wine forbidden and the latter was not regarded as properly belonging to the former class of beverages. Accordingly, Athenaus, quoting the law “it is forbidden to women to drink wine at all,” adds, “However, they drink what is called *passum* and that is made from raisins.” And Pliny says, “*Passum* has the peculiar flavour of the grape, and not that of wine,” – *passi genera sunt, suim saporcm, non vini referential*.⁶⁰⁰ (e) Wine may have been forbidden, and *passum* allowed, not because the latter was in an unfermented liquor, but because, although fermented, it was regarded as a sweet drink, of less potency than the stronger wines in common use. Thus, if a modern law were enacted in this country prohibiting the use of wine, but allowing the use of “what is called beer, and that is made from barley,” and was old designated “barley wine” as *passum* is now called “raisin wine,” we should certainly be under no obligation to conclude that the permitted beer was an unfermented liquor. When Dame Whitcraft was invited by Julian Peveril to drink a glass of ale, she replied, “I dare not pledge you, for our Gaffer says the ale is brewed too strong for women; so I only drink a glass of Canary at a time with a gossip, or any gentleman guest that is so minded.”⁶⁰¹ Here is a domestic law forbidding the women of a household to drink ale because it is “brewed too strong” for them, but permitting the use

⁵⁹⁹ Ep. xiii. 106

⁶⁰⁰ Book xiv.

⁶⁰¹ Peveril of the Peak

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of Canary wine, and yet both the prohibited and permitted drinks were fermented liquors. If this be so, why should the conclusion be forced upon us, on the ground of that ancient law or usage, that *passum* was an unfermented wine? The inference is illogical, and the position untenable.

What, then, is *passum*? It was made from the wine *pasae*, sun-dried grapes or raisins, and was therefore a species of raisin wine. Dr. Lees furnishes us with a recipe for making an unfermented raisin wine, like the supposed *passum*, as follows: - "Take a quantity of the best bloom or Muscated raisins; cut them into small pieces; pour on them boiling water in the proportion of a pint to every pound; let the infusion stand over night; then press out the liquor from the fruit, adding two teaspoonfuls of burn sugar for colouring. After the whole has settled for a few hours, decant the clear wine by pouring slowly into the vessel to be used, leaving any sediment behind."⁶⁰² And this sweet raisin water is a "clear wine!" An equally valuable recipe may be given for the manufacture of home-brewed ale, by merely substituting good barley for the best bloom raisins in the prescription. And there can be no doubt that the *barley water*, thus prepared, will be as good barley wine in the morning, as the doctor's *raisin water* is a "clear wine" in any way resembling the ancient *passum*!

What, then, is *passum*? The Englishwoman in Egypt informs us: There is a kind of wine which Muslims are permitted to drink. It is properly called *nebeedh*, a name which is now given to prohibited kinds of wine, and is generally prepared by putting dry grapes or dry dates in water, to extract their sweetness, and suffering the liquor to ferment slightly, until it acquires a little sharpness or pungency. The prophet himself was in the habit of drinking wine of this kind, which was prepared for him in the first part of the

⁶⁰² Temp. Bib. Com. p. 286

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night; he drank it on the first and second days following; but if any remained on the morning of the third day, he either gave it to his servants, or ordered it to be poured out on the ground. Such beverages have therefore been drunk the strictest of his followers.”⁶⁰³ Niebuhr also says, “At Loyeha we bought a sort of wine, prepared from an infusion of dry grapes in water in a pot, which is buried in the ground to make the liquor ferment.”⁶⁰⁴ The ancient *passum*, allowed to women who were forbidden to drink wine, may have been a liquor prepared from dried grapes, like that “which Muslims are permitted to drink,” who are otherwise forbidden to drink wine; and yet both species of *passum*, ancient and modern, be fermented liquors.

What again is *passum*? The mode of preparing the ancient *passum* is given by Pliny, Mago, and Columella. The prescription of Pliny has reference chiefly to the treatment of the fruit, and gives no indication of the specific nature of the liquor. Mago gives directions for treatment of the grapes, and says, “When they are dry (sufficiently shriveled), pluck the grapes from the stalks, throw them into a cask, and make the first must. If they are well drained, put them, at the end of six days, into a vessel, and press them for the first wine. A second time let them be pounded (or trodden) and pressed, adding cold must to the pressing. This second wine is to be placed in a pitched vessel, let it become sour. After it has remained twenty or thirty days, and fermented, rack it into another vessel, and, stopping it close, immediately cover it with a skin.”⁶⁰⁵ Columella,, prefacing his prescription with the remark, “Mago gives directions for making the best sort of wine, I myself have done,” proceeds to say, “When you shall have made one layer, sprinkle it thoroughly with old wine; after that tread it again

⁶⁰³ lii. 219

⁶⁰⁴ Travels, ii. 186

⁶⁰⁵ Redding, p. 17

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lightly, and a second time sprinkle it thoroughly with wine; after a third treading and infusion of wine in the same way, heap it up so that it [the mass of grapes] may float on the top, and [so] leave it for five days. Last of all, tread out the grapes with the feet, and press them in a new frail.”⁶⁰⁶

Now these prescriptions for making the best sort of *passum* – *passum optimum* – clearly demonstrates that it was a fermented liquor. In Mago’s directions we notice two species, a first and second wine. The former was made from the droppings of the grapes, without pressure; and the exposure of the juice to the atmosphere during the six days while they were being drained, must have necessitated fermentation. The latter was made from the juice extracted by pounding and pressure from the previously drained grapes, and was racked into another vessel, “after it has remained twenty or thirty days, and fermented.” In the directions given by Columella, while there is no direct mention of fermentation, as in the previous case, the entire process described by him manifestly implies it. Thus the successive treadings of the fruit, the repeated infusion of “old wine,” the floating of the mass of crushed grapes on the top of the liquor, and its consequent exposure to the air for five days, before the final pressure and racking, inevitably necessitate the conclusion that the liquor thus prepared was a fermented wine.

Redding’s account of the manufacture of Muscadine wine is almost identical with the descriptions given above. The fruit is “dried or shriveled up” by exposure to the sun’s rays for several days; and he says, “The must produced by the treading and pressing is very thick. It is put into barrels to ferment.”⁶⁰⁷ Taking all these facts into consideration, it seems to us sufficiently

⁶⁰⁶ Nott’s Lectures, p. 217

⁶⁰⁷ Wines, p. 150

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evident that the ancient *passum* was a thick, sweet wine, resembling the modern Muscadine, and, like all the other wines of the ancients, a fermented liquor. So far, therefore, as our investigation has gone, unfermented wine is a myth.

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V. – ANCIENT WINES – OLD AND NEW.

It is almost unnecessary to observe that the words “old” and “new,” in their application to wine, are relative terms, which, like others of their class, are difficult exactly to define. Exact definition, however, of this kind is not required in an inquiry into the social customs or usages of a people. It is enough that we find such terms in common use, and that they are employed to designate the relative value and popular estimate of different kind of wine. Of course, the mere age of a liquor determines nothing by itself as to the specific nature and properties of the beverage, for it may be more or less weak or strong, sweet or sour, thick or thin, good or bad at all ages. We must therefore have regard to the surroundings and references of the respective terms, if we would form a true judgment of their significance in this controversy.

Now, on examining the sacred Scriptures and other ancient writings, we find that, in the olden time, new wine was not held in popular estimation, and that old wine was the favorite beverage of the people. Thus our Lord says, “No man putteth new wine (οἶνον νέον) into old bottles; else the new wine will burst the bottles, and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish. But new wine must be put into new bottles; and both are preserved. No man, also, having drunk old wine, straightway desireth new: for he saith the old is better” (Luke v. 37-39). In this Christ expresses no judgment of his own; favourable or unfavorable, of the preference referred to; but in the broad statement, “no man,” &c., he certainly announces the common, prevailing, and popular opinion of His contemporaries. It is equally certain, from the reference to the bursting of the bottles, that both the old and new wine spoken of by our Lord must have been fermented liquors. Dr. Lees, however, says, “It cannot have been customary

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to put wine during fermentation, to put wine into any kind of bottles, either new or old, since fermentation, when permitted, was carried on in the wine vat.”⁶⁰⁸ The doctor is here both mistaken and forgetful. Mistaken, because, while the fermentation was generally begun in the vat, it was completed in the bottles or other vessels. And forgetful, because he has himself quoted from Cato these words; “Throw a manipulum of black hellebore into new wine in the *amphora*. When it shall have fermented sufficiently, throw the manipulus out of the wine,” &c.⁶⁰⁹ Again, “And after a day and a night have passed we tread them, and put (the wine) into *large vessels*. When it has fermented and cleared itself, we pour to it the twenty-fifth part of *hepsema*.”⁶¹⁰

The doctor further asserts that “to render these precautions (against fermentation) effectual, the wine-bags themselves must have been free from ferment; and there was no other way of securing the absence of ferment save by using perfectly new skin bags.”⁶¹¹ But (a) It is not proved that there was any intention taken for such a purpose. (b) The alleged precautions imply a greater slaughter of previously used wine-skins at every successive vintage, than Aristophanes ascribes to his feminine conspirators, and must have been a rather costly proceeding. (c) The statement also implies that all the old wine preserved in skin bags must have been fermented, otherwise it could not have deposited a ferment, and rendered it necessary to provide “perfectly new skin bags” at every succeeding vintage. (d) Plutarch informs us that it was customary to “rack wine out of an old and leaky vessel into a new one,” and he says that “a fresh

⁶⁰⁸ Temp. Bib. Com. p. 266

⁶⁰⁹ Nott, p. 213

⁶¹⁰ *Tirosh lo Yayin*, p. 85

⁶¹¹ Temp. Bib. Com., p. 266

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cask may both contain and recover wine that age hath decayed.”⁶¹² The recovery of that wine in a new vessel could only be effected by a renewed fermentation. (e) Pliny, on the other hand, informs us that used wine vessels were employed for receiving new wine, without any reference to the alleged precautions against fermentation: “The old wine was poured out of its vessels to make room for new liquor of a very doubtful quality.”⁶¹³ He also explains that a particular season of the year was employed in “repairing such dolia as may have been broken, and rubbing up and cleaning their staves,” but still makes no references to any such precautions against fermentation as here alleged, nor any allusions to the use of “perfectly new skin bags.” (f) Our Lord has no references to skin bags encrusted with old ferment, His reference being to old bottles which have become unfit for use by reason of age. He speaks not of vessels which had merely been previously used for holding wine, nor of vessels which contained the dregs of a former vintage, and which could as easily have been rubbed up and cleaned as Pliny’s dolia. His purpose, evidently, is to illustrate the truth, “In tha he saith a new covenant, he hath made the first old. Now that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away.” (Heb. Xiii. 13). The old economy had served its purpose in preserving the old wine of the kingdom, but it had now become effete, and must vanish away. The old bottles were worn out in the service, and were too weak to endure the expansive force of the new wine, - for “the kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven” (Matt. Xiii. 13). Elihu uses a kindred illustration when, in allusion to the suppressed feelings which were fermenting within him and seeking an outlet, he says, “Behold, my belly is as wine which hath no vent; it is ready to

⁶¹² Epicurus

⁶¹³ Book xviii.

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burst like new bottles” (Job xxxii. 19). Christ’s “old bottles” – the ancient economy – were so frail as to be unable to endure the expanding force of His new wine, even when open to the air of heaven. Elihu’s “new bottles” were too weak to endure the might force of the suppressed emotion that was fermenting within him, closed up, and denied expression; it is “as wine which hath no vent.” There is thus no contradiction between the utterance of the ancient patriarch and the saying of our Lord. Both, undoubtedly, refer to the phenomena of the fermenting process; but Elihu’s main thought is the mighty power of the suppressed spirit, whereas Christ refers to the excessive weakness, through age, of the old bottles. Martial has a somewhat similar allusion when he speaks of a wine cup being so fragile that “it would be broken by the least quantity of wine poured into it.”⁶¹⁴ And a modern writer uses the same illustration: “As when ye pour rich wine into a cup too frail to hold it, and the wine is spilled.”⁶¹⁵

Dr. Ritchie, discoursing also on this text, quotes from Moses Stuart to the effect; “That reference is here made by the speaker to a very common method of preparing wine is obvious enough. Indeed, the very nature of the case makes it probable that the much easier and more obvious method of curing wine by fermentation, so as to preserve it, would be more commonly resorted to by many, perhaps by the mass. Yet custom, arising from a factitious taste for alcohol, can establish nothing in the way of what is right and proper.”⁶¹⁶

Be it so. We have no concern, in this investigation, with “what is right and proper,” but only with what was *customary* in ancient times. Now the writer admits (a) that the wine referred to by Christ was a fermented liquor. (b) That it is “much easier” to cure

⁶¹⁴ Ep. viii. 33

⁶¹⁵ Gent. Maga., Jan. 1876

⁶¹⁶ Sc. Test., p. 200

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wine by fermentation than by any other process. (c) That it is also a “more obvious method.” (d) That this method “was more commonly resorted to by many, perhaps by the mass.” (e) And that this method was a popular “custom,” arising from “a factitious taste for alcohol” among the many, perhaps the mass of people. If, then, there was any ancient method of preserving wine without fermentation, or if there was any custom of using wine without alcohol, such method and custom are here declared to have been limited to a fragmentary part of the population, seeing that neither of them was favoured by the “mass” of people.

Additional evidence of this popular taste is furnished by the narrative of the marriage in Cana of Galilee, when the ruler of the feast said, “Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine, and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse” (John ii. 10). Without entering into the question as to the nature of the wine of Cana, it is to be observed, that the statement of the ruler intimates a common social, and a general recognized preference for the “good wine” as compared with “that which is worse.” Now, which was the *good* wine, and which the *worse* in the estimation of the many, or the mass of the people? Was the former unfermented, and the latter a fermented liquor? So it is assumed by some of the advocates of the unfermented theory. Dr. Ritchie says, “And what, in this case, is the standard of goodness? It is not, surely, that it is highly intoxicating.”⁶¹⁷ But with all deference, that is not the question at issue. We have no concern here with the degree of its strength, whether highly or moderately intoxicating. The only question to be determined is whether it was fermented or unfermented. He says, “We must revert to Jewish society in the time of our Lord, and what was then reckoned as good wine.” Be it so. To Jewish society let us go.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., p. 188

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But he does not go. He merely says, “judging by this standard there can be no doubt it was what was agreeable to the taste.” A most sapient conclusion, truly! “It was what was agreeable to the taste.” Of course it was; but that “taste” is precisely what we want to know. What kind of wine, then, was most agreeable to the taste of ancient Jewish society? He answers, “It was mild, cool, refreshing, adapted to the natural wants of the body, and cheering as a beverage to man. Can any reason be assigned why this ancient test shall not be here applied, and why the words of the governor shall not be interpreted by the common usage of speech among his own people?” “Ancient test!” “common usage of speech!” Where are they? We can discern nothing but the modern test and speech of the writer himself. “It was mild, cool,” &c. How does he know? Who told him so? Was this the taste of Jewish society, and was that the kind of wine which was reckoned “good” in the time of our Lord? If so, where is the evidence? There is not even the shadow of a shade of evidence of any kind forthcoming, beyond his own dogmatic assertion, “it was mild,”&c. he is evidently judging of the popular tastes of the ancients by his own special preferences; and interpreting the common usage of speech of the people of that age by the *usus loquendi* of the advocates of the unfermented theory of his own time.

After assuming all this without evidence, and contrary, to evidence, Dr. Ritchie arrives at the conclusion that “if his words are thus taken, they have declare for an unintoxicating wine.” Possibly they may, “if his words are thus taken!” But that hypothetical “if” is rather too large an offering to be thrust upon us without rhyme or reason. We want to know *why* his words should be thus taken, that being precisely the question to be determined; but the writer gives us neither why nor the wherefore. The whole argument set forth on this point is a

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baseless assumption, and may be compressed within the limits of a nut-shell – “If you admit that the ‘good wine’ was unfermented, then, it was unfermented!” But we cannot anything of the kind without some evidence, however trifling, being adduced in its favour. The writer appeals to the usages of Jewish society, and proposes to determine the quality of the “good wine” by that standard. Be it so. Here is the “test” cited by himself from Moses Stuart – the fermentation of wine “would be more commonly resorted to by many, perhaps by the mass” of the people; and this practice of the multitude was an ancient “custom, arising from a factitious taste for alcohol.” “Judging by this standard,” says Dr. Ritchie, there can be no doubt that the “good wine” was “what was agreeable to the taste;” and, says Moses Stuart, that was a taste for alcohol.” Echoing our author’s words, but with a difference, we conclude – “If his words are thus taken, they here declare for a fermented wine!”

Dr. Nott substantially agrees with Moses Stuart, and testifies as follows: - “We know that then, as now, inebriety existed; and then, as now, the taste for inebriating wines may have been the prevalent taste, and intoxicating wines the popular wines. Still unintoxicating wines existed and there were men who preferred such wines and who have left on record the avowal of that preference. That these men were comparatively few in number, and that the wines they recommended were not generally in request, does not surely render it the less probable that they were wines deserving of commendation?”⁶¹⁸ Here, again, we have no concern with what the wines may have deserved, whether commendation or condemnation: we want to know whether there were any such unfermented wines to be either commended or condemned. The doctor assumes and asserts that such wines

⁶¹⁸ Lectures, p.85

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did exist, and that they were used by some of the ancients; but the men who preferred them must have been, indeed, “few in number,” for we have not been able to find any trace of them even in the doctor’s Lectures; and the evidence of the existence or use of absolutely unintoxicating wines is equally undiscoverable. But, apart from this, it is here admitted that “the prevalent taste” of the ancients was a “taste for inebriating wines,” and that the “popular wines” of the olden time were fermented liquors! If, then, there were both fermented and unfermented wines in use, the fermented must have been the generally recognized “good wine,” and the unfermented “that which is worse.”

Dr. Lees says, “As to what was esteemed ‘the good wine,’ there is ample evidence that the stronger (unmixed) wines were not preferred or drunk except by vicious or intemperate men, and that the sweetest and lightest wines, almost, if not altogether incapable of intoxicating, were deemed the best by all sober persons. Indeed, the governor’s language implies that ‘the good wine’ usually provided at feasts was of a kind that could be abundantly used without inebriation.”⁶¹⁹ This writer, also, raises a false issue here, and he conceals his position under an ambiguity. He speaks of *quantity*, when the question has particularly to do with *quality*. The “good wine” may have been, as alleged, sweet and light, and “almost, if not altogether incapable of intoxicating,” and of a “kind that could be abundantly used without inebriation,” like some of those modern light wines already noticed; but if it was intoxicating *in any degree*, it must have been a fermented liquor. It is quite true that the stronger wines were not preferred when “unmixed,” except by vicious persons, as we have shown in a previous section; but it is equally certain that the

⁶¹⁹ Temp. Bib. Com., p. 303

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same wines were preferred, even by sober persons, when duly mixed with certain proportions of water, as we have also shown in the same section. If “the good wine” was altogether incapable of intoxication,” which Dr. Lees does not assert, it must have been unfermented; but that is the point he has to prove. If, however, it was only “almost,” and “not altogether incapable of intoxicating,” which he apparently admits, it must have been fermented, and, in that case, the unfermented theory is overthrown.

The doctor appeals to the evidence of Philo, as to the ancient Jewish preferences referred to, who “describes the votaries of wine proceeding from one kind to another, till they furnish up with great draughts of the unmixed and stronger sorts.”⁶²⁰ It might be inferred from this reference that these votaries began their drinking bout with an innocent, unfermented liquor, and ended with the strongest sorts of fermented wines. But, on turning to another page,⁶²¹ and verifying it by a reference to Philo,⁶²² we find that the only gradation in drinking spoken of in the passage is from “small cups” to “bowls and goblets of all the largest sizes they can get,” and from moderate doses to “huge draughts” of unmixed wine. From the beginning to the end of the potations the wine was fermented and alcoholic; for it is expressly said, that “when they are pretty full and getting riotous, being no longer able to restrain themselves” *over their first cups*, then “they take bowls and goblets of all the largest sizes that they can get, and drink the wine unmixed, in huge draughts, until they are either overcome by deep sleep, being no longer able to govern themselves, or till what they have poured into themselves is vomited out again through repletion. But even then, nevertheless, the insatiable desire which exists within them continues to rage as

⁶²⁰ Ibid.,

⁶²¹ Ibid., p. 350

⁶²² On Drunkenness, sec. 53

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though it were still under the influence of hunger.” Thus there is not even the shadow of a reference in the whole passage to the existence or use of an unfermented wine.

We have shown that all the wines of the ancients, so far as known to us, were more or less alcoholic; that the use of these wines, especially such as were ranked as nobilia, without dilution, was a vicious practice, usually ascribed to hard drinkers; that the same wines, diluted, were preferred by all sober persons, and that this dilution was rendered necessary in consequence of the strength of the liquor. We have found, also, that the small wines were not held in popular estimation, were hardly reckoned to be wines, and were used chiefly by poor people who could not procure “good wine,” and had to content themselves with “that which is worse,” that while sweet wines were generally preferred above sour wine, flat wine, and rough wine, some of the most famous of these sweet wines were so highly intoxicating that they could not be safely used without an exceptionally large admixture of water. And all these findings go to prove that the recognized “good wine” of the ancients was a fermented liquor.

If “the good wine” was thus an alcoholic beverage, it must also have been an “old wine,” for the “new wine” was regarded and used as an inferior liquor. Pliny says, “The method that is adopted by the most economical managers is to use the produce supplied by each year, and this, too, is found in the end the most lucrative mode of proceeding.”⁶²³ The writer means that wine was stored up for some years that it might acquire increased value by age, and be disposed of at last with greater profit to the maker; and that in order to preserve the stored-up wine for that purpose, the new wine of the last vintage – an inferior, and less valuable liquor, - was used for immediate domestic consumption, and this was

⁶²³ Book xviii

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“the most lucrative mode of proceeding.” A different but less economical practice is indicated by Longus, in his *Daphnis and Chloe*, in which, describing a vintage in Lesbos, instead of representing the vintages as solacing themselves with the juice of the grapes they were pressing, he tells us that Chloe “prepared their meals for the grape-gathers, *brought old wine for their drink*, and plucked off the lowest bunches.”⁶²⁴ Plutarch speaks of one “Chius, who, when he had sold abundance of his best and most generous wine to others, called for some that was pricked and vapid to taste at supper: and one of the servants asking another what he left his master doing, he answered that he was calling for bad when the good was before him.”⁶²⁵

The economical practice referred to by Pliny implies that *new wine* was esteemed an inferior and less valuable liquor than *old wine*; and further confirmation of this testimony is furnished by other writers. The so-called Apocrypha, or uncanonical books of Scripture, may be of no dogmatical authority on questions of theology, but their antiquity and Oriental authorship render them valuable as side lights on ancient Jewish customs and manners. Here, then, we read, “Forsake not an old friend; for the new is not comparable to him: a new friend is as new wine; when it is old, thou shalt drink it with pleasure” (Ecclus. Xxi. 6, 7). According to this author, the “good wine” was an *old wine*, and the *new wine* “that which is worse.” Exclusive water drinking was not reputed in that age, any more than the use of unmixed wine, and both usages were considered injurious; for it is said, “It is hurtful to drink wine or water alone; and as wine mingled with water is pleasant, and delighteth the taste,” &c. (2 Macc. Xx. 39). And this popular beverage, diluted wine, was evidently alcoholic liquor; for

⁶²⁴ Book ii.

⁶²⁵ *Tranquillity*.

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it is said, “Wine measurably drunk and in season bringeth gladness of the heart and cheerfulness of the mind; but wine drunken with excess maketh bitterness of the mind, with brawling and quarrelling” (Ecclus. Xxxi. 28). So that, according to these authors, good old wine, fermented, and diluted with water in the use, was the favorite drink of their day; and neither simple water, nor unmixed wine, nor unfermented wine, if any such liquor existed, was recognized as a common or popular beverage.

Profane writers bear similar testimony. Pliny says, - “It is not with olive oil as it with wine, for by age it acquires a bad flavour, and at the end of a year it is already old. This, if rightly understood, is a wise provision on the part of Nature; wine, which is only produced for the drunkard, she has seen no necessity for us to use when new, - *quipped temulentiae nascentibur vinis vi necess non est* – indeed, by the fine flavour which it acquires with age, she rather invites us to keep it; but, on the other hand, she has not willed that we should be thus sparing of oil, and so has rendered its use common and universal by the very necessity there is of using it while fresh.”⁶²⁶ Martial refers to the superior value of old wine, when, in addressing a father on the birth of his daughter, he says, “Spare not too much, however, the old Falernian, and leave behind you casks filled with money rather than with wine. May thy daughter be affectionate and rich, but let her drink new wine; and let the wine jar, now new, grow old along with its mistress.”⁶²⁷ Elsewhere he recommends his friend, who was accustomed to drain “the glorious jar of the long departed Opimius,” to “get dregs of Laetine wine from a tavern-keeper, Sextilianus, if you drink more than ten cups.”⁶²⁸ Here the “good wine” is “Old Falernian,” and “that which is worse” is *Fax Laletan*

⁶²⁶ Book. xv. 2

⁶²⁷ Ep., vi. 27

⁶²⁸ Ep., Li. 26

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– the *facatum* of Cato; and here is the custom alluded to by the governor of the feast, of drinking “the good wine” at the beginning, and “when men have well drunk then that which is worse.”

Athenaeus indicates the nature of the favourite old wine when he says, “And ⁶²⁹old wine will allow of more water being added to it, because its very age has added heat to it.” Pliny also speaks of wines being kept “till they are mellowed with age,” and of the practice of “men, too, however prolonged their lives, never drinking any but a wine that is still older than themselves.”⁶³⁰ The most famous of these old wines was that of the celebrated Opimian vintage, which in Pliny’s time was nearly two hundred years of age; and we have shown in a previous section that it was a fermented and alcoholic liquor. The equally famous Maronean wine, a “divine drink,” to which we have also previously referred as a strongly alcoholic liquor, is said by Pliny to have been esteemed “all the richer for being old.”⁶³¹ The fiery Falernian is said to be injurious to the health, either too new or too old.” At “fifteen years it begins to be of medium age, when it “quickens the action of the venous system,” acts “astringently on the bowels, and is feeding to the body.”⁶³² Further quotation on this point from the same author is unnecessary. The references throughout his work show that, in his day, the old fermented wine of medium age was the recognized popular “good wine;” that unfermented grape juice, *mustum*, was not esteemed, if used at all, as a beverage, being regarded as injurious in certain cases, and even fatal in others: and that new wine of a recent vintage was deemed an inferior liquor, and was only used for domestic

⁶²⁹ i. 47

⁶³⁰ Book xix. 4

⁶³¹ Book xiv.

⁶³² Book xxiii.

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consumption, that the good wine might be preserved for future use. Plutarch says; "As for new wine, those that drink it soonest forbear till February, which is after winter.....for whilst wine is working, we see that even common labourers will not venture on it."⁶³³

Athenaeus, like Pliny, gives a somewhat detailed account of the different descriptions of wine of his own and earlier times, and describes their distinguishing qualities and characteristics. He says, "Old wine is not only more pleasant, but also better for health; for it aids digestion more, and being thinner it is itself more digestible; it also invigorates the body, and makes the blood red and fluid, and produces untroubled sleep." The Falernian wine is fit to drink from the time that it is ten or fifteen years old, till it is twenty; but after that time it falls off, and is apt to give headaches, and affects the nervous system. The Alban wine is of two kinds, "one sweet and one sour," both are in their prime after they are fifteen years old. The wine of Surrentum" begins to be drinkable when five-and-twenty years old; for, as it has no oil of any sort in it, and is very thin, it is a long time ripening; and when it is old it is nearly the only wine that is wholesome to be drunk for a continuance. But the Rhegian wine, being richer than the Surrentine, may be used as soon as it is fifteen years old. The wine of Privernum, too, is very good, being thinner than the Rhegian wine, and one which does not take much effect off the head. And the Formian wine is like it, and is a wine which soon comes to its prime; it is, however, a richer wine than the other. But the Trifoline wine is slower ripening, and has more earthly taste than the Surrentine. The Setine is a wine of the first class, like the Falernian wine, but lighter, and not so apt to make a man drunk. The wine of Tibur is thin, and evaporates easily, being at its best

⁶³³ Sympos.

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as soon as it is ten years old. Still, it is better as it gets older. The Labican wine is sweet and oily to the taste, being something between the Falernian and the Alban; and you may drink that when it is ten years old. There is the Gauran wine, too, a scarce and very fine wine, and likewise very powerful and oily – more so, indeed, than the wine of Praeneste or Tibur. The Massic is a very dry wine, and very good for the stomach. Around Cumae in Campania there is a wine made which is called Ulban, a light wine, fit to be drunk when five years old.....The Cacuban is a noble wine, full of strength, and easily affecting the head; but it does not come to its prime till after many years.....But the Sabine wine is lighter than any of these, and is fit to be drunk from the time that it is seven years old till it is fifteen; and the Signine wine is available at six years old, but as it gets older it is far more valuable. The wine of Nomentum gets in season very early, and can be drunk as soon as it is five years old: it is not very sweet, and not very thin.....The wine of Veuafrum is good for the stomach, and light. The Trebellian wine, which is made round Naples, is of moderate strength, good for the stomach, and pleasant to the taste. The Erbulian wine is at first dark coloured, but in a few years it becomes white, and it is a very light and delicate wine. That of Marseilles is a fine wine, but it is scarce, and thick, with a good deal of body. Tarentine, and all the other wines of that district, are delicate wines without very much strength or body, sweet, and good for the stomach. The Mamertine is a foreign wine, made out of Italy. There is also another wine made in Sicily, and called Iotaline: it is a sweet wine, and light, but there is some strength in it.⁶³⁴

Here are wines of almost every description – old and young, thick and thin, sweet and sour, light and strong, white and dark,

⁶³⁴ Book. i.

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home and foreign, more or less wholesome, and more or less capable of affecting the head, and making a man drunk; - every kind of wine but the unfermented. In almost every instance, whatever may be its other qualities, "there is some strength in it." It is also observable from these references to wines ripening, being in season, at their best; and to their being available, fit for use, drinkable after so many years, ranging from five to twenty-five, that, whether sweet or sour, thick or thin, light or strong, *new* wine was regarded as inferior, undrinkable liquor, and that the *old* wine was the "good wine," held in highest estimation, and, in fact, the favourite beverage of the ancients.

The superiority of the old as compared with the new wine is expressed in the lines –

*"Man's nature doth in much resemble wine;
For young men and new wine do both need age,
To ripen their too warm unseasoned strength,
And let their violence evaporate.
But when the grosser portions are worked off,
And all the froth is skimmed, then both are good;
The wine is drinkable, the man is wise,
And both in future pleasant while they last." – Athen., ii*

The above description of new wine may serve to correct the notion of some writers, that "new wine," so called, is to be understood as an unfermented wine; and the intoxicating power even of that new wine is further exhibited in the reference to men getting drunk with it (Acts ii. 15).

Dr. Lees admits that the *gleukos* of this text is "sometimes applied to the juice of grapes in an initial state of fermentation;"⁶³⁵ and he assures us that "it is impossible to procure a partly and slightly fermented wine that will stop at a

⁶³⁵ Temp. Bib. Com. p. xxiii.

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given point;”⁶³⁶ – but he alleges that the term was used in this passage “in a spirit of mockery, - just as the French papers called Proudhomme ‘a water-drinker,’ meaning the contrary.”⁶³⁷ But if *gleukos* denotes a fermented, as well as an unfermented wine, it is difficult to see the *irony* of the accusation against the apostles. Peter does not appear to think there is any such ironical reference in the words when he replies, “These are not drunken, *as ye suppose.*”

The following passages afford further evidence of the intoxicating quality of the new wine: - It is the custom of us Thebans to sacrifice to our good genius upon the 6th February, and “to taste our new wine after the south-west wind hath done blowing, for that wind makes wine ferment more than any other, and the liquor that can bear this fermentation is of strong body, and will keep well.”⁶³⁸ Athenaeus also says, -

*“But as for Bacchus, he knows nothing more,
Than how to get well drunk; and nothing cares
Whether ‘tis new wine that he drinks or old.” – Book ix.*

Milton, in like manner, says, -

*“As with new wine intoxicated both,
They swim in myrth and fancy that they feel
Divinity within them, breeding wings
Wherewith to scorn the earth.”*

The ancient poets, who celebrated the virtues of old wine, indicate also its intoxicating quality. Apulcius describes Lucius as receiving the gift of “a jar of choice old wine,” and exclaiming,

⁶³⁶ Nott’s *Lectures*, p. 88 Note

⁶³⁷ *Answer to the unanswerable*, p. 113

⁶³⁸ Plutarch’s *Sympos*

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“Bacchus, the exciter and armour-bearer of Venus, has come here of his own accord. Let us quaff all this wine today, in order that it may extinguish in us all bashful hesitation, and stimulate our lusty vigour.”⁶³⁹ Horace says, -

*“No mean delights possess his soul,
With good old wine who crowns his bowl;
Whose early revels are begun,
Ere half the course of day be run - Odice, i. 1*

*“Bring down the vintage four years old.
Whose mellowed heat can mirth inspire.” Ibid., ii*

Anaceon says, -

*“Bring me, then, my gentle page,
Wine that glows with strength and age.” - Carm., xxxviii*

Pindar says, - “Praise wine for being old, but the flower of song for being new.”⁶⁴⁰

Dr. Lees so far admits the fact of the superiority of the old wine, but he accounts for it by alleging that besides sweetness, the ancients sought a fine flavour in their wines. He says, Commentators are puzzled with the passage of Scripture “where the drinker of old wine affirms its superiority over new” – an extraordinary cause of perplexity; and he explains the difficulty, - “We may, perhaps, find the link of connection in the idea that ‘new wine,’ preserved by close confinement in new bottles till it is old, retains in perfection all its original properties, and acquires a lusciousness that enhances its value to the user.”⁶⁴¹ To this we

⁶³⁹ Works, p. 30

⁶⁴⁰ Olymp. xi

⁶⁴¹ Temp. Bibl. Com., p. 294

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might reply that, admitting all that is here alleged as to the tastes of the ancients, and the qualities sought in their wines, these in no way affect the question at issue, unless it can be proved that the new wine preserved “till it is old” is an unfermented wine, and that the desired qualities are not obtainable in fermented wines, and can only be found in unfermented liquors. But no such statement is made, and no such evidence is forthcoming. He appends a note to the above, as follows: - “Mr. Wright’s Passover wine is found to improve in flavour by keeping, though no chemical change, and certainly no fermentation occurs. An explanation may be found in the fact that the original aromas of the grape, fine and subtle particles, being, by the act of crushing, mingled with the saccharine and albuminous matters, become less perceptible to the palate; but, by being kept, they mechanically separate again, and so impart a fuller and distincter flavour by first touching the nerves of taste.”⁶⁴²

We agree with the author in thinking that flavour was one of the qualities sought by the ancients, and which gave special value to their favourite wines; but whatever may be the properties of Mr. Wright’s wine, it can determine nothing as to the point in question, unless it can be proved that such wine existed among the ancients. But we have shown that the only unfermented grape juice discoverable was a boiled syrup or jelly. Now, the boiling of the juice, in an open cauldron, to the consistence of a solid, must have overpowered or dissipated those “fine and subtle particles” which gave the desired flavour to their wines. Hence Pliny says, “All the luscious wines have but little aroma; the thinner the wine the more aroma it has;” and hence the practice of adding some aromatic substance to these sweet wines, as in the preparation of *murrina*. If, therefore, this aroma was so

⁶⁴² Ibid.

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eagerly coveted by ancient wine drinkers, and if that delicate flavour was destroyed, partly by their concentrated sweetness of the boiled juice, and partly by the boiling process, it is clear that the said boiled juice, whether new or old, could never have been a common or popular beverage with the ancients.

We have now examined all the alleged unfermented wines of the ancients, Greek and Roman, and have found that, with the exception of *sapa* and *defrutum*, which were not wines at all, but grape syrup and jellies, every description of vinous beverage we have met with was a fermented liquor. So far, therefore, as the present investigation has gone, unfermented wine is a myth.

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VI. ANCIENT WINES – EGYPTIAN.

Herodotus, in describing the country and people of Egypt, intimates, that “they have no vines in the country, but they drink a liquor prepared from barley.”⁶⁴³ From this it has been inferred that the vine was not cultivated in Egypt, and that, if the ancient inhabitants of the country were not absolutely strangers to the taste of wine, whatever wine may have been used must have been a foreign import, limited in its use to the wealthier classes. But this is a mistake, founded upon a misapprehension of the historian’s reference. He is not speaking of the whole land of Egypt, but, as he expressly informs us in the opening paragraph of the section, of “those Egyptians who live in the cultivated parts of the country.” These “cultivated parts” were, doubtless, those districts appropriated to the growth of cereals, for which Egypt has ever been famous as the granary of the world; and here it may, indeed, be true that there were “no vines” in the time of Herodotus. But that the vine was cultivated in other districts of Egypt is as certain as any other well-accredited fact of history. The sacred writers of the Jews speak of “a vine out of Egypt;” they represent the chief butler of Pharaoh as pressing the grapes into the king’s cup; they record the complaint of the people of the Exodus that they had been brought out of Egypt into a land “which is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines;” and they say that in the judgments executed by God upon the Egyptians, He destroyed their vines with hailstones. Herodotus himself frequently refers to the use of wine in Egypt, both native and imported; and he attributes the gift of the vine to Osiris, whom he identifies with the Grecian Bacchus. Athenaeus, a native of Naucratis in Egypt, testifies that “there are vines near the Nile in

⁶⁴³ ii. 77

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great quantities as far as the river extends; and there are many peculiarities in their vines, both as to their colour and as to their use." He also cites Hellenicus as saying that "the vine was first discovered in Plinthina, a city of Egypt, on which account Dion, the Academic philosopher, calls the Egyptians fond of wine and fond of drinking."⁶⁴⁴ Strabo, referring to Egypt, says, "The whole of this country produces no wine of a good quality, and the earthen jars contain more sea water than wine, which is called Libyan; this and beer are the principal beverages of the common people of Alexandria. Antiphrae, in particular, was a subject of ridicule (on account of its bad wine)."⁶⁴⁵ Of the Lake Mareia, he says, "Good wine also is produced here, and in such quantity that the Mareotic wine is racked in order that it may be kept to be old."⁶⁴⁶ Of the Arsinoite Nome, he says, "It produces wine in abundance." The crocodile is worshipped here, and "it is fed with bread, flesh, and wine, which strangers who come to see it always present."⁶⁴⁷ Of the first Oasis, he says, "It is an inhabited place, well supplied with good water and wine."⁶⁴⁸ Pliny notices the palm wine, barley wine, and a species of wine made from the myxo, or plum in Egypt; and he says, "The Sebennys wine is grown in Egypt, being the produce of three varieties of grape of the very highest quality, known as the Thasian, The Aethalus, and the Peuce."⁶⁴⁹ And Virgil says, -

*"The Thasian 'vines in richer soils abound,
The Marotic grow in barren ground." – Georg, ii. 91*

⁶⁴⁴ Book i.

⁶⁴⁵ Book xvii. 1-14

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., 35, 38

⁶⁴⁸ Meta., v. 4

⁶⁴⁹ Book xiv. 9

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The wall pictures of Egypt confirm the fact as to the cultivation of the vine, for they exhibit the growth of the fruit in the vineyard, the gathering of the grapes, and the other operations of the vintage. In the papyrus in the British Museum, written by Aunana the Scribe, an Egyptian is described as setting out on his travels, and it said, "He took a vessel with barley water, which he closed with pitch, and another with wine, which he closed with clay." Strabo, also, relates that Eudoxus on voyaging to India, carried with him from Egypt necessary provisions, and being thrown on certain regions, "he conciliated the inhabitants by presents of grain, wine, and cakes of pressed figs, articles which they were without."⁶⁵⁰ We find, also, that some descriptions of wine were both exported and imported by the Egyptians. According to Maillet one of the Egyptians wines which was carried to Rome was the third in esteem of the wines used there. Strabo says that Charaxus, the brother of Sappho, "traded to the port of Naucratis with wine of Lesbos."⁶⁵¹ And Herodotus says, "Twice in every year there are exported from different parts of Greece into Egypt, and from Phoenicia in particular, wine secure in earthen jars."⁶⁵² From these varied testimonies sufficient evidence has been adduced to prove (a) that the vine was cultivated in Egypt; (b) that wine was prepared and preserved by the Egyptians; (c) that the wines of different districts varied in quality and public estimation; (d) and that wine was extensively used as a beverage by the people. Excluding from present considerations the foreign wines, which have been already examined, there are three descriptions of native liquor to be inquired into – viz., barley wine, palm win, and grape wine. Were any or all of these unfermented liquors? We shall see.

⁶⁵⁰ ii. 3, 4

⁶⁵¹ Xvii. 1, 33

⁶⁵² iii. 6

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1. Barley Wine

This liquor, variously designated οἶνος κριθίνος,⁶⁵³ *zythum*, *cervesia*,⁶⁵⁴ &c., appears to have been a species of beer, which was extensively used as a beverage by many ancient nations. It was, undoubtedly, a fermented drink, but the particular mode of preparing it is unknown. There seems to have employed different methods. Accordingly, Strabo says, “Barley beer is a preparation peculiar to the Egyptians. It is common among many tribes, but the mode of preparing it differs in each.”⁶⁵⁵ Ovid represents Ceres as asking an old woman for water, who gave her instead “a sweet drink, which she had lately prepared from parched barley.”⁶⁵⁶ Orphens calls this drink *κυκεων*, “a mingled draught” and Arnobius says it was made of parched pearled barely, honey, and wine, with flowers and various herbs floating in it. Xenophon describes a species of this beer made in Armenia, which Niebuhr found was made there still, and which is “prepared from meal mixed with water, and brought into a state of fermentation.” Bishop Steere, in his *Travels in Central Africa*, says, “Mataka sent us presents of food and *pombe*, or *ukana*, the native beer – perhaps barley water, slightly fermented, would best represent it to an English mind.” Lepsius was entertained in Upper Egypt to a “refreshing beverage, *abreq*, fermented sourish Durra water;” and he notices as a peculiar burial custom that by the side of the dead “they placed a bowl with *merisa*, fermented Durra water.”⁶⁵⁷

Pliny has several references to the barley wines of the ancients, which leave no doubt that they were fermented liquors. Thus he

⁶⁵³ Herodotus

⁶⁵⁴ Pliny

⁶⁵⁵ Xvii. 2, 5

⁶⁵⁶ Meta., v. 4

⁶⁵⁷ *Letters from Egypt*, p. 188

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says, "The people of the Western world have also their intoxicating drinks, made from corn steeped in water. These beverages are prepared in different ways throughout Gaul and the provinces of Spain; under different names too, though in their results they are the same. The Spanish provinces have even taught us the fact that these liquors are capable of being kept till they have attained a considerable age. Egypt, too, has invented for its use a very similar beverage made from corn; indeed, in no part of the world is drunkenness ever at a loss. And then, besides, they take these drinks unmixed, and do not dilute them with water, the way that wine is modified; and yet, by Hercules! one really might have supposed that there the earth produced nothing but corn for the people's use. Alas! what wondrous skill, and yet how misplaced! Means have absolutely been discovered for getting drunk upon water even."⁶⁵⁸ Again, "In Gaul and Spain, where they make a drink by steeping corn in the way that has been already described, they employ the *foam* which thickens upon the surface as a leaven: hence it is that the bread in those countries is lighter than that made elsewhere."⁶⁵⁹ And again, "Different beverages, too, are made from the cereals, *zythum* in Egypt, *caelia* and *cerea* in Spain, *cervesia* and numerous liquors in Gaul and other provinces. The *yeast* of all of these is used by women as a cosmetic for the face."⁶⁶⁰

These references to the foam or yeast being used for leavening bread, show that the ancient beer was not a mere barley water, rendered intoxicating by the addition of stupefying drugs, but that it was a veritable fermented liquor. "Diodorus Siculus says, that the Egyptian beer was nearly equal to wine in strength and

⁶⁵⁸ Book xiv. 22

⁶⁵⁹ Book xviii. 7

⁶⁶⁰ Book xxii. 25

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flavour.”⁶⁶¹ Aristotle describes the different effects produced by wine and beer when these are taken in excess. “Men who are drunk with wine show it in their faces;” but “those who have drunk too much beer fall back and go to sleep; for wine is stimulating, but beer has a tendency to stupefy.”⁶⁶² Athenaeus also says, “that, as subsidiary to wine, in the case of those who, on account of their poverty, could not get wine, there was introduced a custom of drinking beer made of barley; and, moreover, that those who drank this beer were so pleased with it that they sung and danced, and did everything like men drunk with wine.”⁶⁶³ Plutarch also says, “Lovers of wine, when they have not any juice of the grape ready, drink ale, mead, cider, or the like.”⁶⁶⁴ And “a man may be drunk without wine, by drinking the decoctions of figs or barley.”⁶⁶⁵ Thus there can be no doubt that the barley wine of Egypt was a fermented and alcoholic liquor.

2. Palm Wine

The wine of the palm, like that of the vine, was made from the fruit of the tree, and may be designated indifferently palm wine, or date wine, as the latter is indifferently termed grape wine, or wine of the vine. The modern practice of making an incision in the tree, and extracting the juice therefrom, appears to have been unknown to the ancients, for only palm wine as we have met with was made from dates. It is true, Herodotus speaks of the palm producing wine; Strabo says, the palm tree furnishes wine, and

⁶⁶¹ Bohn’s Pliny, iii. 274 note

⁶⁶² Athen., ii. 61

⁶⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁴ Sympos

⁶⁶⁵ On Love.

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“wine is made from the palm;” Josephus says, the palm trees yield honey; and Pliny says, a wine is made from these trees. But these writers also say that the same trees furnish bread and meal, as well as wine and honey. And as the former were, undoubtedly the products of the fruit of the tree, we infer that the latter were the same. Accordingly, Ammianus says, the wine and honey are “made from the fruit of the palm.” Xenophon says, wine and vinegar are “made of the dates.” And Pliny, in describing the manufacture of the wine, says it was made by soaking “fresh dates” in water, &c.

Thus the palm wine of the Egyptians was neither the mere sap of the tree, nor the simply expressed juice of the fruit, but a “made” or manufactured date wine, carefully prepared and preserved for home consumption and foreign exportation. Cambyses sent “a cask of palm wine” to the King of Ethiopia, whose favour he sought.⁶⁶⁶ And Herodotus says of the Assyrians, “the principle article of their commerce is palm wine, which they carry in casks.”⁶⁶⁷ It is obvious from these references that this preserved wine must either have been boiled or fermented, or both boiled and fermented, for otherwise it could not have been “preserved at all.” It must also be admitted that the Egyptians *did* boil their palm juice, as the Greeks and Romans boiled their grape juice; but the mere boiled juice of the former is as certainly distinguished from their *wine*, as the boiled juice of the latter is so distinguished. Accordingly Ammianus says that vine, as well as honey is made from the fruit of the palm. Xenophon also speaks of “*wine* made of the dates, and also *vinegar*.” Herodotus says, the palm “produces them bread, *wine*, and *honey*.”⁶⁶⁸ Strabo says, “the palm tree furnishes everything else – bread, *wine*, vinegar,

⁶⁶⁶ Herod., iii. 22

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., i. 194

⁶⁶⁸ i. 193

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and meal;⁶⁶⁹ and he says of Arabia Felix, “the greater part of their *wine* is made from the palm.”⁶⁷⁰ Josephus says, the palm tree around Jericho “yield an excellent kind of honey, not much inferior in sweetness to other honey.”⁶⁷¹ And Pliny says, “From these trees a wine is made, and bread by some nations, and they afford an aliment for numerous quadrupeds.”⁶⁷²

In all these references the *wine* of the palm is as expressly distinguished from its so-called *honey* as from its “bread,” or “meal,” or “vinegar.” What, then, was this palm *honey*? Not *wine*, for it is distinguished from that. What then? Dr. Lees will inform us. He says, “But inasmuch as the modern Arabs and others also apply the word *dispse* or *dibs* to palm honey, and *sakar* to palm wine, it would seem that *debash* (or *devash*) denoted thick sryup or honey in general, whether obtained from the grape, the date, or the bee.”⁶⁷³ Here, again, the *wine* is distinguished from the *honey*; the former is called *sakar* (Heb. *shechar*), and the latter *dispse* or *dibs* (Heb. *debash*); and the wine is a liquor, whereas the *honey* is a “thick syrup.”

Seeing, then, that the palm juice was boiled into a “thick syrup,” or honey, and not a wine, the preserved palm wine used as a beverage must have been a fermented liquor. Dr. Lees, however, appeals to Pliny as describing “the mode in which the wine was made,” and saying, “By soaking a modius of fresh dates in three gallons of water, and afterwards expressing the juice;” from which it is inferred that the wine thus prepared must have been unfermented. But while the historian’s description is doubtless correct, as far as it goes, it, unfortunately, does not go far enough

⁶⁶⁹ Book xvi. 1, 14

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid., iv. 25

⁶⁷¹ Wars, iv. 8, 3.

⁶⁷² Book xiii. 4

⁶⁷³ Works, pp. 68, 69

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to serve either the doctor's purpose or our own. No doubt the dates were soaked, and the juice expressed, but Pliny does not say what was done with the juice *after* it had been expressed. It could not be preserved without either boiling or fermentation, or both. If it were merely boiled, it became honey, and not wine. If it was only fermented, it certainly became a fermented wine, but liable to degenerate into the "vinegar" spoken of by Xenophon as the produce dates. But if it was both boiled and fermented, the concentration of the juice before fermentation would give a good-keeping wine, though probably not so long-lived as the old wines of the Romans. The modern Nubians, according to Burchardt, adopt this double practice. He says, "When the date fruit has arrived at its full maturity it is thrown into large earthen boilers, and let to boil without interruption for three or four days. It is then strained, and the clear juice put into earthen jars, which are well shut up, and then buried in the ground, *where it ferments*. It is left for ten or twelve days under ground, at the expiration of which time it is fit to drink. It keeps a twelvemonth, and then turns sour." Now, it is self-evident that if even that boiled and fermented juice turned sour, and thereby degenerated into Xenophon's date "vinegar" in little more than a year, it must have been simply impossible for the ancients to have preserved their date juice unfermented in any other way than by converting it into a "thick syrup" or honey, and not wine.

That the Egyptian palm or date wine was a fermented liquor is further proved by the combined testimony of Xenophon and Pliny. The former intimates that "the wine made from the date is sweet, but it produces headache;" and the latter says, "The dates known as 'Caryotae' are the most esteemed, affording not only plenty of nutriment, but a great abundance of juice; it is from these the principal wines are made in the East; these wines are apt to affect the head, a circumstance from which the fruit derives

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its name.”⁶⁷⁴ The peculiar name of the fruit alluded to here by Pliny is interpreted by the translator⁶⁷⁵ as follows: - “Said to have been so called from the Greek *καρη*, ‘the head,’ and *υωδία*, ‘stupidity,’ owing to the heady nature of the wine extracted from the fruit.” However this may be, the conclusion is inevitable that, if the only unfermented palm juice was a “thick syrup” or *honey*, the palm or date *wine* must have been a fermented liquor.

3. Grape Wine

The grape wine of Egypt, as we have seen, ranked as third in value among the wines used at Rome; and as we have shown that all these wines were fermented liquors, it follows that this highly esteemed Egyptian wine was of the same nature. Appeal, however, is made to a dream recorded in the history of the patriarch Joseph, which is regarded as affording indubitable evidence of the early use of unfermented wine. The narrative is as follows: - “And the chief butler told his dream to Joseph, and said to him, In my dream, behold, a vine was before me; and in the vine were three branches: and it was as though it budded, and her blossoms shot forth; and the clusters thereof brought forth ripe grapes: and Pharaoh’s cup was in my hand: and I took the grapes, and pressed them into Pharaoh’s cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh’s hand. And Joseph said unto him, This is the interpretation of it: The three branches are three days: yet within three days shall Pharaoh lift up thine head, and restore thee unto

⁶⁷⁴ Book xiii. 4

⁶⁷⁵ Bohn’s Ed.

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thy place: and thou shalt deliver Pharaoh's cup into his hand, after the former manner when thou was his butler" (Gen. xl. 9-13).

The argument founded on this incident is substantially, that we have here a true picture of the ancient method of pressing grapes into the wine cup, and a correct description of the sort of wine which was used in the royal palace of Egypt in Bible times. Some collateral points, relating to certain usages of the kings and priests, are noticed elsewhere.

Observe, then –

(1) Even although we should grant all that is contended for in respect to this butler and his grape pressing, and this Pharaoh and his wine drinking, it would merely prove that, at that particular period, the method of extracting the juice of grapes was by hand pressing, and that the liquor of grapes thus derived was an unfermented juice, which was used as a beverage by the Pharaoh of the text. But unless it can be shown that this singular primitive usage was generally practiced and perpetuated in Egypt or elsewhere, the admitted facts will be of little value in this controversy. In the earliest ages of the world the original diet of men may have been limited to roots and fruits; but civilization has taught the arts of boiling and baking, grinding and roasting, since then: and so, in like manner, the hand squeezing of grapes, if it ever was practiced, has been give place to the winepress, and the simple juice of the grape, if it ever was used as a beverage, has "blushed into wine."

(2) We deny, however, that the narrative exhibits a true picture of the actual proceedings of the chief butler in his office, or that it gives a description of the specific kind of wine used by the Egyptian king. The advocates of the unfermented theory have not merely subjected the text to a gentle hand squeezing, by which they might have extracted the simple truth from the ideal vision, but they have put it into a logical press, and have applied the

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torturing screw with such violence that lees and liquor are mingled together in a confused mess. In other words, they have treated the butler's dream as if it were not a dream, but a bald narrative, or scientific description of actual events; and they have failed to perceive that it is merely a vision – an ideal and pictorial representation of the man's speedy restoration to office as the king's cup-bearer. This latter is the one only point of significance, both in the dream itself and in the interpretation of it. Accordingly while Joseph notices and explains the meaning of the branches of the vine, and the presentation of the cup to Pharaoh, he takes no notice, and makes no reference to the pressing of the grapes, or the quality of the liquor, as if he regarded that part of the vision as being merely a tropical representation of the butler's office as cup-bearer. The unreality of the vision is evidenced throughout all its subordinate features. Thus the vine appeared, and budded, and blossomed, and brought forth grapes in their maturity, during the time the butler stood in its presence, with Pharaoh's cup ready in his hand. Then, when he had pressed the grapes into the royal cup with his own naked hands, he presented it forthwith to the king, lees, liquor, and all. Without making any attempt at straining or filtering the mixed compound!

Dr. Lees says, "that as the events were in themselves natural, the proper conclusion is that it was the custom of the chief cup-bearer to prepare the king's wine by pressing the juice of the grapes into a receiver, and offering it, not perhaps instantly, but after straining it, while it was yet fresh and free from fermentation, to the royal hands."⁶⁷⁶ But if, notwithstanding the naturalness of the events, time must be given for the successive stages of growth, budding, blossoming, and ripening, and then for pressing and straining, before offering the cup to the king, we

⁶⁷⁶ Temp. Bib. Com., p. 18

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merely claim the liberty of adding to the doctor's straining the equally "natural" time for fermentation, whereby the grape juice might become wine.

Moreover, Joseph's interpretation of the dream almost expressly dispels the illusion of this literal exposition; for he says, "the three branches are," not as the proposed realism requires, *branches of grapes*, but "three days." Now, if the three branches of the fruit-bearing vine in the butler's dream denoted simply three days before restoration to office in Joseph's interpretation, why should the pressing of the grapes into the cup not designate, in like manner, the simple restoration of the butler to his office, not of pressing grapes, but of "delivering Pharaoh's cup into his hand after the former manner when thou was his butler?" Both are ideal representations, and should be interpreted in the same principle.

(3) If it be maintained that the hand-pressing of the dream is a true picture of an actual event, it must be confessed that so far as our reading of ancient history goes, it was a unique practice peculiar to the reign of this monarch, and unknown to, or at least unrecorded of any other court or people among ancient nations. We read often enough of the cultivation of the vine, of the uses to which the grapes were applied, of different methods adopted for extracting the juice, of various preparations made from the expressed liquor, of the several kinds of vessels used for containing the juice, both when newly expressed and when made into wine, of the various descriptions of cups used, and of the different customs of nations in their drinking usages, but where shall we find another instance among the ancients of this mode of pressing the grapes into the wine-cup of the drinker? In all the references to public and private wine drinking which we meet with in the Scriptures and other ancient writings, the wine is uniformly spoken of as having been previously prepared, and

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never, so far as we can discover, as being pressed from the grapes into the wine cup on the occasion. Even at the vintage season, when the labourers might have been expected to fill their cups out of the vat, and regale themselves with draughts of the newly expressed juice, previously prepared old wine was served out for their refreshment. Accordingly, Longus, referring to the vintage at Lesbos, says: - "Daphnis and Chloe neglected for a time their flocks, and mutually assisted one another. He carried the clusters in baskets, threw them into the wine-presses, trod them, and drew off the wine into casks....She prepared their meals for the grape-gatherers, brought old wine for their drink, and plucked off the lowest branches."⁶⁷⁷

The only other references to such a practice adduced by Dr. Lees, are contained in a supposed letter of one of the popes, and in an account of certain "heretics," who are said to have "used no other wine but what they pressed out of the cluster of grapes, which were then presented at the table of the Lord."⁶⁷⁸ But the ascetic usage of that pope, and of these "heretics," is so obviously an innovation and novelty in Christian practice, and comes so late in the world's history, that it is no value as evidence of the customs and manners of the ancient Egyptians or other nations. And yet, in the absence of all such evidence, the author of *Tirosh lo Yayin* boldly asserts that "it was *the common practice* to bring the bunches of grapes to the table, and then and there to squeeze them into a drinking vessel."⁶⁷⁹ The "common practice!" When and where? Let us have evidence, and not mere assertion.

If this hand-pressing was an actual occurrence, and a common practice in Bible times, it is strange that in all the numerous references to wine in the Scriptures there is not a solitary instance

⁶⁷⁷ Dophuis and Chole, ii.

⁶⁷⁸ Temp. Bib. Com. p. 280

⁶⁷⁹ Sec. cxxi.

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of such a usage recorded, or even alluded to, except in the account of the butler's dream. In Egypt itself, instead of being common, the practice seems to have been wholly unknown; for Dr. Lees, referring to the paintings on the tombs at Thebes, says, - "They strikingly show that the vine was extensively and scientifically cultivated by the ancient Egyptians."⁶⁸⁰ Now, is it conceivable that, with that extensive and scientific culture, they should have followed such a rude and uncultivated method as this hand-squeezing? Nor is that all: the very pictures referred to negative the supposition, for they exhibit the processes in actual use as the "common practice" of the people. "In one painting," says Dr. Lees, "boys are represented guarding the ripened clusters from the depredations of birds, and men are depicted plucking the grapes and carrying them away in wicker baskets. For wine making the Egyptians sometimes used bags filled with grapes, which were squeezed by the turning of two poles in opposite directions. They also build raised platforms where men trod the clusters, whose juice flowed into a lower receptacle, and thence into vessels ready to receive it."⁶⁸¹ If, then, the hand-pressing of the dream was an actual event, it must have been limited to that solitary occasion of the butler's term of office, for, the Bible and the wall pictures being witnesses, it was not "the common practice" in Bible times.

(4) The designation of the butler's office indicates the nature of his official duties. He is called *sar ham mashkim*, "chief of the cup-bearers." Philo designates him ἀρχιοινοχῶς, "chief wine-pourer;" and, in describing his restoration to office, says, The king "will pardon thee, and will permit thee to resume thy former rank, and thou shalt again pour him out wine for confirmation of thy

⁶⁸⁰ Temp. Bib. Com., p. 17

⁶⁸¹ Temp. Bib. Com., p. 17

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authority, and shalt give the cup into thy master's hand."⁶⁸² Thus the butler was not a *grape-presser*; or *wine-maker* but a "wine-pourer," or "cup-bearer," and the duty of his office was not to press grapes, but to pour out wine and convey it to the king. Nehemiah filled the same office at the court of Artaxerxes, for he says, "I was the king's cup-bearer" (*mashkeh*); and, in describing the duties of his office, he speaks of the already prepared wine that was before the king, and says, "I took up the wine and gave it unto the king." It is true, different usages may have obtained at different courts, among different nations, and at different periods; but where the official duties are so much alike, and the designation of the office are so evidently identical, as in the case of these two butlers, we are justified in concluding that the cup-bearer of an Eastern monarch, was not a grape-presser, but a wine-pourer, and therefore the wine was a previously prepared liquor.

(5) Josephus indicates his estimate of the quality of the wine presented to Pharaoh by the butler, when he says, Joseph "let him know that God bestows the fruit of the vine upon men for good; which wine is poured out to him, and is the pledge of fidelity and mutual confidence among men; and puts an end to their quarrels, takes away passion and grief out of the minds of them that use it, and makes them cheerful."⁶⁸³ The effects here ascribed to the moderate use of wine are such as were commonly attributed to the moderate use of fermented wine by the ancients, innumerable illustrations of which are before us ready for transcription, if necessary, and are inconsistent with the unfermented theory. Philo, in like manner, gives unmistakable indication of his view of the matter when, pursuing his favourite

⁶⁸² Joseph, xvii.

⁶⁸³ Antiq., ii. 5, 2.

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method of allegorizing history, he describes Pharaoh as “the king of the Egyptian country, that is of the body,” and the butler as “the minister of drunkenness, his cup-bearer.”⁶⁸⁴ He terms “the cup of Pharaoh” the “vessel which is the receptacle of folly and drunkenness, and of the ceaseless intoxication of life.”⁶⁸⁵ He says, “The matters relating to excessive drinking are referred to the chief butler, and those which belong to luxurious eating to the chief baker.”⁶⁸⁶ Referring to the butler’s communication of his dream to Joseph, he says, “Would it not have been better to have confessed at all that he was a teacher of intemperance, and not to admit that he increased the excitement of the passions by wine in the case of the intemperate man, as being an inventor, producer of a luxurious, and debauched, and most disgraceful way of life. Such, however, is the case. Folly boasts of those things which ought to be concealed, and in this present case it prides itself, not only on holding in its hands the receptacle of the intemperate soul, that is to say, the cup of wine, and in showing it to all men, but also in pressing out the grapes into it; that is to say, in making that which satisfies the passion, and bringing what is concealed to light. For as children which require food, when they are about to receive the milk squeeze and press out the breast of the nurse that feeds them, so likewise does the workman and cause of intemperance vigorously press the fountain from which the evil of abundance of wine pours forth, that he may derive food in a most agreeable manner from the drops which are squeezed out. Such a description, then, as I have here given, may be applied to the man who is made frantic by the influence of unmixed wines, that he is a drunken, and foolish, and irremediable evil.”⁶⁸⁷ These

⁶⁸⁴ *Drunkenness*, 50

⁶⁸⁵ *Dreams*, ii. 30

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 23

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 30, 31

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references show that the royal butler was regarded not as a mere grape-presser, but as a wine-pourer and minister of drunkenness; that the Egyptian king was not a drinker of mere grape juice, but as intemperate drinker of strong unmixed wine; and that the wine poured out by the butler for his master's use was no unfermented liquor, but a veritable intoxicating wine.

(6) Further corroboration of this view is furnished by the evidence already advanced as to the nature of the other Egyptian wines, and by the evidence supplied in a previous section as to the drinking habits of the Egyptians. In all these cases the wine used is a fermented and alcoholic liquor. Athenaeus is cited by Dr. Lees as testifying that among the "various kinds of Egyptian wine" some were fermented. Of these, one was the Mareotic, which "does not affect the head;" another, the Taeniotic, "that when mixed with water it seems gradually to be diluted, much in the same way as Attic honey well mixed;" and another, which is "so thin and digestible that it can be given without harm to those "suffering from fever."⁶⁸⁸ But what evidence do all these facts afford that the wines referred to were unfermented? Fermented wine, used in moderation, "does not affect the head;" thick wines, though fermented, may be "gradually diluted" with water; and thin wines, fermented, are still prescribed to fever patients "without harm." The worthlessness of such an appeal is shown in the reference to Mareotic wine as an unfermented liquor; for Horace, speaking of Cleopatra, describes the tipsy queen as –

*"Her with Mareotic wine inspired,
With the full draught to madness fired." – Odes, i. 37*

⁶⁸⁸ Temp. Bib. Com., p. 17

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And Lucan, speaking of Caesar at an Egyptian banquet, refers to the same description of wine, and associates it with another species –

....."Studded with gems that shine,
Their bowls contain no Marotic wine,
But strong and sparkling wines of Meroe,
To which few years give full maturity." – (*Phars.*, Book x)

(7) If the butler's dream is interpreted a correct representation of the actual method of preparing Pharaoh's wine, why should the other dreams of Scripture not be interpreted on the same principle? Thus, the king dreamed that "seven ill-favoured and lean-fleshed kine" came up from the river, and "did eat up the seven well-favoured and fat kine." (Gen. xli. 4). Is that, also, a true picture of an actual event? Are lean oxen in the habit of devouring their fat brethren? Pharaoh dreamed again that "seven thin ears" of corn rose up and "devoured the seven rank and full ears" (v. 7). Is that, also, a correct representation of a common occurrence? St. Peter also had a vision. He "saw heaven opened, and a certain vessel descending unto him, as it had been a great sheet knit at the four corners, and let down to the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air. And there came a voice to him, Rise, Peter; kill and eat" (Acts x. 11-13). Is this also another picture, true to nature, of how beasts, birds, and creeping things were associated together, and let down from heaven to earth in great sheets, in the olden time; and how apostles arose, and killed their own meat, and ate the raw flesh, unbaked and unbroiled? Common justice demands that ideal visions should be treated as *ideal*, and be interpreted on the same general principle.

Ideal representations of this kind are found in all ages. Thus, in ancient and modern times an extinguished torch, a sleeping child, a broken column, a mural vase, are employed in painting and

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sculpture as emblematic representations of death. These figures are quite as “natural” as those of the butler’s dream, but they are certainly not exhibited as actual pictures of deceased. We have also seen representations of a barley-sheaf over an ale-house door, and a gilded sheep, with the “golden fleece” on its back, over the door of a hosier or woolen draper. But the publican is neither a farmer nor a corn merchant; nor is the hosier or draper either a shepherd or a wool-stapler. The suspended “signs” are merely pictorial representations of the staple articles from which the products of their respective trades are derived.

A curiously interesting illustration of this use of symbolism among the ancients is found in an emblematic picture of Bacchus, which was discovered in the ruins of Pompeii, and is said to have been the sign-board of an ancient wine-seller. The deity is represented as standing erect, leaning slightly on a pillar or altar, on which there is a wine-cup. His head is wreathed with the usual festive chaplet, and he has the thyrsus within his arms. In his hands there is a cluster of grapes, which, as in the butler’s dream, he is pressing into the wine cup. At the foot of the pillar or altar there is a rampant beast, with open mouth, as if waiting to receive the liquor, and which is supposed to represent a tiger or leopard of diminutive size. Excluding one or two of the accessories, the picture might be taken for a portrait of the Egyptian butler, pressing the grapes into the king’s cup, as related in his dream. Strangely enough, this Bacchanalian sign of an ancient publican is made to do duty, as a pictorial illustration, in the modern works of Drs. Nott and Lees, on the unfermented theory; and is, no doubt, quite appropriate there as the barley-sheaf over the ale-house door, or the gilded sheep over the door of the hosier or draper.

Martial seems to allude to and give some explanations of this allegorical picture, in an epigram on wine-cups, in which he says,

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“The Satyr loves us; Bacchus loves us; and so, too, the intoxicated tigress, whom we have taught to lick the feet of her master.”⁶⁸⁹ Ovid represents Bacchus as “having his head encircled with bunches of grapes, and brandishing a lance covered with vine leaves. Around him, tigers and visionary forms of lynxes, and savage bodies of spotted panthers, were extended.”⁶⁹⁰ Athenaeus, also, appears to refer to the animal portrait in the picture, when he says that, “on account of the look which habitual drunkards get, they liken Bacchus to a bull, and to a leopard, because he excites drunkards to acts of violence.” And, again, “Some men, from their quarrelsome disposition when drunk, are like wild beasts, on which account it is that Bacchus is likened to a leopard.”⁶⁹¹

Judging from the numerous references in ancient writers to Bacchus as the god of wine, the patron of banquets, the jolly god, the god of drunkenness, and the like, there can be little doubt as to the meaning of the picture. The wine vessel is “the cup of Bacchus;” the juice pressed from the grapes is the “blood of Bacchus,” and the rampant beast, or “intoxicated tigress.” Is the inebriated votary of Bacchus, worshipping at the shrine of Bacchus, and taught by the wine cup “to lick the feet of her master.” The allusion throughout is to an intoxicating liquor.

The poets abound in references to Bacchus, and the language they employ evidences that the juice pressed from the cluster in this ancient picture is a tropical representation of fermented wine. Cicero says, “The name of the deity was applied to that which the deity produced, as when we call corn Ceres, and wine Bacchus; whence the saying of Terence, ‘Without Ceres and

⁶⁸⁹ Book xiv. 107

⁶⁹⁰ Meta., iii. 665

⁶⁹¹ ii. 7

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Bacchus Venus starves.”⁶⁹² The usage referred to here is so common and well known that quotation is unnecessary. One extract, however, may be given. Archilles Tattius, describing a feast of Bacchus, says, “As the feast went on, and the good wine did its office, I began to cast bold, lawless glances at Leucippe; for love and Bacchus are two very potent deities; they take possession of the soul, and so enflame it that it forgets every restraint of modesty: the one kindles in it a flame, and the other supplies fuel for the fire; for wine may be truly called the meat and drink of love.”⁶⁹³ Thus, then, the wine which takes the name of the deity which produced it, and was anciently called Bacchus, is not a mere grape juice, but a potent deity, an inflaming liquor, the fuel of the fire of love.

Achilles Tattius transcribes a legend of Cadmus, in which the Tyrians give an account of “the origin of wine.” We have given the paragraph in a previous section, and merely notice here that when the neat-herd had taken a “hearty draught” of the liquor given him by Bacchus, and had become “very *joyial*” under its influence, he inquired of the deity whence he had obtained “this purple water, this delicious blood.” Bacchus, in reply, conducted him “to a vine, and squeezing a bunch of grapes, said, ‘Here is the water, and this is the fountain from whence it flows.’”⁶⁹⁴ Thus this old legend exhibits Bacchus, as he is represented in the ancient picture, and as the Egyptian butler dreamed, squeezing the grapes into the wine cup; but the juice expressed – “this purple water, this delicious blood,” – was clearly a fermented wine, as shown by the effects produced on the “*joyial*” neat-herd. Here, also, is an epigram for a deceased toper: - “Me, by name Myrtas, who used, nearer the holy winepress of Bacchus, to draw without stint a

⁶⁹² Nat. Gods, ii. 23

⁶⁹³ Book ii.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid.

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flask of unmixed wine, a little dust does not conceal; but over me is a delightful tomb, flagon-like, as the symbol of jollity.”⁶⁹⁵ And yet that toper, who found a means of jollity in the flagon, drew his liquor from “near the holy winepress of Bacchus.” Plato the younger, referring to a figure of Bacchus engraved on an amethyst, which, from the signification of the word was supposed to be a charm against inebriety, says, “The stone is an amethyst, but I, the tippler Bacchus, say, let it either persuade me to be sober, or let it learn to get drunk.”⁶⁹⁶ Martial speaks of the “wine-bibbing Bacchus.”⁶⁹⁷ Virgil also says, -

“The branching vine the jolly Bacchus love.” - (Past., vii.P)

*“Daphnis did rites to Bacchus first ordain,
And holy revels for his reeling train.” - (Ibid., v.)*

Euripides describes the “wine-complexioned cheek” of Bacchus, and speaks of the deity having “given mortals the vine, which puts an end to grief.” He represents Silenus as saying, “go as quickly as possible from the cave, having given me in return the juice of Bacchic clustes.” Ulysses, having intoxicated the giant, says, “O Cyclops, son of the ocean god, look at this, how divine a draught Greece obtains from the vine, the juice of Bacchus.” The wine referred to in all these passages, to which many others of a like kind might be added, is obviously no mere grape juice, but a fermented and intoxicating beverage; and yet it is “the *vine* which puts an end to grief;” it is the “juice of Bacchic clusters,” in which drunken old Silenus indulges; and it is a “divine draught,” obtained from the *vine*, “the juice of Bacchus,” which intoxicated

⁶⁹⁵ Anthology, p. 365

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 369

⁶⁹⁷ Ep. i. 70

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the Cyclops. Now, what is all this but an undersigned reproduction of the ancient picture, with a sidelight glancing towards the image in the butler's dream. Here are the "Bacchic clusters" in the hands of the god of wine; and there is the "juice of Bacchus," pressed from the grapes; and here is the drunken giant, like an "intoxicated tigress," ready "to lick the feet of her master."

Thus, neither in the pictorial illustration of Bacchus and the wine cup, nor in the dream of Pharaoh's butler, is there the slightest evidence in favour of the unfermented theory. So far as the wines of Egypt are concerned, unfermented wine is a myth.

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VII. ANCIENT WINES – HEBREW

The wines of the Hebrews are variously designated *yayin*, *sheckar*, *tirosh*, *soveh*, *ahsis*, *khemer*, *khometz*, *mesech*, *shemakrim*; and, therefore, each of these will require separate investigation. Dr. Ritchie says, "We put it to common reason, is it likely, is it probable, that all these words were used to designate wine of the same nature, or having the same qualities? On the contrary, is it not morally certain, that each term denoted a distinct species of wine, whose quality was defined by its name."⁶⁹⁸ The indefinite and ambiguous way in which these questions are put render it impossible to give a definite answer in the negative or affirmative. If the writer means to intimate a probability, if not "moral certainty," that some of these Hebrew wines were fermented, and others unfermented liquors, it is difficult to see how the mere fact of their, having different names, or that these names designated different species, can determine the fermented or unfermented nature of the wines so designated. There may have been a score or more of Greek and Roman wines, having different names, and differing from each, other in some particular, and yet all fermented; just as there are, at least, as many modern alcoholic wines with similar distinctions and differences. There is, therefore nothing unlikely or improbable in the opinion that the wines of the Hebrews were like these others – one in nature, but differing in their specific qualities, or in the mode of their preparation, or in the juices from which they were made. These questions, however, will be most satisfactorily determined by a careful examination of the Biblical use of the several Hebrew terms for wine.

⁶⁹⁸ Sc. Test. pp. 10-11

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1. Yayin

This is the most common name for wine in the Hebrew Scriptures. It occurs in one hundred and forty-one passages, and the first reference to it contains a special notice of its inebriating quality (Gen. ix. 20, 21). Now, it is admitted on both sides of this controversy, that *yayin* is a generic term; but generic of what? The advocates of the unfermented theory contend that it is a generic term for all sorts of grape juice, fermented and unfermented. We, on the contrary, maintain that it is a generic term for all sorts of fermented wine only. Dr. Lees says, "Wine means, for example, 'the juice of the grapes,' quite irrespective of the change that comes over it in fermentation; just as the word 'doctor' means, in common usage, 'a learned man,' quite irrespective of his special diploma as physician, surgeon, apothecary, or divine."⁶⁹⁹ But the word "doctor" does not mean "a man," irrespective of whether he is learned or unlearned. Neither does it mean, in common usage, "a learned man," quite irrespective of whether he has received a diploma or not. The Biblical usage of *yayin* shows that throughout all the one hundred and forty-one references to *yayin* as a vinous beverage, the wine is never, in any circumstances, designated a fermented or an unfermented liquor; neither is any distinction of this kind ever made in the use of the term, as if to discriminate between two different kinds of wine. This fact might not have been of any special significance, the nature of the liquor being otherwise indicated, were it not that the Bible is a book of such "minute precepts" that it carefully distinguishes between beasts, fowls, flesh, garments, places, and persons that are clean, and those that are unclean; and between cakes that are leavened or fermented, and those that are unleavened or unfermented.

⁶⁹⁹ Temp. Bib. Com. p. xxxi

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Moreover, according to Dr. Lees, the Scriptures are equally precise in distinguishing the generic term *yayin*, “grape wine,” from the generic *shechar*, “palm or date wine;” in distinguishing the specific *ahsis*, “grape juice purely,” and *soreh*, “boiled wine,” *khometz*, “sour wine,” and *mesech*, “mixed wine: and in distinguishing all the wines from *tirosh*, “vine fruit,” and *shemahrim*, “grape jelly.” Now if *yayin* had been of two kinds, fermented and unfermented; and if the one had been an innocent and safe beverage; while the other was a pernicious and dangerous drink; and if the one was so good as to be pronounced a blessing, and the other so bad as to be branded with a curse; and if the use of the one was divinely sanctioned, while the use of the other was divinely prohibited, surely the alleged difference between the two kinds of liquor was as great, and important, and as much in need of special distinction, as the differences between grape wine and date wine, boiled wine and sour wine; or as between animals clean and unclean, and bread leavened and unleavened. But no similar distinction is ever made, as between fermented and unfermented wine; and, therefore, we infer that no such distinction existed, or was recognized among the Hebrews.

Dr. Lees says, “New names, when first imposed, are always, expressive of some *simple* and *obvious appearance*, never of latent properties or scientific relations; and hence, while the ‘foaming’ appearance of grape juice accounts for the original application of the term *yayin* to it, it would be absurd to suppose that the idea of ‘fermentation,’ the nature of which has only been understood during the last century as a scientific process, formed any part of the *original* connotation of the word.”⁷⁰⁰ But why should the supposition be deemed absurd? It is true, that the

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

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nature of fermentation, as a “scientific process,” is a discovery of only recent date, but the fact of fermentation as “a simple and obvious appearance,” was as well known by the ancients as by the moderns; and the “foaming” of the fermenting liquor must have been as apparent as the foaming of the newly expressed juice. If, then, *yayin* was originally employed to designate a liquor whose distinguishing feature was its *foaming* quality, and which was to be known among the people as “the foaming liquor,” it is reasonable to infer that the reference, in that designation, was to the boiling, spuming, foaming appearance of fermenting wine, rather than to the mere frothing of the expressed juice, which is common to all fluids when disturbed or agitated.

Dr. Lees further says, - “A word, however, like *yayin*, originally applied to foaming grape juice, would gradually become significant of the juice in the subsequent conditions in which it was found.....*Yayin*, then, being accepted as a general term, it would follow that we should expect, as time went on, that *specific* terms would be adopted to designate special kinds or states of wine; and this is exactly what we find to be the case in the later books.”⁷⁰¹ Precisely! That is, indeed, what we should expect to find, if *yayin* be, as alleged, a generic term for all sorts of grape juice, fermented and unfermented; but, unfortunately for the unfermented theory, that is exactly what we do *not* find, either in the later or earlier books of the Bible, or even in the *Temperance Bible Commentary* itself. On the contrary, we get from the latter *khamar*, as “the Chaldee equivalent of *yayin*,” and, therefore a generic term; but no specific *khamar* is given. We get *shechar* as “a generic term for ‘drinks,’ including fresh juices and inebriating liquors, other than those coming from the grape,” but no specific *shecar* is given. We get *ahsis* as denoting “grape juice purely;” but

⁷⁰¹ Ibid., p. xxiii.

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if this is the specific term for unfermented wine, how is it that, in the case of such a supposed common and popular beverage, we meet only five references to it in all the Bible? And if this *ahsis* was the specific term for “grape juice purely,” what was the corresponding term for grape juice” “in the subsequent condition in which it was found” as a fermented liquor? We get none. *Khometz*, indeed, is said to be a “fermented drink,” and is thus, in some degree, a specific term for fermented liquor; but, unfortunately, the drink thus designated is described as “wine gone sour” - i.e., wine of the second or acetous fermentation, and is applied to both *yayin* and *shechar*. Here, then strangely enough, we find the ancient Hebrews, in their ignorance of the “scientific process,” passing by the wine in its primary and ordinary fermentation, and employing no specific term to describe it, and fixing upon the liquor in its secondary fermentation, when it has “gone sour,” and applying a proper name to it! They have devised names, either generic or specific, for every description of grape juice and palm juice, sweet and sour, drugged and diluted, boiled and unboiled; and they have described, in varying but expressive language, the habits of drinkers, the moderate and excessive use of liquor, and the consequent effects of these potations; but they have absolutely no word in their language for fermented wine; or, as Dr. Lees puts it, “there is no word for fermented wine in the Bible, no word meaning that only.”⁷⁰² Now, if this be so, as it certainly is in respect to a specific term, it would be utterly incredible were it not that *yayin* itself is the “word for fermented wine in the Bible” – i.e., it is a generic term for all sorts of fermented wine. If *yayin* had been, as alleged by Dr. Lees, a general term for grape juice, fermented and unfermented, we should certainly have expected,

⁷⁰² *Ibid.*, xxxii

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“as time went on, that specific terms would be adopted to designate” both species; but it is undeniable that there is no specific term in the Hebrew language for fermented as distinguished from unfermented wine. And as there must have been different species of fermented wine among the Hebrews, as among other nations; and as *yayin* is not a specific, but a general, term it must be generic of fermented wines only.

The Biblical usage of *yayin*, wherever the reference is to a vinous beverage, confirms this conclusion. For the same word is employed to designate the wine Noah drank when he became drunken; which Melchizedek brought forth to Abraham; which was disallowed to the priests, and prescribed in the drink offerings; which was forbidden to the Nazarite under his vow, and allowed him after his time of separation was completed; which is declared to be a “mocker,” and yet “maketh glad the heart of man;” which brings “woe” to the drunkard, and yet “maketh merry,” and of which it is said, “Drink thy wine with a merry heart.” *Yayin* is also used as a general or universal term in such connections as naturally involve the conclusion that it is the designation of a fermented beverage. Thus the priests are forbidden to drink it when they go into the “inner court” of the tabernacle of the congregation where liquid wine was laid up for use in the sacrifices.

The prohibition here is evidently universal, extending to every species of *yayin* used in the temple service. So that unless the term be generic of fermented wines only, we must infer that grape juice, and boiled syrup or jelly, were stored in the temple, used in the sacrifices, and included in the prohibitory enactment; and that the use of such innocent delicacies was forbidden on pain of death – “lest ye die.”

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A. *Ayin* in the Drink Offerings

The law regulating the drink offerings of *yayin* prescribes the quantities to be employed, and the manner of its use, but makes no difference to the nature of the wine admissible for this purpose. Now, if *yayin* had been of two kinds, fermented and unfermented, is it not highly probable, if not “morally certain,” that the lawgiver would have been as careful in distinguishing between lawful and the unlawful wines, and the leavened and unleavened bread? It is alleged, in reply to this, that the law referred to makes no exception against the use of “mixed wine,” and yet the latter is confessedly unlawful. But the objector overlooks the fact that the law prescribes the use of *yayin*, and not of *mesech*, which was a cup of mixture – a mixture of *yayin* and drugs. Accordingly, a libation of *yayin* was lawful, as being in accordance with the law, but a libation of *yayin* and drugs would have been unlawful, as being a manifest contravention of the law. In like manner, the law prescribes the “fourth part of an hin” of *yayin* in one case, the “third part of an hin” in another, and the “half of an hin” in another (Num. xv. 5, 7, 10). A departure from these quantities would have been unlawful, whether less or more wine had been employed. The Jewish worshipper had no more liberty to add drugs to the *yayin* of the drink offering, than he had to diminish the quantities imposed, or to substitute milk, oil, or vinegar, for the *yayin* required by the law. But if *yayin* had been of two kinds, fermented and unfermented, the one lawful and the other unlawful, how could the worshipper know what description of liquor to offer as a libation, seeing that no indication is given of any such difference, nor is any distinction made by the law as between a lawful and an unlawful *yayin*. Without such a reference he must have inferred that the one species was as lawful as the other.

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It may be argued that while *yayin* was prescribed by the law, *khometz* might have been offered, seeing that the latter was a fermented drink, “sour wine,” and as such a species of *yayin*? Possibly it might, unless we suppose it to have been prescribed by another law, which required that the best of everything should be offered to the Lord, whereas *khometz* was the worst, or, at least, the poorest species of *yayin* made. It may also be alleged that although *yayin* was prescribed by the law, *shechar* was used as a libation (Num. xxviii. 7). This is true, but the offering was perfectly lawful, seeing that *shechar* was the particular description of wine prescribed on the occasion referred to.

B. Yayin gathered from the Fields

All these considerations serve to show that *yayin* was a generic term for fermented wines, and not for grape juice, fermented and unfermented. It is, however, said that the word is used in such connections, and with such references, that it cannot possibly designate a fermented wine, and must, in those cases denote unfermented grape juice. Thus “it is used sometimes in the sense of the *vinum pendens* of the Latins,” as “a thing to be gathered by men or eaten by worms;” to be “trodden in the vat,” as the “wine in the grapes,” &c. We have discussed this usage in a previous second section, and need only repeat here that if *yayin* cannot mean a fermented wine in such cases, neither can it mean a “foaming” grape juice, as defined by Dr. Lees,⁷⁰³ seeing that *yayin* in the grape, hanging in the cluster, gathered by men, and eaten by worms, is as far from being a boiling or foaming liquor as it is from being a fermented wine. It must be evident to every

⁷⁰³ Temp. Bib. Com., p. xxi

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unprejudiced reader that the metonymical and proleptical usage in these texts no more requires us to believe that *yayin* was either a solid produce or simple juice, then as formerly observed, that the domestic butter or cheese of kine was sweetmilk in the udder of the cow. When, therefore, Dr. Lees quotes the words of Mymphodorus, who speaks of Drimacus as *taking wine from the fields*, and says, “No one, we suppose, can carry prejudice so far as to impose upon himself the belief that fermented and bottled wine was thus ‘taken from the fields,’”⁷⁰⁴ we reply, why should we not so believe, and that without any prejudice or self-imposition? Humboldt speaks of “*vines producing potable wine.*”⁷⁰⁵ Taylor speaks of “good butter, which the soil of Salop yields.” Homer, also, speaks of “genial wine, the produce of the *soil*, in goatskin flasks.”⁷⁰⁶ But if Nymphodorus had intended to intimate that Drimacus gathered *grapes* from the fields, why should he not have said so, instead of saying that he gathered *wine*? Any why should wine not have been taken from the fields, even although it were “fermented and bottled,” like Homer’s “genial wine in goatskin flasks,” if the said wine had both made and stored in those fields from which it was taken? Sir J. Chardin tells us “that the Eastern people, in many places, hide their corn” and “bury their wine” in the fields. “This is done in the neighborhood of the villiages, and is designed both to prevent their enemies finding these things, and also their great people that might pass that way, who would not pay them for what they took.”⁷⁰⁷ And Redding informs us that “the vine-grower of Cyprus hides from his neighbor the amount of his vintage, and always buries part of his produce for concealment; the exactions of the government are so

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 198

⁷⁰⁵ Cosmos, i. 331

⁷⁰⁶ Illiad, iii

⁷⁰⁷ Harmer’s Obs., ix. 381

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great,” &c.⁷⁰⁸ Whether, therefore, the people referred to by Nymphordorus had concealed their wine by burying it in the fields, or had stored it up in suitable places there, he merely informs us that Drimacus, in his freebooting raid had fallen upon the stored-up wine and carried it off. Longus supplies us with two illustrations of this kind of pillage. He tells us that some pirates of Tyre landed on the island of Lesbos, and “carried off fragrant wine (οἶνος ἀνθοσμίας), corn in great plenty, honey in the comb,” &c.⁷⁰⁹ And the Methymaeans, to avenge an alleged injury, landed on the shores of Mitylene, where they “seized numbers of cattle, a great quantity of corn and wine, the vintage being lately ended, together with the labourers who were still at work there.”⁷¹⁰ There is, therefore, nothing in the story of Drimacus, nor in the Biblical usage appealed to, which in any way necessitates the conclusion that the Hebrew *yayin* was not a generic term for fermented wines only.

C. Yayin, Good and Evil.

It is further argued that *yayin* must be a designation of two kinds of liquor, fermented and unfermented, because in one class of texts it is spoken of as a curse, and in another as a blessing. “It appears manifest,” says Dr. Ritchie, “that this diversity of expression in Scriptures proves, beyond all reasonable doubt, a diversity of character in these wines. The conclusion seems irresistible, that it is an innocent, unintoxicating wine which the Spirit of God in His Word commends; while it is a deleterious,

⁷⁰⁸ Wines, p. 36

⁷⁰⁹ i.

⁷¹⁰ li.

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inebriating wine which He condemns.”⁷¹¹ With all deference to the writer, we maintain on the contrary, that the “diversity of expression” referred to proves nothing of the sort, and that the inference he has drawn from it “seems irresistible” only to such minds as have adopted a foregone conclusion to welcome it. Why should the same thing not be, and be described as, both a curse and blessing, the reference being not to any supposed difference in the nature of the thing itself, but to the way in which it is used, and the purpose for which it is employed? There are, undoubtedly, differences of qualities in many things allowed and forbidden, at particular times, and in special circumstances; but these differences are carefully noted and exhibited in the “minute precepts” which regulate their usage. Thus a distinction is made between clean and unclean meats, leavened and unleavened bread. If, therefore, there had been a similar difference between two kinds of yayin, it is only reasonable to believe that there would have been a similar distinction made in the law which permitted the use of the one beverage, and prohibited the use of the other. But no such distinction is made, and we infer from that that no such difference existed, or was recognized.

Nor is there any reason why different, and even opposite, effects and qualities should not be attributed to the same substance. Ovid says, “That thing is of no use which is not able to hurt as well. What is there more useful than fire? Yet, if any one endeavors to burn a house, it is with fire that he provides his rash hands. The healing art sometimes takes away health, at other times bestows it; and it shows what herb is wholesome, and what is injurious. Both the cut-throat and the wary traveler is ready girt with the sword; by the one plans treachery, the other carries a protection for himself. Eloquence is taught to plead the cause of

⁷¹¹ Sc. Test., p. 9

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the innocent; yet it protects the guilty, and presses hard on the guiltless.”⁷¹² It is the same with wine. Pliny, in one passage somewhat doubtfully says, “It is extremely difficult to pronounce whether wine is more generally injurious in its effects or beneficial. And then, in addition to this, how very uncertain is it whether, the moment we have drunk it, it will be productive of salutary results, or turn out no better than so much poison.” Shortly afterwards, however, he indicates that these differing results are due to the manner of its use, and not any difference in the nature of the liquor: - “By the use of wine in *moderation* the sinews are strengthened, but taken in *excess* it proves injurious to them; the same, too, with the eyes. Wine refreshes the stomach, sharpens the appetite, takes off the keen edge of sorrows, and anxieties, warms the body, acts beneficially, as a diuretic, and invites sleep.....According to Asclepiades, the virtues possessed by wine are hardly equaled by the majestic attributes of the gods themselves.”⁷¹³ Thus the *same wine*, and obviously, from its effects, a fermented liquor, may be productive of the most “salutary results,” and yet, by immoderate use, “turn out no better than so much poison” – i.e., it will be a curse or a blessing, according as it is used.

Panyias, in Athenaeus, has some lines to the same effect: -

*“Good wine’s the gift which God ahs given
To man alone beneath the heaven;
Of dance and song, the genial sire,
Of friendship gay, and soft desire:
Yet rule it with a tightened rein,
Nor moderate wisdom’s rule disdain;
For when unchecked there’s nought runs faster-
A useful slave, but cruel master.” – (Athen., ii. 4)*

⁷¹² Trist., 283

⁷¹³ Book xxiii. 1

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Euripides, in like manner, describe Bacchus as being “at once the most terrible, and the mildest of deities.” The son of Sirach says, “Wine, measurably drunk and in season bringeth gladness of the heart and cheerfulness of the mind; but wine drunken with excess maketh bitterness of the mind, with brawling and quarreling” (Ecclus. Xxxi. 27). Theognis says –

*“Thee, wine! I partly land, I partly blame;
Thee, wholly, neither can I hate nor love;
Thou art both good and evil; no wise man
Hath ever thee reproached or freely praised,”*

(Maxims, 871)

Hesiod says, the gifts of Bacchus are “given to men as matter of joy and grief.”⁷¹⁴ Scripture says of *tirosh*, the alleged vine fruit, “a blessing is in it” (Isa. Lxv. 8); and yet the same *tirosh* is exhibited as taking away the heart from God (Hos. iv. 11).

In the same way money is good, for it “answereth all things,” and yet it is bad, when “the love of money is the root of all evil.” Learning is a valuable acquisition, and yet “much study is a weariness of the flesh.” Food is a necessary of existence, but overfeeding is pernicious gluttony. The simple juice of the grape is an innocent thing, and yet “Juvenal draws a disgusting picture of the zest with which” the ladies of ancient Rome “made even innocent must to pander to their debauched and morbid tastes”⁷¹⁵ “My son,” says Solomon, “eat thou honey, because it is good” (Prov. xxiv 13); but the same wise king also says, “It is not good to eat much honey” (Prov. xxv. 27). “The sleep of a laboring man is sweet” (Ecclus. v. 12), but “love not sleep, lest thou come

⁷¹⁴ Shield of Hercules, 399

⁷¹⁵ Temp. Bib. Com., p. 369

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to poverty" (Prov. xx. 13). Pleasure is a desirable enjoyment, but "he that loveth pleasure shall be a poor man" (Prov. xxi. 17). Wine and oil are good things, but he that loveth them "shall not be rich." (Prov. xxi.77). Exercise is essential to health, but too much of it is injurious. The air in gentle motion is pleasant and invigorating, but the same air as a tornado or tempest is destructive to life and property. Sunshine and frost are agreeable in their season, but men have suffered sunstroke from the one, and have been frozen to death by the other. Fire and water are proverbially good servants, but bad masters. And so on through the whole realm of nature; we may have too much even of a good thing; and the same thing may be both salutary and injurious in its effects, according to the measure or manner of its use.

Let it be observed that no attempt is being made here to ignore or deny the essential distinctions which obtain between things of different nature. All that is aimed at is to show that different, and even opposite effects, may be ascribed to the same things; that these things may be good or evil, according to the manner or purpose of their use; and that, therefore, the mere fact of *yayin* being spoken of both as a curse and a blessing, affords no evidence of the existence of two kinds of wine, fermented and unfermented. The Biblical usage on which this argument is found is much akin to that which is employed in reference to money. Thus, in one class of texts, we find that the Lord "maketh rich" (1 Sam. ii. 7); giveth Solomon "both riches and honours" (1 Kings iii. 13); prospers Abraham until he becomes "very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold (Gen. xiii. 2); and blesses the latter end of Job more than his beginning, "so that he also became very rich" (Job xlii. 12). And, in another class of texts, these very God-given riches are exhibited as eminently dangerous and deceitful in their influence on men. Thus, "Woe unto you that are rich" (Luke vi. 24). "Wilt thou set thine eyes upon that which is not? For riches

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certainly make themselves wings; they fly away as an eagle toward heaven” (Prov. xxiii. 5). “The cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the word, and he becomes unfruitful” (Matt. Xiii. 22). “Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high minded nor trust in uncertain riches” (1 Tim. vi. 17). “But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil; which, while some coveted after they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows” (1 Tim. vi. 9, 10).

Here we have riches, like the “good creature,” the gift of God, and yet, like the same creature, the destruction of men. It is, however, alleged by Dr. Lees that “excess of money is no more a ‘mockery,’ or evil than the least quantity.”⁷¹⁶ Certainly not in its physical effects, but in its moral influence on the mind and character it is both. It brings “*woe*,” it is an *illusion* – “that which is not,” it is *evanescent* – “they fly away as an eagle,” it is a *mockery* – “the deceitfulness of riches,” it is *untrustworthy* – “trust not in uncertain riches,” it is a “*temptation and a snare*,” it leads into “*many foolish and hurtful lusts*,” it causes to “*err from the faith*,” it brings upon men “*many sorrows*,” and its painful issues through the tortuous paths of evil are “*destruction and perdition*.” Could more be said of the “cursed drink,” or of any other evil under the sun?

Heathen writers speak the same language, and utter the same hard sayings against this “filthy lucre.” Plutarch speaks of the “corrupting influence of money,” and says, that silver and gold were banished out of Sparta “as evils destructive in the proportion that they were alluring.” Virgil speaks of “cursed

⁷¹⁶ Letter in *Aberdeen Free Press*.

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gold,”⁷¹⁷ “impious lucre,” “pernicious gold.”⁷¹⁸ Ovid describes riches as “the incentives to vice.”⁷¹⁹ Perseus speaks of “deceitful money.”⁷²⁰ Juvenal, also, speaks of baleful money” – *funesta pecunia*;⁷²¹ “filthy money” – *obscene pecunia*;⁷²² and, enumerating things hurtful and fatal to men, he says, -

*“Not any vice that taints the human soul,
More frequent points the sword or drugs the bowl,
Than the dire lust of an untamed estate –
Since he who covets wealth disdains to wait;
Law threatens, conscience calls, yet on he hies,
And this he silences, and that defies;
Fear, shame, he bears down all, and with loose rein
Sweeps headlong o’er the alluring paths of gain.” – Sat. xiv.*

Sophocles says, -

*.....”God is the worst of ills
That ever plagued mankind; this wastes our cities,
Drives forth their natives to a foreign soil,
Taints the pure heart, and turns the vicious mind
To basest deeds;: artificer of fraud
Supreme, and source of every wickedness.” – Antiq., 295*

Phocylides – “Gold and silver have always been a snare to men. O gold! Chief source of ills, corrupter of life, that turneth all things upside down.” Menander – “Riches are blind, and they make those who look upon them blind also.” Max Tyrius – “Riches, the

⁷¹⁷ AEn., i. 479

⁷¹⁸ Ibid., iii. 56

⁷¹⁹ Meta., i. 4

⁷²⁰ Sat., i. 12

⁷²¹ Sat. i. 113

⁷²² Vi. 297

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worst of all things,.....Gold, the most insolent of all things.” Sallust – “As if poisoned with some baneful magic, it enervates the once vigorous mind and body, is ever unreasonable and insatiable, is abated neither by abundance nor by want.” Horace says, -

*“O! let us consecrate to Jove
(Rome shall with shouts the pious deed approve)
Our gems, our gold, pernicious store!
Or plunge into the deep the baleful ore.” – Carm., iii. 24*

Plato says, “Monty has been the cause of many impious deeds.”⁷²³ Lucian, in his *Timon*, says, “O gold, thou sweetest boon of mortal men;” and in *Mercury and Charon*, he exhibits the other side of the picture; “Then, don’t you know how many wars procced from it, and treacheries, robberies, perjuries, murders, imprisonments, distant voyages, traffies, and slaveries?” Anacreon says, -

*“O may he sleep in endless night
Who brought the shining plague to light,
Who first gave worth to useless ore,
And taught mankind to sigh for more.
Gold breaks through every sacred tie,
And bids a friend or brother die;
The fruitful source of kindred strife,
Gold would not spare a parent’s life,
Long wars and murders, crimes untold,
All spring from cursed thirst for gold.” – Carm., 46*

Hood only echoes the sentiments of ancient poets, philosophers, and moralists when he writes, -

⁷²³ Rep. iii. 22

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Thus secular and sacred writers agree in describing the same thing as being both good and bad, a curse and a blessing. So that this argument as to wine, founded on the “diversity of expression in Scripture,” is not a whit more “irresistible” in establishing the existence of two kinds of *yayin*, fermented and unfermented, then the diversities of expression given above are irresistible proofs of two kinds of gold.

D. Yayin, a Symbol of Wrath and Blessing

It is further argued that *yayin* must be the designation of two kinds of wine, because it is employed as a metaphor both of divine wrath and divine blessing. Hence it is inferred that the *yayin* referred to as a figure of wrath must be alcoholic, and therefore evil; while that spoken of as a symbol of blessing must be unfermented and good. The argument on this point is substantially the same as that we have already discussed, and the answer given to the former is sufficient reply to the latter. A few additional remarks, however, may be made here. Why, then, should the same thing not be used, metaphorically, both as a symbol of wrath and as a symbol of blessing? Philo says, - “Moses looks upon an unmixed wine as a symbol, not of one thing only but of many – namely, of trifling and playing the fool, and of all kinds of insensibility and insatiable greediness, and of a covetousness which is heard to be pleased, and of a cheerfulness which comprehends many other objects,” &c.⁷²⁴ Here is the same wine is exhibited as a symbol of both good and evil. The Psalmist says of the wicked, - “Let their table become a snare before them.” (Psalm lxi. 22). Must we from this conclude that two

⁷²⁴ Drunkenness, ii

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different kinds of tables are alluded to, the one good and the other bad? No; for he adds, - "And that which should have been for their welfare, let it become a trap." So that the same table is exhibited as being "for their welfare," and yet as becoming a "snare" or "trap." In like manner, we read, "thou hast made us to drink the wine of astonishment" (Ezek. iv. 16). Here innocent "water" is put on a level with the "wine of astonishment," and both are used as figures of divine judgments. The same usage is followed in a number of other instances. Thus, innocent *water* is again employed as a symbol of wrath, - "Waters of a full cup are wrung out to them" (Psalm lxxiii. 10). "I will pour out of my wrath upon them like water" (Hosea v. 10). *Bread* and *water* are also associated together in this way, - "The bread of adversity and the water of affliction" (Isaiah xxx. 20). "Thou feedest them with the bread of tears, and givest them tears to drink in great measure" (Psalm lxxx. 5). Sleep is used as a symbol of blessing - "He givest his beloved sleep" (Psalm cxxvii. 2); and it is employed as a figure of wrath - "The Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep" (Isaiah xxx. 10). The *rain* is used as a symbol of blessing - "He shall come unto us as the rain, as the latter and former rain, as the latter and former rain unto the earth" (Hosea vi. 3); "I will cause the shower to come down in his season, there shall be showers of blessing" (Ezekiel xxxiv. 26). And the same *rain* is employed as a figure of wrath - "I will even rend it with a stormy wind in my fury, and there shall be an overflowing shower in mine anger" (Ezek. xiii. 13). Thus the same thing is used as a symbol of both of wrath and blessing, so that the argument for two kinds of *yayin*, founded on this usage, is vain.

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E. Biblical Usage of Yayin

If the mere frequency of the usage of the term in a particular sense be accepted as indicating the nature of the liquor which *yayin* is employed to denote, Dr. Ritchie admits that, “on examining the list, it is found that *thirty-one* of the texts are marked doubtful or neutral, *twenty-six* are marked out a promised or permitted enjoyment, while *seventy-one* texts of the Divine Word are marked as branding it with notes of warning, either by admonition or example, of its intoxicating power. The rest of the passages merely refer to it as used in religious observances.”⁷²⁵ The *thirty-one* “doubtful or neutral” texts, with the *thirteen* references to “religious observances,” are excluded from the argument, as indicating nothing as to the nature of *yayin*. The *twenty-six* passages which describe it as “a promised or permitted enjoyment” determine nothing as to its quality, except on the supposition that the mere fact of promise or permission marks it out as an unfermented wine, which is, of course, an assumption of the whole question at issue. Thus out of the *one hundred and forty-one* texts in which *yayin* is spoken of in Scripture, seventy give no deliverance, nor afford any indication of the nature of the liquor thus designated; but all the remaining texts, which are the only passages that evidence its quality, uniformly and unitedly agree in “branding it with notes of warning, either by admonition or example, of its intoxicating power.”

On examining the list for ourselves we find *seventy-two* texts with the doctor’s brand of “intoxicating power” on them. The remaining *sixty-nine* passages are as follows: - *Four* texts of persons giving wine to others, e.t., Melchizedek to Abraham,

⁷²⁵ Sc. Test., p. 73

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Jacob to Isaac, and Nehemiah to the king. *Two* of the blood of the grape, and eyes red with wine. *Nine* of libations or drink-offerings. *Six* of wine not obtainable by reason of the enemy, failure of vintage, &c. *Six* of bottles of wine. *Eight* of wine associated with other provisions. *Two* of a wine-cellar and banqueting house, or "house of wine." *Two* of wine as an article of merchandise. *Six* of wine used in feasting and banquets. *Four* of wine mixed by wisdom and associated with milk. *Four* of making merry with wine. *Five* of wine compared to love, &c. *One* of spiced wine. *Two* of wine collected with summer fruits. *One* of wine sought for with corn. *One* abstained from during mourning. *Two* as the wine of the vineyard. *Two* permitted to Nazerites and people. *Two* of wine given as a restoration to the faint.

Some of these texts seem to indicate a fermented liquor, but taking the whole sixty-nine passages as either doubtful or indeterminate, there is not a single text in the Bible in which *yayin* bears the mark of an unfermented beverage. On the contrary, there are seventy-two passages, and these the only texts which indicate the nature of the liquor, that bear unmistakable evidence the Hebrew *yayin* is a generic term for fermented wines only.

F. Yayin, a Poison

Appeal is made by some advocates of the unfermented theory to Deut. xxxii., 33, in which it is said, "*Their wine is the poison of dragons and the cruel venom of asps,*" from which it is inferred that this is a description and condemnation of one species of *yayin* containing alcoholic "poison;" and that, therefore, the *yayin* elsewhere commended must have been an innocent, unfermented liquor. If this be so, then (a) The vine and its fruit must fail under the same condemnation, for they are pernicious

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sources of this poisonous *yayin*; - "Their vine is of *the vine of Sodom*, and of the fields of Gomorah: their grapes are *grapes of gall*, their clusters are *bitter*" (ver. 32). (b) If the wine was a poisonous liquor, the grapes were poisonous fruit; for the Hebrew *rosh* translated "gall" designates a poison. (c) If the vine and its fruit were thus equally condemned as poisonous substances, yielding a poisonous liquor, how will this fact agree with the theory of those who maintain that *tirosh* is a designation of "vine fruit," and that "there is no Divine warning uttered respecting it, no caution, no admonition of its dangerous character found in the whole Bible."⁷²⁶ If the advocates of this theory exclude these poisonous grapes from the vine fruit covered by *tirosh*, they must, in all fairness, exclude also that poisonous liquor from the wine covered by *yayin*.

A reference to the context will show that the passage contains a description of the morally depraved character of the people, and not of any species of actually existing wine. The figure employed is similar to that of the prophet, "Yet I had planted thee a noble vine, wholly a right seed: how then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me?" (Jer. ii. 21). It is probable that, as the "apples of Sodom" were a worthless species of fruit, the "vine of Sodom" may have been, as Michaelis thinks, the *solanum* or deadly night-shade, which bears some resemblance to the *vitis*, or true vine, in its leaves and fruit, which are said to be vinous but poisonous, and which the Arabs call "fox grapes." However this may be, there is no reference in the text to alcohol or alcoholic "poison;" and those who quote it as a description and denunciation of fermented wine are ignorantly, or intentionally, wresting the Scripture to serve a purpose.

⁷²⁶ Sc. Test., p. 26

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Appeal is also made in this connection to the words of the prophet, "*Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that putteth thy bottle to him, and maketh him drunken also, that thou mayest look on their nakedness*" (Hab. ii. 15). Dr. Lees alleges that the word *khamah*, rendered "bottle," is "the Hebrew term for 'poison' in general, connoting that inflaming property common to so many intoxicants."⁷²⁷ But (a) the appeal to this passage is wholly irrelevant to the present issue, because the denunciation of the text has no reference to any actual wine-drinking at all. The context shows that the prophet has in view the selfish and cruel policy pursued towards Israel by her neighbors, and of which she had become the victim. Intoxicated with blood and conquest, they had inspired the Jews with the same spirit, whereby they were made "drunken also." And having engaged them in their unholy alliance, and involved them in war with a powerful enemy, they secured their own safety, and abandoned Israel to become the prey of the spoiler, whereby she was left in her "nakedness." The metaphors employed by the prophet are certainly borrowed from some shameful drinking usages; but they are used here to describe and denounce the conduct of the heathen in seducing the people of God into the unholy alliance referred to, and not to exhibit and condemn the drinking of wine or the giving of wine to drink. (b) The appeal to this passage is also irrelevant, because *yayin* is not spoken of in the text at all; neither is there any reference directly or by allusion, to simple fermented wine as a "poison." The prophet speaks of a "drink;" and if the word "bottle" must be rendered "poison," the only poisonous drink referred to in Scripture is the artificial *mesech*, a "drugged potion," like the "wine mingled with myrrh" given to our Lord at his crucifixion, or the bowl into which Helen put a narcotic drug

⁷²⁷ Temp. Bib. Com. p. xlii

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for her guests, oppressed with grief. The alleged poisonous drink, therefore, may have been drugged *yayin* or *shechar*, but it must not be assumed without evidence that it was either simple fermented *yayin* or *shechar*. (c) The metaphors employed negative the supposed reference to a poisonous drink of any kind. The prophet describes the conduct of the heathen towards Israel under the figure of an inebriated man giving drink to his neighbor, not in neighborly kindness, festivity, or hospitality; nor with the intention of drugging or poisoning him, but with the deliberate purpose of bringing him into the same inebriated condition of himself; or, as the prophet says, "making him drunken also." No is this all. The final purpose for which this is done is set forth in the declared intention of the drunken heathen, "and makest him drunken also, that thou mayest look on their nakedness." Here is no allusion to the social custom of merely giving fermented wine to a neighbor, out of neighborly hospitality, or the like. The one only evil described and denounced by the prophet in these metaphors, and against which he utters the solemn "woe," is *the deliberate design of a drunken man to debauch his innocent neighbor, by making him "drunken also" for a grossly immoral and obscene purpose*. The allusion of the text may probably be to the curse pronounced against Ham, when Noah awoke from his wine and learned that his son had culpably looked upon his nakedness; or the conduct of David when he deliberately made uriah drunk for a guilty purpose (2 Samuel xi. 13); or to the act of Lot's daughters, who made their father drunk for an equally improper purpose (Gen. xix. 33). (d) The word *khamah*, rendered "bottle" in our version, and "poison" in the translation proposed by Dr. Lees, is used three times of the skin bottle which Hagar filled with water on leaving Abraham (Gen. xxi. 14,15,19). But the doctor says, - "It may be objected that the skin bottle Hagar carried with her is called *khameth*, and that is the same word. Even granting that (of

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which there is no proof), no example occurs of the use of *khameth* for 'bottle' from the time of Moses to that of the minor prophets. It was, then, quite obsolete in the days of the latter – had been so, apparently, for eight centuries, - and, moreover, there were four other words for 'bottle,' and four or five for cup, in regular use by the later Hebrews. To depart from the current and continuous meaning of *khamah* as 'poison,' and identify it with a long obsolete word for skin 'bottle,' is simple whim."⁷²⁸

When the doctor alleges "there is no proof" that Hagar's *khamath* is the same word as the prophet's *khameth*, he may be right or wrong, for absolute "proof" in such a case is simply impossible either way. But the two words, as our readers may perceive, are, at least, identical in form, if they are not so also in meaning. When he argues from the translation of *khamah* as "poison,' in five or six of the texts referred to, that it is a "poison" also in the passage under consideration, he might on the same principle contend that ob, one of the "four other words" for bottle, means an evil spirit in Job xxxii. 19, - "Behold my belly.....is ready to burst like new bottles," because that word is rendered "familiar spirit" in fifteen out of the sixteen passages in which it occurs! Even *khamah*, "the Hebrew term for 'poison' in general," and which the doctor says has "a figurative' use as well," occurs only five times as "poison," whereas its figurative use seems to have swallowed up its literal application, for it is found in one hundred and fourteen passages as "*fury, anger, wrath, displeasure*. Nay, it must have become obsolete as a term for "poison" long before the days of the minor prophets, for no example of that usage is found later than Psalm cxi. – "a Psalm of David" – except in one text, which is as much in question as the passage under consideration. Therefore, as the doctor says, "to

⁷²⁸ Temp. Bib. Com. p. xliii

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depart from the current and continuous meaning of *khamah* [as anger, wrath, or fury], and identify it with a long obsolete word for [poison] is a simple whim!"

View on every side there is not a shadow of reference in the text either to the custom of merely giving fermented wine to others, or to simple *yayin* as a poisonous liquor.

G. Yayin, a Mocker

Although the Bible never expressly intimates that the *yayin* of the Hebrews, was either a fermented or an unfermented beverage, there are some texts in which the nature of the liquor is unmistakably indicated, and in a way which may go far to settle this controversy. Thus, Solomon says, "*Yayin is a mocker, shechar is raging, and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise*" (Prov. xx. 1). Leaving *shechar* to be considered elsewhere, it is to be observed here that the form of expression employed in the text that the king is speaking of the genus, not of a species. He says "*Yayin is a mocker;*" not *a yayin*, or *some yayin* is so. This mocking power must, therefore, be a distinguishing property of the entire species of *yayin*, and not of some only. If we say "man is mortal," mortality is thereby attributed to the whole race of man. If we say with Dr. Lees, "the word 'doctor' means, in common usage, 'a learned man,'" learning is thereby ascribed to every *doctor*, "quite irrespective of his special diploma as physician, surgeon, apothecary, or divine." And if we say "sin is the transgression of the law," transgression is thereby attributed to all sins, and not to some only. In like manner, when Solomon, using a confessedly generic term, says "*Yayin is a mocker,*" he thereby ascribes this quality to every species of the genus, and not to some only. And if

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this be so, *yayin* must be a generic term for all sorts of fermented wine only.

But if the text refers to the species, and not to the genus, it merely teaches that some sorts of *yayin* are distinguished by this quality. If this be so, what are the names of those bad wines? There are, as we have seen, nine different Hebrew terms employed in the Bible to designate wine, viz: - *Yayin*, *shechar*, *tirosh*, *soveh*, *ahsis*, *khemer* or *khamar*, *khometz*, *messech*, and *shemahrim*. Which, or how many of these does Solomon include among the species of *yayin* to which he refers? *Shechar* is already provided for as being separately described in the text. Now, taking Dr. Lees for our guide, *tirosh* must be excluded, as being an innocent solid. *Soveh*, is excluded as being an innocent syrup or jelly. *Ahsis* is excluded as being vinegar. *Shemakrim* is excluded as being a grape preserve or jelly. *Mesech*, either as an innocent mixed wine, or as a drugged potion, may be good or bad, but not distinguished as a mocker or defrauder. *Khemer*, or *khamar*, either as an innocent, foaming grape juice, or as grape juice mingled with stupefying ingredients, follows suite. So that there is not a single species of the genus *yayin* of which it can be said "it is a mocker!" Or if there be a species of that character, it can only be drugged *khemer*, or the poisonous *mesech*! When, therefore, Solomon says, "*Yayin* is a mocker," we must interpret his words as a descriptive and denunciation, not of *yayin* generally, nor of any of its species particularly, save only and exclusively the drugged liquor! The absurdity of the conclusion is a sufficient refutation of the theory which gives its birth.

Dr. Ritchie says, "It is not excess here that is pronounced a mocker, it is the intoxicant itself, and it is just by virtue of its inebriating quality that it deceives the unwise soul."⁷²⁹ And again,

⁷²⁹ Sc. Test. p. 114

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“We do not require an inspired word to tell us that excess in intoxicating drink is raging.”⁷³⁰ But is it not self-evident that the mockery ascribed to *yayin* is exhibited as the property of the wine in relation to use? As Dr. Lees says, we do not argue “that alcohol is evil in itself. In the barrel and the bottle it is as harmless as a stone, but *in the body and the brain* ‘wine is a mocker,’” &c. The same *yayin* which, *in excess*, is inebriating (Gen. ix. 21), inflaming (Isa. v. 11), overcoming (Isa. xxviii. 1), erring (Isa. xxviii. 7) destroying (Isa. xxviii. 7), is also, *in moderation*, rejoicing (Zech. x. 7), inspiriting (2 Sam. xvi. 2), reviving (Lam. ii. 12) making merry (Eccl. x. 19). Even Dr. Ritchie himself recognizes the necessity of associating quantity with quality in another case. Thus, while maintaining that the Hebrew *tirosh* is the designation of innocent grapes, and when brought to face to face with the allegation of the prophet, that the said *tirosh* is not merely “a mocker,” but morally depraving – “*yayin* and *tirosh* take away the heart” (Hos. iv. 11) – he is constrained to say, “*Tirosh*, regarded in itself is harmless enjoyment, bears on man’s sentient nature, his physical sensibilities and desires. This last is of itself an innocent medium of pleasurable sensations, but it is liable to abuse, according as it is indulged; and when abused it takes away the heart.”⁷³¹ These innocent grapes with that bad character must have been “grapes of gall” from the “vine of Sodom,” for vine fruit is not usually morally depraving! But more of this anon. Meantime, if *tirosh* is depraving only “when abused,” why should not the mocking of *yayin* be attributed to its abuse also?

That Solomon refers to immoderate indulgences is evident from the nature of the effects which he describes. Dr. Lees says of the first of these, “This word symbolizes the effects of such wine upon

⁷³⁰ Ibid., p. 139

⁷³¹ Sc. Test., p. 10

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the drinker, either in inclining him to mock at serious things, or in the mockery it may (by a figure) be said to make of the good resolutions he forms before partaking of it.” And of the other effect he says, “The statement that ‘strong drink is raging’ teaches that it causes disturbance internally to those who drink it – this is, to the letter, physically true – and, through them, externally to their families and society at large.”⁷³² Dr. Ritchie says, “‘Strong drink is raging:’ the word properly signifies ‘turbulence,’ ‘wild commotion’ of mind or of action.”⁷³³ And the author of *Tirosh lo Yayin* says, “The Hebrew for ‘mocker’ implies impertinent and tiresome ‘babbling’ and jeering,’while the term for ‘raging’ implies ‘heat of animal appetite,’ such as might arise from over-pampering the body with luxurious diet.”⁷³⁴ The same term, in its verbal form, is used by the prophet in describing the effects of wine upon the king – “he stretched out his hand with *scorners*” (Hos. vii. 5). Now, it is evident, from these definitions of the terms, that when wine makes a man “mock at serious things,” and causes a raging disturbance in himself and “society at large;” or when it creates “turbulence” and “wild commotion” in mind or action, or excites “babbling and jeering,” and the “heat” of an over pampered body, it must have been used in excess, for these are not the effects of moderate use.

Appeal is made in this connection to Eph. v. 18, - “Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess.” Dr. Ritchie asks, “What is the plain meaning of this phrase? Does it simply mean that there is excess in being drunk with wine? This is a manifest truism, and surely none will suppose that an inspired man would give utterance to so needless a sentiment. The phrase in question clearly applies to the wine spoken of, and is designed to give warning of it as

⁷³² Temp. Bib. Com. p. 133

⁷³³ Sc. Test., p. 134

⁷³⁴ Sec. xli.

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tending to excess.”⁷³⁵ If the writer had examined the text before commenting on it, he would probably have discovered more in it than a “manifest truism,” or a “needless sentiment,” or a tendency to excess. By “excess” he evidently understands excessive use, “immoderate indulgences.” But excessive use cannot be in the wine (εν ὠ), for it is the *act* of the drinker, and the *cause* of the state of drunkenness warned against. This being so, the words “wherein is excess” must either apply to the “wine,” or to the being “drunk with wine.” In the former case the text will read, “Be not drunk with wine, in the use or abuse of which is excess.” In the latter case it will read, “Be not drunk with wine, in which drunkenness with wine there is excess.”

Dr. Lees, however, interposes here with the remark, “Unless St. Paul wrote bad Greek, εν ὠ, ‘in which thing,’ must be referred to the οἶνος, ‘wine’”⁷³⁶ Assuming it to be so, what then? Then, says the doctor, “read the text in the fatuous fashion of the day, - “*In drunkenness is excess,*’ (i.e., in excess is excess!) – and what, after all, is there in the truism?” &c.⁷³⁷ We can’t see the joke. Suppose that the state or condition of “drunkenness” is not “excess,” – i.e., excessive use, but the *effect* of such use – is there anything “fatuous” in saying, “In drunkenness, as the effect, there is excessive use as the cause or occasion?” On the other hand, would there not be something really “fatuous” in saying that the act of the drinker, “excessive use” is in the wine, as if the liquor had become drunk by its own immoderate indulgence? But is there no other excess possible or conceivable except this excessive use of wine? If there be, why may not one excess be found in another – i.e., “in excess of excess”” May there not

⁷³⁵ Sc. Test., p. 216

⁷³⁶ Works, iii. xlvi

⁷³⁷ Ibid.

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indeed be a score of bantling excesses in that one prolific mother excess of the text? So obvious is this that, in defiance of bad Greek, fatuous fashion, and mere truism, the doctor himself finds in that “state of vinous intemperance “the excess (asotia), “a state of hopeless, moral disintegration and ruin.”⁷³⁸ Here is a state in a state, excess in excess, and no joke discoverable! Not only so, “the bad Greek” has improved since the former criticism was published, and is now pronounced to be quite good Greek, even although the $\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\omega}$ is referred to the drunkenness and not to the wine, for the doctor says, “En ho, ‘in which.” The subject of this ‘which’ may be the previous word ‘wine,’ or the whole of the preceding clause; that is, may signify ‘in which wine,’ or “in which state of vinous intemperance”⁷³⁹

It is evident, from the nature of the “excess” referred to by the apostle, that this evil is exhibited as the resultant of that drunkenness against which he warns his readers, “Be not drunk with wine, in which is asotia.” Dr. Lees interprets it as literally signifying “the absence of salvation – a state of hopeless moral disintegration and ruin.” If we take the world to mean “the absence of salvation,” or unsavableness, the warning of the text will agree substantially with those passages in which it is said the drunkard “shall not inherit the kingdom of God” (1 or. vi. 10); for “they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God” (Gal. v. 21). But if we interpret it as signifying “moral disintegration and ruin,” or “utter depravity and dissoluteness”⁷⁴⁰ the text will be in harmony with those other passages in which the term occurs, and is rendered “riot” and “riotious living” (Tit. i. 6; 1 Pet. iv. 4; Luke xv. 13). Conybeare and Howson translate the text,

⁷³⁸ Temp. Bib. Com. p. 352

⁷³⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁰ Lees

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“Be not drunk with wine, like those who live riotously;” and say in a note, “Literally, in doing which is riotous living.” Titman says, “It is not spoken of every kind of wicked impurity of which drunkenness is the fountain, but of ruinous debauchery particularly.” Robinson gives “dissoluteness, debaucher, revelry.” Calvin, “all kinds of impurities and dissipations.” Alford, “dissoluteness, debauchery, profligacy.” Eadie gives “profligacy,” and says, “The adjective *asotos* is used by the Classics to signify one who is, as we say, ‘past redemption,” Bloomfield says “The apostle, however, may have intended a paronomasia on the etymology of the word, and meant to represent *asotia* as the state of a person whom (to use a classical saying, which I remember to have read in Athenaeus), ‘even the goddess of salvation herself could not save’..... The apostle means to admonish them not to imitate the revels of the heathens, nor seek exhilaration from intemperate drinking (which would lead to the ruin of both soul and body); but rather to endeavor to be filled with the Spirit, and seek for the abundantly satisfying consolations of his holy influences.” Hammond understands the apostle to refer to the intemperance and impurities practiced by the heathen in their Bacchanalian orgies. Thus the text is warning against drunkenness, as being evil in itself, and the fountain of other evils, and proceeding from immoderate indulgence in wine.

In this case, as in that of the prophet, the evil is not found *in the wine*, but in the drinker, and only in such as have drunk until they were drunken. From excessive drinking of fermented wine, drunkenness inevitably proceeds; and from drunkenness, as a general rule, *asotia*, mockery, and violence issue. Hence, the warnings of both prophet and apostle: “Wine is a mocker;” “Be not drunk with wine.”

Further confirmation of the reference to excess in the former passage is furnished in the appended words, “and whoever is

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deceived thereby is not wise." The deception here ascribed to *yayin* is a moral, not physical effect. Dr. Lees interprets the word as signifying to *wander* or *go astray*; and we find the same term applied to the drunkards of Ephraim, who are said to "have *erred* through wine, and through strong drink" to have "gone out of the way" (Isa. Xxviii. 7). Moreover, the deceitfulness thus ascribed to immoderate indulgences in *yayin* is similarly applied to a variety of other things. Thus, the tongue which, rightly used, is the "glory of man," may, by improper use, become an organ of "deceit" (Ps. 1.19). Self-respect is a proper feeling to cultivate, but it may degenerate into inordinate self-conceit, and become a deceiver (Jer. xlix. 16). Dainties are lawful and enjoyable, but they are "deceitful meats" (Prov. xxlii. 3). The kisses of a friend are desirable, but "the kisses of an enemy are deceitful" (Prov. xxvii. 6). Beauty and grace in a woman are delightful charms, but "favour is deceitful, and beauty vain." (Prov. xxxi. 30). The sweetly murmuring rivulet is a pleasant little stream, but Job complained that his friends had "dealt deceitfully" with him "as a brook" (Job vi. 15). "Money answereth all things," and is a lawful possession, but Christ warned His disciples against "the deceitfulness or riches" (Matt. Xiii. 22).

Old Francis Quarles, not more quaintly than truly, says: -

*"A world of dangers, and a world of snares.
The close pursuer's busy hands to plant.
Snares in thy substance; snares attend thy want;
Snares in thy credit; snares in thy disgrace;
Snares in thy high estate; snares in thy base;
Snares tuck by bed; and snares surround thy board;
Snares watch thy thoughts; and snares attack thy word;
Snares in thy quiet; snares in thy commotion;
Snares in thy diet; snares in thy devotion;
Snares lurk in thy resolve; snares in thy doubt;
Snares lie within thy heart, and snares without;*

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*Snares are above thy head, and snares beneath
Snares in thy sickness; snares in thy death.” –*

(Emblems, iii. 9)

Yayin, then, is a generic term for all sorts of wine that deceive and ensnare the intemperate drinker, - i.e., it is a generic term for fermented wines.

H. Yayin, when it is Red.

It is argued that the description and warning given by Solomon, in another passage, of an intoxicating *yayin*, implies the existence and lawful use of an innocent and unfermented wine.

COMPLETING THIS *BOOK IS IN PROGRESS WEEK*