

SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE ABBASIDS

(170-289/786-902)

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis studies the social life of the Abbasids during the 3rd/9th century (170-289/786-902), the "Golden Age" of Abbasid Iraq. Though stigmatised by various political and administrative crises --- the downfall of the Barmakids, civil war between Amīn and Ma'mūn, Turkish ascendancy, Zanj rebellion, transfer of the capital from Baghdad to Samarra and again from Samarra to Baghdad etc., --- the general pattern of life remained largely unchanged, notwithstanding a strain of refinement that runs throughout the cultural and social life of the century.

The thesis has been divided into seven chapters, a resumé whereof is given hereunder :

Chapter I deals with the various types of sources used in the preparation of the present thesis. The sources portraying the social life --- contemporary, near contemporary, dhimmī, secondary etc., --- have been classified into several groups with an assessment of their comparative value and reliability.

Chapter II examines the evolution of various forms and designs of head-gear, foot-wear and garments in common use in a historical perspective. The dress of the various social classes, the state functionaries, the dhimmīs and the sufis has also been dealt with underlining the regional, ethnic and ceremonial differences effecting form and design.

Chapter III discusses food habits and describes the various kinds of food prepared from meat, fish, bread, rice, vegetables, and other ingredients e.g., spices, oil and fat, sweetening agents etc. There is a brief description of the trade in edibles

and the regulation of food prices etc. The chapter also discusses the table and social manners of the period.

Chapter IV investigates and discusses hunting, a popular pastime of the period. There is a description of the use of the predatory beasts and birds for this purpose, various weapons and devices employed in hunting and the economic aspects of hunting e.g., the prices of the hunting animals, annual hunting budgets of the caliphs and the attitude of the fiqh towards hunting.

Chapter V surveys the popular indoor and outdoor games of the period, their organisation, rules and regulations, the sports popular among women and children and the attitude of the fiqh vis-a-vis these pastimes.

Chapter VI deals with the festival and festivities observed during the period under study by the court and the people in general, both Muslims and non-Muslims.

Chapter VII reviews the housing situation in Abbasid Iraq, the prices of the houses, the housing rent, and the cost of land, the interior and exterior structure and decoration of dwelling houses, and the basic amenities e.g., the water supply, sanitation, cooling and heating system. The public baths found in almost every city, their maintenance, supervision, personnel and the role they played in the social life of the early Abbasid period have also been discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to record my sincerest thanks and gratitude to all those who have contributed towards the preparation of the present thesis.

In the first place, with all sincerity and however inadequate the words, I should like to express my deep gratitude, to my supervisor, Professor Bernard Lewis, without whose continued encouragement and valuable suggestions all efforts on my part would have proved unfruitful. Throughout my stay in this country, I found in him a real friend and a sympathetic guide who was a source of great help during all these years especially in the days of political crisis in my country.

I am also greatly indebted to Mr. V.J. Parry of this School for his valuable assistance and suggestions.

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My thanks are also due to the librarians and staffs of the SOAS; British Museum Library; the University of London Library; the Bodlien Library, Oxford for their willing help in making available books, manuscripts and microfilms.

Finally I wish to thank Mrs. R. Griffiths, the secretary of the History Department, my parents and sincere friends for their kind co-operation, support and encouragement.

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List of Abbreviations

Sources

<u>Aghānī</u> ¹	<u>Kitāb al-Aghānī</u> , by Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, Bulaq edition.
<u>Aghānī</u> ²	<u>Ibid</u> , <u>Dār al-Kutub Misriyya</u> edition.
<u>Arab Archery</u>	<u>A Book on the Excellence of the bow and arrow and the description thereof</u> , Trans. and ed. by N.A.Faris & R.P.Elmer.
<u>‘Arīb</u>	<u>Silat Ta’rīkh al-Tabarī</u> , by ‘Arīb.
<u>Ashtor, Prix</u>	<u>Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l’orient medievale</u> , by E. Ashtor.
<u>Āthār</u>	<u>Āthār al-Bāqiya</u> , by Bīrūnī.
<u>Azdī, Hikāyat</u>	<u>Hikāyat Abī'l-Qāsim al-Baghdādī</u> , by Azdī.
<u>Bayān</u>	<u>al-Bayān wa'l-Tabyīn</u> , by Jāhiz.
<u>Bayzara</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Bayzara</u> (attributed to Hasan b. al-Husayn.).
<u>Buldān</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Buldān</u> , by Ya‘qūbī.
<u>Dhakhā’ir</u>	<u>Al-Dhakhā’ir wa'l-Tuhaf</u> , by Ibn Zubayr.
<u>Diyārāt</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Diyārāt</u> , by Shābushtī.
<u>Fakhrī</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Fakhrī</u> , by Ibn Tiqtīqa.
<u>Fihrist</u>	<u>Al-Fihrist</u> , by Ibn Nadīm.
<u>Hayawān</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Hayawān</u> , by Jāhiz.
<u>Hilya</u>	<u>Hilyat al-Fursān fī shi‘ār al-shuj‘ān</u> , by Ibn Hudhayl.
<u>Ibn Hawqal</u>	<u>Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik</u> , by Ibn Hawqal.
<u>‘Iqd</u>	<u>Al-‘Iqd al-Farīd</u> , by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih.
<u>I‘tibār</u>	<u>Kitāb al-I‘tibār</u> , by Usāma b. Munqidh.
<u>Kāmil</u>	<u>Ta’rīkh al-Kāmil</u> , by Ibn al-Athīr.
<u>Khatīb, Ta’rīkh</u>	<u>Ta’rīkh Baghdād</u> , by al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī.

<u>Latā'if</u>	<u>Latā'if al-Ma'ārif</u> , by <u>Tha'ālibī</u> .
<u>Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara</u> , by <u>Hashshā' Ahmad</u>
<u>Maqāmāt</u>	<u>Maqāmāt al-Hamadānī</u> .
<u>Maṣāyid</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Maṣāyid wa'l-Maṭārid</u> , by <u>Kushājim</u> .
Mercier, <u>Chasse</u>	<u>La Chasse et les sports chez les</u> <u>Arabes</u> , by L. Mercier.
Mez.	<u>Renaissance of Islam</u> , by Mez, Eng. Tr.
<u>Muhādarāt</u>	<u>Muhādarāt al-Udabā'</u> , by <u>Rāghib al-</u> <u>Iṣfahānī</u> .
<u>Muntazam</u>	<u>Al-Muntazam</u> , by Ibn al-Jawzī.
Muq.	<u>Aḥsan al-Taḡāsīm</u> , by Muqaddasī.
<u>Murūj</u>	<u>Murūj al-Dhahab</u> , by Mas'ūdī.
<u>Nihāya</u>	<u>Nihāyat al-Rutba fī talab al-hisba</u> , by <u>Shayzarī</u> .
<u>Nishwār</u>	<u>Nishwār al-Muhādara</u> , by Tanūkhī.
<u>Nuwayrī</u> ,	<u>Nihāyat al-Arab</u> , by Nuwayrī.
<u>Qutub al-Surūr</u>	<u>Qutub al-Surūr fī awṣāf al-khumūr</u> , by al-Raḡīq al-Nadīm.
<u>Rusūm</u> .	<u>Rusūm dār al-khilāfa</u> , by Hilāl al-Sābī.
<u>Saracen Archery</u>	<u>Saracen Archery</u> , Engl. Tr. by Latham and Peterson.
<u>Subh</u>	<u>Subh al-A'shā</u> , by Qalqashandī.
<u>Sūlī</u>	<u>Akhbār al-Rādī wa'l-Muttaqī</u> , by <u>Sūlī</u> .
<u>Sūlī</u> , <u>Awraq</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Awraq</u> , by <u>Sūlī</u> .
<u>Tabarī</u>	<u>Ta'rīkh al-Rusūl wa'l-Mulūk</u> , by <u>Tabarī</u> .
<u>Tabīkh</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Tabīkh</u> , by Baghdādī.
<u>Tajārib</u>	<u>Tajārib al-Umam</u> , by Miskāwayh.
<u>Thimār</u>	<u>Thimār al-Qulūb</u> , by <u>Tha'ālibī</u> .

<u>Tuhaf</u>	<u>Al-Tuhaf wa'l-Hadāya</u> , by Khālidiyyān.
<u>'Uyūn</u>	<u>'Uyūn al-Akḥbār</u> , by Ibn Qutayba.
<u>Wafayāt</u>	<u>Wafayāt al-A'yān</u> , by Ibn Khallikān.
<u>Warrāq</u>	<u>Al-Ṭabīkh wa islāḥ al-aghdhiya al-</u> <u>ma'kulāt</u> , by Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Warrāq.
<u>Wuṣlā</u>	<u>Al-Wuṣlā ilā al-habīb fī waṣf al-</u> <u>ṭayyibāt wa'l-tīb</u> , by Ibn al-'Adīm.
<u>Ya'qūbī</u>	<u>Ta'rīkh</u> , by Ya'qūbī.
<u>Yāqūt, Buldān</u>	<u>Mu'jam al-Buldān</u> , by Yāqūt al-Rūmī.

Periodicals etc.

<u>AI</u>	<u>Ars Islamica</u>
<u>AESC</u>	<u>Annales Economiques, Societes, Civilisa-</u> <u>tion.</u>
<u>AIEO</u>	<u>Annals de l'Institute des etudes</u> <u>Orientales de l'Universite d'Alger.</u>
<u>B.C.A.</u>	<u>Bulletine of the College of Arts</u> <u>(Majallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb, Baghdad)</u>
<u>BSOAS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental</u> <u>and African Studies.</u>
<u>EHR</u>	<u>The Economic History Review.</u>
<u>EI¹</u>	<u>Encyclopaedia of Islam</u> , 1st edition.
<u>EI²</u>	<u>Ibid.</u> 2nd edition.
<u>HJ</u>	<u>Historia Judaica.</u>
<u>IC</u>	<u>Islamic Culture.</u>
<u>IQ</u>	<u>Islamic Quarterly.</u>

<u>JAH</u>	<u>Journal of Asian History.</u>
<u>JAOS</u>	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</u>
<u>JBBRAS</u>	<u>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</u>
<u>JABS</u>	<u>Journal & Proc. of the Asiatic Society Bengal.</u>
<u>JEH</u>	<u>Journal of Economic History.</u>
<u>JESHO</u>	<u>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.</u>
<u>JRAS</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</u>
<u>MGT</u>	<u>Majalla Ghurfa al-Tijāra, Baghdad.</u>
<u>MMII</u>	<u>Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī.</u>
<u>MW</u>	<u>The Muslim World.</u>
<u>RAAD</u>	<u>Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī.</u>
<u>REI</u>	<u>Revue des Etudes Islamiques.</u>
<u>RSO</u>	<u>Rivista degli studi orientali.</u>
<u>SI</u>	<u>Studia Islamica.</u>
<u>SO</u>	<u>Studia Orientalia.</u>
<u>ZDMG</u>	<u>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</u>

Transliteration

The system of transliteration of Arabic names and words is adopted from the Encyclopaedia of Islam, second edition, with the exception that dj is replaced by j and k by q. Arabic names which have a form generally accepted in the English language have been used in that form.

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Survey of the Sources.

We have drawn upon a very wide range of source material for the compilation of this work. This diversity of sources has been necessitated by the nature of the topic that has been investigated. The social life of a period is portrayed in the writings of its historians and geographers, its poets and adībs, its proverbial writers and anecdotists, its lawyers and jurists, its bureaucrats and scribes, its biographers and its natural scientists. We have drawn upon the work of such men and have also incorporated material from manuals on hisba and culinary art and treatises on hunting, falconry, furūsiyya etc.

An important problem has been the assessment of the comparative reliability of the various sources. Generally speaking sources on the life of the caliphs, their court and the ulema etc. tend to be more reliable and better authenticated. The adab literature and works describing social practices prevalent among the downtrodden and the middle classes tend to be written with less scruple as regards standards or criteria of historical authenticity and sometimes with the aim of ridiculing the uncouth mannerism of the socially inferior groups. However, in the absence of better alternatives such sources have proved invaluable to us in our investigation.

The different types of sources are discussed below in some detail.

(i) Adab Literature (Belles-lettres)

Adab literature dealing with general ethics, worldly wisdom and etiquette was brought to Abbasid Iraq mainly by scribes of Persian origin who sought to give moral instruction and lay down rules of conduct for different social groups.¹ The third century hijra represents a "Golden Age" of adab literature. The most conspicuous place attained in this field was by the encyclopaedic writer al-Jāhiz, Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr b. Bahr al-Baṣrī al-Mu'tazilī (b. 160/776; d. 255/869).² He was one of the first Muslim writers who showed a great deal of interest in social problems. With his critical power of observation and appreciation he succeeded in recognizing the changes that were taking place in the social fabric of the Abbasids as a result of the active growth of an urban system of life. He was the first Abbasid author to notice the formation and development of a middle class resulting from the economic organization that prevailed in the towns of Abbasid Iraq.³

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1. EI², s.v. Adab (F. Gabrieli); cf. also Ch. Pellat, Life and works of al-Jāhiz, (English translation by D.M.Hawke, 1969) p.23
 2. For his life and contributions see, Ch. Pellat, op.cit; idem Djāhiz in EI², and the sources quoted there; see also Wadī'a Taha Najim Studies on the writings of al-Jāhiz, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, 1958.
 3. Duri, Ta'rīkh al-'Irāq al-Iqtisādī, p.108. The transformation of a semi-agrarian, semi-pastoral economy into a commercial one was among the most profound changes that occurred during the Abbasid period. Abbasid Iraq represents a dramatic economic metamorphosis for the land of the Tigris and the Euphrates. A number of important urban centres were developed, trade and commerce thrived, new economic organizations---in the form of craft guilds, trader and merchant associations
- (continued)

In the series of tracts and epistles authored by Jāhiz, written in a sonorous and witty style of an unequalled linguistic vigour and variety, one would find most of the social changes and tensions of his time. In his prolific writings he makes occasional remarks about the correct language of true beduins, its gradual corruption through the vicinity of towns, about the patois of the lower orders, the cant of pedlars, the argot of beggars, the technical terms of traders and professions and also about mispronunciation and faulty speech on the one hand and euphemism and mannerism on the other. Jāhiz himself being a man of the 3rd/9th century and not belonging to the court office offers us more reliable and contemporary data on different aspects of social life which has enabled us to undertake the present study. Others have been equally indebted to Jāhiz's work. Tāhā Husain, for example, observed, and rightly so, that "if one wants to visualize the life of the 3rd century A.H. one should not look for it in al-Buhturī, or Abū Tammām, or any of other poets, but one will find it in al-Jāhiz!"¹

Born in Basra, Jāhiz spent most of his time in Baghdad and Samarra without losing contact with his native and favourite town Basra. This is why Basra appears to be the continuous thread running through all his works. Though he adhered to the Mu'tazilī group, he was above mere sectarian prejudice and his writings do not

etc---developed. All this resulted in a fundamental reorientation in the structure of the economy and the effects of this change on social mobility in particular and on the whole fabric of social associations and relationships in general was what might be described as "revolutionary". cf. Goitein, *Studies*, pp. 217-241. Lassner, *Topography of Baghdad*, pp. 121-188.

1. Tāhā Husain, *Hadīth al-Arba'a*, Cairo, 1948, ii, p. 130

appear to be coloured with factional antagonism. His Kitāb al-Bayān wa'l-Tabyīn (Elegance of expression and clarity of exposition) offers, for example, valuable data on the mode of costume of the people. He declares that every group of people had a specific dress with compulsory head-gear, 'imāma --- a statement not to be found in such unequivocal terms in other contemporary and near contemporary writers.¹ According to his information 'imāma was the crown of the Arabs and people from all walks of life habitually wore it on their heads.²

His book al-Bukhalā', written towards the end of his life, which is more imaginative than factual, is a "portrait gallery".³ Supplemented by humorous anecdotes of a piquancy all their own and unique in Arabic literature, the book is designed to demonstrate that Arabs excel in generosity whereas non-Arabs are inclined to be niggardly. His acute power of observation, his light hearted scepticism, his comic sense and satirical turn of mind fit him admirably to portray human type and society, which moreover he did, generally keeping within the bounds of decency.⁴ This book of Jāhiz is a treasure-trove of information on the food and dietary habits of different groups of people living in early Abbasid society.

1. There are, however, some traditions which stress that turbans should form an article of dress of a Muslim. cf. Concordance. s.v. 'imāma; see also, M. Canard, AIEO. viii, 200ff. It is only in the 7th/13th century that Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) notes that the Qādī Abū Yūsuf was the first man to recommend specific dress for the ulema and other officials. (cf. Wafayāt, xi, 38).

2. Jāhiz, Bayān, iii, p. 114.

3. EI², s.v. al-Djāhiz (Ch. Pellat); idem, Life and works of Jāhiz, pp. 25-26.

4. In itself a remarkable feat, given contemporary standards.

One would not find such details about the food of the common people, table manners and other allied information even in the culinary manuals surviving from the Abbasid period. Al-Bukhalā' also throws light on costume, house rents and prices of the commodities of the third century hijra.

His monumental work al-Hayawān is not merely a zoological lexicon but a mixture of theology, metaphysics and sociology where one can even find embryonic theories (although it is impossible to say how far they are original) of the evolution of species, and the influence of climate and animal psychology. In his own peculiar style, the author takes certain animals and sets out verses, anecdotes and traditions concerning them.¹ Because of the voluminous nature of the work, the book offers us a mass of raw materials on diverse subjects which one has to scrutinize and utilise carefully. "Animals" has offered us a great deal of material on hunting, food, games and sports and economic matters such as price etc. It is not in al-Tabassur bi'l-Tijāra but in al-Hayawān that one would find price quotations of animals and some other commodities. Speaking on pigeons, for example, he reveals that "pigeons have such high intrinsic value and such superiority that a single bird may sell for 500 dinars; no other animal can command such a price, neither the goshawk, the peregrine falcon, the saker, the eagle, the pheasant, the cock, the camel, the ass nor the mule..."

1. EI², s.v. al-Djāhiz (Ch. Pellat); idem, Life and works of Jāhiz, Eng. Tr. p. 21.

You will find that a young male pigeon of good pedigree will fetch 20 dinars or more, a female 10 dinars or more and an egg 5 dinars."¹ This passage is but one example of numerous interesting passages contained in al-Hayawān by Jāhiz. The prices quoted by Jāhiz may be exaggerated but we are not in a position to check them as no other source, either contemporary or near contemporary, contains such type of information.² In this sense, Jāhiz's information on numerous topics is unique and unchallengeable.

Though the data given by Jāhiz is of high merit, they are not to be taken as infallible. In his rhetoric and humorous style he often fell a victim to exaggeration and made some obviously erroneous statements. His remarks on animal psychology³ and on the specialization of particular trades by certain groups⁴ are faulty and should be scrutinized with extreme caution.

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1. Hayawān, iii, p. 212. The passage is translated in Pellat's Life and works of Jāhiz, p. 150
 2. Cf., for example, Ashtor, Prix.. section, 'animal prices'.
 3. For example, animals could be hunted through music. (Hayawān vi, pp. 471-72). On this point see later in the chapter Hunting, of this thesis, p. 267.
 4. Cf., for example, his remark that Jews are mostly cuppers, dyers, tanners, butchers or tinkers. (al-Radd 'ala al-Nasara, in Finkel's "Three Essays", p. 17). That dyeing was a special profession of the Jews is corroborated by other sources; but Jāhiz's other assertions would seem without foundation or at least generalizations on limited evidence. Jews, on the other hand, are seen, especially from the end of the 3rd/9th century as leading moneychangers and bankers. (cf. EI2, s.v. Djahbadh (W.J. Fischel); idem, Jews in the economic and political life of Medieval Islam, London, 1937; cf. also, M.A.J. Begg, The social history of the labouring classes in 'Iraq under the Abbāsids, Chapter, Survey of the Sources. The findings of H.J. Cohen (JESHO, xiii, 1970, pp. 16-6) show that a considerable number of Muslim scholars, jurists and traditionists engaged in such manual work throughout the early Islamic period.

The literary adab made fashionable by Jāhiz was systematized by a junior contemporary of his, Ibn Qutayba 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim al-Dīnawarī (d. 276/889-90), one of the great Sunni polygraphs of this period, being both a theologian and an adīb. His adab comprises an ethos and a culture in which are united the intellectual currents of Abbasid society of the early 3rd/9th century. It displays an intent to popularize the prevalent social norms and mannerisms among at least a certain literate public.¹ His adab has been described as "a kind of humanism"² for its egalitarian overtones and its general preoccupation with the problem of introducing the lower social groups into the mysteries of the so-called "higher culture". Unlike Ibn al-Muqaffa' and Jāhiz, Ibn Qutayba introduced a prose whose dominant characteristic was ease and facility. His sentences are more simple, short and without artifice.

1. Fihrist, p. 121; Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, x, p. 170; Yāqūt, Irshād, i, p. 161f. ; cf. also, EI², s.vv. Ibn Kutayba (G.Lecomte), 'Arabiyya (H.A.R.Gibb), 'Irāk (Ch. Pellat).

2. EI², s.v. Ibn Kutayba, (G. Lecomte).

Of his 14 printed books, Kitāb 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, Kitāb al-Maysir wa'l-Qidāh and Kitāb al-Ashriba are of direct interest for this study. The chapter on food and detailed information on costume and games in the 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār--- originally a large compendium of adab --- have been extensively used in shaping this study into its present form. Kitāb al-Ashriba devoted to fermented drinks, and al-Maysir wa'l-Qidāh, a juridico-philological study on games of chance throws sidelights on various aspects of social life. His other books (e.g., K.al-Ma'ārif, a historical manual with encyclopaedic appendices on very varied subjects, Adab al-Kātib, K.al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā') have also occasionally been consulted.

An Andalusian writer and poet who was born, lived and died at Cordova, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (b. 246/860; d. 328/940)¹ astonishingly provided a great deal of material on contemporary Abbasid society. His monumental work on adab entitled al-'Iqd al-Farīd "The Unique Necklace" is apparently based on data drawn from the works of Jāḥiẓ, Ibn Qutayba and others who had assembled the elements of Arab culture. The 'Iqd is a sort of encyclopaedia of knowledge and general culture. The 6th, 7th, 22nd, 23rd, 24th and 25th chapters of the 'Iqd dealing respectively with religious knowledge and the principles of good conduct (adab); proverbs, anecdotes, nature of man and animals, food and drink, and diverse anecdotes are directly related to our study. A basic characteristic of this encyclopaedic work is that, apart from a portion of the

1. See for his biography and literary appreciation, EI², s.v. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (C. Brockelmann) and the sources quoted there, in particular the introductory note given by the editor of al-'Iqd al-Farīd.

urjuza it contains very little of Andalusian origin and aims at presenting the social and cultural practices of Abbasid Iraq to an Andalusian audience.¹

In his anthology of verses and prose entitled Kitāb al-Muwashshā, the well-known litterateur Abū Ṭayyab Muḥd. b. Ishāq known as al-Washshā' (d. 325/936-7)² gives us a vivid description of a social group known as Zurafā' (people of elegant and sophisticated taste). In his typical style, Washshā' enumerates the habits of elegant people in matters of their dress, food, drink, table and social manners. While concentrating on the traditions relating to the dandies of Baghdad he occasionally mentions the common people and their behaviour in society as a contrast. Under the headings of food, dress of the elegant etc., he explicitly distinguishes between the tastes of the common people on the one hand and of the élite on the other. Washshā' is, therefore, an indispensable source for the Baghdādī society of the late 3rd and early 4th century hijra.

The 4th/10th century . bellettrist (adīb), a great admirer and imitator of Jāḥiẓ, Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023) was a capable recorder of contemporary intellectual life with good interest in social affairs.³ Though

1. EI², s.v. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (C. Brockelmann)

2. Irshād, vi, 277f; Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, i, 253; GAL, i, 124; Suppl. i, 189; cf. also EI², s.v. 'Irāk (Ch. Pellat); EI¹, s.v. al-Washshā' (C. Brockelmann); F. Rosenthal, Humour in early Islam, p. 71, n.1.; SI, xi, 39ff.

3. For a study on Tawḥīdī, see EI², s.v. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (S.M. Stern) and the sources listed there; see also EI², svv. 'Arabiyya (by H.A.R. Gibb) and 'Irāk, (by Ch. Pellat).

al-Tawhīdī does not belong to our period of study (i.e., 3rd century of hijra), his data on food and labouring classes contained especially in his masterpiece Kitāb al-Imtā' wa'l-Mu'ānasa are of great value. The material derived from this book shows that the food habits of the people living in the 4th century underwent almost no change from the 3rd century onward. His K. al-Baṣā'ir wa'l-Dhakhā'ir contains invaluable material on the economic and social status of the lower professional groups such as cuppers, building workers, sailors, tufayliyūn (gate crashers) etc.

The versatile genius al-Tha'ālibī (350/961-429/1038), though not an adab writer in the strict sense, was a writer with wide interest in cultural and social problems.¹ His encyclopaedic work Latā'if al-Ma'ārif is in fact a mine of information on diverse topics among which social topics occupy undoubtedly a prominent place. The excellent English translation of the book by Prof. C.E. Bosworth has increased the value of the book in many ways. Materials contained in his other books will be discussed in other groups of literature.

Another powerful writer at par with Ibn Qutayba's style and indeed of Jāhizian style was the 11th century writer al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī (d. about 502/1108).² His

1. On Tha'ālibī, see EI², svv. 'Arabiyya (H.A.R.Gibb); 'Irāk (Ch. Pellat); EI¹, s.v. Tha'ālibī, (C.Brockelmann); cf. also, Prof. Bosworth's long introductory note in Latā'if's English translation.

2. EI², s.v. al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī (C. Brockelmann)

popular book Muhādarāt al-udabā' wa muhāwarāt al-shu'arā' wa al-bulaghā', as is evident from the title, is a collection of miscellaneous topics drawn from Arab poetry and history, politics and rhetoric, anthologies and collection of anecdotes and popular ethics. Though written in the late 11th century, the Muhādarāt al-Udabā' contains sufficient information on the social life of the early Abbasid period. He adds considerable details on the social life of the lower professionals and supplies information on social and economic developments that had occurred in Abbasid Iraq since the days of Jāhiz.

The work of scholars from Jāhiz to Rāghib al-Isfahānī provides us with an opportunity to study the evolution of Abbasid culture over a period of 300 years. Perhaps no other medieval civilization can be studied over such a long span of time, as large gaps separate the findings of the scholars whose work has reached us.

(ii) Anecdotal and Narrative Literature.

Though anecdotes and stories are contained in almost every writing of belles-lettrists, some writers have devoted special attention towards producing anecdotal literature --- a literature not merely entertaining but incorporating a portrayal of society and civilization. In the course of our discussion on Jāhiz we have already mentioned his Kitāb al-Bukhalā'. Here we may introduce the anecdotal and narrative writings of Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, Tanūkhī, Azdī, Hamadānī, Ibn al-Jawzī and Khatīb al-Baghdādī.

The Arab historian, litterateur and poet Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī's (b. 284/897; d. after 360/970) voluminous compilation entitled Kitāb al-Aghānī is an indispensable source for the social history of the early Abbasid period.¹ An estimate of Isfahānī's talents and of his writings by his junior contemporary al-Tanūkhī would not be out of interest here. "I never found", he says, "a person knowing by heart such a quantity as he did of poems, songs, historical accounts, anecdotes of ancient times, authentic narratives and genealogies; besides which he possessed information on other sciences, such as philosophy, grammar, story-telling, biography and the history of Muslim conquests; he was acquainted with the branches of knowledge requisite for a boon-companion, such as falconry, farriery, the preparation of beverages, a smattering of medicine and astrology etc.".²

It must be remembered however that Isfahānī lived a life worthy of any wooer of Bacchus and worshipper of Venus. He was an admirer of song, of the cup and the dance. He has even acknowledged his preference for "young boys".³ From the religious point of view he was a pro-Shī'ite. In order to accept or reject a datum from the Aghānī one should look into its sources, a perusal of which would reveal that the author used three different sources of

1. EI², s.v. Abū'l-Faradj al-Isbahānī (M. Nallino) ; see in particular Nabih Akil's thesis on the social life of the Umayyads in the light of Aghānī; cf. also EI², s.vv. 'Arabiyya (H.A.R.Gibb) and 'Irak (Ch. Pellat).

2. Wafayāt, ii, 250; to this the high regard shown by the following scholars should be added. Tha'ālibī, Yatīma, iii, p. 109; Irshād, v, 152; Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, xi, 400.

3. Irshād, v, pp. 158-9, 167.

information viz. (a) oral narrations, (b) written books and (c) written narratives. As the Kitāb al-Aghānī is not a religious study, there is no logic why it should not be given its proper place among the writings on the subject of social history. If one excludes minor discrepancies, contradictions and historical faults, Isfahānī's Kitāb al-Aghānī, comprising of 21 volumes, stands as an important source for a graphic picture of Arab civilization from its very first days down to the end of the 3rd/9th century. Since Isfahānī was a near contemporary author, his information on the 3rd/9th century is more reliable and less defective from the point of view of the sources. His materials on the gay life at the caliphal court especially of Hārūn al-Rashīd, where convivial parties with caliphs, high officials, boon-companions, poets, singers and dancers dominated the scene, would seem far from erroneous. Apart from the data on literary criticism, Arabic music and song and the court life of the Umayyads and early Abbasids, the Aghānī contains numerous scattered information of great value on such subjects as food, clothing, sports, festivities, houses and furniture, business and transaction. Indeed the 'Book of Songs' is sometimes so detailed in giving information on social aspects that it is possible to write some of the chapters of early Muslim social history mainly based on the materials buried in this voluminous book of Isfahānī¹. A few examples of such

1. See, for example, the Ph.D. thesis of Nabih Akil on Umayyad social life, entitled "Studies in the social history of the Umayyad period as revealed in the Kitāb al-Aghānī", SOAS, 1960.

interesting materials will perhaps be of interest here. An anecdote, related to late eighth century, mentions that a well-dressed man requires three pieces of robes to visit outdoors--- the durra'a as the top-coat; the jubba as the middle garment; and the gamīs as the undergarment which touched the skin.¹ In another anecdote belonging to the 3rd/9th century, Isfahānī describes the difference between a gamīs and a qabā' by saying that when a man tears his gamīs from the opening below the neck (the jayb) to the foot, it becomes a qabā'.²

Another of Isfahānī's book written on the tragic history of the 'Alīds entitled Maqātil al-Tālibīn is not related to our study and therefore has not been used extensively.

Al-Tanūkhī, al-Muhassin b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad (327/938-384/994), a qādī by profession and a courtier of Muḥallabī and 'Adud al-Dawla³ was the author of some brilliant works containing materials for the social history of the second half of the 3rd/9th and the first half of the 4th/10th century. His monumental book Nishwār al-Muḥādara (originally contained in 10 vols, but surviving only in three vols) is, a portrayal of the social life of the Iraqi people.

1. Aghānī¹, xxi, p.150

2. Ibid, vii, p.134.**

3. EI¹, s.v. al-Tanūkhī (R. Paret); EI², s.v. 'Irāk (Ch. Pellat) Margoliouth, The Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge, Preface, pp. v-vii; cf. also Badrī Fahd, al-Qādī al-Tanūkhī wa Kitāb al-Nishwār, Baghdad, 1966, p. 7ff.

** On the definitions of these costumes see, infra, Chapter, Costume, pp. 63-66, 67-68, 70-71.

His Nishwār like other two books al-Mustajād min fa'lāt al-ajwād and al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda is, in the form of entertaining stories, rich in detailed information on food, costume, prices of commodities, estates, games and sports, feasts and festivities, gay life of the caliphal court and social position of various groups of people living in Abbasid society. He seems to be more cautious in accepting narrators than his teacher Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī and more comprehensive than his other teacher Sūlī. Apart from personal experiences Tanūkhī derived his materials from oral traditions, from his father and learned scholars and savants (mashā'ikh, 'ulamā' and udabā'), from literary sources and a great deal from secretaries and judges.¹ His choice of sources and mentioning of full chain of transmitters lends weight and credence to his writings.

Being inspired by Jāhiz, the 4th/10th century prose-writer Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abū'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī created a new genre (in the field of prose) by delineating in his Hikāyāt Abī'l-Qāsim al-Baghdādī, a satirical but realistic picture of life and manners in Baghdad.² For our study of the social life of the early Abbasid period Azdī offers us a good deal of material on the food, drink and furniture of the Baghdādī and Isfahānī houses. It corroborates the data given by Washshā' on the refined culture of Baghdad and contains a volume of additional information otherwise not available in other sources.³

Another specimen of anecdotal literature somewhat different from other narrative literature but forming a part of social history is the Maqāmāt of the Arabo-Persian

1. See the preface of the Nishwār.

2. EI², s.vv. Abū'l-Kāsim (J.Horovitz); Hikāya, 'Irāk (Ch.Pellat).

3. Cf., for example, the information on the Abbādānī mats which could be folded like cloth. (Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 36).

writer Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadānī¹ (358/968-398/1008). The theme of the Maqāmāt or "seances" of Hamadānī like those of Harīrī are, as seen by Prof. Gibb, "firmly rooted in the common life of the Islamic city, and portrays its manners and its humours so realistically as to constitute one of the most precious social documents of the Islamic Middle Ages".² Since Harīrī (d. 516/1122) is very late a source for our period we have tried to draw some material from Hamadānī, who is, however, a near contemporary to our period. Hamadānī's maqāma madīriyya and maqāma Baghdādiyya are of special interest for our study as they reveal fascinating information on food, food shops, houses and other fields of social interest.

The anecdotal and humorous writings of the Sunnī Hanbalite Ibn al-Jawzī³ (d. 597/1200) and those of al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī⁴ (d. 463/1070) though belonging to the later Abbasid period, are veritable repositories of all sorts of interesting information on diverse aspects of the social life. Ibn al-Jawzī's Akhbār al-Humaqā wa'l-Mughaffalīn, Akhbār al-Zirāf, Kitāb al-Adhkiyā', Dhamm al-Hawā, Talbīs Iblīs --- all deal with social life of the Abbasid period until the end of the 12th century A.D. These writings also

1. On Hamadānī, see EI², s.vv. al-Hamadhānī (R. Blachere) ; Hikāya and al-'Irāk (Ch. Pellat); see also, W. Prendergast, The Maqāmāt of Badi' al-Zamān, Madras-London, 1915; on the historical authenticity of the Maqāmāt, see Māzin Mubārak, in RAAD. 43-45 (1968-70) in six series, Muṭama' al-Hamadhānī fī khilāl..."

2. EI², s.v. 'Arabiyya (H.A.R. Gibb).

3. EI², s.v. Ibn al-Djawzī (H. Laoust) and the extensive bibliography quoted there.

4. On Khatīb Baghdādī see, EI¹, s.v. (W. Marçais); cf. also Muniruddin Ahmad, Muslim Education and the scholars'
(Cont.)

present some valuable economic data not to be found in other sources. Khatīb Baghdādī's Kitāb al-Bukhalā' (no match with Jāhiz's Bukhalā' either in style or contents) and al-Tatfīl contain a number of interesting tales of the social life ranging from the rise of Islam to his own period (i.e., 5th century hijra). Unlike Ibn al-Jawzī's writings, Baghdādī's monographs are not comprehensive and limited only to two groups of people--- the misers and the 'gate crashers'. The collections of "Thousand and one Nights" are fictitious in nature and contain very little historical authenticity. For these reasons we have avoided utilizing materials buried in these 'fairy tales'.

(continued from the last page):--

Social status upto the 5th century Muslim era in the light of Ta'rīkh Baghdād. ; also, J. Lassner, The Topography of Baghdad. and Malā'ika Rahmatullāh, The women of Baghdad in the 9-10th centuries as revealed in the History of Baghdad of al-Khatīb, Baghdad, 1963.

(iii) Proverbial Collections.

The Arabic proverbs excelling in wisdom, wit and acute observation, couched in comparatively easy language and clad in similes of general human character are treasures for contemporary classical society, some of which are of particular importance because they are confined to certain localities, social groups and communities.¹ The topic of the present-day Arabic proverb as a testimony to the social history of the Middle East has been vividly discussed by Professor Goitein in one of his masterly essays --- a topic which also reveals the importance of the classical Arabic proverbs for medieval Muslim social history.²

Al-Maydānī's (d. 518/1124) comprehensive proverbial collection Amthāl al-ʿArab, al-Tālaqānī's (c. 421/1030) Risāla al-Amthāl al-Baghdādiyya allatī tajrī bain al-ʿamma and Thaʿalibī's Thimār al-Qulūb and Tamthīl al-Muhādara, on the collections of proverbs, maxims and dictums and the chapters on proverbs contained in adab literature (e.g., Ibn Qutayba's ʿUyūn; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's ʿIqd) together with de Goeje's lists of the proverbs occurring in the Taʾrīkh of Tabarī, Kitāb al-Aghānī of Isfahānī and other classical

1. EI¹, s.v. Mathāl (C. Brockelmann); Goitein, Studies, pp. 361-379; cf. also, Begg, op.cit, Chap. Survey of the Sources Section, "Proverbs and proverbial phrase".

2. Goitein, Studies, pp. 361-379.

texts are mines of information on social, cultural and political events of the period concerned. Only a few quotations of such proverbs would suffice to prove this fact. "Heavier than the rent of the house" (أَثْقَلُ مِنْ كَرَاءِ الدَّارِ) recorded by Tālaqānī¹ reveals that the housing problem in Abbasid society was acute and the rent was exorbitant --- a fact corroborated by the statements of the 3rd, 4th and 5th century writers.² Though the phrase does not explain the period in question, it can be applied on the basis of other corroborative evidences, to the 3rd-5th century alike. "Apples of Syria", "Figs of Hulwān", "Mulham of Khurāsān", "Melons of Khwārazm" etc.³, not only express the proverbial especiality of a particular locality but also explain the excessive demands of these commodities everywhere with the refinement of taste and culture of Abbasid society. "Gluttony diminishes wisdom" (البَطْنَةُ تَذْهَبُ الْفَلْهَةَ)⁴ and "A table without vegetables is like an old man devoid of wisdom" (الْمَائِدَةُ بِلاَ بَقْلِ كَشَمِخٍ بِلاَ عِلْمٍ)⁵ --- are indicatives of the awareness of dietetics and the evil effects of gluttony and the importance of vegetables in the daily diet of the people. These examples of proverbial quotations make it clear that the proverbial sayings constitute an important source material for the study of the social life of the Abbasids.

1. Tālaqānī, Amthāl, p.7, No.77

2. See infra, Chapter, Housing.

3. Latā'if, pp.156,183,237,238; Thimār, pp.531,536.

4. Jāhiz, Bayān, ii,p.81; Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn, iii, p.219.

5. Rāghib, Muhādarāt, ii,p.612. According to Tha'ālibī (Thimār, p.609) vegetables are the "Ornaments of the table".

(iv) Poetical Literature.

That the poetry is the 'dīwān' (register) of the Arabs does not hold good for the Abbasid period. From the 3rd/9th century onward poetry was displaced from its former social function by the new prose literature.¹ Nevertheless, the dīwāns of the 3rd and 4th century poets preserve many interesting traits of social history in an indirect form.² The witty and humorous verses of Abū Dulāma, a court jester in the palaces of Saffāh, Mansūr and Mahdī (d. 160/776-7 or 170/786-7)³ contained in Aghānī, Tabarī, Mas'ūdī and other writers are interesting and useful. It is to him that we owe, among other things, the knowledge of the introduction of the tall head-gear and other official mark introduced by the Caliph Mansūr.⁴

The dīwān of Abū Nuwās (died in Baghdad between 198/813 and 200/815) contains for the first time in Arabic literature, together with panegyric poems, acrimonious satirical poems, funeral odes and drinking songs, a special chapter containing hunting poems (tardiyyāt). The so-called zuhdiyyāt (ascetic) poems of Abū'l-'Atāhiya (d. 213/828-9) written in lucid and simple style⁵ also throws some light on contemporary society. The collection of verses of Buhturī (d. 284/897), Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/896), the Abbasid prince Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 296/908) and the encyclopaedic writer Kushājim (d. 360/970) --- all throw some light on contemporary social life through different angles.

1. EI², s.v. 'Arabiyya (H.A.R.Gibb)

2. Cf. B. Lewis, "Sources for the Economic history of the Middle East", in Studies in the Economic History.., p.92.

3. EI², s.v. Abū Dulāma (J. Horovitz).

4. See, for example, Aghānī², x, p. 236

5. For the life and literary assessment of Abū'l-'Atāhiya see, M.A.A.el-Kafrawy, "A Critical study of the poetry of Abū'l-'Atāhiya", Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, 1951-52.

(v) Historical Literature.

The contemporary historian Ibn Jarīr al-Tabarī (d. 310/923) is an eye-witness of the events occurring during the later half of the 3rd/9th century. Since his main interest was to record "the History of the Prophets and Kings" one would not expect a great deal of material on the social aspects of life. Except for some passing remarks and incidental records of topics of social interest it contains almost nothing on the social history of the early Abbasid period. Nevertheless he records the court life with comparative detail and gives some economic data and some fragmentary information on social groups like fityān, ‘ayyār, shuṭṭār, etc. On the life of the dhimmīs, however, he has much to say, especially in respect of their dress, mount and festivities¹--- a fact conspicuously missing from other contemporary and near contemporary sources.

His junior contemporary, a brilliant historian and a capable geographer, Mas‘ūdī (d. 345/956 or 346/957) shows great interest in social life and records a volume of unique informative material in his Murūj al-dhahab wa ma‘ādin al-jawhar. Though he is not an eye-witness of the events of the 3rd century, his narratives on the whole would seem credible and trustworthy. The details he gives, though in an indirect form, on the costume of the various groups of people, on the food habits of the rich and poor

1. Tabarī, iii, pp. 1389-90.

alike, on the pastimes of the caliphs, wazirs and high dignitaries and on such other interesting topics, gives him a unique place amongst the Abbasid historians. To list but a few instances of his unique information would suffice here ^{in order} to prove his keen interest in social life. Speaking about the times of Mutawakkil, he reveals that the Caliph favoured a special type of fabric known as mulham ; people followed him widely with the result that the fabric itself came to be known as "thiyāb al-Mutawakkiliya". He adds that this fabric was popular among the masses even during his own time (c. 332/942)¹. Speaking about the same Caliph he further notes that Mutawakkil introduced a new type of building style--- the Hira style with large scale imitation in society.² Writing on costumes, he once remarked that the sleeves of the qamīs became so wide that it measured three spans (ashbār)³, whereas the tall caps (tawīla, danniyya) of the qādīs became so popular among the masses that the Caliph Musta'in had to issue orders limiting its use only to the qādī.⁴ Speaking on the game of shatranj he remarks that a new type of play was introduced towards the end of the 3rd/9th century which went by the name of al-Jawārihiyya.⁵ The detailed description of the special gathering held at the bidding of the Caliph Mustakfī to discuss the favourite food of the period, and recording of poems on the topics of choice food⁶, otherwise only

1. Murūj, vii, p. 190

2. Ibid, vii, pp. 192-93

3. Ibid, vii, p. 402

4. Ibid, vii, p. 402

5. Ibid, viii, p. 314

6. Ibid, viii, pp. 392-406

partially found in the dīwāns of the poets, makes his writings all the more valuable and useful. Judging from all this his minor faults such as contradictory remarks (cf. the report on the origin of nard ¹) are overshadowed by his invaluable, informative and unique materials on social history. For all these reasons, to call him a "social historian" would perhaps not be an overestimation.

The contemporary geographer and historian Ya'qūbī (d. 284/897) in his "History" and Balādhurī (d. 279/892) in his Futūḥ al-Buldān give no more than some stray information about the social life of the early Abbasid period. Among the later historians, Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) and Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) also provide some socio-historical data about Abbasid Iraq. The surviving parts of Ibn al-Jawzī's Muntazam (comprising of historical events of Baghdad and obituaries beginning from 257/871 to 574/1179) is richer as a source of information on social matters than the Kāmil of Ibn al-Athīr written in the style of Tabarī.

Of much value and interest are contemporary local histories written by Ibn Abī Tāhir Tayfūr and Azdī. Ibn Abī Tāhir Tayfūr, the Baghdadi litterateur and historian (born in 204/819-20 in a family of Persian origin and died in 280/893) is the author of the famous "History of Baghdad" upto the reign of Muhtadī. Unfortunately his work is not extant except for the sixth section dealing with the caliphate of Ma'mūn.² Though the work, as F. Rosenthal

1. Murūj, i, pp. 157-58

2. EI², s.v. Ibn Abī Tāhir Tayfūr (F. Rosenthal).

observes, "is a pioneering and highly successful effort in the field of political local historiography leaning heavily towards literary and cultural matters"¹, it also throws many sidelights on the social life of the period concerned.

The Ta'riḫ al-Mawsil of Abū Zakariyyā' al-Azdī (d. 334/945-6) a 'highly creditable achievement of early Muslim historiography'² is, like his contemporary Mas'ūdī's writings, a mine of information on different aspects of social interest not only confined to Mawsil but extending to Baghdad and other important Abbasid cities.

(vi) Bureaucratic Writings.

The officials and the kuttāb (secretaries) in the Baghdadi court produced from the beginning of the 4th century onward a new type of historical writings³ which may be called "secretarial historiography". Since these writers maintained close links with bureaucratic personnel, had easy access to the official documents and possessed intimate knowledge of the court gossip and happenings of the inner circles, their treatises abound in interesting materials on statecraft, civil administration and indirectly on various social aspects of life. Their information, especially the economic data on the salaries

1. EI², s.v. Ibn Abī Tāhir Tayfūr (F. Rosenthal).

2. Ibid, s.v. al-Azdī (F. Rosenthal).

3. EI¹, Suppl. s.v. Ta'riḫ, (H.A.R.Gibb).

of the different officials, the annual budget of the caliphal court and the like are quite reliable and of particular use for our present study.

A near contemporary member of the bureaucracy Jahshiyārī (d. 331/942) in his biographical type of chronicle Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb, tracing the history of the secretaries of state and wazirs until 296/908 (however the history of the secretaries upto Ma'mūn's era alone are extant)¹, preserves a number of incidental but valuable data on social and economic life of the early Abbasid period. It is from him, for example, that we come to know about the court holidays of the early Abbasid caliphs.²

The kātib and nadīm of the caliphs and the contemporary of Jahshiyārī was Abū Bakr b. Yahyā al-Sūlī (d. 335 or 336/946 or 947)³. His Kitāb al-Awrāq deals with various social aspects and is rich in poetical citations. His other book dealing with the history of the Caliphs Rādī and Muttaqī is of very little importance for our study except for some cursory remarks incidentally related to earlier periods.

An important fifth century 'secretarial historian' was Abū'l-Husain Hilāl b. Muhassin al-Sābī (d.448/1056)⁴.

1. EI², s.v. al-Djahshiyārī (D. Sourdel and the bibliography noted there.)

2. Wuzarā', p. 166

3. Mas'ūdī, Tanbih, pp. 345, 352; Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, iii, pp. 427-32; Irshād, vii, pp. 36-7 etc. ; see also EI¹, s.v. al-Sūlī (I. Kratschkovsky).

4. On Sābī, see EI¹, s.v. al-Sābī (F. Krenkow) and the detailed bibliography listed there.

an officer in the Chancellery (Dīwān al-Inshā'). His Rusūn dār al-khilāfa, in which he quotes extensively from the personal experiences of his grandfather, a member of the bureaucracy, is of great significance to the study of this thesis. Among other matters, it throws some light on the feasts and festivals of the Abbasid court and the official costume worn by the caliphs in their processions. Another of his book entitled Kitāb al-Wuzarā', the extant part of which is devoted to the early 4th century wazirs 'Alī b. 'Isā and Ibn al-Furāt, is a fund of economic and social data. In many respects he is unique in his information and supplements the data of Jahshiyārī and Sūlī.

(vii) Biographical Literature.

The biographical and encyclopaedic writings devoted to the life and works of individual authors throw many sidelights on the social affairs generally connected with an individual's life. The Fihrist ---- a biblio-biographical writing---- of Ibn Nadīm (d. 385/995), the Ta'rīkh Baghdād of the Khatīb Baghdādī (d. 463/1070), the Wafayāt al-A'yān of Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), the Ta'rīkh al-Hukamā' of Qiftī (d. 646/1248), the 'Uyūn al-Anbā' of Ibn Abī 'Usaybi'a (590-668/1194-1270) and the Irshād al-Arīb of Yāqūt (d. 626/1228) offer, within the framework of an individual's biography, a great deal of direct and indirect information on various aspects of social life. Though these writings have not been compiled in the period with which our present study is concerned, yet their discussion on the lives of

individuals belonging to the third century hijra, with occasional references to social practices, are on the whole reliable and useful. These sources generally confirm the materials found in historical or adab literature and at times furnish much additional and unique information which enhances the value of the biographical literature as source material for social history.¹

(viii) Geographical and Topographical Literature.

A great deal of material on socio-economic history can be had from the writings of the geographers and travellers of the 3rd and 4th century hijra.² The Kitāb al-Buldān of Ya'qūbī (284/897) is a primary source for the topography of Sāmarrā', its buildings, markets and economic life. Though all the works edited and published by De Goeje in B.G.A. series contain material in varying degree on matters of social interest, the works of the 4th/10th century geographers, Ibn Hawqal (367/977) and Maqdisī (d. 355/966) entitled al-Masālik or Sūrat al-Ard and Ahsan al-Taqāsīm are of particular interest for our study of society. Both Ibn Hawqal and Maqdisī drew upon the experiences of preceding geographers as well as their own observation and study. They opened up a new vista in geographical writing and widened its scope to such an extent that now

1. B. Lewis, Sources for the economic history.. in Studies in the economic history of the Middle East, ed. M.A.Cook, London, 1970, pp. 91-92; Cf. also, H.A.R.Gibb, Islamic biographical literature, in B.Lewis and P.M.Holt, Historians of the Middle East, London, 1962, pp. 54-58.

2. EI², s.v. Djughrāfiyā (S. Maqbul Ahmad).

it included a variety of subjects ranging from physical features of the iglīn (region) to mines, languages and races of peoples, customs and habits, religion and sects, character, weights and measures and the territorial divisions, routes and distances etc.¹ The writings of these two authors have furnished us with detailed material on the production and trade of various lands, prices of the commodities, regional differences in the habits of food and clothing, housing and other interesting topics.

Of no less value is the encyclopaedic work of Yāqūt al-Rūmī (d. 626/1228) entitled Mu'jam al-Buldān. His geographical dictionary--- although dates from the late Abbasid period, is a repository of historical, economic, social, geographical and topographical material and as such can be used to substantiate or supplement the material found in the earlier sources.

The topographical treatise of Ibn Mihmandār (c. 3rd/9th century) entitled Fadā'il Baghdād and the Manāqib Baghdād attributed to Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) furnish data on the foundation of Baghdad, its population, census on the basis of the number of baths of Baghdad and other economic details. The material of Ibn Mihmandār on public baths and its personnel has been incorporated in the writings of the authors of later Abbasid period (e.g., Sābī's Rusūn, and Tanūkhī's Nishwār²).

1. EI², svv. Djughrāfiyā (S. Maqbul Ahmad); Ibn Hawkal (A. Miquel); cf. also Y. Kračkovskiy, Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura (vol. iv of his collected works) Moscow-Leningrad, 1957 = Ar. tr. (chap. i-xvi published so far) by S.D. 'Uthmān Hāshim, Cairo, 1963; A. Miquel, La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du xi^e s., 1967.

2. See, Rusūn, p. 19f. ; Nishwār, i, p. 193.

(ix) Hisba Manuals.

Hisba manuals written for the guidance of the muhtasib (market inspector; the municipal officer) contain a wealth of information for our study. These manuals abound with insights into the economic and social life of the various groups of people.¹ The Zaidī manual of hisba² of the 3rd/9th century --- the period with which our study is concerned --- is interesting in the sense that it mentions various topics of social interest in a direct or indirect form. To this the Ahkām al-Sūq of Yahyā b. 'Umar of Cordova (3rd/9th century) could be added for comparative study and be supplemented by al-Shayzarī's (d. 589/1193) Nihāyat al-rutba fī talab al-hisba and Ibn al-Ukhuwwa's (d. 729/1338) Ma'ālim al-Qurba. The materials in these monographs are theoretical in nature, yet their importance for social history cannot be underestimated.

(x) Juristic Literature.

Juridical writings such as the Kitāb al-Kharāj of Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), Qudāma b. Ja'far (d. 238/839 or 337/948) and Yahyā b. Adam; Kitāb Sharḥ Adab al-Qādī li'l-Khassāf by Ibn Māza³ (d. 536/1141) etc. contain useful insights into prevalent social practices, and as such are indispensable for a comparative study of theory and practice of social norms and behaviour.

1. EI², s.v. Hisba; Serjeant, Islamic Textiles, AI, ix, p. 54; cf. also, Begg, op.cit. 'Survey of the Sources', section, "Hisba Manuals".

2. Edited by R.B. Serjeant, in RSO, 28(1953), pp. 1-34.

3. The monograph has been recently edited by M.I.H.I. Surty for a Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, 1972.

(xi) Biographies of the Judges.

The biographical studies of the judges compiled in narrative style by the contemporary Qādī Wakī' (d. 306/918) in his Akhbār al-Qudāt and by the Qādī al-Kindī (d. 350/961) in his al-Wulāt wa'l-Qudāt contain a number of evidences of practical demonstration of the theoretical juridical literature. Special mention has been made of the status of the qādī in Islam, their robes, emoluments and their private life. Both Wakī' and Kindī offer us a great deal of direct and indirect information on social and religious status of different groups of people. For example, Wakī' records that according to the Qādī Shurayh the shahāda of the pigeon trainer and the hammāmī was not accepted in the court¹— a point indicative of lower legal status of these professions in society.

(xii) Hiyal literature

Hiyal literature according to Schacht is "one of our most important sources for the knowledge of the legal practice of the Muslims in the middle ages"². The books on hiyal written by Shaybānī (d. 189/805) and Khassāf (d. 261/874) which have survived and have been edited are contemporary documents of direct and great value for our study of social history. They show how people, from almost all walks of life,

1. Wakī' , Akhbār al-Qudāt, ii, p. 308

2. EI², s.v. hiyal (J. Schacht).

tried to find out, within the limits of the sharī'a, certain devices (hiyal) to solve their complicated problems in social, economic and other spheres of life. A typical example can be seen in a hīla (device) recorded by Shaybānī that if a man vows not to wear an izār, and afterwards he wears a ridā' in the fashion of the izār, he would not be a hānith (sinner)¹--- a point indicative that the ridā' could also be used as an izār.

(xiii) Culinary manuals.

The manuals of culinary art, though directly related to cuisine, embrace a great deal of material on social topics related to food such as table manners, diet and dietetics, drinks and the like. The earliest surviving treatise on cuisine is that of al-Warrāq (a writer of the early 4th/10th century) entitled Kitāb al-Tabīkh wa Islāh al-aghdhiya al -ma'kulāt²--- a book of prime importance for our study. The Kitāb al-Wuslā ila'l-Habīb by Ibn 'Adīm (d. 660/1269)³ and the Kitāb al-Tabīkh of 'Abd al-Karīm al-Baghdādī (d. 637/1239) are also useful for supplementary evidences. Of almost equal importance are the books entitled Fawā'id al-Mawā'id⁴ and Risāla Ādāb al-Mu'ākala of Ibn al-Jazzār (d. 679/1280) and of Muḥammad al-Ghazzī (d. 984/1577) respectively enumerating various dos and don'ts of wining and dining.

1. Makhārīj fī'l-Hiyal, p. 64.

2. The unique manuscript is lodged at the Bodlien Library, Oxford, (No. Hunt, 187).

3. Br. Mus. Ms. No. Or. 6388; also SOAS, Ms. No. 90913.

4. Br. Mus. Ms. No. Or. 6388.

(xiv) Treatises on Falconry and Chase.

Though a number of treatises, exclusively devoted to the art of hunting by animals, were written in the early Abbasid period, very few of them have survived. These treatises written primarily on the art of training of predatory animals, their species, their diseases etc., interspersed with poetical citations from contemporary poets, are a good source of information on many social aspects.

The earliest surviving works on hunting are those written by a writer of many-sided interest, Kushājim (d. 961 or 971 A.D.). His first tract on falconry entitled Kitāb al-Bayzara exists in manuscript form¹ (of which a few extracts have been published in JASB in 1907). It is the basic work on falconry and the art of the chase, ^{that has been} much exploited by later writers. His second book entitled Kitāb al-Masāyid wa'l-Matārid is in fact a complete monograph on the art of venery and falconry. It also gives great attention to adab and supplies us with a lot of valuable information otherwise not found in adab literature or historical writings. Kushājim's writings like other Arab works of chase and hunt suffers from certain naive and fabulous beliefs which originated in part in the imagination of the Greeks and came to the Arabs through Arabic translations (e.g., Aristotle's "History of the Animals").

1. A transcribed copy of the original Gotha manuscript is in SOAS, Ms. No. 2091.

A contemporary of Kushājim, belonging to the court of the Fatimid Caliph 'Azīz bi'-llāh (975-96) devoted a treatise al-Bayzara to this Caliph which possesses rich materials on the nature of predatory birds and beasts, on the long experience of the anonymous author and that of the specialists in hawking. The book is excellent for the history of hunting of the Fatimid period and therefore of little use for our study except in corroborating some data derived from Abbasid writers.

Apart from these three near contemporary works, the 'hawking-sport memoirs' of the illustrious Syrian hunter-knight of the 6th/12th century Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 1188 A.D.) in his Kitāb al-I'tibār, the work of the Mamluk Muhammad al-Manglī, entitled Kitāb Uns al-malā' bi wahsh al-falā' written in 1371 and the Kitāb al-Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara of an uncertain date help in supplementing, elucidating and corroborating materials to be found in the writings of the early Abbasid authors (e.g., Kushājim). These writings possess a number of long quotations from the writers of the Abbasid period otherwise lost to the world (cf. for example, many excerpts in al-Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara from an unknown author called al-Mutawakkilī, perhaps the falconer of the Caliph Mutawakkil) and thus help in creating a bridge over the gap created by the loss of these valuable books.

Of considerable use and value are the materials found in the zoological writings of the contemporary author Jāhiz (d. 255/869) (Kitāb al-Hayawān); thirteenth century naturalist Qazwīnī (599-682/1203-83) (Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt) and the 14th century author Damīrī (742-807/1341-1405) (Kitāb Hayāt al-Hayawān). All of them tend to give materials on diverse aspects of social life, whether directly or indirectly.

The latter author also possesses an unusually interesting chapter on the Muslim table games viz. Shatranj and Nard.

(xv) Writings on Furūsiyya and Horsemanship.

The furūsiyya literature surviving from the Abbasid period, is of great help for our study of social life. Some of it is devoted to equitation, hippology, farriery, archery and other akin subjects. The Kitāb al-Khayl of Asma'ī¹ (d. 213/828) and Kitāb Asmā' al-khayl al-'Arab wa fursānihim of Ibn al-Kalbī and Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 207/828 and 231/845)² are treatises on philological erudition, but the Kitāb Hilyat al-fursān wa shi'ār al-shuj'ān³ of the Andalusian Ibn Hudhayl of the 8th/14th century; Kitāb al-Wadīh fī ma'rifat 'ilm al-ramy (Br. Mus. Or.9454) of Wadīh al-Ṭabarī (d.1295); Kitāb Nihāyat al-sūl wa'l-umniyya fī ta'līm a'māl al-Furūsiyya of Muḥd. b. 'Isā al-Aqsarā'ī (d. 1384 ?)⁴; Kitāb al-Qaws wa'l-sahn (Br.Mus. Or.3134); Kitāb al-Baytara (Br. Mus. Or.1523); Risāla fī'l-rimāya (SOAS, Ms. 46339) of anonymous authors; Kitāb Ghunyat al-Ṭullāb fī ma'rifat al-ramy bi'l-nushshāb by Taybughā' al-Baklāmishī al-Yūnānī⁵ (ca. 1368 A.D.), and Kitāb al-Furūsiyya of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (691-751/1299-1350) are important sources for materials on games and

1. Edited by Haffner, Vienna, 1875.

2. Ed. by G. Levi Della Vida, Leiden, 1928.

3. Ed. and translated into French by L. Mercier, Paris, 1924.

4. Critical edition by A.L.S.M. Lutful Huq for Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, 1956. (still unpublished).

5. Translated into English by J.D. Latham and W.F. Paterson, entitled "Saracen Archery", London, 1970.

sports of Islamic periods in general and of Mamluk period in particular. These treatises, most of them far removed in time from the 3rd century hijra, provide a number of useful data on the early Abbasid period as they derived information from earlier books of such nature available to them but no longer extant.

(xvi) Archaeological Studies.

The archaeological evidences are a vital complement to the literary sources. The voluminous works of Creswell and Herzfeld on Baghdad and Samarra', the recent excavation reports on Sīrāf by David Whitehouse¹, the publication of the Iraqi Government department of antiquities entitled Hafriyāt Sāmarrā' (Excavations at Samarra' - 1936-39) and similar other findings, not only enable us to collate the reports of historians and geographers but sometimes furnish additional information on public houses, sanitation, baths, ceramics, and a host of other topics related to the social life in the early Abbasid period.

(xvii) Numismatic Sources.

The surviving dinars and dirhams of the early Abbasid period are parts of documentary evidences for social history. Like miniature paintings, numismatic sources, especially those with figures, offer us visual aids. These coins offer us, among other things, an opportunity of seeing the costume of the caliphs which can be identified through the help of

1. See, Irān, 1968-1970

literary sources. The coins adorned with the portraits of the Caliphs Mutawakkil and Muqtadir are of particular interest. The reconstruction of Mutawakkil's portrait on the basis of the debased dirham seems to be faulty as our literary sources do not mention any head-gear similar to that shown on the head of Mutawakkil.

(xviii) Inscriptions.

Inscriptions, survived on the pious foundations, various mosques, tombs and marble slabs ---- now dispersed in many museums---- are of particular interest for/^{the}social and economic historian. According to Prof. Lewis the inscriptions on metrological objects (weights, coin-weights, measure-stamps; vessel-stamps, tokens) and trade-marks or certificates on manufactured articles, especially textiles and metalworks are also of interest.¹ Inscriptions, therefore, form one of the important documentary sources for our study of social life of the early Abbasid period. It is known through inscriptions, for example, that the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd built a cistern at Ramla in Palestine in 172/789.²

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1. B. Lewis, Sources.. in Studies in the economic history of the Middle East, ed. by M.A.Cook, London, 1970, p.86.
 2. Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, ii, pp. 161-64.; for one of the earliest waqf inscriptions see, M.Sharon, A waqf inscription from Ramlah, Arabica, xiii, 1966, pp. 77-84.

(xix)

Dhimmi Sources.

The chronicles and other literature of the dhimmī populations under Muslim rule are useful for our study of social history. As Prof. Lewis observes, the non-Muslim communities, living within the Muslim world, by virtue of their coherence and institutional structure, often enjoyed a continuity lacking in the larger and more fragmented Muslim society, and were thus able to accumulate and preserve records over long periods of time.¹ The dhimmī writings, therefore, constitute a source not negligible for the social history of the Abbasid period especially for the history of the non-Muslims living within the Muslim community.

Both 'Amr b. Matti and Mārī b. Sulaymān in their biographical type of books entitled Akhbār fatāriqat kursī'l-Mashriq have preserved in detail, though in a critical tone, the regulations issued by the Caliph Mutawakkil pertaining to the distinctive dress, mount and dwellings of the dhimmīs. At certain points they add information on Tabarī's statements on the regulation.² Mārī b. Sulaymān also informs us that the Caliph Hārūn, who had once imposed wearing of distinctive dress (ghiyār) on the Christians, allowed them to wear costumes of their choice at the indirect request of the Caliph's private physician, Jibrīl b. Bakhtīshū.³ a point not to be found in Tabarī and other Muslim writings.

1. B. Lewis, Sources., pp. 79-80, 91.

2. 'Amr b. Matti, Akhbār fatāriqat kursī'l-mashriq, ed. by Gesmondi, Rome, 1896, p. 71; Mārī b. Sulaymān, Akhbār fatāriqat kursī'l-Mashriq, ed. by Gesmondi, Rome, 1899, p. 79; cf. also Tabarī, iii, 1389-90

3. Mārī, op.cit, p. 73.

Other dhimmī authors either contemporary such as Denys of Tell-Mahré (ca. 3rd/9th century)¹ or late such as Yahyā b. Sa'īd (d. 458/1066); Michael the Syrian (d. 1199), Bar Hebraeus (d. 685/1286), Benjamin of Tudela (c. 12th century) and others give sporadic allusions to various social aspects of the Abbasid period. Besides furnishing materials on the life of the non-Muslims, these authors have incorporated in their writings, within their limited scope, a number of interesting information on Muslim economic, social and political history.

(xx) Miscellaneous Sources.

The heresiographical writings like that of al-Farq bain al-firaq of Baghdādī (d. 429/1037) and al-Milal of Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153); the pseudo-philosophical 'Epistles' of Ikhwān al-Safā (10th century onward); the ansāb literature of Sam'ānī (d. 562/1166) and Balādhurī (ca. 893); the mystic literature like that of Kashf al-Mahjūb of Hujwīrī (d. between 465 and 469/1072 and 1077); the lexicographical writings like that of Mukhassas of Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1066). Kitāb al-Mu'arrab of Jawāliqī (466-539/1073-1144), Lisān of Ibn Manzūr (d. 711/1311-12) etc. supply us with bits of information and cross references which are, at times, as necessary as other literary sources, to construct a composite picture of Abbasid social life.

1. See C. Cahen, 'Fiscalité, propriété, antagonismes sociaux en Haute-Mésopotamie au temps des premiers 'Abbasides, d'après Denys de Tell-Mahré', in Arabica, i, 1954, pp. 136-52.

The Āthār al-Bāqiya of Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050) offers us valuable materials on the origin and development of festivals and festivities of different religions and the Mafātīh al-'Ulūm of Khwārizmī (d. 387/997) provides definitions of technical and scientific terms such as the terminologies relating to a study of numismatics, administration, weights and measures, food and the like. Shābushtī's (d. 399/1008) Kitāb al-Diyārāt is very rich in materials useful for social history. Among other things, it describes the festivals of the Eastern Christians and enumerates the role of the impious Muslims who frequented the monasteries in quest of pleasure and sin. Ibn Zubayr's (ca. 5th/11th century) al-Dhakḥā'ir wa'l-Tuhaf is really a 'treasure' for varied information concerned with the court life such as the festivities and gifts of the court, the annual budget of the early Abbasid caliphs, the lists of articles left by the caliphs and wazirs and the like.

(xxi) Secondary Sources.

The secondary sources are, at times, very important and of great assistance for our present study, not because of the information they supply, but for their analysis and criticism of the primary sources. A number of orientalist have examined various aspects of social history of the Muslims in the medieval period. The economic historian E. Ashtor in his important book Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'orient medieval, and articles published in various journals, has very ably dealt with the cost of living and the earnings of various social groups in the

early Abbasid period. Though Ashtor's study deals at greater length and more comprehensively with the economic life of late and post-Abbasid period, his critical approach and valuable information on the early Abbasid period is no less important. F. Viré's articles in the EI² on hunting animals and sporting birds (e.g., bayzara, fahd, ibn 'irs, hamām etc.) provide very useful material. The author, being intimately familiar with Muslim natural history, critically examines the information given by Muslim writers often intermingled with their personal prejudices and naive remarks on animal psychology inspired mainly by Greek sources. F. Viré is, therefore, very helpful in understanding various hunting terminologies current in the medieval period but rarely used in modern Arabic. M. Rodinson in his article Ghidhā in the EI² has collected useful information on the food habits of medieval Muslim society. His writings may, with benefit, be supplemented by those of scholars like E. Ashtor, M. Canard and H. Zayyāt. Other authors who have dealt with social history, either directly or indirectly, like Dozy, L. Mercier, R. Levy, L.A. Mayer, B. Lewis, C.E. Bosworth, Dūrī, M. Jawād etc. have also been a great help in solving problems related to various aspects of medieval social history.

Observation on the sources.

The sources portraying life in early Abbasid society are not without defects. Sources like anecdotes and stories contain exaggeration and inventions; hisba manuals and juridical writings are theoretical and seem divorced from reality; and the works on adab embody elegance and rhetoric more than a

factual picture of social behaviour and cultural developments. Nevertheless, they cannot be brushed aside as untrue and ignored in any serious study of Iraqi social life. Indeed they are indispensable for a clear picture of medieval society. The late and sometimes post-Abbasid sources also are important for their rich references and citations from earlier sources. Thus, for instance, works such as al-Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara preserve lengthy excerpts from earlier works now no longer available.¹ These fill in the lacunae when other sources are sparse and provide detail and precision or offer possibilities for a critical study in case of copious contemporary sources. Since medieval Muslim society was more or less traditional and conservative, sources near contemporary or of a slightly later period may carefully be relied upon especially when contemporary evidence is absent or scant. It is with this end in view, that we have supplemented, corroborated and sometimes derived materials from the sources not belonging to our period of study (i.e., the 3rd/9th century).

1. See supra, p. 45.

Chapter II

COSTUME

The sartorial concept in Islam is more functional than formal. It also reflects social status, work, sex and even religious and ethnic affiliation. Some articles of wear represented official mark and symbol. References available in our sources relate more to the sartorial fashions and habits of the court and the important functionaries than to the social habits in general.

The general picture emerging from Arabic sources reveals that the various ethnic and social groups in the Abbasid period wore their own distinctive dresses. They also used to wear different dresses on festive and ceremonial occasions and seasons.¹ On the formal plane one finds that the various state functionaries, the qādīs, the deputy qādīs, the kuttāb, the kuttāb al-Jund (military secretaries) etc., all had different ceremonial dresses.²

The costumes worn by the people of different social groups, in this period, can be divided into three broad divisions : (a) head-gear, (b) articles of dress for the body, and (c) foot-wear. It is to be noted that most of the costumes were common to all sections of the people, but were different in colour, design and fabric quality.³

1. Jāhiz, Bayān, iii, pp. 114-115; Murūj, vii, p. 124; viii, pp. 14, 181; Aghānī,² i, p. 49; v, pp. 317, 407-8; Muhādarāt, iv, p. 373; Ibn al-Jawzī, Zirāf, pp. 85-86.

2. Ibid, Bayān, iii, p. 114. Ibn Khallikān tells us that differences in dress for different functionaries were first introduced by the qādī Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798). (cf. Wafayāt, xi, p. 38).

3. While describing Arab costume, Ibn Manzūr, the famous Arab lexicographer treated it in two broad divisions : (i) garments which are cut and sewn like the gamīs, jubba, sirwal etc. (ii) garments which are not cut and sewn like the rida', izar, mitraf etc. (cf. Lisān, s.v. qata'). Dozy, in his dictionary of Arab costume, has fully described the dress worn by the Arabs at different periods. (Con.)

(a) Head-gear.

Caps and turbans formed the main head-gear of the people from all walks of life.

During the time of the Umayyads and even earlier the use of an ordinary and short galansuwa, probably shaped like a skull-cap or a fez and made of fur or cloth¹, was in vogue; a turban was generally wrapped around it. During the Abbasid period a tall cap, probably made of silk and known as galansuwa tawīla, became a popular article of wear.² It is reported that the Caliph Mansūr, perhaps in imitation of the Persian head-gear, introduced the practice of wearing this tall galansuwa, which resembled the long tapering wine-jar known as dann.³ This assumption is further supported by the pictorial representation of the Persian kings with tall caps on their heads.⁴ It appears to have been cone-shaped, though it could also be in the form of a truncated cone. The

(continued from the last page) :--- But his book seems to have a bias towards the usages of the western rather than of the eastern Islamic world. (cf. the omission of a word like mitraf from his dictionary as well as from his Supplement). Dozy, indeed, is of no great help in determining the fashion of some of the Baghdadi costumes. Nevertheless, his dictionary is an indispensable work for students of the history of Arab dress.

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1. Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, vi, p. 196; Aghānī¹, xv, p. 71; Muhāḍarāt, iv, p. 366.
2. Aghānī², x, p. 236; Tabarī, iii, p. 1328; Azdī, Ta'rīkh al-Mawsil, p. 216.; Husrī, Jam'al-Jawāhir fī'l-mulāh wa'l-nawādir, p. 106.
3. Aghānī², x, p. 236; Shābushtī, Diyārāt, p. 188; Referring to it, Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī quotes the following two verses, which satirize the introduction of the fashion into society. (cf. Aghānī², x, p. 236) :

كأ نرجى من إمام زيارة فجاب بطول فزاده في الخفاف
نراها على هام الرجال كأنها برنان يهود جالت بالبرانس

"We expected an increase (of favour) from the Imām, but he showed benevolence by an increase in the height of galansuwa; you see them reposing on men's skulls as if they were Jewish wine-jars wrapped in burnous-cloaks".

4. Jalīl Diyāpūr, Pūshāk ba-Āstānī Irānīān, Pls. 151, 162, 176.

tall shape of the tawīla was maintained by means of an internal frame-work of wood or reeds. (تدعم بعيدان من داخلها).¹ On account of its extraordinary height and popularity it was frequently known by the adjective tawīla, without the noun qalansuwa.² According to Mas'ūdī, Hārūn al-Rashīd did not like the general use of the qalansuwa tawīla.³ Mu'tasim, however, is reported to have re-introduced and popularized it once again.⁴ His fashion of wearing this tall head-gear --- and also of using muslin for his clothes --- was so widely imitated in society, that the fashion itself came to be known as Mu'tasimiyāt.⁵ Although the tall cap (danniyya) was to become a characteristic head-dress of the qādī (a fact evident from Shābushtī's story of Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm and 'Ubāda,⁶ and also from Dozy's definition of danniyya⁷), its use seems not to have been confined to any particular group, until the Caliph Musta'in limited its use to the qādī only.⁸

1. Aghānī², x, p. 236.; Azdī, op.cit; p. 216; Balkhī, Kitāb

2 al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'rikh, p. 91.

Dozy, Supplement. s.v. tawīla

3. Murūj, viii, p. 302.

4. Ibid, viii, p. 302.

5. Ibid, viii, p. 302.

6. Diyārāt, p. 188; these two persons lived in the time of the Caliph Mutawakkil, the former was a secretary and the latter was a mukhannath. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm's remark (يَكُنْ مَخْنَثٌ بِلَا بَيْتٍ مِثْلَ قَاضٍ بِلَا رُبِيَّةٍ) "a mukhannath without whore is like a qādī without danniyya" indicates that as whoredom was indispensable for the mukhannath, so the danniyya was essential for the qādīs. For more details on the qādī's head-gear see, Danniyyat al-qādī fī'l-'āsr al-'Abbāsī, Mikhael 'Awwād, in al-Risāla (Cairo), x(1942); nos. 485-496, pp. 979-81; 1006-1007.

7. Dozy, Dictionnaire, p. 185.

8. Murūj, vii, p. 402. The tall cap (danniyya) of the qādī sometimes became so long and limp that a litigant called it a top-boot (khuff). (cf. Kindī, Wulāt 589f.)

The tall caps of the Abbasid period, although designed as tawīla and danniyya, were also known merely by the adjectives Rusāfiyya and Dawraqiyya.¹ The Rusāfiyya derived its name from a suburb probably in Baghdad and was a favourite head-gear of the caliphs, princes and wealthy people.²

It is worth mentioning here that the Abbasids wore turbans on all caps, perhaps in response to the Prophetic tradition that "the difference between a Muslim and an infidel is the wearing of a turban on the cap".³

‘Imāma :—

The second popular head-dress of the period under discussion was the ‘imāma or turban. From the caliphs down to the ‘amma, which included even the thieves and the rogues, all had an ‘imāma suited to their position.⁴ ‘Imāma was a length of cloth wound round the head, sometimes as far down as the ears⁵, and even the cheeks,⁶ one end of it being hung between the shoulders. This tail or the hanging portion of the cloth was called ‘adhaba. An ‘imāma without an ‘adhaba was considered a bid‘a. There was no fixed rule with regard to the length of this turban cloth and that of the ‘adhaba. The former depended on individual taste and the more ostentatious a man was, the greater was the length of his turban cloth.⁷ The length of the ‘adhaba was usually four fingers.⁸

1. Tajārib, iii, pp. 152-53; Sābi, Rusūm, p.81; Nishwār, viii, p.12; Khatīb, Ta’rīkh, iv, p.6; cf. also, Badrī, ‘Amma, p. 13.

2. Yāqūt, Buldān, ii, 783-4; Serjeant, Islamic Textiles, Chap. II, p. 84.

3. Concordance, s.v. ‘imāma, see also the verse quoted earlier in connection with the tall cap, p. 55.n.3.

4. Jāhiz, Bayān, iii, p.114.

5. Ibid; Bukhārā, p. 310.

6. Tabarī, iii, p. 761.

7. Maq. p. 129.

8. EI¹, s.v. Turban (B. Walter).

The wearing of the 'imāma, when out of doors, was considered indispensable for males except on occasions of pilgrimage¹ or of condolence.² While in their offices, government personnel, following the official colour of the Abbasids, had to wear black turbans and were not allowed to take them off, even for a respite. Anyone found not strictly observing this official etiquette was subjected to humiliation and even to corporal punishment. Hilāl al-Ṣābī (359-448/969-1056), in his Rusūm, relates some interesting anecdotes about such punishments.³

According to Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī and Ibn al-Jawzī the 'imāma was the main distinctive dress of a man.⁴ To put off the 'imāma in an assembly was a kind of punishment.⁵ In the language of Abū'l-Aswad al-Du'alī the 'imāma was "a shield on the battlefield, a net in the summer; a dithār or outer garment in the winter, and an honour in the assembly, a protector in vicissitudes, and an increase in the stature of a man".⁶ It also served the purpose of a purse⁷ and was sometimes used to hide the identity of a man when he was in a disadvantageous position.⁸ Needless to say, people in all walks of life must have striven to increase the quality

1. Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs ; cf. also the books of Fiqh, Chap. Manāsik al-Hajj.

2. Aghānī², x, p. 190.

3. Ṣabī, Rusūm, pp. 77, 96, 72.

4. Aghānī¹, xv, p. 71; Ibn al-Jawzī, Mudhash, p. 169; cf. also, Kattānī, Di'ama li-ma'rifat ahkām sunnat al-'imāma, p. 43

5. Muntazam, x, p. 89.

6. Jāhiz, Bayān, iii, p. 100 ; Muhādarāt, iv, p. 371.

7. Nishwār, in RAAD, xii, p. 693; Dozy, Dictionnaire, p. 236.

8. Murūj, vi, p. 478; Aghānī², v, p. 218; Nishwār, ii, in RAAD xvii, p. 521.

of such an important article of wear. They not only chose fine stuff for it, but also adorned it sometimes with gold and costly materials. We are told that the turban presented to Mukhāriq, the singer, by the Caliph Amīn was so heavily woven with gold that 'it dazzled the eyes'.¹ From Mas'ūdī's Murūj it can be seen that the ghuzāt had a special type of turban known as 'amā'im al-ghuzāt.² Although our sources do not give any specific information about it, it must have been a part of uniform or a distinctive turban by which the ghāzīs, i.e., the frontier warriors who made jihād against the infidel³, could be distinguished from the regular soldiers of the Caliph.⁴ Another kind of 'imāma known as 'Amā'im al-Musmata, i.e., a turban made of a cloth of a single colour, was, according to Sābī, a special article of head-gear reserved for high ranking officials and commanders⁵, whereas the boon companions (nadīms) of the caliphs wore mostly the 'amā'im al-washī al-mudhahhaba (turbans of gold-figured silk).⁶ From Sābī it is also known that the descendants of Ansār (awlād al-Ansār) wore a special yellow turban in the earlier centuries of Muslim era. The practice, however, ceased from the 5th century hijra onward.⁷ Wealthy people had a number of turbans which they wore on different

1. Aghānī¹, xxi, p. 239.

2. Murūj, vii, p. 135.

3. EI² s.v. Ghāzī, (I. Melikoff).

4. Badrī, 'Imāma, pp. 14-15 ; The Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd is credited to have worn a galansuwa, inscribed with the words "لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ" when he invaded Greek territory in the year 190/805. (cf. Tabarī, iii, p. 709seq.)

5. Rusūm, p. 96.

6. Ibid, p. 96. Washī is a kind of silk material made in different colours, and sometimes threaded with gold. (cf. Dozy, Suppl. s.v.).

7. Rusūm, p. 41.

occasions,¹ while the poor used scrap of cloth as their 'imāma.² Some of the sūfīs and the peasants in general used for their 'imāma dyed fūt³, a kind of coarse silk which is said to have been imported from India.⁴

(b) Articles of dress for the body :--

As has been mentioned above, the costume of the people in Abbasid society varied according to the social group; ethnic affiliations, occasions and seasons. According to Jāhiz the costume of the Arabs was known by the name of shi'ār i.e., clothes worn next to the bare body, and of dithār, clothes worn outside the shi'ār.⁵ The shirt and the trousers are shi'ār and the other garments are dithār.⁶ The general articles of wear (other than the head-gear and foot-wear) were the izār (waist wrapper), the ridā' (mantle), the jubba (long garment), the gamīs (shirt), the durrā'a (a long coat of wool open in front), the mitraf (a square-shaped wrap with ornamental borders); the ghilāla (chemise), the sirwāl (drawers), the sudra (waist coat), the taylasān (a robe with hood), the gabā' (a loose outer garment), the 'abā' (a simple outer garment) etc.

1. Dhakhā'ir, pp. 229-30 ; Ibn 'Imād, Shadharāt al-Dhahab, (Cairo, 1350-51), iv, p. 101.

2. Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs, p. 198.

3. Sharīshī, Sharh Maqāmāt al-Harīrī, iii, p. 30; Fakhrī, 228.

4. Lisān, Tāj and Mukhassas, s.v. Fūt. cf. also, Badrī, 'Amma, p. 145.

5. Tāj (attributed to Jāhiz), p. 154.

6. Ibid, p. 154.

Izar :---

The izār, an unsewn close-fitting garment wrapped round the waist and legs and extending upwards as far as the navel, which it might cover or not, and downwards as far as the middle of the leg or beyond it, was a characteristic dress of the Arabs.¹ During the Abbasid period this term was also applied to an outer-wrap used by both males and females.² Women used it for out-door wear. Tabarī records the flight of women found in the street without an izār at the time of raids carried out on private houses, when Mu'tamid returned to Baghdad from Samarra'.³ Muṣṭafā Jawād, in his article Azyā' al-'Arab al-sha'biyya, further informs us that women covered their heads with their izār.⁴ To make it firm on their heads they sometimes fastened it with a girdle (zunnār) and silk thread. Mutayyam, a slave-girl of the court of Ma'mūn and Mu'tasim is said to have invented this fashion⁵--- a fashion widely followed by women of her own and also of later times. During the period of our study this izār was considered to be an essential part of a gentleman's dress.⁶ This is

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1. Dozy, Dictionnaire, pp. 24-26; Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, ii, pp. 153-54; Muhādarāt ;iv, p. 373; Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad, al-Albisa al-'arabiyya fī qarn al-awwal al-hijrī, in MMII, 1966, pp. 47-49.
 2. Levy's statement that, during the Abbasid period, it was "an outer-wrap worn exclusively by women" is misleading. (cf. Levy, "Notes on Costume", JRAS, 1935, p.321). The reference in Khatīb al-Baghdādī to the appearance of a muhaddith (early 10th century) in a majlis without an izār indicates that the use of this garment was not confined to women. (cf. Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, i, p.374; cf. also Azdī, Ta'rīkh al-Mawsil, p.261 for a reference of this kind).
 3. Tabarī, iii, p. 2122.
 4. M. Jawād, Majalla Turāth al-Sha'bī, Baghdad, viii(1964), p.6
 5. Aghānī², vii, p. 302; L. A. Mayer, Mamluk Costume, p. 71.
 6. Azdī, Hikāyat Abī'l-Qāsim, p. 85.

why Khatīb Baghdādī records with surprise that the muhaddith Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Sadūsī, was found in an assembly without an izār.¹ During the time of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd the izār underwent a certain modification when he introduced a special wide-bordered and profusely decorated izār, known after him as izār Rashīdiyya.²

Mi'zar :--

The mi'zar was a smaller type of izār generally unsewn which was wrapped round the waist which covered the legs down to the knees.³ It was an important article of wear of the common people. The mi'zar or the loin-cloth was regarded essential for entering a bath.⁴ According to Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, the bath-keeper should supply the bather with a large mi'zar which could properly cover the portion from the navel to the knees.⁵ The mi'zar could also be used as a ridā' or mantle.⁶ According to Ibn Hawqal the people of Khuzistān and Sind, because of the hot climate of these regions, habitually wore izār and mi'zar.⁷ A person not wearing a mi'zar might be regarded an uncultured man. The phrase used by Tawhīdī " يا قميصا بلا مئزر " (O one wearing a shirt without a mi'zar) for an uncultured man shows the degree of importance attached to the mi'zar especially by men of refined taste.⁸

1. Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, i, p. 374.

2. Aghānī, v, p. 224; Tabarī, iii, p. 753.

3. Dozy, Dictionnaire, s.v. mi'zar; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, Ma'ālim al-Qurba, p. 156.

4. Serjeant, A Zaidi manual of hisba of the 3rd century H. RSO, 28(1953), p. 27; Ibn Abi'Zaid, Risala, Ms. 1193, fol. 747, quoted by Dozy Dictionnaire, s.v. { = Persian trans. Husain 'Alī, Tehran, p. 37.)

5. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, op.cit, p. 156.

6. Dozy, op.cit, s.v. mi'zar.

7. Ibn Hawqal, pp. 174, 228.

8. Tawhīdī, Inta', ii, p. 59.

Ridā' :---

The ridā' was a cloak worn over the shoulder, covering the gamīs.¹ It might also be put over the head for protection against the weather or to take the place of a qinā' (veil) to cover the face.² The Abbasid caliphs, like the Umayyads, were very fond of the ridā' and used it through most of the year.³ Like the izār, the ridā' was also a common article of wear amongst men and women.⁴ Washshā' speaks of a girl who wore a ridā'-cloak embroidered with a pattern all over of circles like eyes (mu'aiyyan) and adorned with a tirāz border.⁵ A popular ridā' known as ridā' Rashīdī (perhaps after the fashion of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd) was, as Serjeant suggests, often embroidered with tirāz inscriptions.⁶

Qamīs :---

The qamīs seems to have been a kind of shirt with a round hole for the neck and without an opening in the front.⁷ A vertical round collar in the shirt was introduced by the Barmakid wazir Ja'far b. Yahyā, a change which is said to have been widely accepted in society.⁸ Fashion varied as

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1. 'Uyūn, i, p. 301; Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, vii, p. 133; Sālih Ahmad op.cit, p. 47
 2. Murūj, vi, vi, p. 328; Tabarī, i, p. 2736. The ridā' could also be used as an izār. (cf. Shaybānī, Makharīj fī'l-hiyal, p. 64).
 3. Tāj (attributed to Jāhiz), p. 154.
 4. Levy, Notes on Costume, JRAS, 1935, p. 321.
 5. Muwashshā, p. 252.
 6. Serjeant, Islamic Textiles, Chap. xxii, p. 67
 7. Aghānī,¹ xiv, p. 3. The poet Farazdaq is reported to have worn a qamīs with an opening cut in front reaching to the navel. (cf. Ibid, ix, p. 40).
 8. Jāhiz, Bayān, iii, p. 356.

to the length of a shirt; a full length was popular in the Umayyad period, but it went out of favour under the early Abbasids, when it was felt that no garment should be so long as to cover the heels.¹ During the period of Musta'in, the gamīs for men acquired wide sleeves.² From a statement of Mas'ūdī in his Murūj al-Dhahab we learn that the width of a sleeve was three spans (shibr).³ It seems that a wide sleeve was regarded as an essential for a well-dressed person. A narrow sleeve reflected either lesser affluence or miserliness on the part of the wearer.⁴

The wide sleeves of the gamīs were used as pockets. The word jaib⁵, in the meaning of pocket was indeed not unknown at this time. It is clear, however, from the sources that the sleeves of the gamīs were often used as a receptacle for documents, money and other important items.⁶ It seems probable that the word jaib (pocket) indicated a pocket in the sleeve and not elsewhere in the shirt. The available evidence does not suffice to show whether there were pockets elsewhere in the gamīs than in the sleeve. The

1. 'Uyūn, i, p. 298; iii, p.238; Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs, 206, 218.

2. Murūj, vii, p. 402

3. Ibid, vii, p. 402

4. Tabarī, iii, p. 298

5. 'Ulayya, the sister of Hārūn, is reported to have once composed this verse which indicates the use of the word jaib in the sense of 'pocket' :

خَبَأْتُ فِي شِعْرِي اسْمَ الذِي أُرَدَتْهُ كَالْخَبْأِ فِي الْجَيْبِ

"I have concealed in my poem the name of one whom I wanted; like the concealing of something in the pocket (jaib)". (cf. Aghānī², x, p.166). Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadani has recorded in one of his risāla the sentence "قَلِيلٌ فِي الْجَيْبِ خَيْرٌ مِنْ كَثِيرٍ فِي الْغَيْبِ" (A bird in the hand is better than the two in the wilderness), which also indicates that the word was known at that time. (cf. Hamadani, Rasā'il, p. 43). Aghānī also mentions a singer who put his hand in his jaib and brought out a playing instrument (cf. xī, p. 21).

6. Diyārāt, pp. 151, 158; Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 108

sleeves, in time, appear to have become wide and capacious.¹ Ordinary people carried coins in them.² Sometimes a book or a casket was also kept in a sleeve.³ A tailor might keep a pair of shears in his sleeve.⁴ We are also told that, when 'Alī b. 'Īsā, the celebrated wazir of Muqtadir, was arrested in 316/928, he had with him a copy of the Qur'ān and a pair of scissors in his sleeve-pocket.⁵ Students, teachers, 'ulamā', secretaries and udabā' used to place therein their slates, tablets, inkpots, books and official documents.⁶ Magicians and conjurors concealed in them their tricks and items of magic.⁷ There is even one mention of a snake carried in a sleeve.⁸

In addition, sleeves could be used as a kerchief to wipe tears or to clean the face; to hide the face from other people and even, at need, to blot the ink from writing-paper.⁹

As the power of the Abbasids grew less, so the width of the gamīs sleeve and also of the turban increased in size --- a development not without irony. Things came to such a point that a man with a tall cap, a turban over-elaborate, or sleeves too wide was regarded as on the verge of ruin.¹⁰

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1. Aghānī², x, p. 109; Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 117.
 2. Yāqūt, Irshād, i, p. 254; Ibn al-Jawzī, Zirāf, p. 81.
 3. Irshād, vi, 56; Ibn Abī 'Usaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-Anbā', i, 141.
 5. Tajārīb, i, p. 185. ** (4). Murūj, vi, p. 345
 6. Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', p. 228; H. Zayyāt, Azyāt al-akmām, in Mashriq, 1947, p. 472.
 7. H. Zayyāt, op.cit, p. 474; Ibn al-Jawzī, Adhkiyā', p. 106.
 8. Shābushtī, Diyārāt, p. 11.
 9. Murūj, vii, p. 110; Aghānī², x, p. 61; H. Zayyāt, op.cit, 470.
 10. Rāghib, Muhādarāt, iv, p. 371,

The Abbasid caliphs appear to have been fond of the gamīs made of Dabīqī¹, a cloth produced in Dabīq, a place situated between Farama and Tinnis in Egypt.² The Dabīqī cloth seems to have been a favourite article of wear amongst the Abbasid Caliphs, their wazirs and the governmental élite. Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī informs us that Ishāq al-Mawṣilī, a well-known singer who was a favourite of Ma'mūn and Mu'taṣim, found the latter wearing a Dabīqī shirt (gamīs) which looked as if it had been cut out of the planet Venus.³ (كأنما قُت من كُرم الزهرة)

According to Mas'ūdī, Mu'tadid (279-89/892-902) asked his khazzān (wardrobe keeper) to choose the best of Sūs and Dabīqī material and to set them aside for his personal use.⁴ Hilāl al-Ṣābī, referring to the time when 'Alī b. 'Īsā was wazir, mentions a precious red Dabīqī shirt.⁵ From Tanūkhī we come to know another use to which Dabīqī was put: we are told that Muqtadir's mother used to wear sandals covered with Dabīqī cloth.⁶ The same source informs us that a certain man of Anbar possessed a large number of clothes, his Dabīqī shirt being kept in boxes separate from the ones containing the other clothes?⁷

The Abbasid caliphs were ostentatious in the wearing of the gamīs. Unless it was made of precious and rare material, they seldom used a gamīs more than once.⁸

1. Yāqūt, Buldān, ii, p. 548.

2. Dabaqa is one of the villages of Egypt near Tinnis (a port in lower Egypt frequented by ships from Syria and from the Maghrib). It was from Dabaqa that the material called Dabīqī came — a material described in the sources as unparalleled in its excellence. (cf. Yāqūt, Buldān, ii, p. 548; Dhakhā'ir, pp. 299-30; Mez, p. 460; EI², s.v. Dabīq).

3. Aghānī², v, p. 345.

4. Murūj, viii, p. 115.

5. Ṣābī, Wuzara', p. 327.

6. Nishwar, viii, p. 143.

7. Ibid, viii, pp. 190-91.

8. Tāj (attributed to Jāhiz), p. 154.

Durrā'a :--

A loose outer garment with sleeves, slit in front, known as durrā'a¹ seems to have been generally donned by the Abbasid caliphs while going out of their palaces.² The durrā'a was often made of wool and was thickly embroidered.³ Its colour varied.⁴ From a passage in Tabarī it would seem that the durrā'a was sometimes worn by the caliphs at their installations.⁵ The Abbasid caliphs favoured a durrā'a made of dībāj⁶ (brocade) and employed it for personal as well as ceremonial robes (khil'a) offered to dignitaries and officials who were high in their esteem. Mas'ūdī records that in 223/837 Afshīn received a durrā'a of brocade embroidered with red gold, the front of the robe being studded with rubies and pearls.⁷

The chief part of the wazir's costume was a special durrā'a⁸ with buttons and loops and with an opening below the neck.⁹ With it went a belt called wishāh (a broad belt of leather studded with jewels)¹⁰ and a sword which in the language of Jāhiz was "dignified".¹¹ Under Mutawakkil the

1. According to the Tāj al-ʿUrūs it was a jubba with a slit front. (cf. s.v. Dir')

2. Murūj, vii, p. 134; Tabarī, iii, p. 1368.

3. The Caliph Mu'tasim is said to have worn a white woollen durrā'a when he set out on his campaign against 'Amura (Amorium) in 224/838. (cf. Murūj, vii, p. 134).

4. Murūj, vii, pp. 135, 270; Tabarī, iii, p. 1368.

5. Muhammad b. Wāthiq was invested by the Turks with a black dufrā'a and a Rūsafī qalansuwa (cf. Tabarī, iii, p. 1368).

6. Dībāj is a cloth whose warp and woof are of silk (cf. Serjeant, Islamic Textiles, Chap. iv, p. 72, n.)

7. Murūj, vii, pp. 127-28.

8. Aghānī¹, xx, p. 49; Nishwār, i, p. 29; Mez, pp. 84, 89, 389.

9. Dozy, Dictionnaire, p. 45

10. Ibid, p. 429

11. Jāhiz, Bayan, iii, p. 118.

wearing of the durra'a became obligatory for all persons (except the qādīs) who wished to have audience with the Caliph.¹ During the 4th/10th century the officials and secretaries in Shīrāz and Western Persia in general, as a rule, wore durra'as and commanded great prestige.² The secretaries in Baghdad also used durra'a, and according to Miskawayh, the Barīdī kuttāb (secretaries) were called Ashāb Darārī.³

Jubba :--

The jubba, which was often used in place of the durra'a, was a long outer garment with an open front and wide sleeves. Like the ridā', the jubba was also used by the caliphs in all seasons.⁴ The jubba was often used with the gamīs, izār and ridā', though sometimes a single jubba could also be worn without adding other garments.⁵ The Abbasid caliphs seem to have been fond of sartorial display, using for the jubba silk and other rich materials woven with gold thread. Amīn is said to have offered a jubba of gold figured silk to the singer Mukhāriq. He soon regretted that he had given such a precious garment to a singer and spoiled it by throwing a piece of meat at it. The material was so fine that it could not be cleaned by washers and bleachers of Baghdad.⁶

1. Nishwār, in RAAD, i-ii(1930), p. 9

2. Maq. Ahsan al-Taḡāsīm, p. 440.

3. Tajārib, i, p. 375.

4. Tāj (attr. to Jāhiz), p. 154.

5. Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, v, p. 215; Sālih Ahmad, op.cit, p.59

6. Tabarī, iii, p. 968; Aghānī¹, xxi, pp. 239-40

Mitraf :---

The mitraf, a garment made of silk and richly embroidered, was a large piece of cloth, sometimes so large as to enfold the whole body of the wearer.¹ According to Tha'ālibī and Ibn Manzūr, the mitraf-cloak was something like a wrapper (kisā', ridā') whose two borders were embroidered.² It was generally worn by rich people and by high dignitaries.³ People wishing to call on high ranking officials, as a rule, donned the mitraf.⁴ Rāghib mentions the words of a certain Ḥabīb b. Thābit : "I would be delighted to be respected in a khamīsa⁵ rather than despised in a mitraf"⁶--- a statement which suggests that the wearing of the mitraf without proper cause was regarded as a mark of ostentation. Abū'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh seems to have been fond of the mitraf-robe made of khazz-silk, whereas people of elegant taste are reported to have preferred cotton to other materials for their mitraf-cloaks.⁷

Ghilāla :---

The ghilāla (chemise) was a garment worn next to the body⁸ beneath other clothes. The name is also given to a chemise worn beneath a coat of mail.⁹ It seems to have been

1. Levy, Notes on Costume, JRAS, 1935, pp. 322-23; Ibn Abī 'Usaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-Anba', i, p. 139.

2. Tha'ālibī, Fiqh al-Lughā, p. 246; Lisān, s.v. mitraf.

3. Levy, op.cit., pp. 322-23; Sālih Ahmad, op.cit., p. 62.

4. 'Uyūn, i, p. 297; cf. also Aghānī¹, xiii, p. 132, who notes that care was taken to remove the mitraf (a voluminous and expensive garment), when going to the water-closet.

5. It was a long coarse stuff which could be used as a blanket (cf. Aghānī, xix, p. 131); According to the Tāj it is a black square blanket having two borders. A blanket having no borders can not be called a khamīsa (cf. Tāj, iv, p. 390; Dozy, Dictionnaire, pp. 170-75).

6. Muhadarāt, iv, p. 367.

7. Washshā', p. 180; Serjeant, Islamic Textiles, Chap. ii, 69.

8. Lisān, s.v. (9). Dozy, Dictionnaire, pp. 319-23.

used by men and women alike and was considered to be an indoor costume. Dozy describes it as a very light and transparent robe.¹ Slave-girls and singers of our period wore it in their homes.² Their ghilāla may have been fairly long, as they wore it sometimes without a sirwāl.³ The Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd is said to have worn a ghilāla raqīqa during the summer season.⁴

Qabā' :---

The qabā' was a kind of a sleeved, close-fitting coat resembling the qaftān, generally reaching the middle of the shanks, divided down the front and made to overlap over the chest.⁵ It was regarded a characteristic dress of the Turks.⁶ Like the durrā'a, the qabā' also seems to have been an official dress of the wazirs. This is evident from the fact that 'Abd al-Mālik b. Zayyāt accepted the post of wazir on condition that he would be obliged to wear neither the qabā' nor the durrā'a.⁷ Miskāwayh notes that the wazir Abu'l-Faḍl received, at the time of his appointment, a qabā' together with a sword and a belt, both of which were adorned with gold.⁸ The qabā' and the minṭaq (belt) are also reported to have been the dress of young boys.⁹ It is

1. Dozy, Dictionnaire, p. 322.

2. Diyārāt, pp. 138-39; Tabarī, iii, p. 753.

3. Diyārāt, pp. 138-39; Qutub al-Surūr, p. 78.

4. Tabarī, iii, p. 753.

5. Dozy, Dictionnaire, pp. 352-362; Levy, op.cit, p. 324; Tritton, in JRAS, 1927, p. 480; From a passage of the Aghānī¹ (vii, 134) it appears that when a man tears his qamis from the opening below the neck (the jayb) to the foot it becomes a qabā'.

6. Rāghib, Muhādarāt, iv, p. 373; Ibn al-Jawzī, Zirāf, p. 132.

7. Aghānī¹, x, p. 49.

8. Tajārīb, i, p. 241.

9. Aghānī², x, pp. 111-12; Diyārāt, pp. 155, 165.; Tab. iii, 543-44.

said that Zubayda, the consort of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, wishing to draw the attention of her son, Amīn, to her jawārī (slave-girls), ordered the girls to don the qabā', the minṭaq and the 'imāma ---- a report which throws a little light on the attire of boys.¹ Shābushtī notes that Amīn, when he was Caliph, bade his favourite slave girl, 'Arīb, to wear the qabā' and the minṭaq in his presence.²

Taylasān :---

The taylasān was a piece of material worn over the shoulders and hanging down from them like a hood thrown back.³ It might be long enough to cover the head, the shoulders and the back in the manner of a ridā'.⁴ The taylasān was a special garb of the qādī and the faqīh.⁵ The qādī Abū Yūsuf is reported to have made the wearing of the taylasān compulsory for the qādīs.⁶ Although it was the insignia of the qādīs and the lawyers, it was also in use amongst the common people.⁷ Even an ordinary clerk in the imperial palace of Baghdad could wear it.⁸ Nevertheless, the qādīs and their aṣḥāb, from their wearing of this article, were often given the special designation of arbāb al-tayālisa.⁹

1. Murūj, viii, pp. 299-300

2. Diyārāt, p. 165

3. Dozy, Dictionnaire, s.v. Lane, Arabian Nights, ii, p. 512, thinks it to be similar in origin to the academic hood and scarf worn in the Europe of his own time.

4. Yāqūt, Irshād, i, p. 373. Cf. also the illustration which G. Derombynes published in REI, 1939, p. 424; Also the illustration of the Maqāmāt al-Harīrī, published by O. Grabar, in "The Islamic City", pl. no. 7. Yāqūt and Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī record that in the reign of the Caliph Amīn, the Qādī Khulayjī, when his qalansuwa was removed in a mosque, covered his head with his taylasān. (cf. Irshād, i, p. 373; Aghānī, x, p. 123). Dozy describes this robe as a certain article of apparel worn by the 'ajam (i.e., non-Arabs), round in form and black in colour, its warp and woof being of wool (cf. Dictionnaire, pp. 278-90). He notes also that because it was thrown over the shoulder (Cont..).

Shābushtī records that a certain 'Abbās of Basra wore a taylasān resembling the costume of the qādīs (يتشبه بالقضاة)¹. Moreover, Ishāq al-Mawṣilī is said to have appeared at the court of Ma'mūn wearing a taylasān, i.e., a piece of apparel "similar to the costume of the qadis" (مثل زيّ القضاة)².

Shamla :--

The shamla was a garment of the kind called kisā', i.e., a robe which a person wrapped around himself and which was smaller than the qatīfa.³ It may be a small kisā' which one wraps in the manner of the izār (waist-wrapper).⁴ Mustafā Jawād, quoting from Abū Mansūr al-Azhari, states that the milhafa was known to the Arabs as a wrapper (mi'zar) made of wool or hair. When its two ends were adorned, it became a mashmala which could also be used as a blanket.⁵ The shamla seems to have been in frequent use amongst the poor. It was, to all appearance, a dress indicative of poverty

(Continued from the last page):-- it was sometimes called taraha (cf. Ibid, pp. 254-57; 278). Levy suggests that this word has been derived from the Persian talishan, which itself comes perhaps from the Hebrew tallith "the cloak of honour, the scholar's or officer's distinction". (cf. Notes on Costume, JRAS, 1935, p. 334, n.5). Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya describes it as an article of wear characteristic of the Jews (see, Ahkām ahl al-dhimma, ii, pp. 752-53).

(5). Aghānī², v, p. 390; vi, p. 291; Irshād, v, 261; Mez, 389.

(6). Ibid, v, p. 390; Ibn Khallikān, (de Slane), iv, p. 273; xi, p. 38; Ibn Abī 'Usaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-Anbā'', ii, p. 4. The importance of this insignia (taylasān) was so great that the usher refused to introduce the qādī 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mushhir to the Caliph Hārūn in the gathering of the judges, unless the qādī put on his official gown (taylasān). (cf. Wafayāt, xi, p. 44).

(7). Diyārāt, p. 297; Azdī, Hikāyāt, pp. 5-6.

(8). Ṭabarī, iii, p. 627.

(9). Levy, Notes on Costume, JRAS, 1935, p. 335.

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1. Diyārāt, p. 297.

2. Aghānī², v, p. 390.

3. Qatīfa was an outer garment made of material which had khaml, i.e., a nap or pile (cf. Lisān, s.v.)

4. Ibid, s.v.

5. M. Jawād, Azyat al-'Arab, in M. Turāth al-Sha'bī, 1964, p. 9.

and austerity. The shamla could be both voluminous and short. It is reported by Aghānī that the poet Abū'l-'Atāhiya once wore a small shamla which, if he covered his head, exposed his legs and if he covered his legs, exposed his head.¹ This small shamla was also known as falawt.²

Kisā' :---

Among the dress of the common people, especially of the beduin, we also find mention of the kisā' which was used as a blanket and as a wrapper.³ It was generally made of wool and worn in the cold season.⁴ Jāhiz wore one such kisā' before winter had really come and was admonished by a miser to change it for a jubba mahshuwwa (a quilted jubba) as the wind might harm the kisā' irremediably.⁵ Like the barnakān (a long outer garment large enough to enfold the whole of the body), the kisā' was worn by men and women alike.⁵

'Abā' :---

The 'abā' seems to have been a dress common to men and women, worn amongst the Arabs both in pre-Islamic and Islamic times.⁶ According to the Lisān, the 'abā' is a costume similar to the kisā'.⁷ Dozy defines it as a robe resembling a mantle, short and open in front, with no sleeves, but having two

1. Aghānī,² iv, p. 83.

2. Ibid, xv, p. 309; cf. also, M. Jawād, op.cit. p.9

3. 'Uyūn, iii, p. 300

4. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 52.

5. Ibid, p. 52.

6. M. Jawād, op.cit., p. 11.

7. Lisān, s.v. 'abā'.

holes for the arms to pass through. This 'abā' was a characteristic dress of the beduins, generally made out of coarse cloth or sometimes of wool in different colours.¹ The 'abā', when worn in the large towns, underwent a considerable change, being often fashioned from fine and expensive material. The Baghdadis, as a summer dress, wore an 'abā' of thin cloth. Baghdādī women, however, often wore an izār instead of an 'abā'.² One beduin, who possessed only a solitary 'abā', regretted his inability to go to the mosque ^{for} prayer, reciting the following verses :

فان يكسني ربي قميصا وجبة أصل وأعبده الى آخر الدهر
وان لا يكن الا بقايا عباءة مخروقة مالى على البرد من صبر

"If the Lord grants me a gamīs and a jubba, I will pray and worship Him till the end of time; were it not for this torn 'abā', all that remains to me, I should not be able to endure the cold".³

Sirwāl :---

The sirwāl (pl. sarāwīl), trousers or drawers is a word probably of Persian origin.⁴ This garment was 'worn next the bare body under the other garments'.⁵ When Amīn was arrested and brought to prison by Tāhir, he was found to be wearing a sirwāl.⁶ Similarly, Mutawakkil wore a sirwāl at the time of his installation as caliph by the Turks.⁷ Like the izār, the sirwāl was also commonly used

1. Dozy, Dictionnaire, pp. 200-202

2. M. Jawād, op.cit, p. 15

3. Muhādarāt, iv, p. 368.

4. See the pictorial representations of the costume of the Persian kings in Jalīl Diyāpur, Pushak ba-āstani Irāniān.

5. EI,¹ s.v. sirwāl (B. Walter).

6. Tabarī, iii, p. 922

7. Ibid, iii, p. 1368.

by men and women in the society. The sirwāl for women was wide and capacious. Hamadānī informs us of a woman who made her sirwāl from a piece of material twenty dhirā' long.¹ The dhirā' seems to have been introduced by the Caliph Ma'mūn for the measurement of the cloth known as dhirā' al-sawād. It was the official Abbasid measure of twenty four fingers (isbā') length.²

The sirwāl was supported by a special girdle which was tied round the body and called tikka (pl. tikak). Although the tikka was covered by the other garments and could not be seen, it was the object of luxurious decoration.³ It was usually made of ibrisim silk.⁴ The special tikka (trouser-cord) produced in Armenia was regarded as the best.⁵ The elegant wore trouser-bands of ibrisim silk and khazz silk. They also used woven girdles (tikak) of brocade or of twisted sharrāb-cloth made from ibrisim silk (sharrābāt al-ibrisim al-maftūla).⁶

Tubbān :---

The tubbān was a short sirwāl which covered the 'awra, the lower portions of the body from the navel to the knees.⁷ Attendants of the public bath wore the tubbān habitually. It was also worn at times of hunting, because it allowed the huntsmen an ample freedom of movement. According to Sam'ānī

1. Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, p. 120.

2. Murūj, i, p. 183; cf. also Serjeant, Islamic Textiles, Chap. ii, pp. 69-70; also EI², s.v. Dhirā' (W. Hinz).

3. EI¹, s.v. sirwāl. (B. Walter).

4. Dozy, Dictionnaire, pp. 95-99

5. Tabassur bi'l-Tijāra, pp. 336-7; Latā'if, p. 236.

6. Muwashshā, p. 186.

7. Ibn Sīda, Mukhassas, i, Chap. iv, p. 83; Dozy, op.cit., s.v.

the tubbān was worn by fish-mongers and sailors who were the inland river transport workers.¹

Sudra :---

The sudra was a waist-coat which appears to have been a special dress used in playing outdoor games.² The Caliph Mu'tasim is reported to have refused to allow his partner Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm to play polo with him, unless he donned a sudra.³ It is also probable that the sudra could be worn as an under garment with other clothes.

Mandīl :---

The mandīl (kerchief, towel) was an article of common use. People of all walks of life made use of it. It was of two types, one large and one small.⁴ The small one was used for wiping tears and cleaning the nose and the mouth.⁵ The extravagant wazir Ibn al-Furāt was in the habit of using more than ten mandīls (kerchiefs) a day. Whenever he sniffed one, he threw it aside and took another.⁶ The small mandīl was also used at dinners and at drinking parties.⁷ The large mandīl was sometimes wound around the head in the absence of an 'imāma⁸; ordinary people used it also as a shopping bag; lovers sent manādīl al-kabīr as presents to each other with beautiful verses written in gold, and perfumed.⁹ At need the large mandīl could be worn as a wrapper (izār).¹⁰

1. Sam'ānī, Ansāb, (Hyderabad ed.) iii, p.13

2. Tabarī, iii, pp.1326-27; Dozy, Dictionnaire, s.vv. sudra šadariyya.

3. Tabarī, iii, pp. 1326-27.

4. Dhakhā'ir, pp. 75, 104, 215, 218, 229; Maq. p. 367; F. Rosenthal,

5. Ibid, p. 259; Aghānī², x, p. 191. Four Essays., p.73.

6. Ibid, p. 230.

7. Sābi, Wuzarā', p. 261. ; cf; also, F. Rosenthal, op.cit, 76.

8. Murūj, vii, p. 398.

9. Muwashsha, pp. 262-64. (10). Tab.iii, 623; Manāqib Baghdad, 31.

(c) Foot-wear :---

There were several types of foot-wear used at this period. They were known as the khuff, na'l, tamashshuk, madās etc. They also used stockings known as the jurāb, mūzaj, ra'n etcetera.

Khuff :---

The khuff seems to have been a kind of 'top-boot' made of leather. The Abbasid caliphs often used to line their khuff with sable (sammūr), marten (fanak) and other types of animal fur.¹ The fur of the sammūr (sable) was regarded by Damīrī as excellent for its softness, lightness, warmth and beauty.² The khuff-boot was sometimes used as a pocket for books, documents and other articles.³ While mentioning the numerous furred boots of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, the Qādī Rashīd b. Zubayr in his al-Dhakhā'ir wa'l-Tuhaf says "في كل خف سكين و منديل" (each boot had a knife and kerchief in it).⁴ That boots were used as repositories for some articles is also mentioned in the Maqāmāt of Hamadānī, where the author states that his hero al-Iskandarānī stabbed his foe with a knife which he kept concealed in his khuff.⁵ The khuff-boots were quite long and covered both the ankle and a portion of the leg. The khuff which did not cover the ankle and the shank is mentioned by the sources with an special adjective "مقطوع الساق" i.e., ---a

1. Dhakhā'ir, p. 218

2. Hayawān, s.v. sammūr.

3. Muruj, vii, p. 240; Irshād, vi, p. 56; Masāyid, pp. 167-168; Wafayat, xi, p. 68; Jah. Wuzarā', 188; Sabī, Rusūm, 66-67.

4. Dhakhā'ir, p. 218

5. Maqāmāt, p. 41

boot having no legging.¹ On account of the length, the upper end of the khuff was sometimes folded downward.² The khuff might also be provided with laces.³

Na'al :---

The na'al (pl. ni'al) was ordinary sandal having thongs (shirāk).⁴ It was generally made of leather, though sometimes linings of cloth could also be used.⁵ Amongst the sandals in use at this time there is mention of the ni'al Sindiyya, described by Jāhiz as a very thick and heavy kind of foot-wear characteristic of the Magians and producing a particular sound in walking.⁶ It is interesting to note that in his Rasā'il, Jāhiz has discussed the reasons for the origin and development of the use of these sandals in Abbasid society.⁷ In his book on 'Misers' (al-Bukhalā') he

1. Aghānī², xiii, p. 180; 'Uyūn, iii, p. 238

2. Levy, Notes on Costume, JRAS, 1935, p. 327.

3. L. A. Mayer, Mamluk Costume, p. 35

4. Jāhiz, Bayān, iii, p. 121; Khālidiyyān, Tuhaf, p. 27; 'Uyūn, iii, p. 39; 'Iqd, vi, p. 283; cf. also Dozy, op.cit.s.v

5. Nishwār, viii, 143; Bayān, iii, p. 121. (6). Bukhalā', 91-92.

7. Speaking about this sandal, Jāhiz states that "There is divergergence of opinion amongst us about the origin of the Sindiyya ni'al. Some say that the author of the Kitāb al-Bah was dreadfully short but very anxious to impress women, and therefore had the idea of wearing sandals like this in order to increase his stature by the thickness of their soles. In time it came to be supposed by the ignorant that they were merely decorative, or had some advantage or comfort in walking. Others say that they were designed to give protection against scorpions by night and mud by day, but that with the passage of time their origin was forgotten. Certainly they are thick enough to allow one to walk through almost any mire, and scorpion's sting will not penetrate their sole. Others again say : On the contrary, they were adopted by Indian rulers because of the noise they make, so that their tapping might give their wives and free or slave women advance warning of their approach when they were busy about some task; the tapping became the signal of their arrival and their request for admission." (cf. Tarbī', pp. 157-58; Rasā'il, ed. Sandūbī, p. 230; also, Ch. Pollat, Life and Works of Jāhiz, Eng. Tr. by D.M. Hawke, p. 128).

criticizes the niggardliness of a wealthy man called Asad b. Jānī who used to walk through the streets with his shoes in his hand, sometimes wearing broken heel sandals throughout the day.¹ It is reported that the poet Abū'l-'Atāhiya once presented to the Caliph Ma'mūn among other things a pair of sabatiya sandals.² The sabatiya sandal --- a type of footwear which, since it was presented to a caliph, may well have been expensive and made of fine leather.

Madās :---

The madās seems to have been a light sandal, used as an indoor foot-wear and also carried to the ḥammām. Dozy thinks that it was often embroidered and used both by men and women.³ Ibn al-Jawzī observes that a certain Muḥammad Sakara entered a ḥammām with madās in his feet, but when he came out he lost them. He then returned home bare-footed and composed these clever verses :

إليك اذمّ حمام ابن موسى وان فاق المني طيبا وحرّا
تكاثر اللصوص عليه حتى ليحفى من يطيف ويهوى
ولم افقده ثوبا ولكن دخلت محمداً وخرجت بشرا .

" To you (my friend) I condemn the bath of Ibn Mūsā, even though its fragrance and heat are beyond expectations; the number of thieves has increased in it to such an extent that visitors are left bare-footed and naked; although I did not lose any clothes there, I entered it as Muḥammad and came out as Bishr". (an allusion to the famous bare-footed Sūfī Bishr al-Hāfī, d. 227/841).⁴

1. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', pp. 91-92.

2. Ibid, Bayān, Iii, p. 121; Khālidiyyān, Tuhaf, p.27.

3. Dozy, Dictionnaire, s.v. madās;

4. Ibn al-Jawzī, Zirāf, p. 83.

Tamashshuk :---

Most probably people of lesser means and also the slaves wore a kind of sandal known as tamashshuk. It was light and helped its wearer to walk quickly. Tanaūkhī records the story of a man wearing khuff boots who finding himself unable to keep pace with his companion, borrowed a pair of tamashshuk from his slave and walked quickly.¹ It is possible that there were different kinds of tamashshuk. Ibn Abī 'Uṣaybi'a tells us that a certain Ibn Ṣalāḥ ordered from a shoe-maker a pair of tamashshuk described specifically in our sources as 'Baghdādī'.²

Jurāb :---

The jurāb or jawrab (socks) were worn beneath the usual forms of foot-wear -- i.e., khuff (boot), ni'āl (sandals) or ahdhiya (shoes).³ Much attention was paid to the cleanliness of the jurāb. Tha'ālibī criticizes people who did not take good care of their socks and wore them unwashed and emitting a bad odour.⁴ The jurāb was also called mūzaj -- an arabicized word from the Persian mūza.⁵ One wazīr, Fath b. Khāqān, raised to that office in the time of Mutawakkil, used to wear fairly long mūzaj (socks). He used the mūzaj as a pocket for the book which he read, while going to make his ablutions.⁶

1. Nishwār, ii, in RAAD, xvii, p. 521

2. Ibn Abī 'Uṣaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-Anbā'', ii, p. 164. Ṣābī (Rusūm, 75, 92.) mentions a special type of shoes known as lālaka which were worn by the caliphs and dignitaries. The word has not received attention from the lexicographers. The lawlak was perhaps some type of boot which resembled the khuff. (cf. Badrī, 'Āmma', 159) From Ibn al-Jawzī (Dhamm al-Mawā, p. 89) it appears that the lawlak (or lālaka, lālaja) was a foot-wear common to both men and women. It was also provided with laces (Rusūm, p. 92).

3. 'Uyūn', i, p. 299; Dhakḥā'ir, p. 218.

4. Thimār, p. 486.; cf. also, Talāqānī, Anthāl, p. 8 (N. 100).

5. Dozy, Dictionnaire, s.v. mūzaj.

6. Fakhri, p. 4

Ra'n :-----

Sometimes with the khuff, people used to wear a special type of legging called ra'n¹, presumably worn in cold weather.² According to the Tāj al-'Arūs and the Muhīt al-Muhīt the ra'n is an article of wear like the khuff, but without a foot like the jurāb; it is longer than the khuff.³ Lane observes that ra'n is a Persian word taken over into Arabic.⁴ The ra'n has also been described as a piece of cloth made like the khuff, stuffed with cotton, and worn beneath the top-boot to ward off the cold.⁵

It will be interesting to quote here a passage from Washshā' regarding the shoes, boots, and socks of men of elegant taste. According to him, such men "use Zanjīyya (Negro) shoes and thick Kanbātī⁶ shoes, furred shoes from the Yemen, also fine and light shoes of the mukhattam type i.e. of checked leather. The black coloured kind can be worn with red laces (or thongs), and the yellow (kind) with black laces. These men wear Hāshimī boots and the split shoes of the official, (also shoes made of) firm leather and of heavy black leather, with stockings of khazz-silk (or of) goat-hair (mir'izzī) and silk. They dislike the red style of boots and black leather (boots) called dārish".⁷

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1. Figurative representations in L. A. Mayer's book clearly show a number of leggings worn on the khuff-boot (cf. Mamluk Costume, pl. 11).
 2. Diḡarāt, pp. 138-39; Bayhaqī, Mahāsin, p.128; Walīma Ibn Wāsama, in RAAD, x(1930), pp. 541-719.
 3. Tāj, ix, p. 223; Muhīt, i, p. 846.
 4. Lane, Lexicon, s.v. ra'n.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Kanbātī shoes were brought from Cambay in India. Muqaddasī while speaking of Sind says "and from Mansūra was brought fine Kanbātī shoes". (cf. p.481). Mansūra was the capital of Sind which was conquered by Muḡammad b. Qāsim, a nephew of Hajjāj in 92/711. (cf. Lane-Poole, Mohammadan Dynasties, p.283). Azdī (Hikāyat, p.41) regards the Kanbātī shoes as fine and smooth. For more details on Kanbātī shoes see, Dozy, Suppl. ii, 491; Ahmad Taymūr, in RAAD, iii(1923), p.77.
 7. Muwashshā, p. 180. ; Serjeant, op.cit, Appendix, I, 78.

The Official Colour and Ceremonial Robe of the Caliphs.

On ceremonial occasions the caliph sometimes wore the sacred mantle (burda) of the Prophet¹ with a girdle and sword.² Black, during the reign of Mansūr, had become the colour prescribed for the officials serving the Abbasid regime.³ The caliphs themselves wore black on occasions of state. Mu'tasim wore a vest of figured silk when he went out to play polo.⁴

Black remained in fashion until Ma'mūn, seeking at that time (201/817) to secure the succession to the throne of an 'Alid prince, i.e., 'Alī al-Ridā', ordered that green should become the official colour.⁵ This change was of brief duration, black coming once more into favour after the death of 'Alī al-Ridā' in 203/818. Black continued now to be the colour held in esteem. Mu'tadid, when he went into a battle wearing a yellow gabā' (an outer garment with full length sleeves), found himself exposed to ridicule.⁶

Servants at the court of Baghdād as a rule had to wear black and "to wear black" was a sign that a man was in the service of the caliph. Persons disliking this usage sometimes left the imperial service and even departed from the capital. Ibn al-Athīr tells us that Hāmid b. 'Abbās⁷ to avoid the

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1. M. Canard, Cambridge Medieval History (new edition), iv, pt. i, 700. Burda is a kind of striped garment generally used, of the fabric of Yemen. From the fact that it could be worn by the successive caliphs it appears to have been a sleeveless cloak or shawl. (cf. Lane, Lexicon, s.v. Burd; Dozy, Dictionnaire, s.v. Burda; For details on the burda of the Prophet see, Subh, iii, p. 273).
 2. Aghani? x, p. 236; Sābi, Rusūm, pp. 90-91.
 3. Ibid. x, 236.
 4. Tabarī, iii, pp. 1326-27.
 5. Ibid, iii, p. 1012; Azdī, Ta'rīkh al-Mawsil, pp. 342, 352.
 6. Nishwār, viii, p. 227.
 7. Hāmid b. 'Abbās (223-311/837-923) was an able financier who later became the wazīr of the Caliphs Mu'tamid and Muqtadir. (for details see, EI1, s.v. Hāmid b. 'Abbās)

wearing of "the black", left Baghdad in disgust.¹ A qādī who refused to wear black is reported to have been threatened and warned that his failure to adhere to the custom would be interpreted as a sign of adherence to the Umayyad cause.²

The burda, the qadīb (staff) and the sword seem to have been the royal insignia of the Abbasid caliphs.³ Tabarī tells us that Amīn, as a sign of his submission, sent the ridā,⁴ with a sword and a staff, to Tāhir b. Husayn, victorious in his siege of Baghdad in 198/813.⁵ Though it was one of the royal insignias, the burda was not always worn by the caliphs at their installation. The Turkish soldiers invested Muḥammad b. Wāthiq with a black durra'a and a Ruṣāfī qalansuwa, but, finding him unworthy to be a Caliph, transferred the tall qalansuwa to Mutawakkil. This qalansuwa with a turban formed the only mark of sovereignty.⁶

The Abbasid caliphs and affluent members of Abbasid society seem to have been much given to fine fabric, silken garments and material woven with gold thread. Washī (figured stuff) and washī muthaqqal (washī heavily adorned with gold) were much favoured by the caliphs.⁷ Washī, produced in Alexandria, Kufa and the Yemen was highly prized.⁸ The

1. Kāmil, viii, p. 101

2. Kindī, Wulāt, p. 469.

3. Murūj, vi, p. 482; vii, pp. 294, 364, 366; viii, p. 351; Tab. iii, p. 771; Azdī, Ta'rikh al-Mawsil, p. 331; Latā'if, 131.

4. Tabarī would seem to use the word ridā with the same sense as burda. The event has been recorded by Mas'ūdī and Ibn al-Athīr with the word burda (cf. Tabarī, iii, p. 928; Murūj, vi, p. 482; Kāmil, vi, pp. 198-99).

5. Tabarī, iii, p. 928.

6. Ibid, iii, p. 1368.

7. Diyārāt, p. 169; Tajārib, v, p. 85; Aghānī¹, xxi, p. 239.

8. Murūj, v, p. 400; Aghānī², v, p. 318; Suyūṭī, Husn al-Muhādara ii, p. 193; Serjeant, Islamic Textiles, Chap. xiii-iv, pp. 79-101; ix, p. 70; On reciting two verses of Ishaq al-Mawsili, Asma'ī is reported to have said, "this is (Con..)

Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd was so fond of washī that he used to have his durrā'a, 'imāma, izār etc., made from this material.¹ In Muḥarram 175/791, when he came to the Khuld palace, after his marriage with Zubayda, he bestowed on various people al-washī al-mansūja, washī woven, it would seem, with gold.² He also offered to the ladies of the Banū Hāshim, gifts of washī muthaqqal.³ At the time of his death he left a large number of garments made from washī embroidered with gold---4,000 garments according to Ibn Zubayr.⁴ Ibn Zubayr mentions the following garments left by the Caliph in the royal wardrobe ⁵---

- a) Four thousand jubba of variegated silk (said by Ghazūlī to have been woven with gold).
- b) Four thousand jubba of khazz silk lined with the fur of the sable, the marten and other animals.
- c) Ten thousand gamīs and ghilāla (shirts and chemises).
- d) Ten thousand khaftān (a kind of robe resembling the qabā').
- e) Two thousand trousers (sirwāl) of different materials.
- f) Four thousand turbans ('imāma).
- g) One thousand ridā' (wrapper) of different stuffs.
- h) One thousand taylasān (a robe furnished with a hood).
- i) Five thousand handkerchiefs (mandīl) of different materials.

(Continued from the last page) :--- washī al-Iskandarānī and this is dībaj al-khusruwānī". (cf. Aghānī², v, p. 318). Fine texture of Yamanite washī was sometimes compared to the skin of the beautiful girls. Suyūtī quotes :

"She is like the figured cloth of the Yemen, which the merchants brought from San'a'" (cf. Mustazraf, pp. 42-43).

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1. Aghānī², v, p. 218

2. Diyārāt, p. 157

3. Ibid, p. 157

4. Dhakha'ir, p. 214.

5. Ibid, pp. 214-18. Another list, differing somewhat in points of details, can be found in Ghazūlī's Maṭālī'.

- j) One thousand girdles (mintaq), which Ghazālī described as studded with gold.
- k) Four thousand pairs of khuff boots, most of them lined with the fur of the marten, sable and other animals.
- l) Four thousand pairs of stockings (jawrab).

Hārūn's wife Zubayda was also extravagant in her dress. Her robes made of washī material were so expensive that a single one of them cost her fifty thousand dinars.¹ The Caliphs Amīn and Mutawakkil are said also to have liked washī cloth.² The Caliph Mutawakkil is said to have introduced a new kind of material called thiyāb al-mulhama (a cloth with a warp of silk, but a weft of some other stuff).³ He preferred it to all other materials and this fashion was followed by all the members of his household and spread among the people. Everyone wished to imitate the Caliph, with the result that the thiyāb al-mulhama rose to a high price, the manufacture of it being pushed forward so as to meet the fashion and satisfy the taste of the Caliph and his subjects.⁴ Mas'ūdī further tells us that some of this material was still being made even in his own time (332/943) and was known as thiyāb al-Mutawakkiliyya --- a cloth of very beautiful weave and excellent colour.⁵ It is noted that Mutawakkil, when he was at the Burj palace in 239/853, donned a robe of gold embroidered washī and ordered that no one should be allowed to call on him unless wearing washī or dihājī (brocade) garments.⁶ The annual expenditure

1. Murūj, viii, p. 298. The report seems exaggerated and the figure 50,000 dinars seems incredible.

2. Aghani, xxi, p. 239; Diyārāt, p. 15.

3. Dozy, Supplement, ii, p. 522

4. Murūj, vii, p. 190

5. Ibid, vii, p. 190

6. Diyārāt, p. 161.

of this Caliph on clothes is said to have reached three hundred thousand dinars.¹

The Abbasid caliphs and their high dignitaries often received valuable robes from foreign rulers. Tabarī records that in 190/805 the Byzantine emperor sent a present of one hundred robes of dībāj and two hundred of buzyūn material (i.e., of brocade) to the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd.² In 293/906 the Frankish queen Bertha, the daughter of Lothair, sent a present to the Caliph Muktafī billāh, which included twenty robes woven with gold.³

The Caliph Ma'mūn is reported to have sent a number of gifts to princes in India. Amongst the gifts were five different kinds of robe (kiswa). Of each kind the Caliph sent 100 items --- i.e., of "biyād Miṣr" (Egyptian white),⁴ of khazz silk from Sūs, of washī material from the Yemen and Alexandria, of Khurāsānī mulham and of Khurāsānī dībāj (brocade).⁵ In 282/895 'Amr b. Layth al-Saffār is said to have sent to the Caliph Mu'tadid gifts which included one thousand robes of Rūmī dībāj and twelve pairs of sandals (ni'āl) studded with silver.⁶ In the same year the Caliph Mu'tadid also presented to 'Amr b. Layth al-Saffār two hundred badana robes⁷ and a tāj⁸ which cost him thirteen thousand dinars.⁹

1. Dhakhā'ir, p. 219.

2. Tabarī, iii, p. 711

3. Dhakhā'ir, pp. 48-49. On the Frankish Queen (Malaka Ifranja) see, M. Hamidullāh, Journal Pakistan Historical Society, 1953, pp. 272-300; cf. also, EI², s.v. Ifrandj.

4. Possibly it meant white un-coloured linen as it was the true Egyptian style and was compared, as the current saying went, with "the membrane round an egg". (cf. Mez, 460)

5. Dhakhā'ir, p. 27

6. Ibid, p. 43.

7. According to Serjeant, Islamic Textiles, xiii-xiv, 105, the badana was a garment made especially for the caliphs. Mez, on the evidence of Maqrizī and Ibn Duqmāq notes that

(Continued..)

Distinctive Costumes of some social Groups :--

As has been mentioned above , the government functionaries generally wore their official distinctive robes. For example, the qādī wore the danniyya (tall cap) and the taylasān , the wazirs and the secretaries (kuttāb) wore the durra'a etc.¹ According to Jāhiz, for a khatīb the 'imāma and the mikhṣara (staff) were inevitable. Sometimes, however, he wore the izār instead of the sirwāl, when dressed for the khutba.² Jāhiz also tells us that the poets wore washī³, muqatta'a⁴ and ridā' (of a black hue) and were fond of wearing clothes of bright colour.⁵ Singers, in general, wore fashionable and bright hues.⁶ Ishāq al-Mawṣilī is reported to have possessed durra'a, qabā' and other garments made from khazz silk and mulham material.⁷ Ordinary singers, of course, could not afford such costly robes and had therefore to be content with the less pretentious gamīs, izār, and other garments in common use.

1. See, Supra, pp. 61,72; Sābī (Rusūm, p.91) notes that the danniyya was abandoned towards the end of the 4th/10th century from the official marks of the qādīs.

2. Jāhiz, Bayān, iii, p. 92.

3. Washī --- here a robe of washī cloth i.e., a figured material.

4. Muqatta'a ---- a long robe fashioned like the jubba and made of khazz silk. (cf. Lisān, s.v. qata')

5. Jāhiz, Bayān, iii, p.115.; Hamadānī, Maqāmat, p.84.

6. Aghānī², v, p. 317.

7. Diyārāt, pp. 42-44.

(Continued from the last page):--- badana was a special manufacture of the Tinnisians, woven in the shape of a garment, so that it had not to be cut and no stitching was required. Being a caliphal robe it contained no more than two ounces of linen, all the rest being gold; its value was 1,000 dinars (cf. Maz, p. 460).

(8). Tāj literally means crown, but here perhaps turban.

(9). Dhakhā'ir, p. 45.

Dress for the convivial parties :---

At the convivial parties known as majlis al-sharāb a special dress called thiyāb al-munādama was worn. This dress consisted of a fine ghilālā (chemise), a bright mulā'a¹ and a qamīs (shirt) made of silk.² Failure to don the thiyāb al-munādama at these majālis was looked at askance. Aghānī tells us that, a certain 'Abd al-Mālik through a mistake of the hājib (chamberlain), entered a majlis al-sharāb which the wazir Ja'far b. Yahyā had arranged, without wearing the prescribed dress. All the participants were puzzled to find a man with a galansuwa and a taylasān present at the majlis. He was persuaded to don the thiyāb al-munādama forthwith.³ According to Sābī the robes of honour for the nadīms (khilā' al-munādama) consisted of the following items : (a) 'imāma washī mudhahhaba',⁴ (b) ghilālā (chemise), (c) mubattana⁵, (d) durra'a dabi'qiyya⁶, (e) and other gifts and perfumes.⁷

1. The mulā'a would seem to have been a garment made from two pieces of cloth sewn together to form a robe. It should be contrasted with the rīta, a robe fashioned out of a single piece of cloth. The mulā'a was, in general, yellow in colour. (cf. Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, vi ; p.197 "mulā'a safrā'" ; also, Lisān, s.v., and in addition Lane, Lexicon, s.v. mulā'a.)
2. Aghānī², v, pp. 407-408; Qutub al-Surūr, p.15; Muwashshā, p. 179; Azdī, Ta'rikh al-Mawsil, pp. 262-263.
3. Aghānī², v, p. 408; Azdī, op.cit, pp. 262-63.
4. i.e., turbans of variegated silk woven with gold or embroidered with heavy gold. On 'imāma' see, above, p. 57f.
5. On mubattana, see Dozy, s.v; also, Serjeant, op.cit, Index.
6. i.e., the durra'a made out of the Dabi'qī stuff. On the durra'a and the Dabi'qī stuff see, above, pp. 66, 67-68.
7. Rusūm, p. 96.

Dress of the Elegant people (Zurafā') :---

Though the people of sophisticated and refined tastes did not form a distinctive social group in the real sense of the term, they received special treatment by medieval authors who wrote books on their social lives and described their modes of dress, food etc. in details.¹ The near contemporary author Washshā' (d. 325/936-37) is perhaps the most copious in providing details on the costumes these people generally wore ----- a description which also throws some light on the specialities of different lands in the field of textile and garment manufacture.

According to Washshā' these people wore fine chemises (ghilāla) and thick shirts (gamīs) of excellent kinds of linen, soft and pure of colours, such as Dabīqī and Jannābī (from Jannāba in Fārs), linings (mubattanāt) of tākhtanj and raw stuffs (khāmāt), durra'as of Dārābjird and Alexandria, (garments made out of) mulham, khazz-silk and Khurāsānī materials with linings of soft Kūhī stuff, izērs of thin linen, bordered gowns (ridā') from Aden, taylasān-hood of Nishāpur mulham and Dabīqī of one colour, Jubbas (gowns) of Nishapur, other stuffs with tirāz inscriptions,² Sa'dī figured washī-stuffs, Kufan khazz-silk etc., mitraf-cloaks of Sūs, robes of Fārs and the like.³ They used trouser-bands (tikka) of ibrisim-silk and khazz-silk, and cotton mitraf-cloaks of figured Armenian stuffs.⁴

1. Cf. M. Ghazi, "Un group social : "les raffines"(Zurafā')" SI, xi(1959), pp. 39-71.

2. On the Tirāz see below, pp. 104-106.

3. Muwashshā, pp. 178-79. The passage has been translated into English by Serjeant in Islamic Textiles, Appendix I, p. 78 and by Carl Johan Lamm in "Cotton in the Medieval Textiles of the Near East", Paris, 1937, pp. 182-83.

4. Muwashshā, p. 180.

The elegant, noble and educated men did not wear soiled clothing with clothing which had been washed, nor garments which had been washed with new garments, nor linen with cotton, nor cotton with Kuhi¹ material. The best taste advocated the wearing of clothes which suited one another in gradual range of colour, and materials which had something in common and did not clash.²

According to a passage of the Hikāyāt Abī'l-Qāsim of Azdī it appears that the wealthy people and the men of refined taste wore garments, of Reddish Dabīqī, of Qīrātī Zuhayrī (perhaps a stuff with patterns embroidered all-over in the shape of the coins called qirat, a fraction of a dinar, and manufactured in the Zuhairiyya Quarter of Baghdad) and of reddish woven stuff. They also wore the ridā of Aden, garments of qaṣab-linen, of figured material of brocade with the woven gold and decorated with beautiful markings.³

It is to be noted that the accounts of Ziryāb in Spain give a good indication to Baghdadi standards of elegance. According to Maqqarī, Ziryāb introduced a change of clothing according to the different seasons of the year. For spring he suggested to wear the jubba of coloured silk or mulham material, and the durra having no linings, and made of light materials. For summer and autumn he introduced light clothes such as found in Marv, and thickly lined and wadded clothes to be worn in the morning when the cold began to be sharp. On the approach of winter, people were suggested to put on warmer clothing of different colours, lined

1. On the material called Kūhī cf. Serjeant, Islamic Textiles Chap. ix, 119, referring to Tabarī, ii, p. 1636 (والساج المروي والقوي) and also to Tabarī, iii, 949 (ابن ابي وائقي من القوسية الجدد) passages which perhaps indicate a kind of brocaded cloth.

2. Muwashshā, p. 179. (3). Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 35f.

whenever the weather required it, with various kinds of fur.¹

Dress of the Sūfīs :--

The sufis of our period wore woollen garments and patched robes.² Striped clothes and garments having different colours were also sometimes worn by them.³ The most conspicuous items of dress, which set them apart from other people, were the jubba of wool.⁴ and the khirqa i.e., a garment made of materials in two or three different colours stitched together.⁵ It was also used as a robe of investiture, which sufi novices received from their shaikhs.⁶ The sufis also used sometimes the ridā', the taylasān, the qamīs and the izār, but often bearing a few patches.⁷ There were some sufis who piled patch on patch until the garment became abnormally thick. It is reported that once the sleeve of such a patched garment weighed eleven ratls.⁸ Such heavily patched garments were known as al-Kabl.⁹ Ibn al-Jawzī informs us that some of the sufis of later Abbasid times used to take new materials of various colours, cut a piece and out of each, /stitch the pieces together most elegantly. Others donned dresses of fine material and fine Byzantine head-wear¹⁰ without embroidery; the shirt and the head-dress have thus worn might/cost five times as much as a similar article in silk.¹¹

1. Maqqarī, Nafkh al-Tib, Beirut, 1968, iii, p.128.

2. Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs, pp. 181, 183, 188.

3. Ibid, pp. 180, 186, 198.

4. Ibid. cf. also Harīrī, Maqāmāt, ed. Steingass, p.405 : "he wore the woöl and became a leader of the rows (i.e., of people at prayer) and a well-known mystic."

5. Ibid, Talbīs, p. 198. The Ansārs of Mahdī in Sudan also used

6. Ibid, pp. 186-87. the patched garments.

7. Ibid, pp. 216-19; Zirāf, pp. 6-7

8. Ibid, p.186.

9. Kabl literally means chain or fretters; since the garment was heavily patched and became abnormally thick, it was

Dress of the Soldiers :---

It appears that regulations defining the dresses to be worn by officers and soldiers of the caliphs' army were laid down and maintained. Uniforms for soldiers are not heard of until the formations of the standing bodyguards of "Turkish" mercenaries during the time of the Caliph Mu'tasim.¹ Mas'ūdī notes that the Caliph dressed them in magnificent costumes which distinguished them from the rest of the army.² The different divisions of troops had different distinguishing signs. Thus the abnā',³ wore turbans and also garments with a border.⁴ The standard bearers from amongst the abnā' used to wear coats of mail. The Khurāsānī soldiers wore a special epaulette called bāzbakand or bāzfakand.⁵ The high ranking commanders generally used to wear coats of mail.⁶ Mas'ūdī notes that it was only Bughā al-Kabīr, one of the Turkish commanders in Mu'tasim's army, who 'never donned any dress made of iron' (i.e., coat of mail).⁷ There is also mention of soldiers wearing tunics of royal satin (atlas), with close-fitting caps and hoods pointed at the top.⁸ Among other dresses of the soldiers sirwāl has been particularly mentioned which, in winter, was lined with the fur of various animals.⁹

(Continued from the last page) :--- perhaps satirically called al-kabl (i.e., a garment as fetters for the wearer).

(10). Talbīs, pp. 189-99 "imāma al-Rūmiyya", perhaps from the material of Byzantine textiles.

(11). Ibid, pp. 189-99.

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1. Qalqashandī, Subh, iii, 272; Eclipse, iii, p. 152.

2. Tanbih, p. 358

3. Abnā' was a term applied in the early Abbasid period to the members of the Abbasid house, and by extension to the Khurāsānī and other Mawālī who entered its services and became adoptive members of it. (cf. EI² s.v. Abnā'). According to Sāleh el-Allī, most of the commanders of the Abnā' were Arabs. They were probably the descendants of the army levied by the Arabs on the local cities and

Some indirect information about the uniform of the military commanders can be gleaned from the khil'a (robes of honour) they frequently received from the caliphs. According to Hilāl al-Sābī, the Abbasid caliphs offered their military commanders the following articles of dress as the khil'a : (a) black turban of one colour ('imāma musmata sawdā'), (b) a robe (sawād) of a single colour having a collar and a lining, (c) a similar robe without the collar, (d) red khazz-silk of Sus, gold figured silk (washī mudhahhab) and mulham stuff or one coloured stuff of 'Khajj', (e) Dabīqī qabā' and a sword with a red sheath studded with silver, (f) mounts with saddles. The commanders who distinguished themselves in battles received, in addition, a collar (ṭawq), two bracelets (siwārayn), a sword and a girdle (mintaq). The collar and the bracelet were often studded with jewels.¹ Afshīn, the military commander of Mu'tasim, Badr, the commander of Mu'tadid, Mu'nis, the commander of Muqtadir and others received these robes of honour and distinction.²

(Continued from the last page) :-- provinces of Khurasan and Central Asia. (cf. The Islamic City, p. 98). The Abnā', according to Tabari, were about 20,000 fighters who fought in many battles, and sided with Amin in his struggle with Ma'mun. (cf. Tab.iii,828,840). They spoke Arabic and some of them were poets. (Tab. iii,833,936). For their various names see, Tab. iii, pp.499,849,825,830,.

- (4). Jahiz, Rasa'il, i.p.19 (= Eng. Tr. JRAS,1915,651-52).
 (5). The word Bāzbakand or bāzfakand, bāzikand as meaning "epaulette", though is put in the origin and sense of the term, seems to be hitherto without an adequate explanation. The word seems a Persian Arabicized one from bāz, hawk and bagand, nest. (cf. ibid,i,p.19; Bayān,iii,47; Balādhuri, Futūh,318; 'Arib,12. 115).
 (6). Murūj, viii,47; Balādhuri, Futūh,318; 'Arib,12. 115).
 (7). Murūj, vii, p. 361
 (8). Tajarib, i, p. 54.
 (9). Tabari, iii, p. 1731.

1. Rusūm, pp. 93-94.

2. ibid, p. 94. The victorious Muwaffaq was decorated by Mu'tazz with a diadem and a double wishāh (a broad belt of leather adorned with jewels) as Afshīn before him had been for his success against Bābak. (cf. Murūj, vii,369; 132f.)

been for his success against Bābak. (cf. Murūj, vii,369; 132f.)

Dress of the Dhimmīs :---

Dhimmīs were required to wear particular forms of dress. According to the Shāfi'ī madhhab the dhimmī had to wear a cap, a girdle round the waist, while he was at the ḥammām, a boss (khātām) of coppoer or lead around his neck. No dhimmī was to wear a turban or a long coat; dhimmī women had to wear girdles under or over the skirt and also one shoe of black and one white.¹ In his Kitāb al-Kharāj Abū Yūsuf mentions a number of regulations which affected the non-Muslims in respect of their dress, of their mount, and of their general attire. Dhimmīs should wear "the zunnār² round their waist resembling a thick cord which each of them would wear as a belt, their qalansuwa should be quilted, and on their saddles they should put pommels of wood, as large as pomegranates, and not pommels made from precious metal. They should also twist the straps of their shoes and should not (in general) imitate the fashion of the Muslims. Their women should be forbidden to wear leather sandals in riding. --- The qalansuwa of the fire worshippers, however, should be long and quilted".³

1. Ishbiḥī, Mustatraf, i, p. 106; Shayzarī, Nihāyat al-Rutba, p. 106; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, Ma'ālim al-Qurba, pp. 40-41; cf. also Tritton, Islam and the Protected Religions, in JRAS, 1927, pp. 479-84.

2. Cf. A.S.Tritton, op.cit., p. 482 : "The word is Greek, came into Arabic through Aramaic, and came into popular favour only gradually. Finally it was so identified with the non-Muslims that in modern Arabic the Jew's love-locks ---the corners of the head which he is forbidden to shave ---are called zunnār".

3. Kharāj, p.72; cf. also, I. Lichtenstadter, The distinctive dress of non-Muslims, in Historia Judaica, 1943, p.42.

In 191/806 Hārūn al-Rashīd, according to Tabarī, issued an ordinance for the dhimmīs living in Baghdad to the effect that they should distinguish themselves from the Muslims in their dress and in their mounts.¹ Tabarī, however, gives no details about this decree of Hārūn al-Rashīd. According to Mārī b. Sulaymān, the Caliph was persuaded by his private physician, Jibra'īl b. Bakhtīshū' to reconsider the ordinance. The Caliph acceding to the request of the physician allowed the non-Muslims to wear costumes of their choice.² Tabarī and other dhimmī authors offer a full account of the similar ordinance which the Caliph Mutawakkil issued in 235/849. According to this ordinance Christians and ahl al-dhimma had to wear honey-coloured hoods (taylasān), the zunnār or girdle, and also two buttons on their caps --- caps differing in colour from those worn by the Muslims. Their slaves should wear two patches on the outer garment. The patches should be yellow and four fingers square. If a dhimmī wore a turban, it was to be yellow. Their women, while visiting outdoors, had to wear a yellow wrapper (izār) and their servants had to wear the zunnār and not the mintaq.³ In the year 239/853 Mutawakkil imposed some new regulations and ordered the Christians to wear durrā'a and qabā' (tunics) with two yellow dhirā' (sleeves ?),⁴ and forbade them to ride horses.⁵

1. Tabarī, iii, p. 712; Azdī, Ta'rīkh al-Mawsil, p. 311.

2. Mārī b. Sulaymān, Akhbār fatāriqat kursī'l-Mashriq, p. 73.

3. Tabarī, iii, pp. 1389-90; Mārī, op.cit, p. 79; 'Amr b. Matti, Akhbār fatāriqat kursī al-Mashriq, p. 71. The mintaq was a kind of girdle or waist-belt, fastened around the waist with a buckle or clasp. It was worn both by men and women. Women of means sometimes adorned their mintaq with plates of silver or gold, and with jewels also (cf. Dozy, Dictionnaire, p. 420).

4. Dhirā', meaning forearm or arm, but perhaps to be construed in the sense of sleeve.

5. Tabarī, iii, p. 1419.

One of the distinctive garments which the dhimmīs had to wear was the ghiyār.¹ The word ghiyār is Arabic and means distinction or cognizance.² Perlmann explains it, in relation to dress, as a robe of distinction imposed on the dhimmīs or as a piece of cloth having a patch of stipulated colour placed on the shoulder.³ In his Ahkām ahl al-dhimma Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya has given us his legal opinion regarding the dress of the dhimmīs. He says that the non-Muslims should not wear the 'imāma or the lātiya (a close fitting cap).⁴ Their shoes and sandals should be different from those of the Muslims. They should not wear the ridā', because this was the characteristic dress of the Arabs. They could wear the ṭaylasān because this was a traditional costume of the Jews. Dhimmīs should not carry swords; their women should wear one red shoe, when visiting outdoors. In order that their status should be visible to all, the ahl al-dhimma ought to wear ash-coloured (ramādī), yellow or blue dress, since Muslims, in general, did not use garments of these hues.⁵

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1. EI², s.v. Ghiyār (M. Perlmann) ; Mārī, op.cit, pp.114; 115; Matti, op.cit. p. 71; Serjeant, "A Zaidī manual of hisba of the 3rd century H" RSO, 28(1953), p.29 ; Nihāya,
 2. Ibid, EI², s.v. Ghiyār., 'Amr b. Mattī notes that the ghiyār indicated distinctive colour : blue for the Christians and black for the Jews. (cf. op.cit, p.71).^{106, 124}
 3. EI², s.v. Ghiyār.
 4. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Ahkām ahl al-dhimma, ii, p. 738
It was regarded as the favourite head-gear of the Prophet Muhammad.
 5. Ibid, Ahkām, ii, pp. 735-744.

Regional and Ethnic Differences in Dress :-----

It will be of some interest to look into the differences of dress worn by the people of different strata in different regions. The main source of information on this point is the eye-witness reports of the geographers and travellers who travelled over a long distance in the east and the west and recorded their experiences in the form of excellent treatises. Both Ibn Hawqal and Maqdisī were keen observers of social life. They recorded the picturesque life of the common people in the second half of the 10th century A.D. The accounts of these geographers, though representative of the 4th/10th century, throw some light on the practices of the 3rd/9th century as the Muslim community in the medieval period was mostly conservative and rather unwilling to accept changes in its social life and general attire.

Speaking about the dress worn by the Irāqīs, Maqdisī notes that the people there, are fond of sartorial fashions.¹ According to Ibn Hawqal and Maqdisī the use of the taylasān (a robe with hood), the qamīs, long turbans, linen stuff (shurūb) and sandals was wide-spread in Iraq.² They seldom cut their taylasān in a round form (muqawwar).³ The merchants (tujjār) wore the qamīs and the ridā,⁴ whereas the preachers (khutabā') donned the qabā' and the minṭaq (girdle).⁵

1. Muq. p. 129.

2. Ibid, p.129; Ibn Hawqal, p. 174.

3. Muq. p. 129.

4. Ibn Hawqal, p.232

5. Muq. p. 129.

In the Arabian Peninsula, Maqdisī notes that most of the people wore the izār without the gamīs. In some places the izār was the only garment with which they covered their body.¹ They used cotton for their clothing and took sandals as their foot-wear.²

The Syrians had a decent taste in the choice of their dress. People from all walks of life --- whether educated or ignorant --- wore the ridā'; they used the khuff-boot in winter and sandals in summer. They did not wear taylasāns in round shapes. The durrā'a was a costume worn exclusively by the villagers and by the secretaries. In some villages of Syria people wore only a single kisā' without a sirwāl.³

According to Ibn Hawqal, the people of Khūzistān mostly wore such costumes as were worn by the Irāqīs, i.e., they mostly donned the gamīs, the taylasān and the 'imāma. Among the aged and old people the izār and the mi'zar were also common.⁴ Maqdisī notes that the taylasān was worn mostly by the élite (wajīh), and ^{the} other people used mostly the square ridā', the mandīl (perhaps in the form of a wrapper) and the fūta (wrappers). The khatīb in Khūzistān, following the Iraqi fashion, wore the gabā' and the minṭaq.⁵

The dress of the people of Fārs presented a variety of forms. The sultān donned the gabā' and the durrā'a, the latter being loose with wide collars and with an opening like the durrā'as of the secretaries. They used tall caps under their turbans, girdles round their waist and top-boots

1. Muq. pp. 99-100.

2. Ibid, pp. 95-96.

3. Ibid, p. 183.

4. Ibn Hawqal, p. 174.

5. Muq. p. 416.

of short length on their feet. The judges wore the extraordinary tall caps like the danniyya, the taylasān, the qamīs and the jubba. The judges did not wear the durrā'a, the split boots and such caps which covered the ears. The secretaries wore costumes similar to the dresses used by the secretaries of Iraq. (i.e., the durrā'a). They did not use the gabā' and the taylasān. Other local residents used dresses like the taylasān, the ridā', the kisā', the qamīs, the jubba, the mubattana, the unsplit khuff, turbans and other costumes of khazz silk which are also generally worn in Iraq.¹ Maqdisī notes that the people of Fārs adhered to the 'Abbasid black' and the use of the taylasān was so common among the masses that its wearer lost all prestige. He also notes that in Shīrāz those wearing the taylasān received no respect from the masses; on the contrary those who wore the durrā'a commanded greater respect and prestige.² In this connection he also notes his own experience that when he went to have an audience with the wazir wearing the taylasān, he was refused permission to enter the house; but next time when he donned the durrā'a he was welcomed.³

Like the Syrians the people of Kirmān showed elegance in their dress.⁴ The textile industry of Kirmān was highly specialized and, according to Ibn Hawqal, fine qualities of taylasān were exported to Iraq, Egypt and Khurasan and were liked by the caliphs and dignitaries.⁵ The general customs (rusūm) of the people of Kirmān resembled those of the

1. Ibn Hawqal, pp. 205-206.

2. Muq. pp. 7, 440.

3. Ibid, p. 7.

4. Ibid, p. 469.

5. Ibn Hawqal, p. 223.

people of Fārs.¹

The people of Daylam, Tabaristān, Ray and Sijistān wore costumes similar to the costume of the Iraqi peoples.² In Jurjān the taylasān was not an article in common use.³

The mode of the costume of the people of Khurāsān, Marv and Nīshāpūr differed from other regions. In these regions, the khatīb did not wear the gabā' or the ridā'; they wore, instead, the durra'a. The use of the khuff in these regions was common both in summer and winter; hence sandals were rarely seen on their feet.⁴ In big cities such as Nīshāpūr the faqīh and the kabīr (dignitaries) wore the taylasān. In winter they put their taylasān over the turban and then wore a durra'a over it, the lower portion of the taylasān being thrown back over the shoulder on the durra'a.⁵ In Tranxosiana, the taylasān was the special costume of the dignitaries; other people wore the gabā' which was open from the front. In Marv, some ulema put their taylasān only on one shoulder. It was the custom there that whenever a faqīh was promoted or given an honour, he was asked to don the taylasān.⁶

1. Muq. p. 469.

2. Ibn Hawqal, pp. 270, 302.

3. Muq. p. 368.

4. Muq. p. 327.

5. Ibid, p. 328.

6. Ibid, p. 328.

Dress of Women :---

Although Aghānī informs us that the dress of women differed from that of men only in the omission of the turban, Washshā', in his Kitāb al-Muwashshā', states that it differed both in kind and in colour from that of men. The Arabic words " فجمعت على ثيابي " (I put on my dress), if spoken by a male, meant an izār, a ridā', an 'imāma, a durrā'a, and a khimār; ¹ and if spoken by a female, referred to a dir', ² a milhafa ³ and a khimār. ⁴

According to Washshā' elegant women of this period wore /neither the trouser-cord (tikka), unless it was made of ibrisim silk, nor any garment sprinkled or perfumed (marshūsh or mutayyab), nor/one of a simple colour, nor any garment of white linen except that which is coloured by nature, or dyed according to its kind, or altered from being exclusively the garb of men with some kind of musk or perfumes of sandal wood, so that the scent made them a different kind of dress, seeing that the wearing of white is part of ^aman's dress. ⁵

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1. The khimār was a head-cover or veil with which women covered their head and face. (cf. Dozy, Dictionnaire, s.v. khimār).
 2. Dir' ----- a women's garment, either a gamīs (shirt) or a robe to be worn over the gamīs, made from wool; or else a tunic something like the durrā'a (cf. Lane, s.v. dir').
 3. The milhafa was an outer garment worn usually in cold weather. All garments which one wraps around oneself can be described as lihāf or milhafa. To the Arabs the lihāf was the اللباس (a kind of cloth used to cover tables). When the lihāf was lined with some other material or with fur, it became a milhafa. (cf. Lisān, s.v. lahaf.)
 4. Lisān, ix, p.405
 5. Muwashshā', pp. 184-85.

The ghilāla dukhāniyya (smoke-coloured chemise), the ridā' Rashīdiyya (the Rashīdī cloak, perhaps from Rosetta), the ardiya Tabariyya (the Tabarī cloaks), the harīr mu'ayyan (silk embroidered with round circles), the miqna' Nīshābūrī (the Nīshāpūrī veils), the izār al-mulham al-Khurāsānī (the izārs of Khurāsānī mulham) --- these were some of the dresses worn especially by ladies of elegant taste.¹ Zubayda, the cousin-wife of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, is said to have set the fashion for the smart set and was the first to ornament her shoes with precious stones.² Similarly, the princess 'Ulayya, the daughter of Mahdī, devised a fillet set with jewels.³

The distinctive feature of women's dress lay in the variety of colour and multiplicity of decoration.⁴ Widows and scabby women with skin disease (muqarra'āt)⁵ wore indigo or black.⁶ Dancers and singers and Nabatī⁷ women used garments dyed red, green or rose colour.⁸ Aghānī tells us that a certain Abū Ishāq found the singing girls of Hārūn al-Rashīd wearing bright rose coloured gamīs, sirwāl and

1. Muwashshā, p. 184.

2. Murūj, viii, pp. 298-99.

3. Aghānī², x, p. 162.

4. Miskawayh, Tahdhīb, p. 49; Suyūtī, Mustazraf, p. 66.

5. The word muqarra'āt is difficult to interpret in a precise sense. The dictionaries (lisan, s.v. qar') give to this term the meaning of 'women suffering from skin disease'. Serjeant, however, translates this word as 'women in trouble'. (cf. Islamic Textiles, Appendix, I, p. 79).

6. Muwashshā, p. 185.

7. On the term 'Nabati' cf. EI¹, s.v. Nabatean --- where the word is given the following definition : in the Muslim era the Arabs used it to denote, in Syria and Iraq, people who were neither shepherds nor soldiers. It was also applied with a somewhat contemptuous connotation to the Aramaic-speaking peasants.

8. Muwashshā, p. 185.

qinā' so that it looked as if 'a hyacinth had been placed upon a rose'.¹ One difference between the dresses of the well-to-do and less well-to-do was that the former never used a garment which was dyed a second time, while the latter did it.²

As to their head-dress, the women of our period used the khimār (head-cover) and the mignā or niqāb (veil), the latter being generally worn, while going out.³ For the decoration of the head women used to wear the 'isāba. According to Dozy the 'isāba was something like a wide lace intended to be tied round the head. It was richly embroidered and decked with jacinth and pearls by wealthy women.⁴ Ladies of elegant taste also used the wiqāya, a band to hold the hair in place which was ornamented and sometimes adorned with tirāz⁵ inscriptions.⁶ Such ladies decorated the sleeves of their gamīs too, with tirāz bands and other luxurious embroideries.⁷ From the writings of Washshā', it is known that the slave-girls of the well-to-do people sometimes used galansuwa as their head-gear which was profusely decorated with tirāz inscriptions and ornamented.⁸

Among the dresses that women used as shi'ār⁹ were the itb, the sidār, the shawdhar, the qarqur, the qarqal etc. All these words designated sleeveless blouses and chemises

1. Aghānī², v, p. 299.

2. Muwashshā, p. 185.

3. Aghānī², iii, pp. 45-46; Tabarī, iii, p. 1084; Qutub al-Surūr, pp. 163-64; Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, ii, p. 319.

4. Dozy, Dictionnaire, pp. 301-303; 'Iqd, iv, p. 370f.; 'Isāba, when used of a man, had the sense of a turban. (cf. Aghānī², v, p. 317).

5. On the Tirāz see below, pp. 104-106

6. Muwashshā, pp. 257-58, 259.

7. Ibid, p. 242.

8. Ibid, p. 256ff.

9. On the shi'ār see, above, p. 60.

similar to each other in shape, but different in sartorial fashions.¹

The ladies of Baghdad wore special shoes called khifāf zanāniya. They preferred musha'ara (furred shoes) from Kanbay for winter wear and the split type (maksūr) and the Edessa (Rahāwī) kind of shoes for summer usage.² Hārūn's wife, Zubayda, is said to have been the first woman to ornament her shoes with precious stones.³ Similarly Muqtadir's mother is reported to have been in the habit of using luxurious sandals of Dabīqī stuff⁴ studded with precious materials.⁵

Tirāz Inscriptions :---

A student of Abbasid sartorial fashions often comes across the word Tirāz, i.e., an inscription on a dress. A. Grohmann, in his article Tirāz in EI¹ and R.B. Serjeant, in his work on Islamic Textiles, have discussed at length the origin of the word and the introduction of the practice into the Muslim world.⁶ According to them, Tirāz is a word of Persian origin taken over into Arabic. It would seem that the tirāz was first introduced into Muslim practice during the time of the Umayyad Caliph Marwān II (744-50).⁷ The demand of the caliphs for fine fabrics, not only for their

1. Dozy, Dictionnaire, pp. 21-23, 245-46; Badrī, 'Āmma, pp. 162-63.

2. Muwashshā, p. 186

3. Muruḡ, pp. 298-99.

4. On the Dabīqī stuff see above, p. 66.

5. Nishwār, viii, p. 143

6. EI¹, s.v. Tirāz (A. Grohmann); Serjeant, Islamic Textiles, Chap. i, pp. 60-68.

7. Serjeant, op.cit. pp. 66-67.

own use but also for robes of honour, for gifts, for the covering of the Ka'ba, for banners and for military 'uniforms' was so great that a dār al-tirāz was established to meet this need.¹ Tirāz textiles bearing decorative 'inscriptions' were produced in two types of workshop: the public establishment (al-tirāz al-'āmma) and the private or royal establishment (al-tirāz al-khāssa). The former was owned by merchants (bazzāzūn) who sold their goods publicly or exported them to other countries, while the latter, situated within the royal palace was devoted to the making of cloth for the caliphs' household --- e.g., robes of honour and the like.² The Abbasid caliphs had indeed several tirāz factories located in cities important for their production of clothes, cities like Baghdad, Sāmarrā, Khurāsān, Dabīq etc.³

Fragments of costumes surviving from our period are to be found in the various museums of the world. These fragments demonstrate the fact that the 'inscriptions' are in Kufic script (a type of square angular writing). The fragments, in general, bear the "basmala" followed by the name of the caliph, his personal title (laqab) and also various benedictory phrases. The date and place of

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1. R. B. Serjeant, op.cit, Chap. I, pp. 60-68; EI¹, s.v. Tirāz (A. Grohmann); cf. also, Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, s.v. Industrial Art.
 2. Serjeant, op.cit, Chap. xiii-xiv, p. 97; N. P. Britton, A Study of some early Islamic textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1938, pp. 18-20
 3. Serjeant, op.cit, Chap. II, pp. 69-84 ;cf. also, E. Kühnel, Catalogue of dated Tirāz fabrics, p.6ff.

manufacture are also usually mentioned there.¹ The earlier textile 'inscriptions' (8th-11th centuries) tended to be simple and precise, whereas the later ones (from the 11th century onward) became more elaborate and, as it were, 'debased' in character.²

As for the decoration of the tirāzī garments, three methods were adopted viz., tapestry, embroidery and painting or printing. Tapestry was woven directly onto the ground material at the time of its manufacture. It was a ribbed cloth technique, using wefts of more than one colour. Embroidery, as the word implies, was applied to a previously woven ground material. Needles were used for stitching. When gold thread was used, it was sewn lightly at short intervals to the surface of the cloth with a fine silk thread as the clumsy but fragile gold thread could not pass easily through the ground cloth. In painting and printing generally the brush or stylus and the block or stencil respectively seem to have been used by the people concerned with the production of tirāz material.³

1. Serjeant, Islamic Textiles, Chap. ii, p. 72; cf. also Early Islamic Textiles in the Museum of Boston, pp. 17 -20.

2. Britton, op.cit., pp. 17-18.; E. Kühnel, op.cit. Pls. II-XXI

3. Ibid, pp. 21-23.

Prices of the Garments :---

On the prices of costumes worn by Muslims in different periods Ashtor has quoted a number of evidences and tried to estimate the relative cost of clothing in relation to other essentials of life.¹ His evidence on the 9th century is, however, not copious and therefore needs more careful investigation.

A comparative study of the prices of the 8th and 9th centuries, recorded in literary sources, shows that in the 9th century prices rose and it was almost impossible for the poor people to have more than one or two pieces of clothing in their wardrobes. The wealthy people who could spend a lot of money on luxuries, bought and had their garments tailored at very high and sometimes exorbitant prices.

According to Abū Tālib al-Makkī (d.977) the pious Muslims and sufis in the earlier centuries of Islam did not spend more than 7-8 dirhams on clothing; the Companions of the Prophet and their Successors spent about 20-30 dirhams. The theologians sometimes declined to wear clothes which cost more than 40 dirhams and others allowed themselves to wear clothes of upto 100 dirhams only.²

We will now discuss the prices of the major items of clothing.

Qamīs :---

In 204/919 at Mawsil, one qamīs of standard quality cost about 2 dinars.³ In the 10th century one ordinary Saqlātānī

1. Ashtor, Prix, pp. 52-55; idem, "Essai sur les prix et les salaires dans l'empire califien", RSO, 36(1961), pp.19-69.

2. Madkhal, i, p.132; ii, p.238f.; Qut al-Qulub, ii, p.183; cf. also Ashtor, Prix, p.53

3. Azdī, Ta'rikh al-Mawsil, p.355.

gamīs cost 5 dinars.¹ At the same period we hear of a Dabīqī shirt worn by an ostentatious qādī which cost him 200 dinars.² The shirt might have been embroidered with costly materials, otherwise 200 dinars for a shirt is incredibly high. This is why the wazir 'Alī b. 'Isā ridiculed the qādī for such extravagance and told him that his own gamīs and the durrā'a did not cost more than 20 dinars.³ From Mas'ūdī we learn that in the 3rd/9th century the cost of the tailoring of a gamīs was 2 dirhams.⁴

Izār :---

In the 8th century 6½ dirhams were paid in Basra for an izār.⁵ An anecdote (probably 3rd/9th century) recorded by Ibn al-Jawzī shows that a woman bought an izār for 22 dirhams.⁶ In Mawsil, probably in the middle of the 8th century, the price of an izār varied between 6 and 18 dirhams.⁷ The izār which was imported from far-off lands and worn by the wealthy and men of elegant taste, might have been more costly.

Kisā' :---

During the period of Ma'mūn a kisā' could be bought for two dirhams.⁸ The kisā' which was imported from places known for their textile industry, was highly priced. Jāhiz notes that a Tabarī kisā' cost 400 dirhams, whereas the one brought from Qumis cost 100 dirhams.⁹ Aghānī also notes that the price of 400 dirhams was paid for a kisā' of khazz silk.¹⁰ The kisā'

1. Tajārib, iii, p.67; cf. also, Ashtor, Prix, p.55

2. Nishwār, i, p.29; Sābī, Wuzarā', pp. 353-54

3. Ibid.

4. Murūj, vi, p. 344

5. 'Uyūn, i, p.251.

6. Humayyā, p. 65

7. ʿAzī, Ta'rīkh al-Mawsil, p.237; cf. also Begg, op.cit.s.v.

8. Ibn Tayfūr, Baghdād, p.24.

9. Hayawān, iii, p.27; Ibn al-Jawzī, Zirāf, p.187

10. Aghani, iii, p.25

made of silk and other fine fabrics cost 500-700 dirhams.¹ According to Ibn Hawqal the kisā', made in Susanjird (in Fārs) was sold at the highest prices such as 100 dinars and so on.² Ridā' :---

The ridā', a robe which resembled the kisā' was sold probably at the same price as the kisā'. According to one report the ridā' made in Aden was sold at a price of 2,000 dirhams.³ This ridā' might have been of wool and/or richly embroidered. Ibn 'Abbās, according to Ibn Qutayba, wore a ridā' of 1,000 dirhams which was made perhaps in Aden and was richly embroidered.⁴

Durrā'a and Taylasān :---

There is very little material on the prices of the costumes worn by the wazirs and the judges (i.e., the durrā'a, the gabā', the taylasān etc.). The cost of such clothes must have been dependent on the material used in fashioning these dresses. We have already seen that the durrā'a and the gamīs which the wazir 'Alī b. 'Īsā --- a wazir well-known for his frugal household --- donned, cost him 20 dinars altogether.⁵ Thus the durrā'a might have cost him 10-15 dinars. About the price of the taylasān we have one evidence dating from the first half of the 8th century. In this report, a Basran Muhaddith is said to have purchased a taylasān for 400 dirhams.⁶ The taylasān and other excellent robes manufactured in Bamm (in the province of Kirmān) were of very high quality. These robes were exported to Khurāsān, Iraq and Egypt and fetched the

1. Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, v, 96; iii, p. 40; v, 561 .

2. Ibn Hawqal, p. 212.

3. Aghānī¹, xviii, p. 89

4. 'Uyūn, i, p. 298.

5. Nishwār, i, pp. 29-30

6. Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, vii, p. 153; cf. also, Ashtor, Prix, p. 54.

price of more or less 30 dinars. The garment had a durability ^{/which} similar to that of the clothes of Aden and Sana, the cheapest of lasted for five to twenty years.¹ Similarly the Wīdhārī garments (from Wīdhār, a place in Samarqand) were much prized and exported to many countries. Of Wīdhārī garments Ibn Hawqal noted that they were woven of cotton and employed raw without being cut. They were of a colour approaching yellow saffron, soft and light to the touch, but nevertheless very thick, excellent in their wearing qualities and durable. He further noted that there was not a prince, wazir, or qādī in the whole of Khurasan who did not wear one Wīdhārī garment in winter over his clothes. Such Wīdhārī robes were sold varying from 2 to 20 dinars.²

Sirwāl :--

The price of trousers (sirwāl) has not been recorded in available sources. Like other garments it depended on the quality and quantity of the fabric used in tailoring a sirwāl. Since the sirwāls for women were wide and capacious, they might have cost more than those worn by men. Ibn Zubayr speaking about the costumes of the wazir Ibn al-Furāt notes that the piece of each sirwāl of this wazir cost him 30 dinars.³ The trouser-band (tikka) was sold in various colours and at varying prices. It was usually made of ibrisim silk and was sometimes luxuriously decorated. The best quality of tikka brought from Armenia was sold, so Tanūkhī informs us, at a price of one dinar each.⁴ Some of

1. Ibn Hawqal, p. 223; cf. also, Idrīsī, Geographie, trans. by P.A. Jaubert, Paris, 1836-40, i, p. 423.

2. Ibid, Ibn Hawqal, p. 403; Idrīsī, op.cit, ii, p. 201.

3. Dhakhā'ir, pp. 229-30

4. Nishwār, viii, p.125.

these trouser-bands, according to Ibn Hawqal, fetched even 10 dinars.¹

'Imāma, mandīl :--

During Ma'mūn's reign 18 dirhams are recorded as the price of a turban.² One mandīl, at the beginning of the 9th century was sold at 2 dirhams.³ From an anecdote in Jahshiyārī's Wuzarā' it appears that a Tabarī mandīl was worth 12 dirhams.⁴ Qumis was well-known for its excellent mandīls --- both large and small --- made of fine cotton and often embroidered. The large mandīl, according to Maqdisī, might have fetched a price of two thousand dirhams.⁵

Foot-wear :--

The prices of foot-wear are sparingly mentioned in our sources. The famous sūfī Bishr al-Hāfī (d. 227/841) is said to have spent two dāniqa for his sandals (na'1)⁶--- an exceptionally low price which cannot be taken as representative of the prices of the 3rd/9th century. The top-boots (khuff) and other varieties of sandals which were often imported from India, Kufa and other places might have been very costly. A papyrus record shows that a pair of the na'1 Sindiyya with laces made in Tinnis, cost about 4 dirhams.⁷

Fabric :--

Garments made out of the Dabīqī stuff was a common sight in the wardrobes of the wealthy people. The Dabīqī stuff was highly priced. In one report (311/923) we find

1. Ibn Hawqal, p. 246; cf. also, Mez, p. 464.

2. Ashtor, Prix, p. 53, quoting from "Lost fragments of Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa'l-kuttāb", by Jahshiyārī, ed. M. 'Awād, Beirut, 1965, p. 32.

3. Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, ii, p. 48.

4. Wuzarā', p. 184.

/Essays..., pp. 75-76.

5. Muq. p. 367. See for some other quotations, F. Rosenthal, Four

6. Wafayat, i, p. 112; cf. also, Sam'ānī, Ansāb, iv, p. 27.

7. A. Grohmann, From the world of Arabic Papyri, Cairo, 1952, 152; cf. also, Ashtor, RSO, 1961, p. 46.

the lowest price of a red Dabīqī stuff (al-shuqqa al-Dabīqiyya-al-shuqayriyya) as 70 dinars.¹ The wazir Ibn al-Furāt who was fond of sartorial display donned the taylasān, kisā, 'imāma etc. --- all made out of fine Dabīqī stuff which cost him seventy dinars each.² Similarly the washī stuff used generally by the caliphal household and wealthy people cost a lot of money. The famous physician of Mutawakkil Bakhtīshū wore a jubba of washī which cost him 1,000 dinars.³ The pieces of washī bought for the mother of Hārūn cost 5,000 dinars each.⁴ These pieces were certainly decorated with gold or other precious jewels, otherwise 5,000 dinars would seem an exaggerated figure. Sābī records a price of 200 dinars for a dībājī robe (thawb) presented to the Caliph Tāi in 367/977.⁵

Fur :---

In winter the garments were often lined with some kind of fur, which was generally expensive. The skins of foxes and marten were often used for lining. According to Mas'ūdī foxfur was sold at 100 dinars per piece.⁶ In the Tabassur bi'l-tijāra we find a list of furs exported from various lands sold in the Baghdad markets.⁷ Ibn Zubayr records that the sons of the caliphs Ma'mūn and Muhtadī possessed

1. 'Arīb, p. 116.

2. Dhakhā'ir, pp. 229-230.

3. Qiftī, p. 102; Ashtor, Prix, pp. 54-55.

4. Murūj, viii, p. 298. **

5. Rusūm, pp. 100-101

6. Murūj, ii, p. ii, pp. 14-15.; cf. also, EI,² s.v. Farw.

7. Tabassur.. (attributed to Jāhiz), ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-

Wahhāb, RAAD, 1932, p. 335f.; see also, EI,² s.v. Farw.

** There is also one report, perhaps exaggerated, showing that an excellent robe made out of the best available washī stuff in the Baghdad market, for the Caliph Wāthiq, cost 6,000 dinars. (cf. Khālidīyyān, Tuhaf, pp. 114-115; Husri, Jam' al-Jawāhir, pp. 200-201). According to Jāhiz the washī woven with gold was sold for 1,000 dinars in Baghdad. (Tabassur bi'l-Tijāra, p. 26.)

robes lined with foxfur in white and black colours, each costing five hundred dinars.¹

The Khil'a robe :---

The khil'a (robes of honour) usually offered to dignitaries and high ranking officials in the early Abbasid period, came under three price ranges. The first grade consisted of robes worth 300 dinars, the second grade of 100 dinars and the third grade of 30 dinars.² The khil'a generally consisted of a set of clothes (i.e., an 'imāma', a qamīs, a sirwāl, a ṭaylasān, a gabā' or durrā'a etc.).³ Sometimes a single garment could also be given in the khil'a.⁴

1. Dhakhā'ir, p. 196.

2. Sābī, Rusūm, pp. 98-99.

3. Ibid, pp. 93-99.

4. Murūj, vii, pp. 127-28.

Chapter III

Food

Under the Abbasids there was a keen interest in the art of cooking --- an interest strong enough to produce a number of manuals in this art. In the course of time, cooking became a special subject of study and a number of people wrote treatises on it.¹ Unfortunately the books

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1. People like Hārith b. Bushkhiz (ca. 3rd/9th century), Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (d. 224/838), Yūhannā b. Māsawayh (d. 243/857), Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī (d. 243/857), 'Alī b. Yahyā al-Munajjim (d. about 257/888), Ahmad b. al-Tayyib al-Sarakhsī (a contemporary of the Caliph Mu'tadid), Ahmad b. Ja'far Jahza (d. 325/936), Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. 313/925), Makhbara (a grammarian at the court of Mu'tadid), Hunayn b. Ishāq (d. 260/873), Ibn Manduwayh al-Isfahānī (d. 372/982), Miskāwayh (d. 420/1029), Ahmad b. Ismā'īl Nattāha al-Anbārī (d. 291/903), 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ahmad b. Abī Tāhir (d. after the reign of Muqtadir, 908-932), Ibn Khurādhbih (d. 300/912), Yahyā b. Abī Mansūr al-Mawsilī (a contemporary of the Caliph Ma'mūn), Ibn al-Shāh al-Zāhirī (d. 4th/10th century ?), Dāwūd b. 'Alī (d. 270/883), Ibn Dāyā (d. about 340/951) and a host of others contributed to this 'science'. (cf. Fihrist, pp. 180, 210, 213, 218, 304, 440; Qiftī, Hukamā', pp. 173, 438; Murūj, viii, p. 332; Irshād, ii, p. 160; cf. also M. Rodinson, in REI, 1949, pp. 100-102; H. Zayyāt, in Mashriq, 1947, pp. 16-17; Mez, p. 396; Badrī, 'Anna, p. 96). The great historian Mas'ūdī (d. 346/957) tells us that he himself wrote a manual of cooking, in which he discussed, amongst other things, the kinds and quantities of spices required for different types of dishes. (cf. Murūj, viii, pp. 103-104). See, on some writers of a later period, Ḥabīb Zayyāt, in Mashriq, 1947, pp. 17-18; Cf. also M. Rodinson, Cuisine, in REI, 1949, p. 102ff.

written by these scholars seem not to have survived.¹ Thus far it has been possible to trace only three works on the subject²: one by Abū Muḥammad al-Muẓaffar b. Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Warrāq (d. early 4th/10th century), the second by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Kātib al-Baghdādī (d. 637/1239)³ and the third by Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-'Adīm (d. 660/1269). The work of Warrāq, entitled "Kitāb al-Tabīkh wa Islāh al-aghddhiyat al-ma'kulāt", exists in manuscript.⁴ This work discusses not only matters of cuisine but also the beneficial and harmful properties of various foods. Written presumably sometime in the late 3rd/9th or in the beginning of the 4th/10th century⁵, i.e., during the period with which our work is mainly concerned, and by a writer who had access to the actual recipe-books of the Abbasid caliphs of that time, the text is of great interest to us.⁶

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1. See, M. Rodinson, Cuisine, in REI, 1949, p. 100f; H. Zayyāt Tabākha, in Mashriq, 1947, p. 16ff.
 2. Habib Zayyāt notes that another three manuscripts (two by anonymous authors and the third by a certain Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Dinashqī (d. 909/1503) exist in some Egyptian libraries. The work of Dinashqī being published by him in Mashriq, 1937, pp. 370-6. (cf. Mashriq, 1947, pp. 17-18).
 3. The book was written in 623/1226. (cf. Tabīkh, Chapter, Introduction).
 4. The manuscript is unique and is preserved in the Bodlian Library, Oxford, Hunt, No. 187.
 5. This is evident from the fact that the last caliph to be mentioned by the author in this book is Muktafi' who reigned during 289-95/901-907. He has also mentioned some of the poets who flourished during the end of the 3rd/9th and the beginning of the 4th/10th centuries. Arberry, however, suggests that Warrāq belonged to the 4th/10th century. (cf. A Baghdad Cookery Book, p. 10, n. 5).
 6. The text of this manuscript has been briefly discussed by Habib Zayyāt in Mashriq, 1947, pp. 18-26 and by M. Rodinson, in REI, 1949, p. 104.

Of the latter two works, entitled Kitāb al-Tabīkh and al-Wuṣlā ilā'l-habīb fī wasf al-tayyibāt wa'l-tīb, the second is in manuscript form,¹ while the former has already been published and translated.² Though written at a considerably later period, i.e., during the 13th century of the Christian era, these books throw much light on the cooking of the classical dishes.³ The culinary terms used in these two books are almost identical with those employed in the work of Warrāq from which it can be assumed that the dishes of this period had not undergone much change.

In addition to the above-mentioned sources devoted exclusively to the culinary art, books like Ibn Qutayba's 'Uyūn al-Akhbār', Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's 'Iqd al-Farīd', Ibn Jazala's 'Minhāj al-Bayān fīmā yasta'miluhū'l-insān',⁴ Rāghib's 'Muhāḍarāt al-Uḍabā'', Ibn Sīda's 'Mukhaṣṣaṣ' and also a 'Risāla fī'l-sukkar'⁵ contain chapters and occasional remarks on food and eating. Books on hisba also supply us with some material on the subject.

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1. A copy of this manuscript can be seen in the British Museum, Or. 6388 and in the SOAS, Library, No. 90913. The book has been analysed and translated into French, in abridged form, by M. Rodinson, in REI, 1949, p. 117ff.
 2. The book al-Tabīkh was edited by Dr. Daoud Chelebi and published at Mosul in 1353/1934. It has been translated into English by A. J. Arberry under the title, "A Baghdad Cookery Book". Chelebi's information that the manuscript of the Kitāb al-Tabīkh is unique is wrong. There is an excellent copy of this manuscript in the British Museum (Or. 5099), a manuscript which, at some points, contains additional information. (cf. for example, the addition of fols. 7-8 in the introductory chapter, where instructions on cooking are set forth.)
 3. Baghdādī, in his Kitāb al-Tabīkh, notes (p. 6) that he came across several books composed on the culinary art and rejected some recipes, as they did not correspond to the usual food habits of the Baghdamis.
 4. The book is in manuscript. There is a copy in the British Museum, No. 5934.
 5. See Cairo Cat. vi, p. 148.

The expenses of the royal kitchen :---

The Abbasid caliphs, their wazirs, their high ranking officials and people of wealth used to take a meal marked by its expense, by elaborate preparations and by a lavish use of spices. Several caliphs were noted for their extravagant expenditure on food and even for gluttony. The Caliph Mansūr is reported to have died of stomach ailment which, as his physician pointed out, was a direct result of his gluttony.¹

From a passage in the Kitāb al-Wuzarā' of Sābī, it would seem that there were two types of kitchen in the caliphal palace --- (a) the khāssa (the private kitchen), and the 'Āmma (the public kitchen).² The private kitchen, as it appears, catered for the needs of the caliph himself and of his friends and companions. The other members of the court and the visitors took their meal from the matbakh al-'Āmma (i.e., the public kitchen).

The annual budget for the royal kitchen and the daily expenses for the caliph's food indicate the unusual interest shown in the procurement of sumptuous dishes. The yearly expenditure of the Caliph Mutawakkil's kitchen was two hundred thousand dinras.³ This expenditure, as it would seem, did not include the money spent on drinks, ice, kitchen

1. H.I.Hasan, Islam, p. 380 (quoting from Tabarī, ix, pp.290-91). The Caliphs Mu'tasim and Wāthiq were also well-known for their gluttony. cf: Murūj, vii, p. 170; viii, p.302; 'Iqd, vi, p. 300; Qutub al-Surūr, p. 290.

2. Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 20; idem, Rusūm, p.22; see also, Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 240.

3. Ibn Zubayr, Dhakhā'ir, p. 219.

utensils, etc. From Sābī we know that the monthly expense of the Caliph Mu'tadīd's kitchen (both khāssa and 'āmma) amounted to ten thousand dīnars.¹ The cooks (number unidentified) of this royal kitchen received thirty dīnars a day.² It is said that the Caliph Ma'mūn's daily expenses amounted to 6,000 dīnars, a large amount of which was spent on his kitchen.³ How many people were fed out of this kitchen is not precisely known, but from the fact that the Caliphs did not usually take food alone, it can be assumed that a large amount was spent on the food of the caliph's nadīms (boon-companions), physicians and guests.⁴

The caliphs, wazirs and other men of wealth preferred to have a wide range of dishes on their table. Special occasions such as wedding parties, banquets etc., called forth the fullest manifestation of extravagance.⁵ A banquet which Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, a member of the Abbasid house gave in honour of the Caliph Hārūn contained one dish prepared from the tongues of fishes; which cost over 1000 dirhams.⁶ One of the boon companions of the Caliph Ma'mūn, Ja'far b. Muḥammad, notes that one day he found Ma'mūn seated at a lunch embracing numerous dishes which he thought to exceed three hundred in number.⁷ The Caliph Muhtadī, on the other

1. Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 20

2. Ibid, p. 23

3. Fakhrī, p. 312; cf. also Hasan, Islam, p. 381

4. That physicians were often numbered amongst the table companions of the caliph is clear from the evidence of various authors. (cf., for example, Ibn Abī 'Usaybi'a, ii, p. 34). Aghānī notes that the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, however, was careful in his choice of table companions and allowed none other than an Amīr or 'Alīn to sit with him. (cf. Aghānī, v, p. 24).

5. See, for example, the account of the wedding party of the Caliph Ma'mūn, Chapter, Feast & Festivals of this thesis.

6. Murūj, vi, pp. 349-50

7. Ibn Tayfūr, Baghdād, p. 36. From Tanūkhī we hear that

hand, is reported to have cut down the daily expenses of the royal kitchen from ten thousand dinars to one hundred dinars only.¹ Similarly, the Caliph Qāhir is said to have reduced the number of main dishes to twelve, allowing thirty varieties of sweet and allotting only one dinar for the fruit destined for his dining table.²

Well-to-do people in general were also extravagant in their food. Abū'l-'Atāhiya tells us that, being invited by Mukhāriq, the singer, he went to his house and was served there with numerous dishes. The menu included the following kinds of food: fine bread, vinegar, vegetables, roasted mutton, roasted fish, sweet dishes, desserts, fruits and a variety of drinks.³ On the dining table of Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, the singer, a certain Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Harrānī found thirty birds cooked for three guests only, the number of dishes, sweet and sour, cold and hot being, in his recollection, uncountable.⁴

(continued from the last page):- the Caliph Muqtadir, finding a particular dish absent from his dining table, admonished the cook and asked him not to leave a single dish unprepared. (cf. Nishwār, ii, p. 152).

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1. Murūj, viii, p. 20
2. 'Arīb, p. 183
3. Aghānī¹, iii, p. 180; cf. also Abū Nasr, al-Hawā wa'l-shabāb fī 'ahd al-Rashīd, p. 201
4. Tāj (attributed to Jāhiz), p. 13. The kitchen expenses of some of the Abbasid wazirs are also to be noted. Ibn al-Furāt's extravagance is well known. His great kitchen, it is said, was open to all (cf. Eclipse, i, 120). Hāmid b. al-'Abbās used to set 40 dinner tables daily for those who entered his residence, whether officials, ordinary people or even servants. Meals included meat and wheaten fine bread. (cf. Nishwār, i, 14). Ibn Muqla (in 317/929) spent 500 dinars a week on fruits alone. (Eclipse, i, 203). In 324/935, the Barīdī's ^{table} expenses amounted to 1,000 dinars a day. (Eclipse, i, 348, n.2; cf. also, Dūrī, Mesopotamia, p. 298).

Meat and Meat Dishes :--

Meat was one of the staple foods of the affluent class. Chickens were recommended by medieval physicians¹ and widely used in the daily diet of the wealthy people. They were used in various kinds of dishes known by different names relating to the use of specific ingredients or to particular methods of cooking.

The breeding of chickens appears to have been common amongst the people living in the country-side. Even town dwellers kept chickens in their homes as a source of eggs and meat.² In Baghdad, there were several markets (e.g., sūq al-tuyūr) where chickens were one of the main articles of sale.³

Of the four types of chicken mentioned by Jāhiz, the faraj al-Kaskariyya was highly prized.⁴ Kaskar, according to Tha'ālibī, was a village of the Sawād situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris. The Kaskarī chicken, being

1. See Ashtor, in AESC, iv(1966), p.1022 and in JAH, iv(1970), p. 4 who quotes, Rāzī, Ibn Jazla, Moses Mainonides and Ibn Juna'ī.

2. Jāhiz, Hayawān, ii, p. 357; iii, p. 170; Aghānī¹, iii, p.31.

3. Cf., for example, the origin of the name of Nahr al-dajāj in Baghdad.

4. Hayawān, ii, p. 248. Whether or not there were "poultry farms" in the country-side for the supply of chickens and eggs to the markets is not known. Egypt was noted for its artificial poultry farming, especially for the ingenious incubators. (cf. Hayawān, ii, p.333; also Mez, p. 457).

fat and good to taste, sometimes became "as heavy as a goat or sheep".¹ An Indian species of chicken (Dajāj al-Hindī) was also much esteemed for eating.² Castrated cocks were thought to taste better than the non-castrated ones.³ Chickens, ducks and francolins, according to Jāhiz, were slaughtered in the evening and were left overnight macerated perhaps in curd.⁴

A special feature of Abbasid cooking was the use of seasoning freely with plain dishes as well as with fried and dry food (the latter of the sweet rather than the sour variety), but sparingly with sour dishes providing their own broth. Meat was cleansed thoroughly of blood, dirt, ganglions, veins and membranes, washed in warm water and salt and fried lightly in oil (ta'rīq), before boiling and cooking. Ta'rīq i.e., frying the meat gently, until the juice of the meat exuded like perspiration, tended perhaps to remove the unpleasant smell of meat so common in hot countries.⁵ In order to have the meat cooked quickly, borax (bawraq), wax (shama') or melon (battikh) were thrown in the saucepan.⁶ In chicken dishes they used dry coriander but seldom put onion or garlic in them.⁷

1. Thinār, p. 426; Yāqūt, Buldān, s.v. Kaskar; Aghānī², xi, p. 336; Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 39

2. Ibn Jazla, Minhāj al-Bayān, Br. Mus. Ms.No. 5934, fol. 91a; Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 39; Baghdādī, Bukhalā', p. 144; Thinār, pp. 533, 615; Latā'if, p. 214.

3. Jāhiz, Hayawān, ii, p. 248.

4. Ibid, i, p. 299.

5. Tabīkh, pp. 8-9 = Eng. Tr. pp. 13-14; cf. also Ibid, in MS. Br. Mus. (Or. 5099), fol. 7.

6. Ibid, (Or. 5099), fol. 8b;

7. Ibid, Tabīkh, pp. 50-51

The chicken dishes were varied in number and nature--- e.g., hānida, nasūs, mamqūr, mutajjan, maqlū', isfīdbāj, khashkhashiya, fālūdhajiyya and halawiyya. To make these dishes, one had to boil the chicken first, cut it into pieces, fry them lightly in fresh sesame oil and add the seasonings.¹

Among other domestic animals the meat of which was used in various dishes, hot and cold, sour and sweet, were goats, lambs, sheep, camels and cows. Mutton has always been regarded important in the daily diet of the people. Syria had an abundant supply of sheep, and in the 10th century, the flocks of sheep were so numerous in some of its areas.

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1. For the hānida (sour) dishes a preparation of sumach-juice or pomegranate seeds, or lemon juice or grape juice, or even of vinegar was added; for the nasūs (macerated chicken) the meat was cooked after maceration in a seasoning of vinegar, celery and saffron; for the mamqūr, fried meat was thrown into boiling water after mixing with vinegar and nurri (brine) in equal parts; for the mutajjan (fried chicken) the meat was fried, until it turned brown, and was served with lemon-juice squeezed over it; for maqlū' (roast or baked chicken) the fried meat was mixed with a little hot water and was garnished with poached eggs; for isfīdbāj, the chicken was boiled with mastic, cinnamon and salt; then some ground almonds (small and sweet) mixed with water together with a handful of peeled and soaked chick-peas and a ring of dill was added, after which the dish was furnished with poached eggs; for khashkhashiya and fālūdhajiyya, a more elaborate method of cooking was adopted --- the meat was fried lightly; then it was thrown into boiling water, mixed with spices, flavouring, sugar and poppy flour and was left on a slow fire to settle; for the halawiyya, with the usual spices, sweet almonds, raisins, and special types of cakes called mubahthara and quradiya were employed. (cf. Warrāq, fols. 45ff; Tabikh, pp. 50-51; Wuslā, Br. Mus. MS. 6388, fol. 30ff.)

that they were exported to other regions.¹ Aghānī mentions Basra as famous for its fattened sheep, especially pastured for the 'sacrifice' in the 'Īd al-Adhā'.² The preference given to mutton corresponds to the precepts of Abbasid physicians. According to Rāzī all kinds of meat except the mutton contained some degree of harmful property.³ Ibn Jazla went a bit further and is said to have recommended not to eat a great deal of meat, even that of a sheep.⁴ Beef was regarded as an inferior meat and was said by some physicians to be possessed of harmful properties.⁵ Ishāq al-Isrā'īlī, the famous physician of the 9th century A.D., strongly advised not to eat beef as it was 'dry' and likely to **adversely affect health**.⁶ This belief perhaps explains why Ibn Rusta recounts with surprise (c. 300/912) that the inhabitants of the Yemen prefer beef to mutton.⁷ Young cows and calves were, nevertheless, not disliked as food.⁸ The "Nabatean" inhabitants of Iraq, famous for their raising of cattle, were often ridiculed as "cow-knights".⁹ The buffalo attested in Iraq before 2,500 B.C. was perhaps reintroduced

1. Muq. p. 180; cf. also E. Ashtor, in JAH, 1970, p.3

2. Aghānī¹, iii, p. 62.

3. Kitāb al-Hawī, as cited by E. Ashtor, in AESC, 1968, p.1022.

4. Minhāj al-Bayān, cited by Ashtor, op.cit.

5. Cf. the references in E. Ashtor, in AESC, 1968, p.1022.

6. K. al-Adwiya al-mufrada wa'l-arshāḥiya, Hebrew Tr. of the Paris^{ms}, 128, fol. 22a --- cited by E. Ashtor, in AESC, 1968, p. 1022, n.9. ; cf. also Mez, p. 456.

7. Ibn Rusta, A'lāq, p. 112; cf. also, Mez, p. 456

8. Minhāj al-Bayān, Br. Mus. MS. No. 5934, fol. 183b.

9. Mez, p. 455.

from Sind, by the Arabs. Buffaloes made their appearance in the marsh lands of Iraq during the Umayyad period. This animal is said to have surpassed in number the oxen of Iraq during the 10th century A.D.¹ Buffaloes, effectively employed by the government to drive off lions in the region of the north Syrian frontier, were not slaughtered for meat in that area.²

Various dishes were prepared with the meat of these animals --- cooked with broth or fried and eaten hot or cold. It will suffice here to mention --- as illustrative examples --- some of the special meat dishes in frequent use amongst the rich :

1) Baznāward :---

One important and popular dish was baznāward. The name baznāward is a Persian compound word deriving from "Bazm", feast and "Āward"; brought. The main ingredients of the dish were roasted meat ^{and} the core of good white bread. In its preparation the hot roast, which has been allowed to cool, is sprayed with a little rose-water, leaves of mint, vinegar, salted lemon and walnuts being added also. The roast, chopped up and moistened in vinegar, is now stuffed with soft white bread and left in the oven for an hour. Finally, at the time of its serving on the table, the strips of meat are placed one on top of the other and covered with a layer of fresh mint.³ Baznāward was a favourite dish

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1. See, for example, A.F.E. Zeuner, History of domesticated animals, 1963; Mez, p. 455. On the pastures of Kaskar buffaloes, oxen and goats were fattened. (cf. Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, p. 43).
 2. Jāhīz, Hayawān, vii, p.131ff; Nuwayrī, Nihāya, x, p.124; Mez, p. 456. The horns of the buffalo were sometimes furnished with a sharp, pointed cover. (cf. Nuwayrī, x, 124).
 3. Warrāq, fol. 35; Tabīkh, p.59 = Eng. Tr. p.41.

amongst men of elegant taste in Baghdad.¹ The names "لقمة القاضي" (judge's mouthful), "لقمة الخليفة" (caliph's mouthful) and "نرجس المائدة" (narcissus of the table) given to baznāward indicate clearly the esteem and demand for this dish in high society.²

It is rather surprising to note that the wazir Fadl b. Yahyā was especially fond of baznāward prepared with hornets (zanbūr, pl. zanābīr) --- a dish which the people of the wazir's native land, Khurasan could not perhaps imagine except with a mixed feeling of incredulity and indignation.³ That hornets were included and eaten in such an important dish is not corroborated in other sources. It is Jāhiz alone who makes mention of this insect and states that the wazir was so fond of this insect that he engaged some of his servants in the task of collecting them regularly.⁴

2) Madīra :---

The word madīra is derived from madīr, meaning curd and "madīra" meant meat cooked with curd.⁵ Madīra was much

1. Washshā', Muwashshā', p. 191.

2. Shifā' al-Ghalīl, p. 98; Muḥāḍarāt, ii, p. 612; cf. also Munajjid, Bain al-Khulafā', p. 79.

3. Jāhiz, Hayawān, iv, pp. 44-45.

4. *Ibid.*, iv, p. 45.

5. The meat was cut into medium sized pieces, including the tail. If chickens were used, they were divided into quarters. The meat was now placed in a saucepan, with a little salt, covered with water and boiled. When the meat was almost cooked, large peeled onions and Nabatean leeks, washed in salt and water and then dried, were put into the pot. Then dry coriander, cumin, nastic and fine ground cinnamon were thrown into it. Once cooked --- the meat was ladled out into a large bowl and curdled milk poured into the saucepan, with salted lemon and fresh mint. This mixture of curd, lemon and mint was now boiled and stirred. Thereafter, the meat, together with the spices, was placed in the curdled milk. When the boiling subsided the meat together with spices was put into it. The saucepan being covered, the whole was left to settle over the fire. (cf. Warrāq, fol. 69; Tabīkh, p. 23; The Eng. Tr. of the Maqānat of Hamadānī, by W.J. Prendergast, p. 88, n. 2).

favoured in Baghdad, and Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadānī wrote a maqāma entitled al-maqāma al-madīriyya.¹ A story recorded by Tanūkhī in his Nishwār makes it clear that a dining table without madīra was considered to be a 'desert'.² Extolling a dish of madīra one poet declares :³

Madīra on the festive tray
Is like the noon in full array,
Upon the board it gleams in light
Like sun-shine banishing the night..
'Tis as delicious as 'tis good --
A very miracle of food.

3) Sikbāj :---

Sikbāj, a word indicative of a Persian origin (probably from sirka, vinegar), was cooked with fat meat, carrots or egg-plants, almonds, currants, dried figs, a mixture of date-juice and vinegar and the usual spices.⁴

Sikbāj was regarded as a dish appropriate for all seasons and for all conditions. Whether it was winter or summer, during travel or in residence, people always wished to see this dish on their tables.⁵ That is why it was also given such names as " مَحَّ الاطعمة " (narrow or essence of food), " سَيِّد المرق " (chief of broth).⁶

1. Maqāmāt, pp. 109-123

2. Nishwār, i, p. 63.

3. Murūj, viii, p.403 (= passage translated into English by Professor Arberry in "A Baghdad Cookery Book", p.8).

4. In preparing this dish the meat was first boiled in water with fresh coriander, cinnamon bark and salt. While boiling, the froth and also the fresh coriander were removed and then dry coriander, onions, Syrian leeks, carrots or egg-plant --- already skinned and half-stewn--- thrown in. When almost cooked, a mixture of date-juice and wine vinegar was added and the whole boiled for an hour. At the final stage, a little of the broth was taken out and, after being combined with saffron, was put again into the saucepan with the addition of peeled sweet almonds, raisins, currants and dried figs. Before the dish was ladled out for the table, rose-water would (Cont.).

4) Isfīdbāj

Isfīdbāj, a Persian compound word, with the sense literally, of "white gruel", was named after its main ingredients --- almond milk and meat. Isfīdbāj was cooked more or less in similar manner^{as} described above in connection with sikbāj etcetera, with the exception that here almond milk was put for making the broth, and the whole was garnished with poached eggs. Sometimes, cabobs of red minced meat, with the spices, and a quartered, washed chicken would also be added before the almond milk was added.¹

5) Dīkbarīka²:---

This dish was prepared with meat cut into medium pieces and left in the saucepan, a little salt being thrown in with a handful of peeled chick-peas, dry and green coriander, sliced onions and leeks. Covered with water, the meat was boiled and the froth removed. Now, with the addition of wine-vinegar and murri³, and also a little fine ground pepper, the meat was boiled and cooked, until the flavour was distinct. Some people sweetened the dish with a little sugar.⁴

(continued from the last page) :--- be sprinkled to give greater fragrance. (cf. Warrāq, fol. 75f; Tabīkh, pp.9-10; Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p.110; Azdī, Hikāyat, p.40; Minhaj al-Bayan, Br. Mus. Ms. No. 5934, fol. 123).

3. Munajjid, Khulafā', p. 79

6. Thimar, p. 490; cf. also, Munajjid, Khulafā', p. 79.

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1. Warrāq, fol. 88; Tabīkh, pp.9-10; Warrāq, (fol. 88f) mentioned two types of isfīdbāj called --- safadiyat and mukhadarat.
2. This word has been vocalized as dīkbarīka. Dr. Chelebi maintains that the word is derived from the Syrian Dika Barīka, i.e., holy chicken, whereas Professor Arberry considers it unlikely and maintains that the word comes from the Persian Deh bar ek i.e., pot on the ember. (cf. Tabīkh, p.12, n. 1; Arberry, A Baghdad Cookery Book, 15, n.3).
3. For murri, see later on in this chapter, p.149
4. Tabīkh, p.12 (=Eng.Tr. p.15); Warrāq, fol.84.

There were some notable sour meat dishes cooked more or less in a similar fashion, but given different names, mainly after their respective souring and distinguishing ingredients --- e.g., sumāqiyya (after sumaq juice), līmūniyya (after lemon), rummāniyya (after rummān, pomegranates), hisrimiyya (after hisrim, i.e., unripe grapes), tuffāhiyya (after tuffāh, apples), rībāsiyya (after rībās, red currants), nāranjiyya (after nāranj, oranges) etc.¹

Fish and Fish Dishes :---

Like meat, fish appears to have been an important item of food in the time of the Abbasids. The fish of the river Tigris were highly prized, because of its sweet water.² For a similar reason the fish of the Euphrates seem to have been esteemed more highly than the fish of the Nile.³ Large fish, as a rule, was more popular than small ones.⁴ Such large fishes --- as the ushbūr, juwāf and barastūj (species qawāti, migratory in their habits) --- came mainly from the sea and from the great rivers.⁵ Among the fish caught mainly in rivers and canals were the shabbūt,⁶ bunnī, hāzibā, jarīth

1. On the preparation of all these dishes see, Tabīkh, pp. 15-21 = Eng. Tr. By Arberry, pp. 17-21.

2. Warrāq, fol. 21a; cf. also Anonymous, al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara, in Mashriq, 1968, p. 213.

3. Ibid, fol. 21a; al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara, p. 213.

4. For a description of fishing see, chapter Hunting of this thesis., pp. 274-75.

5. Jāhiz, Hayawān, iii, pp. 259-60

6. "The name shabbūt" states Professor Arberry, "has puzzled the lexicographers, who variously described it as chad, carp and turbot". (cf. A Baghdad Cooker Book, p.42,n.5).

and shalūq.¹ Of all these fishes, the shabbūt would seem to have been the most prized under the Abbasids.²

There is mention also of a fish called tirriḵh, which was caught in the lake of Van (Arjīsh) in Armenia.³ Maqdisī notes that there were twenty four kinds of fish to be found in the Tigris near Basra.⁴ Like the chicken and the goat of Kaskar, samak Kaskarī (fish from Kaskar) was also highly esteemed.⁵ Whether or not a fishery existed at Kaskar is not known. However, the chief fish, caught in great numbers from the canals of Kaskar, was the shabbūt, --- a fish often salted and exported.

The boat-men (mallāhūn) and the divers (ghawwāsūn) delighted in eating sea and river animals like halazūn (snail), rūbiyān (lobster ?) and sāḍaf (conch).⁶ The common people did not disdain to eat crabs (surtān). Some of them ate crabs regularly;⁷ others took them merely to increase their sexual power (shahwa).⁸

From a passage in the Ḥayawān of Jāḥiẓ, it would seem that the Christians living under Abbasid rule took fish as their main food.⁹ This fact would help to explain why they

1. Khawārizmī, Mafātīh al-ʿUlūm, pp. 101; Jāḥiẓ, Ḥayawān, i, pp. 107, 149-51; Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 39; Warrāq, fol. 21f; Minhāj al-Bayān, Br. Mus. Ms. 5934, fol. 125b. ʿUyūn, iii, 297.

2. Ibid, Ḥayawān, i, pp. 233-34; Bukhālāʾ, p. 88; Hikāyāt, p. 39; Khālidiyyān, Tuhaf, p. 119; ʿUyūn, iii, 297.

3. Hikāyāt, p. 39; Shayzarī, Nihāyat al-Rutba, p. 33, Mez, p. 436 (= Ar. Tr. ii, p. 306); Arberry, A Baghdad Cookery Book, p. 43, n.5; cf. also Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, pp. 124, 183, 184.

4. Muq. p. 131.

5. Jāḥiẓ, Ḥayawān, iii, p. 295; Thimār, p. 424; Le Strange, op.cit., p. 43.

6. Mafātīh al-ʿUlūm, p. 101.

7. Jāḥiẓ, Ḥayawān, iv, p. 45; vi, p. 84

8. Ibid, v, p. 406.

9. Ibid, iv, p. 431ff.

monopolized fish supplies in the market.¹ Jāhiz criticizes the Christians of Baghdad for frequenting the fish markets and causing fish to become dear by their excessive demands ---especially on Fridays, Sundays, Mondays and Wednesdays. Hence the Muslims were obliged to come to the fish markets on Saturdays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, as only on these days did the price and the demand remain low.²

The celebrated epicure, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (162-224/779-839) is said by Mas'ūdī to have been delighted by dishes made from fish tongues.³

Fish was cooked both fresh and salted --- hence the method of cooking varied. Some dishes could be prepared either with fresh or with salted fish. The most important amongst them was samak mashwī or the "roast fish".⁴

Among other fish dishes, both fresh and salted, mention can be made of samak maqlū (fried fish), samak mamqūr (soused fish), samak maqlū bi-khall wa-rashī (fish fried with vinegar and sesame oil) and tirrikh muhassā (soup made with tirrikh fish).⁵

The common people, unable to buy large fishes and costly seasonings, contented themselves with small fish, preparing them only with salt and with cheap ingredients. Such ordinary dishes were known as rubaythā', sahnā' (or shahnā'), sayr,

1. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', iv, pp. 431-32.

2. Ibid, iv, pp. 431-32.

3. Murūj, vi, pp. 349-50

4. Samak mashwī was prepared with fresh fish the skin of which was scrapped off with a knife. The fish was split open, washed thoroughly, dried and smeared inside and out with sesame oil and saffron mixed with rose water. Now, a paste of ground sumach, of ground, dry thyme (amounting to half the proportion of sumach) of garlic skinned and chopped fine (equalling one quarter of the total sumach) and of walnuts (weighing half the total quantity) was made, with a little finely ground coriander, cumin, cinnamon, mastic, fresh sesame oil and salt. The mixture was stuffed into the fish, the whole being then tied with strong cotton.
(Cont...)

sumaykiyāt¹ etc. --- dishes which were seldom touched by people of elegant taste.²

Bread :---

Bread varied in respect of its materials and shape and was therefore known under different names. It was made of millet, rice, barley, wheat etc.³ Bread made of wheat was considered to be the best of all. The predominance of wheat bread was a striking feature of the diet of the Orientals, as compared with that of the Westerners in the Middle ages.⁴ Iraq was essentially a wheat growing land.⁵ In some regions so much wheat was grown that great quantities could be exported. Bread made of wheat, barley or dates was the favourite food of South Arabia, even in pre-Islamic period.⁶ Wheat, during the Abbasid period, was everywhere a commodity traded on a large scale.⁷ Medieval Muslim physicians, whose precepts influenced the dietary customs of the people to a great extent, warmly recommended wheaten

(continued from the last page) :--- thread, placed on a new roasting spit, put into the oven over a slow fire, covered and left to cook well. (cf. Tabīkh, p. 60; also, Warrāq, fol. 33).

5. Tabīkh, pp. 62-64 (= Eng. Tr. pp.42-44). On the preparation of all these dishes, see, *ibid*, pp.62-64; cf. also, Khawārizmī, *op.cit*, p. 101.

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1. Mafātīh al-'Ulūm, p.101; cf. also Azdī, Hikāyāt, p.39; these dishes were, as it would seem, known after particular fishes.
2. Muwashshāhā, p. 192
3. Jahīz, Bukhalā', pp. 102, 108, 117; Minhāj al-Bayān, Br.Mus. MS. 5934, fols. 81-82.
4. E. Ashtor, The diet of salaried classes in the medieval Near East, in JAS, iv(1970), p.3; *idem*, in AESC, 1968, 1019f.
5. Mez, p. 430.
6. EL, s.v. Ghidhā', (M. Rodinson)
7. *Ibid*, s.v. Ghidhā'. E. Ashtor, quoting from Tartūsī (Sirāj al-mulūk) p.243, notes that before the Muslim conquest of Iraq, the people of Iraq had only one type of bread known as "Isphahan". (cf. AESC, 1968, p. 1019).

bread and urged people to abstain from others.¹

Flour-grinding, a task done by women in the country districts, was often carried out in towns by mills which sold flour ready prepared.² People in the towns kneaded dough at home and brought it to the owner of the bakehouse (farrān).³

Wheat bread existed in two main varieties called al-khubz al-huwwāra and al-khubz al-khashkār. The former was made of white flour finely ground and sieved, while the latter was prepared from coarse, unhusked flour.⁴ The people of elegant taste preferred the white bread because of its fine quality and softness.⁵ A special kind of borax (bawraq), used for glazing bread by the bakers, was exported at this time from Lake Van in Armenia.⁶ It was known as bawraq al-khubz i.e., bread borax.⁷

Bread was made in a number of shapes. It was sometimes prepared in the form of a mountaintop or as waffles and flat loaves stuffed with honey, sugar, almonds and mastic.⁸ These loaves were often known after the name of their inventor or the person for whom they were first made.⁹ Sometimes the

1. Rāzī, al-Hāwī fī'l-tibb (Hyderabad, 1955-62), i, pp. 62, 84; Hibatallāh b. Juma'ī, Kitāb al-irshād li masālih al-anfus wa'l-ajsād, MS. Paris 2963, fol. 49b --as cited by E. Ashtor, in JAS, 1970, p. 3, n. 12.

2. EI², s.v. Ghidhā', (M. Rodinson); On the mills of the Abbasid period, see, Mez, pp. 466-7.

3. Ibid, s.v. Ghidhā'; Shayzarī, Nihāya, p. 24.

4. Habashī, Baraka, p. 237; cf. also, Badrī, ʿĀmma, pp. 124-25. Ibn Jazla mentions other varieties of bread, such as khubbz maghsūl (bread made of soft, stale bread washed in hot water), khubbz samīdh (bread of samolina); khubbz fātīr (pancake), khubbz tābūn (bread baked in a tābūna small jar-shaped oven, sunk in the ground and open on top). (cf. Minhaj al-bayān, fols. 81-82b).

5. Muwashshā, p. 191.

6. Mez, p. 438. Some manuals of hisba discouraged its use on grounds of health. (cf. Shayzarī, Nihāya, p. 23)

7. Ibid.

8. Warrāq, fols. 24b-26a.

9. Ibid, fols. 24b-26a.

bakers made thin bread so skilfully, that it might almost be taken for a fine cloth. Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī affirms that the poet Nāhid b. Thauma al-Kilābī once attended a wedding banquet, held in a village near Aleppo, where he was served, amongst other dishes, with a kind of fine thin bread. He took it for a fine piece of cloth and wanted to ask the host to favour him with some of these 'pieces', so that he might make a shirt out of them. When the party sat before the dining table, he was taken aback to see that people were eating them. Now, he realized that it was nothing but bread.¹ Hamadānī also mentions thin, wide bread, baked in an oven (tannūr) and called "awraq al-riqāq" (i.e., the leaves of flat bread).² Thin bread was often known as riqāq, without the addition of the noun khubz.³

The recipe books at our disposal give the names and ingredients of various types of bread eaten with meat dishes or with cheese and olive oil. Some of these breads were also consumed with sweet dishes. Among such dishes, mention can be

1. Aghānī², xiii, p. 179; cf. also Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn, iii, pp. 236-37; 'Iqd, iii, pp. 486-87.

2. Maqāmāt, p. 65; see also, for khubz al-riqāq, Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 65; The word riqāq has also been vocalized as ruqāq.

3. Ibid, Bukhalā', pp. 47, 49; Tabarī, iii, p. 584; Jahshiyārī, Wuzara', pp. 119-20; Fakhrī, p. 259. Thin bread was, most probably, made with white and husked flour (huwwārā).

made of khushknānāj¹, mutbaq², akrās mukallala³, khubz al-abāzīr⁴, jardhaq⁵ etc.

From our sources it appears that bread made of barley, dhura, or other cereals was consumed at times of great distress, when warfare or insufficient production cut off the supply, and at all other times only by ^{the}poor and ^{the}ascetics.⁶

1. Khushknānāj (cf. the persian khushk+nān, meaning dry bread) was made of fine white flour, three oqiya of sesame oil being mixed with every ratl of flour and the whole kneaded into a firm paste. It was then left to rise and shaped thereafter into long loaves. A suitable amount of ground almonds and scented sugar, mixed with rose water, was put into the middle of such a loaf. It was then pressed together and baked in the oven (cf. Tabīkh, p.78; Minhaj, fol.68a).
2. Mutbaq (i.e., 'enveloped'). A dough was made with fresh sesame oil (three oqiya of oil to one ratl of flour) and shaped into loaves in a mould. Now, a small portion of plain halwā (a paste of various sweetening ingredients) was placed between each pair of loaves and the whole then baked in the oven. (cf. Tabīkh, pp. 78-79 = E.T. p.51).
3. Akrās Mukallala (i.e., "crowned loaves") were made of a dough left to rise, with the addition of a paste of ground pistachios, syrup and scent. The loaves, after baking, were dipped into dissolved, scented sugar (cf. Tabīkh, p.79=52).
4. Khubz al-Abāzīr (i.e., "seasoning bread") was prepared with dry dates, shelled sesame, toasted poppies, rose-water and almonds or pistachios. (For the cooking process see, Tabīkh, p.79; cf. also Ḥ.Zayyāt, Khizānat al-Sharqiyya pp. 380-81).
5. A kind of thick, rough bread used mainly by the common people. cf. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', pp. 20,48,50,66,83,95,267; also Rasā'il, i, p. 387; ii, p. 367.
6. Kāmil, viii, pp. 285,293,311; Nāsir Khusraw, p. 35; Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī, Mir'at al-zamān, ed. Jewett, p. 367; Abū Shāma, Dhail 'ala al-rawdatain (Damascus, 1948), p.178. cf. also E. Ashtor, The diet of salaried classes in the medieval Near East, in JAH. iv(1970), p. 3.

Khubz al-aruzz, bread made from rice-flour, appears to have been an important item of food for the common people. In Baghdad there were several mills, where the Baghdādīs obtained their rice already ground.¹ Rice and rice-bread must have been cheap since people of lesser means often took khubz al-aruzz.² The people of Khuzistān and Tabaristān ate it through most of the year.³ People of Basra also ate it regularly.⁴ At the beginning of the 4th/10th century there lived in Basra a baker-poet who acquired the title of al-khubzāruzzī (baker of rice-bread).⁵ Rice-bread is mentioned by Jāhiz as the food of some misers, which they even presented to their guests.⁶

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1. H. Zayyāt, Khizānat al-sharqiyya, pp. 378-88 -- quoting from Br. Mus. MS. No. Or. 51, fol. 2a.
 2. See, for example, various stories, quoted by Ḥabīb Zayyāt in the Khizānat al-Sharqiyya, from Jāhiz, Ibn Batūta and Ibn Qutayba. Cf. also, EI², s.v. Ghidhā' (M. Rodinson).
 3. Istakhrī, p. 212; Ibn Hawqal, p. 173.
 4. Yāqūt, s.v. Basra; Ibn Qutayba, in the 3rd/9th century mentions Basra to be the paradise of the poor, as a young unmarried man could live there on two dirhams a month, feeding himself with rice-bread and salted fish. (cf. Uyūn, i, p. 221).
 5. Irshād vii, pp. 206-207 (the poet's actual name was (Abu'l-Qāsim Naṣr); cf. also H. Zayyāt, Khizānat al-sharqiyya, pp. 379-80; Muntazam, vi, p. 329; and, in addition, M. Canard, "Le Riz dans le proche orient aux premiers siècles de l'Islam", Arabica, vi(1959), p. 125.
 6. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', ed. Van, Vloten, p. 101f; 129.

Rice :---

Rice --- apart from its use in the preparation of khubz al-aruzz (rice-bread) --- does not seem to have been a principal food in the time of the Abbasids. It was, however, employed in the preparation of various sweet dishes.¹ Rice with fine sugar, milk or butter was expressive of rich diet. We are told that Ibn al-Jassās, the sūfī, could not refrain from tears, when he heard of a sweet dish prepared with cooked rice, covered with ghee and fine sugar.² On the authority of Asma'ī (d. 828) Ibn Qutayba relates that white rice with melted butter and white sugar "is not the food of the people of this world"³ (ليس من طعام اهل الدنيا) According to Warrāq, rice was eaten either with milk, clarified butter or sugar.⁴

From time immemorial rice was a popular foodstuff in Lower Mesopotamia.⁵ According to Ibn Hawqal the Hamdānīds introduced rice in the middle of the 10th century in Upper Mesopotamia, and his contemporary Maqdisī mentions the important rice plantations in Palestine and in some provinces of Egypt at about the same period.⁶ Our sources make it clear that there was a considerable increase in rice plantations during the early Abbasid period. Rice became, of course, almost a luxury in the regions where it was not extensively grown.⁷ The people of the marsh areas in Māzandran

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1. M. Canard, Le riz, in Arabica, vi(1959), pp. 113-131; cf. also EI², s.v. Ghidhā' (M. Rodinson); see also Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 117.
 2. Tawhīdī, Imtā', iii, p. 77
 3. Uyūn, iii, p.200; cf. also, E.Ashtor, in AESC, 1968, p.1019.
 4. Warrāq, fol. 23a.
 5. E. Ashtor, in JAH, iv(1970), p.2
 6. Ibn Hawqal, p. 213; Maqdisī, pp. 162, 180, 201, 203, 208; see also, E. Ashtor, in JAH, 1970, p.2 and in AESC, 1968, 1018.
 7. M. Canard, Le riz, Arabica, 1959, 113-31; EI², s.v. Ghidhā'.

depended for their food, on rice.¹

The culinary manuals contain numerous recipes of rice dishes which were considered delicious.² The Caliph Hādī, it is said, favoured the rice dish (aruzza);³ and Ya'qūb b. Layth al-Saffār is said to have taken a rice dish (aruzza) daily at his table.⁴ One of the few dishes prepared with rice and used as a popular food was aruzz mufalfal, i.e., peppered rice. It was cooked with fat meat and the usual spices (i.e., salt, coriander, cumin, cinnamon-bark, mastic and saffron).⁵

Another plain rice dish was known as bhatta.⁶ The word bhatta is a persian loan word from the Sanskrit bhāt, i.e., boiled rice.⁷ Bhatta was also cooked with fat meat and seasonings. It was coloured with saffron and sweetened with syrup or sugar.⁸

Rice was also eaten with fresh milk.⁹ A sūfī declared that rice with milk is the most delicious of dishes.¹⁰

1. Ibn Hawqal, p. 272; cf. also, Mez, p. 431.

2. Warrāq, Tabīkh, svv. ; cf. also H. Zayyāt, Mashriq, 1937, 371ff.

3. Bayhaqī, Mahāsin, p. 591

4. Murūj, viii, p. 54. Extolling the dish of aruzza, the poet Muhammad b. al-Wazīr (known as the Hāfiz of Damascus) says:

" Its brilliance dazzles the beholding eye
As if the moon ere even shone in sky;
While sugar sprinkled upon every side
Flashes and gleams, like light personified."

(cf. Murūj, viii, p. 401; translated into English by A.J. Arberry, in A Baghdad Cookery Book, p. 7).

5. Tabīkh, pp. 27-28; K. al-Tabākha, ed. by H. Zayyāt in the Khizānat al-Sharqiyya, p. 373; cf. also, M. Canard, in Arabica, vi (1959), p. 127f. Following Lane, Canard observes that uruzz mufalfal was equivalent to the Turkish 'Pilaw'. (cf. Ibid, Arabica, p. 127).

6. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 115; cf. also M. Canard, op.cit, p. 126

7. Khawārizmī, Mafātih al-'Ulūm, p. 101; Mukhassas, i, chapter, v, p. 3; cf. also Arberry, A Baghdad Cookery Book, p. 26, n. 3.

8. Tabīkh, pp. 31-32; Mukhassas, i, Chap. v, p. 3; cf. also, M. Canard, op.cit, p. 126.

9. Azdī, Hikāyat, p. 39

10. Tha'ālibī, Khāss, p. 44.

Vegetables :---

A variety of vegetables were eaten in Abbasid times. The poet Abū Nuwās is said to have remarked : "a table without vegetables is like an old man devoid of wisdom!"¹ Vegetables were also called "the ornament of the dining table".² Several places in Iraq and Syria were noted for their production of fruits and vegetables. Kufa, Basra and Damascus occupied a prominent place among the vegetable growing areas.³ Among the more popular vegetables can be mentioned the following:---
Bāqillā' (Beans) :----

Of all the vegetables bāqillā' seems to have been the favourite of the rich and poor alike.⁴ Beans were eaten parched or roasted and often used in the meat dishes. Green beans could be peeled and boiled in water and salt and served with little sesame oil or walnut oil. Some people soaked bread crumbs in bāqillā' water --- the resulting liquid being a kind of tharīd⁵ called tharīd al-bāqillā'.⁶

A dish called mā' al-bāqillā' (i.e., bean soup) was prepared with beans. It was cooked with meat, beans and common spices and was eaten with lemon or sprinkling ground sumach over the dish.⁷ It is reported that 'Abdallāh Abū'l-Qāsim al-Jurjānī (d. 368/978), a well-known muhaddith,

1. Rāghib, Muhāḍarāt, ii, p. 612.

2. Tha'ālibī, Thimār, p. 609

3. Ibid, Latā'if, pp. 187, 237; Muq. p. 181; Sābī, Rusūm, 18.

4. Nishwār, i, pp. 14-15; Latā'if, pp. 187, 237.

5. Tharīd was a popular food of the Arabs. It was a sort of pudding made of bread crumbs soaked in broth, served with meat. (cf. Tabīkh, p. 34; IE, s.v. Ghīdhā'.)

6. Tha'ālibī, Khāṣṣ, p. 46; cf. also, Badrī, Āmma, p. 112.

For the cooking method of tharīd al-bāqillā', see, Warrāq, fol. 61.

7. Tabīkh, p. 34.

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used to give a certain man one dānaq per month to provide him with bāqillā', in the soup (mā') of which he soaked his bread crumbs.¹

The common demand for bāqillā' is evident from the report of Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Maṣ'abī, who was sāhib al-shurṭa at Baghdad during the time of Ma'mūn, Mu'tasim, Wāthiq and Mutawakkil. In that report we are told that the money earned daily from the sale of cooked bāqillā' in one quarter of Baghdad amounted to sixteen thousand dinars.² Though the markets of Jurjān had an abundant supply of vegetables notably bāqillā',³ the best quality of beans, according to Tha'ālibī, was to be found only in Kufa.⁴

Bādhinjān (Egg-plant) :--

The egg-plant was eaten in several ways. It was cooked with meat dishes, made as relishes (sabāgh) or was eaten exclusively as a vegetable dish. Some important meat dishes cooked with egg-plants were the sikbāj⁵, hisrimiyya⁶, madfūna⁷ etc. Bādhinjān mukhallal (egg-plant in vinegar), bādhinjān muḥassa (egg-plant soup); bādhinjān bi-laban (egg-plant with milk)⁸ were but a few of the sauces and relishes made with

1. Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, ix, p. 407

2. Sābī, Rusūm, pp. 18-19; Ibn Mihmandār, Fadā'il Baghdad, p.19. The amount in dinars seems incredible; 16,000 dirhams might be a right figure.

3. Latā'if, p. 187.

4. Ibid, p. 237.

5. See, for its method of preparation, above, p. 126

6. A sour meat dish cooked with unripe grapes, see above, p. 128

7. Madfūna, literally buried, so called because the dish was prepared with large egg-plants stuffed with minced meat, and usual spices. (cf. Tabīkh, p.42).

8. Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 38. For the preparation of all these items see, Tabīkh, p. 65f. = Eng. Tr. pp.44-45.

egg-plants. Hamadānī in his Maqāmāt mentions bādhinjān muqlā (fried egg-plant) as one of the important courses in a feast.¹ The Caliph Wāthiq was reportedly so fond of the egg-plants that he took forty at a time.² Its popularity among the masses, according to Rāghib, was such that a public denunciation of egg-plants was sure to bring the offender in trouble.³ Bādhinjān was not a costly vegetable in Baghdad even in the 4th century when a hundred egg-plants were sold at the price of one dānaq only.⁴ This price perhaps represents the period of abundant supply.

Jazar (Carrots) :---

Like egg-plants carrots were mainly used as an ingredient in the meat dishes. A special dish called khābīs al-jazar was prepared with this vegetable.⁵ Boiled carrots were also taken with vinegar, olive and murri.⁶ Men of elegant taste in general, disliked carrots and would not even touch them not to speak of eating them.⁷ Unlike bādhinjān, jazar was found only in a particular season probably in winter.⁸

1. Maqāmāt, p. 133; Ibn al-Jawzī (Muntazān, vi, p. 5) mentions bādhinjān mashwī which seems same as the bādhinjān muqlā.

2. ‘Iqd, vi, p. 300.

3. Muhādarāt, ii, p. 617.

4. Baghdādī, Tatfīl, p. 79.

5. Carrots were peeled and boiled, its hard core was removed and then they were brayed in a mortar. Then sesame-oil was boiled and mixed with flour and carrots. Finally a syrup was poured on the mixture which was then removed from the fire. (cf. Tabīkh, p. 74 = Eng. Tr. by Arberry, p. 49).

6. Jāhiz, Bukhālā, p. 110; for murri see below, p. 149

7. Muwashshā, p. 194.

8. Jāhiz, Bukhālā, p. 110; cf. also, Tabīkh, p. 9.

Kurrāth (Leeks) :---

Leeks were found in two varieties --- kurrāth shāmī and kurrāth nabatī.¹ The Syrian leeks resembled the large onions whereas the Nabatean ones looked like the garlic.² The kurrāth --- a popular complementary food of the poor --- was mainly added by the well-to-do, to various meat dishes. Poor people ate leeks with the bread of barley,³ whereas the affluent ones sometimes took it as the nuql.⁴ The Prophet reportedly disliked the coming to the mosque of a person immediately after eating leeks.⁵ Due to its obnoxious odour the people of elegant taste avoided it as nuql.⁶

Gourd (Qar') :---

Like other vegetables gourd was also used as an ingredient in various dishes.⁷ Besides, it was also used in preparing a special dish called khabīs al-qar' (gourd khabīs).⁸ Sometimes relishes were prepared with it. Such relishes were called qar' bi-laban (gourd with milk).⁹ Jāhiz tells us that the qar' was available in the markets almost throughout the year.¹⁰

Basal (Onion) :---

Onion was the main ingredient of all the meat dishes. It was peeled and cut into pieces and added with other ingredients to various dishes.¹¹ Sometimes sliced raw onion

1. Tabīkh, pp. 9-18.

2. Ibid, p. 18, n. 1 --- quoting from Dāwūd Antākī.

3. Murūj, vi, p. 228; cf. also Fakhrī, p. 243.

4. Muwashshā, p. 193; for nuql see, infra, p. 172

5. Concordance, s.v. cf. also, EI, s.v. Ghidhā'.

6. Muwashshā, p. 194; cf. also, M. Ghazi, Les Raffines in, SI, xi (1959), p. 61.

7. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 110; cf. also, 'Uyūn, iii, p. 289.

8. For cooking instructions see, Tabīkh, p. 74

9. For cooking method, see, ibid, p. 67.

10. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 110.

11. Ibid, p. 110; Tabīkh, p. 9ff.

was also placed on the cooked meat dishes. Men of refined taste, however, disliked raw onion on their tables mainly because of its odour.¹ And as cited above, the Prophet also discouraged a man to enter a mosque after taking raw onions.²

Onions were abundantly produced in Sicily.³ Ibn Hawqal in the middle of the 10th century found onions as one of the main food of the Sicilians. They used raw onions in large quantities, and its dietary effect was visible in their manners and behaviour. Ibn Hawqal was very critical of them and wrote a lot of abuses about their character and intelligence only because they used raw onions profusely in their meals.⁴

Thawn (Garlic) :---

Like onions, garlic also formed one of the main ingredients of the Abbasid meat dishes. People of elegant taste sometimes called it the "amber of the saucepan"⁵, whereas physicians regarded it as an "antidote to poisons".⁶ In the chicken dishes, as a rule, onion and garlic were avoided.⁷

Na'na' (Mint) :---

Among the buqūl (herbs), mint occupied a prominent place. There was hardly a dish wherein mint, either fresh or dried, was not used. The culinary treatises advised

1. Muwashshā, p. 193.

2. Concordance, s.v. ; cf. also EI², s.v. Ghidhā'.

3. Ibn Hawqal, p. 86.

4. Ibid, pp. 86-87.

5. Qādī Jurjānī, Muntakhab, p. 135.

6. Ibn al-Baytār, Durra, p. 190

7. Tabīkh, p. 51

placing layers of fresh mint over ready dishes, for its sweet flavour was very stimulating for the appetite. It was mainly because of this quality that the zurafā' (men of elegant taste) always favoured mint on their dining tables.¹

Hilyawn (Asparagus) :---

The vegetable called asparagus was such a favourite vegetable that poetry was written about it. In the gastronomical session of the Caliph Mustakfī, where the courtiers vied with each other in describing various kinds of food in poetry, asparagus also formed a theme of a poem.² Washshā' notes that the men of elegant taste avoided asparagus because of its innate cooling effects.³ Damascus was famous for the production of this vegetable.⁴ And it is from here that the Caliph Mu'tasim used to receive hilyawn regularly through his private post (barīd).⁵ Ziryāb, the arbiter of fashion at Cordova, is said to have introduced, among other dishes, hilyawn which soon became popular in Spanish society.⁶

Among other vegetables, mention may be made of radish (fujal), cress (hurf), melilot (handaqūq), tarragon (ṭarkhūn), cucumber (qiththā'), chicory (hindibā'), beet (silq), turnip (saljam), chick-peas (himmas), spinach (isfānākh), lettuce (khass) etc.⁷ These vegetables were either cooked or eaten fresh as salad or nuql. People of refined taste, however, did not like much of these vegetables as some of these buqūl caused cold and others left a colouring on teeth and gums.⁸

1. Muwashshā', p. 193.

2. Murūj, viii, pp. 399-400

3. Muwashshā', p. 194; Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 134; Muntazam, vi, p. 5

4. Muq. p. 181.

5. Sābi, Rusūm, p. 18. For the methods of transportation and preservation see, below, p. 178 also, Muqtataf, 1943, pp. 170-71

6. Maqqarī, ii, pp. 87-88. (= Beirut (1968), iii, 127). /i, 65.

7. Muwashshā', 193-94; Tabikh, 28, 30, 32f.; Azdi, Hikāyat, 42; Nishān.

8. Muwashshā', 193-94. For a discussion on the beneficial and harmful properties of these vegetables see, Uyūn, iii, 383-92

Milk (laban) which was the most important beduin drink¹ was at this period not regarded important as a food. It was rather used in preparing some important dishes of bread, rice or meat. Some of the important dishes prepared with milk were madīra² and labaniyya³. Some relishes (sibāgh) like those of bādhinjān bi-laban (egg-plant with milk), gar' bi-laban (gourd with milk) etc. were also prepared with milk.⁴ Milk with dates also formed an important item of food of the Abbasids.⁵ Sometimes people used milk as idām with bread.⁶ Idām is some sort of condiment taken with bread. Professor Goitein in his Mediterranean Society observes that there is no equivalent term in English for idām which means "that which is taken together with bread". In Arabic adam and in Hebrew lippot means "taking something as food additional to bread".⁷

Milk of cows, goats, sheep or camel was generally used. Hārūn al-Rashīd is reported to have liked gazelle milk. In 198/811 when the governor of Basra presented gazelle milk and butter on the caliphal dining table, the Caliph Hārūn was highly delighted.⁸ His wazir, Fadl also reportedly liked gazelle milk.⁹

Milk products were: samān "clarified butter" which was used for cooking;¹⁰ zubad, "butter", which was, at times, used

1. Murūj, vi, p. 229; cf. also FI², s.v. Ghidhā' (M. Rodinson).

2. For the description of madīra, see above, p. 125

3. Labaniyya, literally "milk dish" was made with meat, sour milk, leeks, egg-plants and usual spices. (cf. Tabīkh, 24).

4. Tabīkh, p. 67 = Eng. Tr. by Arberry, p. 45; for the preparation of all these relishes, see, *ibid*, p. 67 = 45.

5. Jahiz, Bukhalā', pp. 64, 67; Khālidiyyān, Tuhaf, p. 112.

6. *Ibid*, Bukhalā', p. 186.

7. Mediterranean Society, ii, p. 126.

8. Dhakhā'ir, pp. 97-98; Ghazūlī, Matāli', ii, p. 59.

9. Khālidiyyān, Tuhaf, p. 112.

10. Jahiz, Bukhalā', pp. 44, 47; Tawhīdī, Intā', iii, p. 77.

as idām¹; jubn, cheese of an unknown sort which was often taken with bread²; and aqit "sour milk cheese"³. Butter and cheese of Dīnawar (a district of the province of Media) are reported to have been of superior quality.⁴ One of the specialities of Khawārazm was a buttermilk cheese called "rahqīn".⁵ Ibn Hawqal mentions that Daylam produced an excellent kind of cheese which was exported to various places. The inhabitants of Daylam took milk as one of their main items of food and they prepared a delicious confection known as māyastanj.⁶

In our treatises of cooking there is mention of al-laban al-fārsī⁷ (lit. Persian milk) -- a word not explained by the lexicographers. Dā'ūd Chelebī and Professor Arberry, however, are of the opinion that the word evidently meant "curdled milk".⁸ The al-laban al-fārsī, it would seem, was used in preparing all types of milk dishes.⁹ Apart from the al-laban al-fārsī, shīrāz or dried curds, al-laban al-māst i.e., coagulated milk and al-laban al-hāmid (sour milk) were also used in preparing some dishes especially relishes.¹⁰ Liba, or "beestings" was often taken with dates.¹¹ Butter and date was expressive of a rich diet.¹²

1. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 163.

2. Ibid, pp. 20, 119, 186.

3. Ibid, p. 111; Minhaj al-Bayān, Br. Mus. MS. 5934, fol. 32a.

4. Khālidīyyān, Tuhaf, p. 119; Azdī, Hikayāt, p. 38

5. Latā'if, p. 226.

6. Ibn Hawqal, 267.

7. Tabīkh, p. 23ff.

8. Ibid, p. 23, n. 2; Arberry, A Baghdad Cookery Book, p. 22, n. 1.

9. Ibid, pp. 23-26 = E.T. pp. 21-23

10. Ibid, p. 67 = 45

11. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', pp. 67, 111, 163; Khālidīyyān, Tuhaf, p. 112; cf. also, Ibn Sīda, Mukhassas, i, Chap. v, p. 40

12. Muhadarāt, ii, p. 621.

Spices (Abāzīr, Tawābil) :-----

Spices were commonly used in food. The rich families rarely used a dish that was not flavoured with some sort of spice.¹ The use of spices, it would seem, was primarily for flavouring and taste.² It is also likely that spices were used to remove the odour of the flesh-meat or the fish which soon went bad in a hot country. The insufficient means of preservation of meat therefore compelled them to take recourse to spices which were used to an inordinate extent perhaps to disguise the taste of incipient decomposition. Moreover, spices were also needed to remedy the tastelessness of the salted and dried meat (qadīd) commonly used in this period. Yet another reason was that in hot regions like that of Baghdad, people's eating habits were so conditioned that without spicy flavour they lost all appetite for food.

The following spices were used in cooking : (a) coriander (kasfara) especially, freshly gathered, green and dry; (b) cumin (kammūn); (c) caraway (karawāya); (d) cinnamon (dār sīnī) especially that whereof the bark is thick and luxuriant, strong-scented and burning the tongue ; (e) mastic (mustakī) especially the kind with large, bright grains, not small, and free of dust and dirt; (f) pepper (fulful) fresh, large-grained and not old; (g) ginger (zanjabīl); (h) clove (qaranful); (i) thyme (sa'tar); (j) anjidhān, (a kind of leaf used for flavouring); (k) sticks

1. See, for example, Tabīkh, p. 9ff.

2. Ibid, p. 8.n.1.

of dill (tāqāt shibitt).¹

These spices were brought from different distant lands especially from China, India and Southern Arabia. The lightness of their weight and the high profits these spices fetched, justified the long and difficult journeys.² Some countries sent, among other things, spices to Baghdad as part of their kharāj. We are told that Kirmān supplied Baghdad with one hundred ratl of kammūn seeds as a part of their kharāj.³

Utmost care was taken in cleaning spices and grinding them fine. These spices were ground either in a mill or pounded in a copper mortar.⁴ Spice pounding was done by women at home.⁵ In some dishes, however, spices were also used without grinding or pounding.⁶

Salt in cooking, an adage said, was as necessary as grammar in speech (الطبخ في الطعام كالنحو في الكلام ; or vice versa) During the Abbasid period two kinds of salt were used --- one, the ordinary common salt and the other, the Andarānī salt; the latter variety being the more prized one.⁷ "Milh Andarānī" was brought from the rocks of Andarān, a place near Nīshāpūr.⁸ Ibn Bayṭār compares its brightness with

1. Warrāq, fol. 14b; Tabīkh, pp. 8, 11, 28, 31; Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 39ff; Minhāj al-Bayān, Br. Mus. Ms. (5934), fol. 34b; cf. also Badrī, 'Āmma, pp. 122-23.
2. Tijāra (attr. to Jāhiz), p. 34; Tha'ālibī, Laṭā'if, p. 215; Thimār, p. 533; cf. also, EI², s.v. Ghīdhā' (M. Rodinson).
3. Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', p. 283; also some unspecified quantity of cloves. (cf. ibid, 283).
4. Tabīkh, p. 8
5. Ḥamadānī, Maqāmāt, p. 111; cf. also, Nez, p. 363
6. Tabīkh, p. 9ff.
7. Ibid, pp. 7-8; Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 39
8. Tabīkh, p. 7, n. 3

crystal (billūr)¹ whereas Azdī calls it "polished silver" (الفضة الصبوة)². The culinary manuals prefer Andarānī salt for all varieties of cooking. In the absence of this salt, the manuals recommended pure white salt which is free from dust and particles of stone.³

Flavouring:---

In addition to the spices, some flavourings were also used to make the food dainty and delicious. Rose-water (mā' al-ward) and saffron (za'farān) seem to have been commonly used in the houses of the well-to-do.⁴ The rose-water of Fārs (more precisely Jūr, one of the towns of Fārs) and the saffron of Isfahān were of an excellence unequalled in the world.⁵ Rose-water obtained as a part of the kharāj from Fārs amounted to 30,000 flasks (qārūra).⁶ Apart from these two flavourings, the Abbasids frequently added to their dishes dried fruits like almonds, walnuts, raisins, dried figs, pistachios, currants, filberts etc.⁷ In the preparation of sour (hāmīd) dishes, fruit juices like the sumach juice, lemon juice, grape juice,

1. Ibn Bayṭār, Mufradāt, s.v. milḥ.

2. Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 39. "Milḥ Durrānī" in the text should be read "Milḥ Andarānī".

3. Tabīkh, pp. 7-8f. (= Eng. Tr. p. 13f.)

4. Ibid, p.10ff; Warrāq, fol. 13a.

5. Latā'if, pp. 178-181; Thimār, p. 537.

6. Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', p.282; Latā'if, p. 179; cf. also, Thimār, pp.537-38 --- where 27,000 flasks has been mentioned.

7. Warrāq, fol. 13b; Tabīkh, p. 10ff.

pomegranate juice or a mixture of lemon and grape juice or vinegar were used.¹ Lemon juice and sumach juice were also sprinkled on the cooked food especially on roasted meat.²

In the list of flavourings we also find the names of murri (brine) and "azfār al-tīb" (literally, "perfumed nails")³. Murri, according to the Tāj, was a type of idām⁴ like sauce and pickle.⁵ Murri which was used as spice was a mixture of pennyroyal flour, salt, cinnamon, saffron and some other aromatic herbs. A dough of all these things was made with rose water and put in the sun for about forty days kneading every dawn and evening.⁶ Murri could also be used as idām.⁷ One of the specialities and items of commerce of Merv was murri brine for pickling.⁸ "Azfār al-tīb" was an odoriferous substance 'of the nature of the shards of shells'. Its Latin equivalent was "strombus lentiginosus".⁹

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1. Tabīkh, p. 10ff. During the early days of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, Fārs sent 1,000 manna (about 2,000 pound) raisin juice, 40,000 manna pomegranate juice and 1,000 manna anbijāt (jam). (cf. S.A. El-Alī, A New version of Ibn Mutarrif's list of revenues in the early times of Hārūn al-Rashīd, JESHO, 1971, p. 307).
 2. Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, p. 64.
 3. Tabīkh, pp. 12-13 (= Eng.Tr. p. 16).
 4. On idām see, above, p. 144.
 5. Tāj, s.v. Murri.
 6. Tabīkh, p.12 (= Eng. Tr. p.16,n.1); cf. also, Shayzarī, Nihāya, p. 59. Jāhiz is said to have written a treatise on murri entitled "Risāla fī'l-murri". cf. Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Turkamānī, al-Mu'tanad fī'l-adwiya al-mufrada, (Cairo, 1370/1951), p.492 --- cited by Bosworth, in Tha'alibī's Latā'if, Eng. Tr. p.135,n. 112.
 7. Jāhiz, Bukhalā, p. 48 .
 8. Latā'if, pp. 202, 226.
 9. Arberry, A Baghdad Cookery Book, p. 16.

Sauces, Relishes and Savouries (Mukhallālāt, Sibāgh and Mutayyibāt), :----

These items, as Baghdādī states, were taken with principal meals "to cleanse the palate of greasiness, to appetize, to assist the digestion, and to stimulate the banqueter".¹

Mukhallālāt or sauces were made with vegetables like egg-plants, turnips, mint etc. Hence they were known after these vegetables as bādhinjān mukhallāl, lift mukhallāl etc.² All these sauces were prepared in a more or less similar way. Fresh vegetables were taken, boiled, cut into small pieces and were steeped in vinegar with some seasonings and aromatic herbs. The sauces were kept in glass bottles for a few days until they were ready to be served.³

Sibāgh or relishes were made with vegetables and milk. The excellent relish which both awakens and stimulates the appetite was called shīrāz bi-buqūl (i.e., dry curds with vegetables). It contained mint, celery, leek, dried curds, ground mustard, walnuts and salt.⁴ Other relishes were bādhinjān bi-laban (egg-plant with milk), gar' bi-laban (gourd with milk), silq bi-laban (a variety of chard with milk) etc.⁵ Jāhiz mentions a relish of olive water (mā' al-zaytūn) which was the favourite relish of some niggardly people.⁶

1. Baghdādī, Tabīkh, p. 65

2. Ibid, pp. 65-66; Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 38

3. Ibid, pp. 65-66; also Warrāq, fols, 56-60

4. For the preparation of these dishes of relish see, Baghdādī, Tabīkh, p. 67.

5. For the methods of preparation of all these relishes, see, ibid, p. 67

6. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 91

Of all the savouries kāmakh (from Persian kāma, kāmak) appears to have been the most popular one. Kāmakh, in fact, was so important that it was always served (even in banquets).¹ It was prized so high that it was exchanged as a valuable gift in the higher circles. It is reported that Ibn Abī Khālīd on a suggestion by the Caliph Ma'mūn, sent a set of presents, among them poisoned white kāmakh, to Tāhir b. Husayn (d. 207/822). Tāhir is reported to have died within two days of eating this relish.² Baghdādī in his Kitāb al-Tabīkh mentions a special kāmakh called kāmakh rījāl i.e., relish with confection, which was prepared with a large dry pumpkin shell, the pith and seeds being removed, fresh and sour milk and some aromatic ingredients. All the ingredients were mixed up and the mixture left in bright sunshine for some days. In fact, it was the heat of the sun which cooked the kāmakh. This is why kāmakh was made generally in the month of June, at the beginning of midsummer. It was usually kept for a month and was ready to be served in the beginning of August.³ Since it was kept in sunshine over a period of a month, the kāmakh presented a dark brownish colour. The people of refined taste, however, did not like the serving of kāmakh on their tables because of its displeasing colour.⁴ A man compared it with 'excrement' (khur', khara').⁵

1. Rāghib, Muhādarāt, ii, p. 615; Murūj, viii, pp. 392-4.

2. Shābushtī, Diyārāt, pp. 147-48.

3. Baghdādī, Tabīkh, pp. 68-69; cf. also the verses of Ibn Mu'tazz describing the various types of kāmakh in Murūj, viii, pp. 392-4; see also, C.E. Bosworth in the Eng. trans. of Lata'if, p. 65

4. Washshā', Muwashshā', p. 192.

5. Muhādarāt, ii, p. 615.

Oil and Fat :---

The oil commonly used in cooking at this time was the shīraj or sesame oil.¹ Clarified butter (saman) and butter (zubda) were also used in cooking.² The fat of animals was sometimes used in some plain dishes. The animal-fat was chopped and then melted on fire and the resultant was preserved after removing the impurities.³ Common people used this fat of animals (shahm) in preparing soup (naraq).⁴ The Arabs, from ancient times, were fond of the fat procured from the fat tail (alya).⁵ The Abbasid recipe books often give alya as one of the best parts of animals which was cooked with other kinds of meat.⁶

Olive oil was also used for cooking. The manuals of guidance on hisba advised the use of olive oil in the absence of sesame oil.⁷ But it basically and chiefly remained a poor man's idām which he took with bread.⁸ Almond oil (dahn al-lawz) and pistachio oil (dahn al-fustaq) were applied in cooking costly sweet dishes like lawzīnaj, zalābiya.⁹ etc.¹⁰

1. Baghdādī, Tabīkh, p.33ff. cf. also, Ashtor, JAH, 1970, p.4.

2. Jāhīz, Bukhalā', pp. 44,47; Imtā', iii, p. 77

3. Tabīkh, pp.17,26; cf. also, Shayzarī, Nihāya, p.40

4. Jāhīz, Bukhalā'

5. EI², s.v. Ghīdhā' (M. Rodinson).

6. Tabīkh, pp. 19ff; cf. also Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 40

7. Nihāya, p. 25ff. **

8. Jāhīz, Bukhalā', pp. 20,86,186; Murūj, vi, p.228; Fakhrī, 243.

9. On Lawzīnaj and zalābiya see later in this chapter, p. 164

10. Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 41; Tabīkh, p. 71.

** Syria was famous for its abundant growth of olive and the exportation of olive oil to various provinces in great quantities. (cf. Muq. 180; Dimashqī, 193; also Ashtor, JAH, 1970, p.4; AECS, 1968, 1023). Olive oil was, therefore, widely used in the diet of the Syrians and according to Māqdīsī, the native Christians prepared a special dish of 'oil-meat' during their fast. (Muq. 183-4; Ashtor, op.cit).

Sweetening Ingredients :---

Among the sweetening ingredients, used at this time, sugar (sukkar), honey ('asal, shahd), treacle (dibs), syrup (julāb) were prominent.¹ Sugar, originally a product of India, reached Persia shortly before the Muslim conquest; thence it was exported to the entire Mediterranean world.² It was mostly used by the moneyed people to sweeten their food. Its use among the less affluent, though not frequent, was not rare.³ As honey --- the universal sweetening agent --- was generally less expensive, the poor used it in place of sugar. A treacle of grapes, carobs and other fruits called dibs was in particular very popular in the poor households.⁴ Arrājān (in Fārs) was famous for a kind of dibs made from raisins.⁵

Sugar-cane was the chief product of Makrān and it was from here that special white sugar, known to the Arabs as al-Fānīdh (from the Persian Pānīd), was brought.⁶ From the revenue lists of the Abbasids, quoted by Jahshiyārī, it is known that Sijistān, a place also noted for white sugar, sent 20,000 ratls of fānīdh sugar every year, as part of their kharāj, to the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd.⁷ Kuhistān, in

1. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', pp. 26, 110, 272; Tabīkh, p. 9.

2. N. Dear, The History of Sugar, London, 1949, i, pp. 68ff, 74ff. --- quoted by M. Rodinson, in EI², s.v. Ghidhā'; cf. also EI¹, s.v. Sukkar (J. Ruska); also JDSHO, vii (1964) pp. 57-72.

3. EI², s.v. Ghidhā' (M. Rodinson).

4. Ibid. cf. also E. Ashtor, in ABSC, 1968, p. 1024.

5. Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, p. 294.

6. Ibid., p. 239; cf. also Latā'if, p. 237, who mentions Maskān as fānīdh producing land, which in fact adjoined Makrān (i.e., modern Baluchistan). Cf. Yāqūt, Buldān, v, p. 42; see also the Eng. Tr. of the Latā'if, by C. E. Bosworth, 146, n. 178.

7. Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', p. 283.

the district of Jundishāpūr, was also reputed as a sugar-cane growing land which possessed a flourishing sugar industry.¹ Sugar-cane grew in almost all parts of this country, and Maqdisī states that in the 4th/10th century, Khūzistān alone supplied sugar to Persia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia.² The district of Sūs in Khūzistān was particularly noted for its refined quality of sugar.³ In Mesopotamia, the neighbourhood of Basra was also famous for its sugar industry.⁴ In Syria in the 10th century, sugar-cane was grown on the coast of the Mediterranean and in Palestine.⁵ The table sugar, brought from the Yemen, was packed through a special process. It was dried in the sun, stuffed in osier-rods and then kept for a few days in a cold storage until it hardened. The openings of the rods were sealed with gypsum. At the time of its use the rods were broken and the sugar was cut with a knife on a dish or on a loaf of bread. This sugar was mainly exported to Mesopotamia and Mecca.⁶

Sugar-cane and sugar of Ahwāz were also proverbial.⁷ It was Ahwāz which supplied Iraq with most of its sugar and sent to the caliphs 50,000 ratls per annum in addition to the land tax (kharāj).⁸ A physician living in the 10th

1. Muq. p. 408.

2. Ibid, p. 461; cf. also Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, 246.

3. Baghdādī, Bukhalā', p. 104

4. Mez, p. 435; cf. also, E. Ashtor, in JAH, iv(1970), p. 5

5. E. Ashtor, JAH, 1970, p. 5 --quoting from Muq. pp. 162, 180.

6. Mez, p. 435 --quoting from Hamadānī, ed. D.H. Muller, p. 198.

7. Latā'if, pp. 174, 183, 237; Thimār, p. 536

8. Ibid, Latā'if, p. 174; Thimār, p. 537 where, 30,000 ratls have been mentioned. cf. also Ibn al-Faqīh, pp. 253-55; Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', p. 282 ; Tijāra (attributed to Jāhiz), p. 41.

century, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Tamīmī noted that the white sugar was in great demand in Iraq. It was called "al-qand" in Iraq and "al-Ahwāzī" in Syria.¹

People chewed sugar-cane for its sweet juice and used the remnants as fuel.² The best kind of sugar was the transparent one called Tabarzad.³ Sometimes dates (tamr) could also be used for sweetening purposes.⁴

Honey which was brought from Armenia was regarded as one of the best.⁵ Nevertheless, the honey of Isfahān remained unequalled⁶, and according to Ibn Rusta, the caliphal court consumed no other honey but the pure white honey of Isfahān.⁷ Together with the kharāj, 20,000 ratls of honey and 20,000 ratls of wax used to be taken from Isfahan each year to the seat of the central government.⁸ Similarly, in the days of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, Hamadhān, Mosul and Takrit sent separately 20,000 ratls of Arwand and white honey every year as part of their kharāj, to Baghdad.⁹ In the same period, Babr and Taylasan paid part of their kharāj in the form of 30 ziq (containers) of honey.¹⁰

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1. Kitāb al-Murshid ilā jawāhir al-aghdhiya, Paris, MS. No. 2870, fol. 10b---cited by E. Ashtor, in AESC, 1968, p.1023, note, 11.
 2. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 23
 3. Murūj, vi, 227; Azdī, Hikāyat, 41; Tajārib, iii, 194; Bayhaqī, Mahāsin, pp. 594, 605; cf. also Lane, s.v. Tabarzad.
 4. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 361.
 5. Khālidīyyān, Tuhaf, p. 119; cf. also, Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, p. 93.
 6. Latā'if, pp. 181, 237
 7. A'lāq, p. 157
 8. Latā'if, p. 182; Thimār, p. 538; Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', p. 285.
 9. Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', p. 285
 10. S.A.El-Ali, "A new version of Ibn al-Muṭarrif's list of revenues in the early times of Hārūn al-Rashīd" in JESHO 1971, p. 309.

Food common to the rich and poor.

As for the dishes popular among the poor and the wealthy alike we can mention the following :--

1. Harīsa :--

It was, and still is, one of the popular meals with the masses of Baghdad.¹ It was prepared in two ways not very different from one another with respect to the material used. In its preparation six ratls of fat meat were taken and cut into long strips and then thrown into a saucepan covered with water. When it had been boiled for a considerable period of time it was taken out, stripped from the bones, shred and put back into the saucepan. Then four ratls of washed, cleaned and ground wheat were added. The pot was kept on a steady fire for a quarter of a night in the course of which it was constantly stirred. It was then left to simmer on a higher blaze. A quartered chicken was added along with cinnamon bark and left till midnight, when it was stirred well until it set into a smooth paste. Hot water was used if needed and left until dawn when it was stirred again and removed. Before serving melted fresh tail was poured on it and cumin and cinnamon, ground separately, were sprinkled. It was served with old murri (brine) and fresh lemon juice. It was better when made in an oven than over an open fire.²

Harīsa was dear to the young and old alike. Guests were entertained with the dish of harīsa. It is reported that a man (in 351/962) went for breakfast to the house of moderately

1. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', index; Nishwār, i, pp. 55, 173; viii, 40; Shābushti, Diẓarāt, p. 123

2. Tabīkh, p. 52; Shayzarī, Nihāya, p. 36; Ibn Jazla, Minhād al-Bayān, Br. Mus. Ms. 5934, fol. 217; Murūj, viii, 402-403.

well-to-do friend. The meal consisted solely of an excellent dish of harīsa followed by some sweet dishes.¹ At dawn, in the city of Baghdad, the shops of harīsa were found crowded by the lovers of harīsa.² It is because of their love for harīsa that they invented several proverbs praising it. One such proverb is : ان خير البقاع ثلاثة دكان الرواس والشواء والهراس (i.e., the best places are three --- the shop of animal heads, the shop of roasted meat and the shop of harīsa).³ They even ventured to concoct a hadīth connecting it with the Prophet in which the Prophet is supposed to have said, "Gabreil fed me harīsa to enable me to withstand the difficulties of the mid-night prayer (tahajjud).⁴ The Abbasids gave it the agreeable names of 'Shahīda' and 'Hadiya'. This shows their love for this food-stuff.⁵ In Baghdad, the first wedding dish, according to the local custom was invariably the harīsa.⁶ In this connection it is interesting to note that they picked up quarrels with those who did not like harīsa. We are told that in a debate Ibn Muqla, the wazir, vanquished his opponent al-Yazīdī who preferred Judhāba to harīsa.⁷ We are also told that Abū Muhammad al-Kātib al-Dīnawarī died of his excessive consumption of harīsa.⁸

1. Ibn al-Jawzī, Muntazam, vii, p. 12

2. Tawhīdī, Imtā', iii, p. 57; Khatīb, Ta'rikh, xi, p. 178; Maqdisī, Ahsan al-Taqaṣīm, p. 129.

3. Baghdādī, Tatfīl, p. 53.

4. Khatīb, Ta'rikh, ii, pp. 279-80.

5. Qādī Jurjānī, Muntakhab, p. 95.

6. Mez, p. 428, n.5 -- quoting from Ibn al-Hajjāj, x, p. 70.

7. Tawhīdī, Imtā', iii, p. 57.

8. Khatīb, Ta'rikh, x, p. 170

2. 'Asīd or Judhāb :---

'Asīd was prepared in various ways, the most popular being the 'asīd al-tamr'.¹ This variety was prepared with four ratls of dried dates and ten ratls of water which were placed in a pot and boiled until cooked. The dates were then kneaded well by hand, strained through a sieve and returned to the pot adding half a ratl of crumbled pulp, a ratl of sesame-oil and a quarter of a ratl of peeled walnuts. These were then stirred until almost cooked and then placed between two thin cakes. It was sometimes garnished with almonds.² It was also known by its nickname "Umm al-Razīna".³

There were two varieties of 'asīd (known as Mansūriya and Barmakiya) commonly used in Baghdad. It appears that the Caliph Mansūr and the Barmakid wazirs were very much fond of it.⁴ 'Asīd might not have been a costly food as a dish, sufficient for an individual, could have been bought for one dirham only.⁵

3. Kabāb :---

It was also one of their popular as well as cheap dishes. The people's love for it is expressed by one of them who exclaimed that his eyes were appeased to see the kabāb on fire.⁶ It was prepared with thin sliced meat, with salt to taste, put on a frying pan over fire without grease. The slices

1. Tanūkhī, Nishwār, i, p. 62.

2. Baghdādī, Tabīkh, pp. 71-72.

3. Qādī Jurjānī, Müntakhab, p. 96.

4. Azdī, Hikāyat, p. 41.

5. Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, xiv, p. 395.

6. Shayzarī, Nihāyat al-Rutba, p. 30.

were turned from one side to another repeatedly till they were browned and cooked. Al-Ghazūlī, after describing the aforesaid procedure of the preparation of kabāb, adds that this was exactly the process (i.e., without the addition of spices) in which the cabob was prepared for Khālīd b. Yahyā and his sons.¹ One of the varieties of cabobs known as al-kabāb al-rashīdī, seems to have had a large demand among the people of Baghdad, but we are not sure whether the process of its preparation differed in any way from that of the Barmakids.

4. Animal Heads and Trotters :---

These were prepared in the following way. The heads and trotters were scalded with hot water and then washed with cold water. After cleaning them thoroughly they were cut into middling pieces, boiled and cooked. These were served with ground salt and sumach.³

From Jāhiz's Bukhalā it appears that people were particularly inclined to buy heads and trotters on Saturday, the reason being that in Islamic society, animals are slaughtered mostly on Fridays. On Saturday, the heads and trotters of the animals were thus in abundant supply and their prices were consequently reduced.⁴

1. Maṭāli, ii, p. 55

2. Azdī, Hikāyāt, pp. 39-40

3. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, Ma'ālīm al-Qurba, p. 105.

4. Jāhiz, Bukhalā p. 99; cf. also, Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, iii, p. 200.

Food of the Poor:---

The food of the poor was, as a matter of fact, simple and inexpensive. Considerations of price in fact restricted their food both in respect of quality and quantity. The dinner of the poor consisted generally of one course. It consisted of cheap varieties of meat, bread, treacle, saffron, pickle, olive, vinegar etc.¹ Fish, rice-bread as well as some fruits were cheap and therefore also accessible to the poor.² Even locusts were eaten by them especially in times of hardship. In 331/942, when locusts swarmed, the poor ate them as "one of the bounties of God".³ Tanūkhī tells us about a man in Baghdad who bought a few ratls of locust from a locust seller and ate them all alone.⁴

Sweet dishes (halwa) generally taken after principal meals were unknown to the poor. They, however, used to take dates and oil cakes instead.⁵ Once the Caliph Muqtadir was journeying by boat. At lunch time, he was requested by the boatmen to share lunch with the crew of the boat. Having finished the meal, the Caliph asked them for halwa (sweet dish). The boatmen apologized saying that they were not habituated to sweet dishes and therefore offered only dates and oil-cakes, to which they were accustomed.⁶

Apart from rice-bread, fish and the like, the poor people also took sawīq as a popular type of food.⁷ It was

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1. Ibn al-Jawzī, Humaqā, p.129; Nishwār, i, p.62; Muntazam, vii, p. 162. ; cf. also, E.Ashtor, in JAH, 1970, pp. 9-10
 2. Khawārizmī, Mafātīh al-'Ulūm, p. 101; Azdī, Hikāyāt, p.39. Yāqūt, Buldān, s.v. Basra,; Manāqib Baghdād (attributed to Ibn al- Jawzī), p. 37.
 3. Sūlī, Adab al-Kuttāb, ed. B. Atharī, Cairo, 1341, p. 237.
 4. Nishwār, ii, pp. 86, 198.
 5. Ibid, ii, in RAAD, 17(1942), pp. 151-52.
 6. Ibid, ii, pp.152-53.
 7. Murūj, vi, pp.312-13; Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p.164; ET,² s.v.

a kind of dried parched barley-meal mixed with water, butter or fat from the tails of sheep. Being in the nature of gruel or thick ptisan, it was not eaten rather supped or sipped.¹ Sawīq made of chick-peas (himmas) was the popular food of the common people of Baghdad during the early Abbasid period. In 360/971 a seller of sawīq is reported to have been grinding 360 kurrs (one kurr = 500 ratls) of chick-peas yearly and selling all of it during the two or three months when fruits were not available.²

The peasants who were among the poorest in the society took very simple meals. It is reported that on a hunting expedition, the Caliph Maḥdī lost his way and was separated from his companions; he came to the hut of a Nabatī peasant to ask for some food. The peasant offered the Caliph some barley bread and a dish of small fish. Maḥdī enquired whether he had some olive and some cress. The peasant answered : "yes, and some dates too".³ This meal was probably the best that a peasant could offer to his guest.

The beduins led a hard life and ate almost anything that was obtainable. A townsman asked a tribesman : "what do you eat and what do you abstain from?". The beduin replied "we eat all that runs except the reptiles".⁴

The staple food of the tribesmen were bread, dates, milk and its products. Sometimes they took locusts and vegetables. Waft (a mixture of dates and milk) and hais (a preparation of dates with butter and curdled milk) were some

1. Lane, s.v. Sawīq; cf. also EI², s.v. Ghidhā' (M. Rodinson).

2. Manāqib Baghdad (attributed to Ibn al-Jawzī), p. 37; cf. also EI², s.v. Ghidhā' (M. Rodinson).

3. Murūj, vi, 227-28; Fakhrī, 243; Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', 146.

4. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 203; Iqd, iii, p. 485; cf. also Dūrī, Mesopotamia, p. 303.

of their more exotic dishes.¹

Included among the poor were the ascetics and the sūfīs. Their ability to put up with hunger and contentment with sparse food was proverbial. To be able to go over long stretches of time without food was an inevitable qualification for them. The extremists among the sūfīs refrained even from eating bread and contented themselves with fatīt, i.e., bread soup.² It is said of Bishr al-Hāfī (d.227/841), a renowned ascetic, that he did not taste grilled meat for forty years.³ Ibn al-Jawzī tells us that among the sūfīs there was a group which did not eat meat and believed that even a piece of meat equivalent to a dirham made the heart hard and insensitive.⁴ It is reported that one of the extremists of the sufis, Sahl b. 'Abdallāh used to buy treacle of one dirham, ghee of two and flour of one, mix them up and make 360 pills out of it. This was his food for the whole year, one pill being sufficient for a day.⁵

We may note that with a reduction in the hardships, the food habits of the poor man underwent a considerable change. For example, when Ibn al-Qazwīnī, the ascetic, received a gift of two hundred dinars from the Caliph Qahir (381/991) he changed his usual dishes containing egg-plant, vinegar, beans and treacle into zabādī (a kind of tender plant with wide leaves), fowls, fine bread and chicken roast.⁶

1. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', pp. 163, 205, 211; Cf. also EL² s.v. Ghidhā'; see also Dūrī, Mesopotamia, p. 304.

2. Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs, pp. 223-24.

3. Ibid, Sifat al-Safwa, ii, p. 58

4. Ibid, Talbīs, pp. 223-24.

5. Ibid, p. 220.

6. Ibid, Muntazam, vii, p. 162.

Sweet Dishes :---

The people of the Abbasid society were addicted to the use of sweet dishes especially after their principal meals. We are not sure of the authenticity of the report but it was and still is current among the Muslims that "a sweet dish after the principal meal is sunna". This practice was not confined only to the affluent houses. Even people of lesser means who could not afford to prepare such dishes contented themselves with some sort of sweet like candy, molasses, treacle, oil cake or dates.¹

Sweet dishes taken at the table of the well-to-do people were of a large variety and in the language of Shayzarī "these were innumerable".² Of the 'innumerable' the following dishes were commonly used.

1) Fālūdḥaj :--

Originally a Persian dish, fālūdḥaj made its appearance into Arabia in the pre-Islamic period. 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'ān, is reported to have introduced this sweet dish into Mecca to cater for the needs of the pilgrims.³ It was prepared with ground almonds, sugar, rose water and other ingredients.⁴

The importance of this dish can be seen from the fact that the host, who presented fālūdḥaj to the guests, was regarded as a 'man of refined taste and culture'.⁵ That is

1. Nishwār, ii, in RAAD, xvii(1942), p.151; Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, vii, p. 215; xiv, p.395; Warrāq, fol. 31b; Shayzarī, Nihāyat al-Rutba, p. 40.

2. Nihāyat, p. 40

3. Ibn Hawqal, Sūrat al-Ard (1938 ed) p.28; cf. also BE², s.v. Ghidḥā', (M. Rodinson) who quotes from Alūsī, Bulūḡ², i, 381.

4. Warrāq, fol, 13a; see also Baghdādī, Tabīkh, p. 80 where the composition of this pastry is fully described.

5. Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, v, p. 147.

why it was also given the name of " أبو مضا " the father of sagacity.¹ Extolling a dish of fālūdḥaj one humorist remarked: "had Moses come to Pharaoh with fālūdḥaj, he would have accepted Moses's mission, but (alas!) he came to Pharaoh with the Stick".²

2) Lawzīnaj :--

Lawzīnaj (lit. "confection of almonds") was made of brayed almonds, bread crumbs, syrup of rose water and sugar and sesame oil.³ Because of its rich ingredients and delicious taste this confection was called "the Chief Justice of the sweets" (قاضي قضاة الحلوات).⁴ Ḥamadānī describes lawzīnaj as "the easiest to swallow and the quickest to penetrate through the veins".⁵ Lawzenj made overnight was considered to be better in taste than that produced on the same day.⁶

3) Zalābiya :--

It was a tart filled with almonds and sugar and flavoured with rose water, musk or camphor. It was baked in moulds of various shapes.⁷ Azdī has mentioned a kind of zalābiya known as Qāhiriyya (probably after the Caliph Qāhir) which

1. Qādī Jurjānī, Muntakhab, p. 95 . .

2. Ibn al-Jawzī, Ẓirāf, p. 40; cf. also Muhāḍarāt, ii, p.619.

3. Baghdādī, Tabīkh, p. 80; Ḥamadānī, Maqāmāt, p.68; cf. also Murūj, viii, p. 240

4. Muhāḍarāt, ii, p. 619

5. Maqāmāt, p. 66

6. Ibid, p. 66

7. Azdī, Hikāyāt, note given by Moz, p. 144f. cf. also Levy's Glossary in Ibn al-Ukhuwwa's Maʿālin al-Qurba, s.v. ; also Shayzarī, Nihāya, p. 40.

was soaked in almond oil.¹

4) Sābūniyya :--

Sābūniyya (from sābūn, soap) was prepared with dissolved sugar and ground almonds. When thoroughly cooked it was ladled out into a plate, stretched flat and sprinkled with fine ground scented sugar.² Because it was moulded into shapes of soap, it was known as sābūniyya.³

5) Khabīs :--

Khabīs was a kind of jelly⁴ which had several varieties such as (i) khabīs al-qar', (ii) khabīs al-zujar, (iii) khabīs al-lawz etc. These khabīs were prepared with a quarter of a ratl of sesame oil boiled in a tinned copper dish over which half a ratl of crumbled pith of white loaf was sprinkled, little by little, stirring over a low fire. Pure ground and sifted sugar was added and stirred leaving it moist. It was then dished out and sugar was sprinkled on it. Some people used fresh milk instead of sesame oil.⁵

1. Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 41

2. Baghdādī, Tabīkh, p. 80; Nihāya, p. 40; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, Ma'alim al-Qurba, p. 113.

3. Nihāya, p. 40; cf. also Badrī, Āmma, p. 129.

4. Dozy, Suppl. s.v. khabīs.

5. Baghdādī, Tabīkh, p. 74; Shayzarī, Nihāya, p. 40.

Fruits :---

Fruits were taken at the table either before or after the meal.¹ Dates being of numerous varieties and having very low prices were often consumed by the common people who bought great quantities of them.² Among the fruits taken at the table of the rich, apples, grapes, pomegranates, melons, oranges, citrons, peaches and bananas were the prominent ones.

Iraq and Syria produced many and excellent kinds of fruits. The horticulture of Syria was highly specialized, and was renowned for its sweet apples, pomegranates, plums, figs, sycamores and apricots.³ The Abbasid caliphs received a great quantity of these fruits from Syria as part of the kharāj.⁴ Upper Mesopotamia had plenty of pomegranates, almonds, sumach and other fruits which were also exported to other regions.⁵ In spite of that Iraq imported fruits in great quantities from Syria which were of better quality and perhaps more competitive in prices.⁶ Syrian fruits were also exported to Egypt.⁷

Apples were widely consumed and those brought from Syria were considered to be of the most superior quality during this period.⁸ "Syrian apples" therefore became proverbial.⁹ Syria sent 30,000 apples to Baghdad as part

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1. Sābī, Wuzarā', p.261; Warrāq, fol. 37b; Murūj, viii, p.270; Ibn Hawqal, p. 206; Muntazam, v, pt.2, p. 126.
 2. Cf. for example, Jāhiz, Bukhlā', Index, s.vv. tamr, rutab. The sukkar variety of dates was often served at the dining table of the well-to-do people. (cf. Bukhlā', pp.108, 122; Murūj, vi, p. 363).
 3. Muq. pp. 172, 174, 176, 180, 181; Ibn Hawqal, p.172; cf. also E. Ashtor, "The diet of salaried classes", JAH, 1970, p.6.
 4. Thimār, pp.531-32; Lata'if, p.156.
 5. Ibn Hawqal, 220, 227; Muq. 136, 145; E. Ashtor, op.cit, p.6.
 6. Muq. pp. 180-81; E. Ashtor, op.cit, p.6.
 7. Suyūti, Husn al-Muhādara, ii, p.229, cited by Mez, p. 334.
 8. Murūj, viii, 270; Lata'if, 156, 237; Nishwar, ii, in RAAD, xiii, 50-52.
 9. Thimār, p.531; cf. also, H. Zayyāt, "The apples of Damascus", Mashriq, 35(1937), pp.29-32.

of their kharāj.¹

Grapes held a prominent place among fruits. These were of different varieties and were named mostly after the particular localities of origin such as Ukbara, Dayr al-Ākūl, Na'lathāya, Sarūj, Hulwān etc.² Grapes were also known by their 'nick-names' e.g., 'cow-eyes', 'sugar', 'tiny flasks' etc.³ According to Ibn Hawqal Isfahān, in the middle of the 4th/10th century, was noted for its abundant production of grapes which were very cheap.⁴ A new variety of grapes called "rāziqita" was introduced by the Arabs from Tā'if.⁵

Citrons (utruj) and oranges (nāranj) were used during this period, only in the higher circles, as they were rare fruits in Baghdad in the 9th century.⁶ The orange and lemon trees, according to Mas'ūdī, appeared in Mesopotamia only in the tenth century. They were brought there sometime after 300/912, from India to Oman, and thence imported to Basra and Syria.⁷ Basra, in the 10th century, became famous for its good oranges and citrons.⁸ Jāhiz mentions that citrons in the ninth century were imported from Sūs to Baghdad.⁹

1. Thimār, pp. 531-32.

2. Maq. pp. 122, 123, 125; Ibn Hawqal, p. 230.

3. Mez, p. 432; Sāmarrā'ī, Agriculture in Iraq, p. 138

4. Ibn Hawqal, p. 261.

5. Khawārizmī, Rasā'il, p. 49 -- cited by Mez, p. 432. See, for some verses praising "Rāziqi" grapes, Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 43.

6. Diyārāt, p. 152; Nishwār, i, p. 146; Sāmarrā'ī, op.cit., 140.

7. Murūj, ii, p. 438f; cf. also, Mez, p. 432. E. Ashtor observes that since citrons were grown in Egypt in the 9th century, Mas'ūdī had only certain kinds in mind which were introduced in the 10th century A.D. (cf. JAH, 1970, 7).

8. Maq. p. 145; Latā'if, p. 238; cf. also Nuwayrī, i, p. 37.

9. Jāhiz (?) Tijāra, p. 42; see also Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 44.

Citrons of Tabaristan are particularly noted by Tha'ālibī for good taste.¹

The pomegranates of Sinjar were highly prized in Iraq.² During the early Abbasid period Qumis and Tabaristan were noted for their abundant growth of pomegranates. In the days of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the former yielded 40,000 and the latter 100,000 pomegranates as parts of their kharāj.³ Peaches were mostly cultivated in Basra⁴, whereas Rahba, Syria and Sinjar were famous for their olives.⁵ An excellent kind of quince was produced too in Rahba.⁶ The figs of Hulwān were much appreciated.⁷ From the revenue lists of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd it is known that Fārs sent 150,000 quinces and Tabaristan 1,000 rats of peaches to Baghdad in partial fulfilment of their kharāj.⁸

Melons were the favourite fruit in Baghdad, so much so that the fruit market was known as the "melon house".⁹ The melons of Khwarazm were proverbial for their sweet taste

1. Latā'if, pp. 186, 238.

2. Ibn Hawqal, pp. 220-21. According to Tha'ālibī (Latā'if, p. 237) Ray was also famous for their pomegranates.

3. Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', p. 284.

4. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', pp. 114-15.

5. Maq. p. 141; Ibn Hawqal, pp. 220-21.

6. Maq. p. 145. The quinces of Nishapur were also highly prized (cf. Latā'if, p. 238).

7. Ibid, p. 123; Latā'if, p. 237; Jāhiz(?) Tijārā, p. 42; cf. also Nuwayrī, i, p. 371.

8. Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', pp. 282, 284.

9. Jāhiz, Dalā'il, p. 23; Eclipse, iii, p. 51; Nishwār, ii, in RAAD, 13(1933-35), p. 179; cf. also, Mez, p. 433. For an interesting article on the "melon house" of Baghdad and Damascus, see, H. Zayyāt, Mashriq, 27(1929), pp. 761-54. On the cultivation of melons see also, Sāmarrā'ī, op.cit, p. 140

and fragrance. The sweetest and nicest tasting variety of melon was called bāranj.¹ The Caliph Ma'mūn had them brought from Khwārazm by post.² Melons were imported to Baghdad either cut and dried or packed in leaden ice-chest.³ On safe arrival a piece of melon kept in ice-box was sold at 700 dirhams.⁴

The people of sophisticated taste in Baghdad were very fastidious in their choice of fruits to be ceremonial at the meals. They took only delicacies such as Indian olives, pistachios, sugar-cane washed with rose water, quince from Balkh and apples from Syria. Pomegranates, figs, water melons, being cheap were left to the common folk. Fruits having stones (e.g., olive, dates, apricots, peaches etc) were also disliked by these zurafā'. Dried, unripe and cleft fruits were also looked down upon and rejected.⁵

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1. Latā'if, p. 226. see also the note on bāranj given by C.E. Bosworth, p.142, n.157.
 2. Ibid, pp. 226, 238. Another variety of melon called "Ramashī" was highly prized by the Baghdadis. (cf. Azdī, Hikāyat, p. 43; cf. also Aghānī¹, viii, p. 10).
 3. Mez, p. 433. Ibn Hawqal remarks that, to his knowledge, Marv was the only country wherefrom dried melons were exported in huge quantities to various lands. (cf. p.316).
 4. Latā'if, p. 226.
 5. Muwashshā, p. 194; cf. also Mez, pp. 395-96.

Drinks :---

As has been mentioned in the section on "Table Manners", no alcoholic drink was taken at the table. In Baghdad generally Tigris water was taken after the meal.¹ There were, however, some special drinks taken after the meal but no alcoholic drink was included in there. These drinks were known simply as "nabīdh" with the addition of its principal ingredient's name e.g., al-nabīdh al-ʿanabī (i.e., nabīdh of grapes), al-nabīdh al-zabībī, tamarī, ʿasalī, dūshābī etc., (i.e., nabīdh of raisins, dates, honey, dūshāb etc).² The special after-meal drink recommended for health was called fugqā.³ It was made from white sugar, honey or treacle mixed with rose water and musk and was cooled with ice.⁴

In the convivial parties, generally held in the houses of the rich people; various types of drinks were taken. Those who did not take wine because of piety or other reasons, took sherbet and fruit juice.⁵ Nabīdh was widely taken during this period by people from all walks of life. There

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1. Khatīb, Taʿrīkh, iii, p. 183; Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, p. 66; Bayhaqī, Mahāsīn, p. 321-22; There are however reports to the effect that the people joined a drinking party after having a meal; but that was not done in the dining room itself, rather it was organised in some other apartments of the house. (see, for example, Irshād, v, p. 260). For a general discussion on drinks and matters related to them see also the German translation of the Ihyāʾ of Ghazālī, by H. Kindermann, Bk. ii.
 2. Muwashshā, p. 196; Murūj, viii, p. 243; Majūsī, Kamāl al-Sanāʿa, i, pp. 203-206; ii, pp. 14-17; cf. also Badrī, ʿAmma, p. 133.
 3. ʿUyūn, iii, p. 280; Warrāq, fol. 9a; Ghazālī, Maṭālīʾ, ii, 68. Ibn Qutayba notes that fugqā was to be taken before a meal. (cf. ʿUyūn, iii, p. 298). For the sellers of fugqā in the markets of Samarra, see Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, p. 261.
 4. Ibid, Maṭālīʾ, ii, p. 88.
 5. Irshād, v, pp. 260-61; cf. also, Mez, p. 398.

was a fierce controversy among the scholars and fukahā as to whether or not nabīdh belonged to the category of wine.¹ The common people and those who belonged to lower social groups were addicted to a particular type of drink known as "dūshāb al-mahsūrī".² The culinary manuals (e.g., Warrāq's Tabīkh) give various recipes for preparing drinks from fruits, milk, sugar, honey and even some vegetables like gourd, carrots etc.³

The people of sophisticated taste in this period took only those drinks which were not blackish in colour, and were not stale or turbid and were not popular among the common folk.⁴ Therefore, they favoured drinks made of apricot juice, raisins, honey, (ingredients) cooked (matbūkh) together (probably kinds of wine) and with proportionate ingredients. (mu'addal).⁵

Fruit juice was sold in the market sealed in bottles with a label mentioning the name of the fruit and the name of the producer.⁶ Baghdad imported most of its fruit drinks from Isfahan.⁷

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1. 'Iqd, vi, pp. 352-78; Qutub al-Surūr, p. 444ff; Charles Pellat, The life and works of Jāhiz, pp. 52-55.
 2. Muwashshā, p. 196.
 3. Warrāq, fol. 9a; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, Ma'ālim al-Qurba, p. 115ff; Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, pp. 60-61.
 4. Muwashshā, p. 196; cf. also M. Ghazi, Un groupe social : "les raffinés" (Zurafā'). SI, xi(1959), p. 61.
 5. Ibid, p. 196; M. Ghazi, op.cit, SI, 1959, p. 61.
 6. Irshād, v, p. 260.
 7. Jāhiz (?) Tabassur, p. 39.

Nuql :---

Nuql (or "nogalmata", served as an introduction) was as important as other items of food at the table. It was some sort of dessert consisting of dried fruits like nuts, almonds, dried figs etc., taken as an accompaniment with drink and also taken after the meal as ta'allul (savoury).¹ The things used for nuql, at this period, are known from an anecdote connected with the Caliph Wāthiq. On one occasion the Caliph asked his courtiers as to what was the best of the nuql. The reply was varied. Some said vegetables (nabāt), some suggested pomegranates, some sugar soaked in rose-water while some others recommended salt and biscuits. A young boy who happened to be there suggested khushknānaj (a kind of cake) as the best nuql. The Caliph appreciated the boy's answer and rewarded him.²

The men of refined taste were very careful in choosing things as nuql. They mixed their nuql with a bit of mint for fragrance and did not take too much at a time. They avoided eating chicory, ukshūsh (a kind of herb), radish, cress, leeks, onion, qaddāh (a kind of herb) and melilot as nuql because some of these have the property of inducing cold and cough etc., others emit bad odour and some colour the teeth and gum.³ They however, favoured salted hazelnuts, peeled pistachios, scented salt, edible earth of Khurasan and other costly delicacies.⁴ Beans, acorns, chestnuts, roasted sesame seeds, unripe dates etc., were not regarded upto their standard and therefore left to the masses and less sophisticated ones.⁵

1. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', Index, s.v. nuql; Hamadōnī, Maqāmāt, 132, 216; Muwashshā, 193-94; 196-97; Azdī, Hikāyat, 48-49; Latā'if, 192.

2. Murūj, vii, 170-171; Qutub al-Surūr, 290-91.

3. Muwashshā, p. 193.

4. Ibid, pp. 196-97; Azdī, Hikāyat, p. 48; Latā'if, p. 192.

5. Ibid, Muwashshā, p. 198; Hikāyat, 48-49; cf. also, Nez, 397.

Timing for Meals :---

The usual meals in ordinary life were two --- a mid^{day} meal or luncheon (ghadā') and an evening meal or supper ('ashā'), which was the more important.¹ Breakfast does not seem to have been a formal repast.

The mid^{day} meal or luncheon was at noon probably around 12 O'clock. There would be a good margin between the luncheon and the zuhr or jum'a prayer. A man is reported to have been in the habit of taking his Friday luncheon in a garden, after which he had a siesta and bath. In spite of this he was never late in reaching the mosque for the Jum'a prayer usually held between 1 and 2 p.m.²

Supper was taken after the Maghrib prayer. Having finished their supper, people went perhaps to the mosque for 'Ishā' or late night prayer after which they went to bed except those who were accustomed to singing and drinking and therefore went to the convivial parties instead.³

The Caliph Ma'mūn reportedly took only three meals in two days --- one at late noon; second the following morning and the third in the evening of the next day.⁴ There are reports suggesting that some people took only one meal in 24 hours.⁵ According to Washshā', people of refined taste took not more than one meal in a day.⁶

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1. Mukhassas, i, chap. iv, 122; The morning meal taken for medical reasons was called sulfa (ibid, i, chap. iv, 121).
 2. Early drinking of wine in the morning is reported as a regular habit of the pleasure-loving people -- hence the term sabūh (cf. Qutub al-Surūr, 25, 38, 61, 66, 71, 200, 205, 213, 429. Diyyārāt, Index, s.v. Sabūh).
 2. Jāhiz, Bukhlā', pp. 19-20.
 3. See² for various stories on drinking parties Aghānī 'e.s., xii², p. 70) cf. also H. Zayyāt, in Nashriq, 43 (1949), pp. 503-511.
 4. Warraq, fol. 16.
 5. Nishwār, i, p. 271.
 6. Muwashshā', pp. 192-93.

Preservation and Conservation :---

The Abbasids inherited the art of food preservation from the ancient east and the classical civilizations. The drying process was more widely used and less expensive.¹ Even the Arabs of the remote past were fond of dried meat called gadīd.² In the adab literature where the food habits of the Arabs are described, interesting anecdotes regarding the gadīd are also presented. The common people of the time used this method extensively. Like meat, fish was also dried in the sun and used throughout the year.³

In one process of food preservation, antiseptic agents especially salt and vinegar were used. The meat thus preserved was known as namaksūd⁴ ---- a Persian compound word indicative of the Persian origin of the method. While making namaksūd, the meat was cut into slices, seasoned with salt and left in the sun on a plank to dry.⁵ When required, the slices were moistened with water and cooked. The salting process seems to have been the most common practice as the manuals of hisba often enjoin the muhtasib to make sure, for example, that no unsold fish was left unsalted.⁶

The culinary manuals (e.g., Wuṣṣā) contain some chapters or recipes for preservation of food which are so elaborate and costly that common people could never even think of using

1. EI², s.v. Ghīdhā' (M. Rodinson).

2. Jāhīz, Bukhālā', p. 28; Muḥāḍarāt, ii, p. 627; cf. also, EI², s.v. Ghīdhā'.

3. EI², s.v. Ghīdhā'; cf. also, Ibn Hawqal, p. 248.

4. Jāhīz, Ḥayawān, i, p. 299; Azdī, Ta'rīkh al-Nawāsil, p. 240; In Shayzarī's Nihāyat al-Rutba (p. 33) the word is read as Maksūd.

5. Ḥusnī, Jam' al-Jawāhir fī'l-mulūh wa'l-nawādir, p. 239; cf. also, H. Zayyāt, in Nashriq, 1969, p. 536.

6. EI², s.v. Ghīdhā'; cf. also, Shayzarī, op.cit, p. 33.

them. According to these recipes, vegetables, fruits, small fishes and birds ('usfūr) were preserved by means of various spices and condiments. This sausage was called naqāniq or luqāniq (cf. Aramaic, Nagnīqa)¹. In addition to impregnating with salt and vinegar, a great deal of honey (or its substitutes like sugar and treacle) lemon juice, oil, mustard, walnuts or hazelnuts roasted and crushed, various kinds of herbs and spices were used in these preparations.² Mutton, beef, goat meat etc., were made into sauces with the use of spices and a little of semolina and were eaten for several days.³ The best sauce was that which contained only mutton and not too much semolina.⁴

Fruits like figs, pistachios, nuts etc., were mainly preserved by drying them in the sun.⁵ Dried fruit in large quantity was sent, at this period, to Baghdad from Palestine and Damascus as a part of the kharāj.⁶ Fruits which could not be dried were preserved in several ways. Sometimes in order to preserve them, air-tight containers, often buried in the ground, were used.⁷ Preservation by cold storage and the use of ice also seem to have been a practice among the Abbasids. There were store-houses for fruits e.g., the water melon house of Basra where all types of fruits were available.⁸

1. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, Ma'ālim al-Qurba, pp. 94f.; 107; cf. also H. Zayyāt, Khizāna al-Sharqiyya, iv, pp. 21, 23.

2. EI², s.v. Ghidhā', (M. Rodinson).

3. Ibid.

4. Ma'ālim al-Qurba, p. 94f. 170.

5. Thimār, p. 539; EI², s.v. Ghidhā' (M. Rodinson).

6. Cf. for example, Thimār, p. 539.

7. Ibn al-'Awwām, Filāḥa, i, pp. 662f, 664f. cf. also, EI², s.v. Ghidhā' (M. Rodinson).

8. Muq. p. 425; cf. also, Mez, p. 481.

The crystallizing of fruits in honey or sugar ----- a process handed down from ancient Rome ----- might have been used by the Abbasids at this period, as various medical works of the Greeks were in vogue in Arabic translation during this period. The Muslim travellers of the 9th and 10th centuries, while describing the products of different lands, often mention the fruit preserves made with honey or sugar. Herat, for example, produced preserves made of raisins and pistachios and diverse syrup.¹ Harrān made a special preserve called gubbayt.² Balkh and its neighbourhood yielded a preserve of pomegranate kernels.³

Ice was the chief refrigerating agent and was commonly used to keep things fresh. For example, we know that melons at this time were transported from Khwārazm to Baghdad packed in ice inside lead boxes.⁴ Thalj (ice, rather snow) was brought from the mountains. It was either brought from Syria or the mountains of Hamadhān and Māsabdhān.⁵ The method of transportation of ice from the mountains over long distances to the cities and its preservation from melting in the heat of the sun, all along the way and in the storage are problems which the ancient writers have dealt with only cursorily. Nevertheless, from some scattered information we know that snow was collected, hardened by pressing and was perhaps kept in the khaysh canvas and was fully covered with saw-dust (nushāra) ----- a method still widely in vogue in the

1. Maq. p. 425; Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, p. 429.

2. Le Strange, Op.cit., p. 124.

3. Ibid, p. 430.

4. Lata'if, p. 226; Ibn al-Faqīh, p.255; cf. also, ET², s.v. Ghiāhā, (M. Rodinson).

5. Shabushtī, Divārat, p. 88.

underdeveloped countries.¹ In Jibāl and at some other places there were pits dug for storing ice.² In Baghdad there were several dealers in ice. They were called thallāj.³ Their method of preservation was so efficient that they could store it in large quantities for several days without any danger of its melting away. A story about a merchant in Baghdad is recorded in Tanūkhī's Nishwār and Ibn al-Jawzī's Muntazam says that he could preserve five ratls of ice in the burning heat of summer without any fall whatsoever in its weight.⁴

Ibn al-Jawzī writing about the events of the year 330/941 records that once during the month of February Baghdad had a heavy rain fall accompanied with a hailstorm. The ice dealers of the city collected the large hailstones and pressed them close together (kabashūhu).⁵ This report throws light on two points : (i) snow or hail was collected and pressed into slabs of ice, and (ii) ice was sold even in winter.

A considerable amount of money was spent on ice in the caliphal palace and in the prosperous households. Expenditure on ice formed an integral part of the annual palatial budget of the caliph.⁶ The wazīr Ibn al-Furāt was so lavish in this respect that immediately after his assumption of office of wizārat, the price registered an increase.⁷ It is reported that in the year 304/915 he entertained all the visitors who came to congratulate him on his appointment as wazīr and that at this entertainment 4,000 ratls of ice were consumed.⁸ Apart

1. Muntazam, vi, p. 335

2. Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, p. 211

3. Nishwār, i, p.63; Ibn al-Jawzī, Humagā, p.75; cf. also

R. Kabbala, Mu'jam al-mu'allifin, index, s.v.

4. Nishwar, i, pp.63-64; Muntazam, vi, pp. 118-19

5. Muntazam, vi, p.335

6. See, for example, Sābī, Rusūm, p.24; Dhakḥā'in, p.219

7. Fakhri, p.312; cf. also, Bowen, Life & Times of Ali, p.154

8. Sābī, Wuzarā, p.73; Arīb, p.61; cf. also, Nez, p.402.

from the extravagant rich, ice was commonly used in the household for cooling various drinks.¹

But ice was by no means the only thing wherewith the Abbasids preserved different things. For instance, they kept vegetables fresh by means of using earthenware. We are told that Jamīla bint Nāṣir al-Dawla, in her famous pilgrimage journey in the year 366/976-7 entertained the public, among other things, with fresh green vegetables contained in earthenware crocks.² The vegetable hilyawn (asparagus) was imported from Damascus for the Caliph Mu'tasim, packed in lead containers (al-marākin al-raṣās). It took six days to reach the capital.³ The green vegetable merchants kept their vegetables green in their shops by sprinkling water and spraying salt and ground sa'tar (thyme) on them.⁴

Cooked green vegetables were preserved in vinegar or other acidic liquids.⁵ Some vegetables like egg-plants, gourd etc., were also preserved in the form of sauces and relishes (sibāgh).⁶

Cereals were mainly stored and preserved in silos (matmūra) and granaries (aghādir).⁷ Oil was stored in special huge cisterns.⁸ It is reported that in the year 351/962 when Greeks captured Aleppo, they poured water into such cisterns causing the oil to overflow.⁹

The principal method of preserving milk was its transformation in the form of cheese.¹⁰ Sometimes it was coagulated and made into curd.¹¹

1. Ibn al-Jawzī, Humagā, p. 75.

2. Lata'if, p. 82 (= Eng. Tr. By C.E. Bosworth, p. 82).

3. Sā'at, Kusna, p. 18.

4. Shayzarī, Mihāyat al-Rutba, p. 116.

5. El, s.v. Ghida' (H. Rodinson).

6. Tabikh, pp. 65-67.

7. El, s.v. Ghida'.

8. Muntazam, vii, p. 9. ; Mez, p. 434.

9. Mishk, v, p. 255; Mez, pp. 434-35; also, Muntazam, vii, p. 9.

10. El, s.v. Ghida'.

11. Tabikh, p. 25.

Food Prices :---

Prices of the commodities, as a rule, depended on their supply and stable socio-political life in the country. Some proverbial sayings current in the Abbasid society of the period like "everything is cheap when it is plentiful, expensive when it is scarce and needed" and "all goods that multiply have low prices"¹--- clearly reflect the principles of supply and demand. The problems of supply and demand have been explained by Jāhiz in the description of the Fish market of Baghdad.² The last quarter of the 8th and the first quarter of the 9th century was a period of happiness and prosperity for the people. Prices were generally low and the wages fair. But the civil war between Amīn and Ma'mūn, the recurring flood in Baghdad from the last quarter of the 9th century and the emergence of turbulent elements in the 'āmma, together with the evil effects of army interference in the political administration of the country right from the assassination of the Caliph Mutawakkil in 861, the Zanj war (869-883) which paralysed the trade and commerce in Southern Iraq and the menacing Qarmatian revolt (c. 890-931) badly affected the normal life of the people resulting in inflation, soaring prices and decrease in the purchasing power and the real income of the common people.³ In the absence of demographical statistics of Iraq, at this period, it is difficult to establish how far the population problem in Iraq was reflected in the decline of agricultural activities and consequent increase

1. Jāhiz (?) Tijāra, p. 11. ; Tha'ālibī, Khāṣṣ, p. 70

2. Jāhiz, Ḥayawān, iv, pp. 431-33.

3. See for the disorder and pillage affecting the prices, Tabarī, iii, pp. 1009-1010, 1066, 1885; Muntazam, v, pt. 2, p. 21; vii, pp. 151, 220; viii, pp. 21-22, 44, 47, 50, 54-5, 60, 72-5, 79, 87, 142, 161. etc.

in prices. Certainly the rising prices with no corresponding increase in wages, and the system of hoarding food supplies practised by the merchants or the wealthy, added to the miseries of the common people.¹

A great deal of difference between the price of the same commodity was found in the regions which produced it and those which lay at some distance from its place of production.² This difference in price was due to the ^{higher} profit, transport cost and the import duty.

In studying the price lists of the early Abbasid period, we have to consider various limitations of our source materials. Our sources, both Muslim and Dhimmi, give price quotations mainly from the years of unusual hardship such as famine, civil war etc. Some of these price data are too fragmentary, too disparate and too uncertain to have much value. Hence it is very difficult to arrive at definite conclusions for the price levels in the years of comparative affluence and stability. Moreover the data our sources present give wholesale prices only. Figures are given in kurr and qafīz and not in ratls. On the other hand the price index is chiefly concerned with the cost of food in urban areas and that too in certain important cities like Baghdad, Basra, Mosul etc. It is therefore not possible to have a clear idea of the cost of food in rural areas. Nevertheless, the quotations of odd prices of different commodities, however fragmentary they are, help us as a background to the study of the standard of living and the

1. See for example, Kāmil, viii, pp. 85-86; Tajārīb, i, pp. 54-5.

2. Jāhīz, Bukhalā', p. 21; cf. also, EI², s.v. Ghīdhā' (N. Rodinson).

amenities of life enjoyed by the various groups of the population.

E. Ashtor who has dealt with the question of cost of living, wages and prices of different essential and non-essential commodities of the Abbasid period has tried to explain the rising trends in prices from the late 9th century onward in terms of the devaluation of the currency and the introduction of gold monetary units along with the failure of the government to introduce any coherent price control system mainly because of theological oppositions. He has also hinted at the rising population and declining agricultural productivity of Iraq.¹

After this brief introduction we may now discuss the price quotations of essential and non-essential commodities mentioned in our sources relating to the late eighth and ninth century A.D.

(a) Prices at normal times :---

The period of the Caliph Mansūr has been described as the happiest era with the greatest amenities for the people. The price list found in the writings of several authors brings out a sharp contrast between the prices of the early and late Abbasid periods.² Ashtor concluding from a passage in the 'History' of Denys of Tell-Mahré notes that in the 80's of the 8th century, cereal (perhaps wheat) was sold, in Upper Mesopotamia, at 0.125 dinars per 100 kg. From Barhebraeus he also quotes a fall of price in 772 when 100 kg. was sold at 0.027 dinar --- a fact which compelled the

1. E. Ashtor, Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'orient médiéval, Paris, 1969, p. 42ff.

2. Ibid, pp. 42-43 --- Denys de Tell-Mahré, p.135, Tr. p.113; Barhebraeus, p. 115.

government to give rebates in the land tax.¹

It is to be noted that cereals, during the early Abbasid period, were weighed by a standard kurr known as kurr mu'addal which was three times the ordinary kurr. Though the capacity of the kurr varied from place to place, Prof. Hinz calculating on the basis of the available sources found that 1 kurr of wheat varied between 2700 and 2925 kg.² In ratl capacity one kurr has been calculated= 7200 ratls.³ Similarly 1 jarīb was equal to 10 qafīz ; 1 qafīz was 120 ratls, therefore 1 jarīb of cereals was 1200 ratls.⁴

The principal food of the people of Mesopotamia consisted of wheat and barley. Wheat and barley were widely cultivated all over Mesopotamia, and the kharāj of the sawād was paid mainly in wheat and barley.⁵ Mosul was the granary of Iraq, especially of Baghdad in times of need.⁶ Azdī in his Ta'rikh al-Mawsil mentions some of the normal prices in Mosul towards the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century--- a period characterised by its low cost of food. He says that in 175/791, one jarīb (= 1200 ratls) of wheat was sold at 30 dirhams and one jarīb of barley was bought for 20 dirhams only.⁷ Thus 40 ratls of wheat cost only one dirham and 60 ratls of barley were worth one dirham only. In the days of Ma'mūn, according to Qudāma, about $34\frac{2}{7}$ ratls of

1. E. Ashtor, Prix, p. 42.

2. Hinz, Islamische Masse, pp. 42-43; Cf. also Ashtor, Prix, 44.

3. Hinz, p. 43; cf. also, A.S. Ehrenkreutz, "The kurr system in medieval Iraq", JESHO, 1962, p. 311.

4. Hinz, p. 48; Ehrenkreutz, JESHO, 1962, p. 311.

5. Ibn Khurdādhbih, pp. 8-24; Qudāma, pp. 237-9.

6. Muq. p. 136.

7. Azdī, Ta'rikh al-Mawsil, p. 276.

wheat cost 1 dirham and $11\frac{3}{4}$ ratls of barley cost 1 dirham.¹ According to Azdī in 200/815, one jarīb (1200 ratls) of flour was sold at the price of 50 dirhams i.e., 24 ratls per dirham.² Mas'ūdī, recording the events of the year 198/813, notes that the quarters of Baghdad not under siege by the forces of Tāhir offered things at their normal prices as 20 ratls of bread could be purchased for one dirham only.³ In the year 207/822, it is said, that prices in Mosul became exceedingly low so much so that millers refused to grind wheat in their mills.⁴ But from the middle of the 9th century prices began to rise everywhere. In 307/919, there was a serious revolt in Baghdad against the soaring prices. The government was obliged to release its stock and regulate the price. This regulated price might be taken as representative of the late 9th century. According to this regulation the price of wheat per kurr was fifty dinars i.e., about 144 ratls at 1 dinar and about 10 ratls per dirham.⁵ In 316/928, the standard price for one kurr of wheat and one kurr of barley was 60 dinars. De Goeje, making calculations on this basis, says that the standard price of a kurr of wheat was 545 dirhams or $36\frac{3}{4}$ dinars and that of barley 355 dirhams or $23\frac{3}{4}$ dinars.⁶ Thus about $13\frac{1}{4}$ ratls of wheat and about 20 ratls of barley were sold at 1 dirham each.

1. Qudāma, p. 80

2. Azdī, op.cit, p. 340.

3. Murūj, vi, p. 465.

4. Azdī, p. 362.

5. Tajārib, i, p. 75; Muntazam, vi, p. 156; cf. also, Ashton, Prix, p. 43, also Dūrī, Mesopotamia, p. 268. At this period 1 dinar was = $14\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams. (cf. Tajārib, i, 71).

6. De Goeje, B.G.A. vi, p. 9; cf. also Dūrī, Mesopotamia, 268.

Extraordinary high prices at the time of political unrest and economic scarcity. :---

Prices at the time of civil war, political turmoil, famine, pestilence and economic scarcity are abnormal and cannot be taken as a guide to ^{the} normal price index. Such prices show 3-10 fold increase in the cost of food and reflect the miseries of the common people to a great extent. Perhaps the first exceptional rise in price was in the year 198/813 when eastern Baghdad was under siege by the troops of Tāhir. In this part of Baghdad the price of bread was twentyfold the price of trouble-free zones.¹ The beginning of the year 207/822 was a period of abundant harvest and prices fell to the lowest degree. But when, in two months' time, a severe famine struck Mosul, Basra, Kufa, Baghdad and other areas, prices soared so high that one kurr of wheat cost 3300-3900 dirhams, i.e., roughly 10,000 dirhams for three kurr.² Towards the end of the year when conditions became a bit normal, one jarīb (1200 ratls) of wheat at Mosul was sold at 120 dirhams, i.e. 10 ratls per dirham,³ almost triple the normal price.⁴ In Baghdad, at this time, one qafīz (about 120 ratls) was sold at about 40 to 50 dirhams.⁵ In 260/873 again as a result of ^{the} Zanj rebellion, the prices leaped ^{up} rapidly. In Baghdad, now the price of one kurr of wheat was 150 dinars⁶ --- about three or four times more

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1. Murūj, vi, p. 465. One ratl of bread in eastern Baghdad was 1 dirham whereas western Baghdad sold 20 ratls for 1 dirham.
 2. Azdī, Ta'rīkh al-Mawsil, p.362; Tabarī, iii, p.1066.
 3. Azdī, p. 363.
 4. Ibid, p.276.
 5. Tabarī, iii, p.1066; Kāmil, vi, p. 272; cf. also E.Ashtor, Prix., p. 43. Tabarī mentions Hārūnī qafīz for which see, Hinz, p.48.
 6. Tab.iii,1885; Muntazam, v, pt. 2,p.21; Ashtor,Prix,p.43

than the normal price. The price quotations of the 4th and 5th centuries hijra have been extensively discussed by E. Ashtor¹ and C. Cahen.²

Price of rice :---

There is very little material on rice prices. E. Ashtor has found only two evidences on the price of rice from the Abbasid period.³ Both these evidences come from the beginning of the 4th/10th century. Tanūkhī notes that in 300/912, 1 kurr of rice was sold before harvest, near Kufa, at the price of 7 dinars.⁴ A year later (i.e. in 300-1/912-13) of one kurr/rice in Baghdad, with the profit of 7 dinars, was sold at 30 dinars.⁵ These two evidences are insufficient to form any idea of the price of rice in the early Abbasid period. From other sources, however, we know that rice-bread was widely used by the common and poor people in their daily diet.⁶ From Ibn Qutayba we even hear that in Basra a poor man could live on two dirhams a month eating mainly rice-bread and small fishes.⁷ This passage of Ibn Qutayba, which is reproduced by Yāqūt,⁸ shows that rice was quite cheap, at least the inferior quality of it which the poor people could buy at exceptionally low prices. From Būzajānī (d. 997) we also know that rice was numbered with the inferior quality of cereals like barley, varieties of millet and cat and was priced at 15-20 dinars a kurr.⁹ If Būzajānī is

1. Ashtor, Prix., p.43ff.

2. Cl. Cahen, "Quelques problemes economiques et fiscaux de l'Iraq buyide d'apres un traite de mathematique", AIEO x(1952), pp. 326-363.

3. Ashtor, Prix. p.45.

4. Nishwar, viii, pp. 66-67; cf. also Ashtor, p.45.

5. Ibid, viii, p.92; Ashtor, pp. 45-46.

6. Supra, p. 135; cf. also, M. Canard, Le riz, Arabie, 1959.

7. 'Uyūn, i, p.221.

8. Yāqūt, Buldan, s.v. Basra.

9. As cited by Ehrenkreutz in JESHO, vii(1964), pp.49-50.

correct in his assessment, then we can assume that rice was normally sold at half the price of wheat and was, therefore, perhaps not beyond the purchasing power of the poor people.

Spices and other products :---

From the Kitāb al-Manāzil of al-Būzajānī, a writer of the late 10th century we can gather useful material on the valuations of various commodities and their approximate prices during the life time of the author. On the basis of the materials furnished by Būzajānī, Ehrenkreutz has tabulated an index of normal prices of agricultural produce in the 10th century Sawād.¹

According to Būzajānī different types of grain and some other agricultural and horticultural produce were categorised by fiscal authorities into four basic value classes as following : sesame, wheat, barley and jahjandum (i.e., barley mixed with wheat). The highest class from the point of view of value was sesame (simsim) which included the following spices: cumin, mustard, coriander, caraway, poppy, the seeds of lucerne (bizr al-ratba). The value of these spices was always approximately twice the value of the wheat-class being about 60-80 dinar per kurr. The species classed with wheat consisted of chick-peas, haricot beans, lentils, linseed, garden cress, fenugreek, safflower, raisin, sumach, shelled almonds, shelled hazelnuts and hemp seeds. This category constituted a middle class, the value of its species being always approximately twice that of barley,

1. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, "The tasrīf and tas'īr calculations in medieval Mesopotamian fiscal operations", JESHO, vii(1964), p. 49f.

and half the value of the sesame class, i.e., about 30-40 dinars per kurr. The species classed with barley were paddy or rice with husk (aruzz bi-qashrihī), varieties of millet such as jawārs, dhurra, dukhn etc., variety of oat called hurtumān including the kabīs dates, a type of coriander called kusbara and lentil seeds (majj) in Syria region and beans in the regions of Jabal. This was the lowest of the above three categories, estimated at half the value of the wheat and one fourth of the value of the sesame class. Thus one kurr of items listed in this category was sold at 15-20 dinars. The Jahjandum category was made up of the last two classes, thus corresponding to half a kurr of wheat and half a kurr of barley. This constituted a class by itself to which no other species were related. Its value amounted approximately to one half plus one fourth (i.e. $\frac{3}{4}$) of the value of the wheat class and to one fourth plus one eighth (i.e. $\frac{3}{8}$) of that of the sesame. Thus one kurr of this stuff cost between 15-20 dinars. This calculation of the price index is tentative and does not positively reestablish the exact prices of the species under consideration, but it may nonetheless serve, as Ehrenkreutz claims, as a useful checking guide in our studies of medieval economic source materials.¹

Meat.

If we believe the price index given by some Arab authors for the reign of Manṣūr to be substantially correct, meat would/seen

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1. Kitāb al-Manāzil of al-Būḡajānī as quoted by Ehrenkreutz in JESHO, vii(1964) pp. 49-50. See also the tabulated price index worked out by Ehrenkreutz, *ibid.*
 2. See, for example, Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, i, p. 71; Yāqūt, Buldān, i, p. 683; Manāqib Baḡhdād (attr. to Ibn al-Jawzī), 24-25

very cheap and available to the rich and poor alike. At this period one dirham could fetch one sheep, 60 ratls of mutton and 90 ratls of beef separately, whereas 4 dānaq (about $\frac{2}{3}$ of a dirham) could buy a camel.¹ This evidence of the Arab authors corroborates, to a great extent, the data furnished by Denys and Barhebraeus for the last quarter of the 8th century. According to Barhebraeus, beef (quantity unspecified) in 772 cost 1 dirham, and according to Denys of Tell-Mahre one calf or one goat in upper Mesopotamia around this period, was sold at 1 dirham each, whereas a cow could be sold at 4-5 dirhams.² Such low prices were, however, of short duration, which were maintained presumably to enable the workers engaged in the foundation of Baghdad to lead a comfortable life.³ In the middle of the third/ninth century, Jāhiz could write that a she-goat cost 7 dirhams and a calf in Baghdad cost more than 10 dirhams but in Basra a bit less.⁴ From his various stories recorded in the Kitāb al-Bukhalā', it would seem that one dirham was an insignificant amount of money for purchasing meat at that period. In one of the stories, a niggardly man in Basra is said to have been in the habit of buying meat every week worth one dirham and mixing it with other vegetables to form a dish of sikbāj.⁵ Another miser is said to have bought meat

1. Khatīb, Ta'rikh, i, p. 71; Yāqūt, Buldān. i, p. 683; Manāqib Baghdad (attr. to Ibn Jawzī), pp. 24-25.

2. Barhebraeus, p. 115; Denys, Tr. p. 113, 130; cf. also E. Ashtor, Prix, pp. 50-51.

3. Ashtor, Prix, p. 51.

4. Jāhiz, Bayān, ii, pp. 189-90; Bukhalā', p. 35.

5. Bukhalā', p. 110; for sikbāj see, above, p. 126

daily for $\frac{1}{2}$ dirham, and in times of scarcity, for 1 dirham and fed his family members in a niggardly way.¹ All these anecdotes indicate that 1 dirham which bought 60 ratls of mutton in the days of Mansūr could not buy a few ratls of it in less than half a century. In another story, Jāhiz mentions that a man became rich and managed to eat meat²-- a fact indicating that the poor could not afford it, save the cheapest quality such as beef etc.

From Aghānī we hear that in the early 4th century in Basra, sheep were fattened especially for the "Sacrifice" (udhiyya) and were sold at 10 dinars each.³ Other sheep for the consumption of daily meat, therefore, might have been cheap. A foolish man, perhaps about the middle of the 9th century, bought a goat for 11 dirhams which evoked criticism from his friends as the price was a bit dear.⁴ From the biography of a tenth century scholar we come to know that 20 cows were sold at an extraordinary price of 2-3 dirhams.⁵ This is an isolated evidence and cannot be taken as representing the normal price. Ibn Hawqal visiting Ardabil in the 2nd half of the 10th century found prices very low when he noted that about 3 ratls of meat (probably mutton) were sold at the price of 1 dirham only⁶-- a point indicative of the fact that prices in Baghdad and other places were much higher.

1. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 186.

2. Ibid, ii, p. 41 -- as quoted by E. Ashtor, Prix., p. 51, n. 6

3. Aghānī¹, iii, p. 62.

4. Bayhaqī, Mahāsin, p. 636.

5. Ta'rikh Baghdād of Khatīb, ii, p. 318; cf. also, Ashtor, Prix. p. 51.

6. Ibn Hawqal, p. 238.

As regards the prices of chicken we have only a few isolated quotations which help us to have some idea about their general prices. Kaskar, a place well-known for abundant fowls, fishes, rice and other commodities, maintained, throughout the Abbasid period, a very low price. Yāqūt writing in the 13th century notes that he found 24 big chickens sold at one dirham.¹ Similarly Wāsīt, at this period, gave 12 chickens for 1 dirham and also 24 young fowls for one dirham only.² An anecdote relating to the 9th century shows that francolins at Basra were sold at 1 dinar each.³ Chickens, therefore, might have been cheaper than this. We have another piece of evidence about chicken prices from the late 3rd/9th century. This price is rather high and a chicken in Baghdad is said to have been sold at 1 dinar each⁴--- a price, perhaps to be taken as representing the prices of abnormal times.

Fish :--

Fishes were perhaps moderately priced and were consumed by people from all walks of life. There are only a few quotations of fish prices in our sources. Jāhiz, speaking on the fish market of Baghdad, mentions that on certain days, when the Christians frequented the market, fish prices registered an increase but on other days the price remained normal and cheap.⁵ From the Mahāsin of Bayhaqī we learn an anecdote, probably related to the early 9th century, which

1. Yāqūt, Buldān, s.v. Kaskar.

2. Ibid, s.v. Wāsīt.

3. Ibn al-Jawzī, Humāqā, p. 70

4. Baghdādī, Tatfīl, p. 79.

5. Jāhiz, Ḥayawān, iv, pp. 431-32.

shows that two large fishes of unspecified species were sold at Baghdad at a price of one dinar.¹ From Jahshiyārī we hear an exceptionally high price of an extraordinarily large fish bought by a Baghdadi Christian for 30 dirhams --- a fact which led to his arrest and investigation into his wealth.² Small fishes were probably very cheap as these were normally eaten by the poor. A young/unmarried man at Basra could live, in the early 9th century, on 2 dirhams a month, feeding himself with rice-bread and small salted fish.³

Fruits :---

Information on fruit prices, especially those of dates is ample. Dates were important ^{item of the} foodstuff of the common people and were widely produced in Iraq. The fresh dates of Iraq enjoyed great celebrity.⁴ Yet Basra was the most famous region for palm-tree cultivation which produced, according to the estimate of the native author Jāhiz, three hundred varieties that had no equal anywhere else.⁵ Dates of Basra were not only exported to Iraq but to India and nearer and farther China.⁶ The people of Baghdad, at times of scarcity and famine, travelled to Basra to live on its dates.⁷ One trayfull of dates in this region, in the middle of the 9th century, could be had only for two dānaqa (one dānaqa being $\frac{1}{6}$ of a dirham).⁸ At the time of the construction of Baghdad

1. Bayhaqī, Mahāsīn, p. 587.

2. Wuzarā', p. 114. The incident is connected with the reign of the Caliph Mansūr.

3. Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn, i, p. 221; Yāqūt, Buldān, vii, p. 647.

4. Maq. p. 118; Latā'if, p. 237; Nuwayrī, i, 369-71; cf. also Ashtor, Prix, p. 52.

5. Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 253; see also Dūrī, Mesopotamia, p. 64.

6. Nājī, Basra (thesis), p. 280 --quoting from Chau-ju-kua : Chinese and Arab, 137; Qazwīnī, Nuzha, 46; Dūrī, p. 134.

7. Miskawayh, ii, p. 95; Muntazam, vi, p. 344.

8. Jāhiz, Bukhala', p. 121.

it is said, that 60 ratls of dates were sold at a price of 1 dirham = 720 ratls per dinar.¹ Quotations of date prices coming from the early 10th century show an exceptional fall in prices. In 313/925, we see that 8 ratls of dates were being sold at Baghdad for only one habba², or 24 ratls for one dirham.³ At one time dates became so cheap that 100 ratls were bought for two dirhams only.⁴ Kirmān, a place noted for date cultivation and which, in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, paid their partial kharāj in the form of 12000 ratls of dates,⁵ maintained very low price over a long period of time. Ibn Hawqal, visiting this area about the middle of the 10th century, found dates exceptionally cheap and he noted that 100 mann (about 200 ratls) of it could be had for only one dirham.⁶ Concluding from such evidences E.Ashtor notes that dates, during the early Abbasid period, were sold at 0.006-0.007 dinar per ratl.⁷

The prices of other fruits depended on supply and season. Peaches, for example, out of season were sold, in the middle of the 9th century, at the rate of 6 a dirham, whereas during the season 200 could be bought for one dirham only.⁸ An anecdote connected with the late 8th century shows that a sack of kam'a (truffles) which a beduin carried to the suburb of Mecca, fetched two dirhams.⁹ Ibn Hawqal visiting

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1. Khatīb, Ta'rikh, 1,71; Yāqūt, i,683; Ashtor, Prix,52
 2. 36 = 1 dinar, and 1 dinar at this period was = about 12 dirhams (cf. Sābī, p.89; Dūrī, Mesopotamia,p.242).
 3. Tajārib, i,p.146; Muntazam, vi, 196.
 4. Nishwār, viii,p.50; cf. also Ashtor, p.52.
 5. S. A. El-Ali, "A new version of Ibn Mutarraf's list of revenues in the early times of Hārūn al-Rashīd," JESHO, 1971, p. 307.
 6. Ibn Hawqal, p.223.
 7. E. Ashtor, Prix, p. 52.
 8. Jāhiz, Bukhālā', pp. 114-15.
 9. Uyūn, iii, pp. 282-83.

Isfahan in the 10th century found grapes very cheap as one hundred mann (one mann in Isfahan was = 400 dirhams' weight) were sold for five dirhams and 70 mann of grape juice could also be had at 5 dirhams.¹

Vegetables and other items :--

The prices of vegetables, as Ashtor mentions, are very rare in our sources and it is therefore difficult to determine the trend in the prices of these commodities. The references show ^{/, that} vegetables were not too costly in relation to other basic necessities. Jāhiz has written about a man in Basra (early 9th century), who was in the habit of buying onions for one dānaq, egg-plant for one dānaq, gourd for one dānaq, carrots for one dānaq and meat for one dirham and cooking the lot into sikbāj² which he ate for several days.³ This anecdote, though initially recorded as a portrait of a miser's character, ... throws sufficient sidelight on the prices of some of the vegetables of this period. At the end of the 9th century, 30 madd⁴ of beans could be bought for one dirham at Kufa.⁵ At about the same period, it is said, that 100 egg-plants could be found only for one dirham.⁶ The average price of lettuce (khas) in 345/956, is described as twenty leaves per dirham.⁷ This was apparently a high price.

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1. Ibn Hawqal, p. 262. A mann in Baghdad was = 2 ratls. (cf. for example, Lane, Lexicon, s.v.) According to the author of the Manaqib Baghdad fruits, in the early Abbasid period were very cheap as the poor could also afford them almost throughout the year. (cf. p.37).
 2. For sikbāj, see above, p. 126
 3. Jāhiz, Bukhālā, p. 110.
 4. 1 mudd according to Hinz, p.45 was = 810 g.
 5. Ibn Abī Ya'ālā, p. 316 --- as quoted by Ashtor, p.51.
 6. Baghdādī, Tatfīl, p.79.
 7. Nishwār, i, p. 65.

Honey, at the time of the construction of Baghdad was sold at 12 ratls a dirham¹ i.e., roughly 0.0083 dinar per ratl.² According to Ibn Hawqal, Tiflis in the 10th century gave 20 ratls of honey for one dirham³— an exceptionally low price which cannot be taken for other areas. About sugar price we know only one quotation which has been mentioned as an evidence of rising prices. According to this evidence, in the year 975 a mann (about two pounds) of sugar cost 4 dirhams.⁴

The price of clarified butter (samn) in the early period of Mansūr has been recorded^{at} double the price of olive oil. At that time 16 ratls of olive oil and 8 ratls of samn were sold at 1 dirham each.⁵ In the 13th century Yāqūt wrote that in Wāsīt one pot of butter cost 2 dirhams⁶— still very cheap. E. Ashtor concludes that 0.0052 and 0.001 dinar had to be paid^{for} one ratl of olive oil and one ratl of butter respectively.⁷

Ibn al-Jawzī quotes a price of ice in Baghdad for an unspecified year when 1 to 1½ ratl of ice sold at 1 dirham.⁸ This price would seem a reasonable one as ice was brought to Baghdad from far-off lands.⁹

1. Khatīb, Ta'rikh, i, p. 70; Yāqūt, Buldān, s.v. Baghdād.

2. E. Ashtor, Prix, p. 51.

3. Ibn Hawqal, p. 242.

4. Muntazam, vii, p. 76. 1 mann according to Hinz, pp. 16-17 was = 816,5 g.

5. Khatīb, op.cit, i, p. 70.

6. Buldān, s.v. Wāsīt.

7. Ashtor, p. 51.

8. Humagā, p. 75.

9. Muq. pp. 160, 181. An exceptional high price of ice in 10th century Baghdad has been given by Tanūkhī. (cf. Nishwar, i, pp. 63-64; also Muntazam, vi, 118-119).

Cooked food was also inexpensive. Maqdisī notes that in the 4th/10th century in Baghdad a man could eat harīsa¹ in a "restaurant" with full service for one dānaq only.² In the early 9th century a dish of sikbāj³ containing a number of vegetables cost 2 dirhams to prepare.⁴ Luxurious food, however, cost a lot and was therefore out of the common people's reach. The cost of ^ahighly luxurious meal consisting of roast-meat, fine bread, sauces, one ratl of the finest quality of sweet in a Baghdad food shop was just 10 dirhams.⁵ In a story referred to the first half of the 9th century we see that a delicious sweet dish of lawzīnaj cost 80 dirhams i.e. 3½ dinars.⁶ According to another text, in 330/941, a similar dish of lawzīnaj cost 5 dinars or about 65 dirhams.⁷ Prices of bread were linked with the price of wheat and fluctuated sharply with the rise and fall of wheat prices.

Some anecdotes found scattered in different works indicate that during this period 10 dinars or about 150 dirhams a month were thought to be sufficient for a modest living.⁸ A substantial ^{proportion} of this was spent on food. In the time of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd 300 dirhams was a sum quite sufficient for a middle class workman and his family.⁹

1. For Harīsa, see above, p. 156f.

2. Muq. p. 129.

3. For sikbāj see above, p. 126.

4. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 110.

5. Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, p. 67.

6. Ibn Abī Ya'īlā, Tabaqāt, p. 65; cf. also Ashtor, p. 63. 1 dinar in the early 9th century was = 20-22 dirhams. (cf. Shahshiyārī, Wuzarā', p. 364; cf. also Ashtor, p. 40).

7. Nishwār, i, p. 61. 1 dinar at this time was = 13 dirhams (cf. Eclipse, ii, p. 54).

8. Murūī, viii, p. 156; Mashāri' al-Ushshāq, p. 159.

9. Mashāri' al-Ushshāq, p. 159.

The anecdote shows that 5 dirhams a day were considered sufficient for a person to lead a decent life with his family. In 282/895, a notorious thief was employed by the Caliph Mu'tadid to spy on the Caliph's former associates in Baghdad for 10 dinars a month. The Caliph is reported to have said on his appointment, "I have set for you ten dinars a month to provide for your food, drink, dress and perfume".¹ A certain jurist (d. 331/942), anxious to insure his son's future declared, "I have decided to give him a dinar daily for life, as 1 dinar is sufficient for a middle class man and his family".²

People with low income and the sufis spent very little on their food and living. From a biography of a scholar of the 9th century we learn that 4 dirhams were regarded sufficient for a man to live on for one month.³ He could spend less than 10 habba i.e. 0.166 dinar for the nourishment of his body. A sufi woman (the sister of the famous Bishr al-Hāfi, d. 227/841) is said to have spent only 1 dānaq a week on her food.⁴ A certain pious Muhammad b. Yūsuf (d. 286/899) is also reported to have lived on a daily expense of one dānaq only. He gave the rest of his earnings to charity.⁵ From a passage in the Tabaqāt al-Hanābila it is known that in the 2nd half of the 9th century during the month of Ramadān one had to spend one dirham and 2½ dānaqs for his meal after the iftār (breakfast).⁶ A craftsman who

1. Murūj, viii, p. 156.

2. Muntazam, vi, p. 333; cf. also, Dūrī, Mesopotamia, p. 283.

3. Khatīb, Ta'rikh, i, p. 366; cf. also Ashtor, p. 61f.

4. Ibid, xiv, p. 457.

5. Muntazam, vi, p. 24.

6. Ibn Abī Ya'lā, p. 51; Muntazam, vi, 5; cf. also, Ashtor, Prix, p. 62.

afterwards became a famous philologist states that ,in the same period, he could live on $\frac{1}{2}$ dinar per month i.e., approximately 10-15 dirhams.¹ At about the same period, a scholar who was said to be money-conscious, spent $\frac{2}{3}$ of a dinar a month for his subsistence.²

These statistics quoted from various anecdotes refer only to the cost of nourishment of an individual. His other necessities such as clothing and housing etc., required a lot of money and were not included in the figures quoted. Concluding from such facts and figures, E. Ashtor states that the minimum amount required for a man to feed himself amounted to 0.2 dinar in the beginning of the 9th century and 0.5 dinar in the second half of that century.³ From the middle of the 9th century onwards the cost of living went up and food, as it appears from the various references quoted in the preceding pages, became expensive. The well-to-do people spent a lot of money on their food and were little affected by the rising prices and high cost of living. People with little incomes and limited resources suffered much, which was, to some extent, reflected in sporadic uprisings and also in the activities of the shuttār and 'ayyarūn.⁴

1. Nishwār, i, p. 134; see also E. Ashtor, Prix, p. 62.

2. Khatib, Ta'rikh, vi, p. 76; Ashtor, p.62.

3. Ashtor, Prix, p. 62.

4. Manāqib Baghdād (attributed to Ibn al-Jawzī), p. 37;

On the activities of the 'ayyarūn and shuttār see, EI², s.vv. Futuwwa, Baghdād, and the sources quoted there; see also, Badrī, 'Āmma, pp. 286-309. For some other references on the cost of food and living of the 10th century see, Ashtor, Prix, p.43ff.

Markets occupied an important place in urban life. When the cities of Baghdad (2nd/8th century) and Samarra (3rd/9th century) were planned, markets received great attention.¹ When Mutawakkil (846-61) built al-Ja'fariyya, north of Samarra, "he founded in every quarter a market".²

Each craft or trade had its separate market or lane (darb).³ The western ^{part of} Baghdad appears to have been commercially more developing than the Eastern side. The 'great market' of western Baghdad was al-Karkh, two farsakh long and one farsakh wide.⁴ This market was divided into several blocks, each class of merchants and merchandise being placed in a special street⁵ (e.g., the fruit market dār al-bittīkh, the food market "sūq al-ṭa'ām" etc). On the eastern side there was a variety of markets including a flower market, a food market, a gold smiths' market, a sheep market, a booksellers' market, and a market for Chinese merchandise.⁶ Moreover, in the great Ruṣāfa market all kinds of goods were sold.⁷ The allotment of shops was carefully planned. The butchers' block was kept in the extreme corner of the street for hygienic reasons.⁸

Food products, such as wheat which were consumed in large quantities, were transported on large scale from the surrounding countryside to the city markets. The heavy

1. EI², s.v. Baghdād (A.A.Dūrī). See details in Ya'qūbī's Buldān.

2. Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 267.

3. EI², s.v. Baghdād.

4. Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 246; Ibn Hawqal, p. 242.

5. Ibid, pp. 241, 246; cf. also Dūrī, Mesopotamia, p. 141.

6. Ibid, pp. 241, 246, 248, 254; Manāqib Baghdād (attributed to Ibn Jawzī), pp. 26-27, 28; Ibn Hawqal, p. 242; cf. also II, s.v. Baghdād (A.A.Dūrī).

7. Ibid, Buldān, p. 253.

8. Manāqib Baghdād (attr. to Ibn al-Jawzī), p. 13; Khatīb, Ta'rikh, I, p. 80.

products regularly consumed were, however, transported from the specific region in which they were originally grown to considerable distances by caravans or by ships (river or sea transport).¹ The products of all the regions of the Muslim world were thus available throughout every part of it for those who could afford to pay their prices.²

The peasant producers came to sell their produce either in the country, in temporarily set up regional markets or in the towns, in markets which were more or less permanent. In the large towns there were wholesale markets which served the whole of a large town district and also the small local markets. Consumers bought their provisions from retailers of the large or small city markets.³

Every town, as a matter of fact, served as a market for the surrounding countryside, a store house for its products, and a shopping centre for its needs. The country folk either visited ordinary markets or attended fairs regularly held at certain days.⁴ For example, a suburb of Mosul held fairs at definite periods when merchants, peasants and semi-nomad Kurds met to buy or sell goods.⁵ Mosul had also a Wednesday market (sūq al-arba'a) in the large open square within its castle, to which farmers frequented.⁶

Apart from these markets, there were small dealers and pedlars who sold their commodities either sitting along

1. EI², s.v. Ghichā', (M.Rodinson); Ya'qūbī, Buldān, pp. 250, 263; Tajārīb, II, p. 91.

2. EI², s.v. Ghichā' (M.Rodinson).

3. Ibid.

4. Dūrī, Mesopotamia, p. 147.

5. Ibn Hawqal, p. 217

6. Muq. p. 117.

the road-side or moving from door to door. A greengrocer is reported to have set up his shop in front of a house for a nominal rent.¹ A man could buy a stick for two dirhams from a pedlar trading at the road side.² The water carriers (saggā) moved from street to street to sell their iced water.³ Because of their profession these vendors and pedlars were commonly known as tawwāfūn.⁴ The pedlars sometimes even took their merchandise to the mosque and sold them to the muṣalliyūn (persons coming for prayers) sitting in the corner of a courtyard.⁵ The regular shop keepers, however, did not like these pedlars selling their commodities sitting in the vicinity of their shops. There are reports which suggest that the pedlars were not tolerated by the shop holders who considered their presence a potential danger to their business and so often drove them out of the market.⁶

There were a number of food shops and 'restaurants' in the food markets of the towns. Food could be taken away or eaten in these 'restaurants'.⁷ In the Maqāmāt of Ḥamadānī there is a lively description of a restaurant where people could eat all kinds of food including sweets.⁸ Maqdisī notes that in the shops of harīsa people took their meal on the upper floor of the shop.⁹ The proprietor of the 'restaurant' provided the customers perfect service, each visitor having waiters (khuddām) to attend to his needs and ever ready with an ewer and a basin. Soap and ushnān were provided by the owner of the 'restaurant' for cleaning hands.¹⁰

1. Jāhiz, Bukhālā, p.29; Khatīb, Bukhālā, p.94; 'Iqd, vi, 178.

2. Nishwār, i, p. 60.

3. Ḥamadānī, Maqāmāt, p.67; Ibn al-Jawzī, Akhbār al-Zirāf, 31.

4. Muntazam, ix, p. 44.

5. Baghdādī, Ta'rīkh, xiii, p.191

6. Ibid, xiii, p. 191; cf. also Badrī, Āmma, p. 80

7. Et, s.v. Ḥarīsa (M.Rodinson).

8. Ḥamadānī, Maqāmāt,

9. Muq, p. 129.

10. Ibid, p. 129.

Diet and Dietetics :---

The caliph and the educated class in general, during the period under review, paid a great deal of attention to dietetic precepts with the result that this science became of no small practical importance.¹ The study of nutrition and dietetics has always been one of the subjects of the medical works² and even of some of the adab literature,³ in which the description of what was known as the 'virtues' and 'harmfulness' of the herbs, cereals and garden plants can be seen. Though ordinary people were not gourmets, popular herbal remedies would seem in great repute and many dishes were eaten for their alleged health value as much as for their taste and nutritive properties.

From the K.al-Tabīkh of Warrāq, it appears that the Abbasid caliphs, the members of their families, their wazirs and singers had individual recipe-books containing instructions for the preparation of their dishes suited to their health.⁴ Thus we find that the Caliph Wāthiq asked his Christian physician, Hunayn b. Ishāq to write a book in which to make clear the differences between foods, drugs and laxatives, and to describe the organs of the human body. Hunayn wrote the book and called it "the book of physical cases".⁵ Similarly, Mu'tasim always followed, in matters of eating, the recipe-book written by his physician, Yahyā b. Māsawayh. If he ate fish, Ibn Māsawayh made for him a sauce

1. Murūj, vii, pp. 105, 182; cf. also, ET², s.v. Ghiḥā.

2. See, for example, Ibn Baytār, Mufradāt; Ibn Jazālā, Minhāj al-Bayān, svv.

3. See, for example, Ibn Qutayba's Uyūn al-Akhbār (iii, 281-99) and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's 'Iqd al-Farīd, vi, pp. 344-34.

4. Warrāq, fol. 26ff.

5. Murūj, vii, p. 182.

of vinegar, caraway, cumin, rue, celery and mustard.¹ The intimate companion of the Caliph Mu'tadid, Ahmad b. Tayyib al-Sarakhsī was also the author of a culinary manual for the use of the Caliph which he composed according to months and days.²

The Abbasid caliphs and some of their wazirs could not do without dieticians at their table. The Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd was so dependant on his private physician, Jibra'īl b. Bakhtīshū', that the physician was authorised to get a dish, which in his opinion, was injurious to the Caliph's health, removed from the caliphal table even if the Caliph should not like it.³ Once finding his physician absent from the dining table the Caliph Hārūn reportedly became so alarmed that he did not touch the food until his physician joined him.⁴ This physician, according to Tabarī, would be the first person to greet the Caliph in the morning for investigation into the Caliph's health.⁵ It is reported that the physicians of the Abbasid courts often appeared on the dining table with digestives (jawārīsh) and various types of ma'jūn (confection made of various herbs) cold and hot drinks -- those generating heat and natural strength in winter and those having cold properties in summer.⁶ Sick persons were not given the usual food; they were given a special invalid meal called muzawwara (a kind of soup made from various ingredients).⁷

1. Murūj, vii, p. 105; cf. also H.I.Hasan, Islām, pp. 381-82

2. Fihrist, p. 367.

3. Murūj, vi, pp. 305-308; vii, 274; Tabarī, iii, 1455-56; Irshād, v,

4. 'Uyūn al-Arbā', ii, p. 34; cf. also H. Zayyāt, in Mashnīq,⁴⁶⁹ 1947, pp. 10-11.

5. Tabarī, iii, p. 735.

6. Qiftī, Akhbār al-'Ulamā', p. 249; 'Uyūn al-Arbā', i, p. 128.

7. Warrāq, fols. 28, 48; Shalidiyyān, Tuhaf, p. 127

Personnel :----

Our sources are silent about the staff engaged in the kitchen of the royal or wealthy people. From Mas'ūdī, however, we know that in the caliphal kitchen there was one supervisor or head of the kitchen (qayyīn or wakīl 'ala'l-matbakh) whose duty it was to prepare the menu, arrange the material and employ others to run the kitchen.¹ He had several cooks and servants (khuddām) under him. It was the tabbākh (cook or perhaps the head cook) who was solely responsible for the quality of food cooked in the kitchen. We hear of a cook being severely punished by his master for slight negligence in cooking.²

In the medieval period when Egyptian cuisine acquired a high reputation³, the Indian cooks also enjoyed a considerable fame. Jāhiz praising their trustworthiness and ingenuity in the art of cooking says "one does not find among the slaves cooks better than the Sindis who have the most natural gift for preparing tasty dishes"⁴. As a matter of fact, the renowned cooks from far off and distant regions were employed in the royal kitchen. Tāhir is reported to have brought to Baghdad a Khurāsānī cook.⁵ Cooks generally came from the slave stock --- the slave girls being the expert ones.⁶ The black slaves might have been preferred for the kitchen. A man is mentioned to have purchased especially a black cook from the slave market.⁷ In a middle class home the wife did most of the cooking for the family,⁸ including pounding of spices and

1. Murūj, vi, p.227; Dhakhā'ir, p.103; Nishwār, viii, p.40.

2. Diyārāt, p. 124.

3. H. Zayyāt, in Mashriq, 1947, pp.14-15; cf. also EI², s.v. Ghidha'.

4. Jāhiz, Fakhr al-Sūdān (ed. Van Vloten, in Tria Opuscula, Leiden, 1903, p.85).

5. EI², s.v. Ghidha' (quoting from Tayfūr, apud, Spuler, Iran, 510).

6. Nishwār, i, 22; Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, 221; H. Zayyāt, op.cit., 14-15.

7. Khaliḍiyyān, Tahaf, p.172; Nishwār, i, p.22.

8. Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, p. 111.

and washing of utensils.¹

From a passage in Tabarī it would seem that the cooks wore a distinct dress.²

The chief of the servants or waiters at the dining room was called murāqib khādim ('alā al-mā'ida).³ It was perhaps he who was responsible for a clean and orderly service at the table and care of the guests. Our sources have laid down various qualifications for the two posts in the royal kitchen. The person holding the one was called sāhib ṭa'ām or mā'ida and the second holding the other was called sāhib sharāb or master of the drinks.⁴ "They should be trustworthy, intelligent, free, aware of the pleasure and displeasure of the ruler in matters of eating, and should not serve a dish twice. They should be able to look after each and every requirement of the royal table carefully, place the food very neatly in the best and cleaned available utensils. They should be fully aware of the varieties of dishes, their sequence and season. They should also be aware of the best things drawn from different countries and be well versed in the manners of social gathering. Finally they should keep up the supply of such things carefully as their ruler would like most".⁵ The master of the cellar or the in-charge of the drinks in the palace was also known as sharābī.⁶

1. Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, p. 11.

2. Tabarī, iii, p. 1224.

3. Murūj, vi, p. 350.

4. Nishwār, ii, in RAAD, 12(1932), p. 695; 17(1942), 151-52; cf. also Munajjid, Khulafā', p. 83.

5. Ibn Abī Rabī', Sulūk al-mālik fī tadbīr al-manālik, p. 136 --- cited by Munajjid, Khulafā', pp. 83-84.

6. Mez, p. 398.

Fuel :----

Wood formed the common fuel of the Abbasids. The culinary manuals of the Abbasid period commend to choose dry wood which does not give forth an acid smoke.¹ Olive-wood, ilex (sindiyan), palm-tree (daqal) and the like were, therefore, regarded very suitable for cooking as these kinds of wood gave forth little smoke. All kinds of sappy wood and especially that of ^{the} fig tree were avoided, for they produced much smoke and spoiled the cooking.² Hamadānī mentions a wood called ghadā as most suitable for ovens.³ The wood ghadā was regarded as one of the hardest of woods whose hard charcoal offered a long continuance of heat.⁴

Coal was used as fuel where it was abundantly found. The neighbourhood of Farghana has been particularly noted by the geographers and travellers of the 9th and 10th century A.D. as an area where people burned coal as fuel.⁵

Those who could not afford to buy wood, took recourse to dry leaves, palm leaves (sa'f), dry sugar-cane and the like.⁶ The people of Iraq, according to Mas'ūdī, commonly used thorns and spikes (shawk) for their ovens

1. Baghdādī, Tabīkh, p.7 (Eng. Tr. by Arberry, p. 13).

2. Ibid, p. 7 = 13. cf. also Tabīkh, Br. Mus. MS. No. Or. 5099, fol. 6b.

3. Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, p. 196; cf. also Ibn Abī 'Uṣaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-Anbā', i, pp. 139-40.

4. Lane, Lexicon, s.v. Ghadā.

5. Ibn Hawqal, p. 362; Muq., p.325; cf. also Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, p. 488.

6. Irshād, vii, p. 207; Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 23.

and furnaces.¹ Apart from the wood shops there were several shops in Baghdad where shawk was sold.²

Animal dung also appears to have been a common fuel in the less affluent houses.³ From a passage in Ibn Qutayba's 'Uyūn', it appears that human offal was also dried and put to use as fuel.⁴ A group of people in Basra is reported to have taken^a contract of cleaning night soil from the privies, which they dried and then sold in the market.⁵

Saw-dust (nushāra) has also been mentioned as a kind of fuel.⁶ At the time of the marriage of the Caliph Ma'mūn with Būrān, the daughter of his wazir, when the supply of wood ran short, the khaysh-canvas soaked in oil was reportedly used as fuel.⁷

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1. Murūj, vii, p.113; viii, p.159; cf. also Muntazan, x, p. 171.
 2. Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, i, p. 112; Ibn al-Jawzī, Mudhash, p.295.
 3. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 28.
 4. 'Uyūn, i, p. 221; Yāqūt, Buldān, i, p. 647.
 5. Ibid, i, p. 221 ; Buldān, i, p. 647.
 6. Mez, Arabic Translation, ii, p. 30 -- quoting from al-Qushayrī, p. 168.
 7. Nishwār, i, p. 147; Ibn Zubayr, Dhakhā'ir, p. 101; Latā'if, p. 121 (= Eng. Tr. by Bosworth, p. 99).

Utensils:---

Of all the utensils commonly used in the kitchen¹, qidr (pl. qudūr), cooking pot or cauldron was the most important one.² It was made of varied materials and in various sizes for the cooking of different dishes. It was generally made of clay (fakhkhār), stone (barān, hijāra), copper (nuhās) and lead (ānuk).³ The cooking pots made of stone were considered to be the best and those of baked clay as the second best.⁴ Those made of tinned copper (al-nuhās al-mubayyad) were sparingly used.⁵ Food cooked in a copper pot which had lost its tinning was regarded something deadly.⁶

The big qudūr, we are told, were made with handles (ādhan).⁷ These big cooking pots (al-qudūr al-kibār) were used in cooking food grains (hubūb), sikbāj⁸, silāqāt⁹ and the like.¹⁰ These qudūr were often very big and a large quantity of food could easily be cooked at one time. It is reported that in the kitchen of Ya'qūb b. Layth al-Saffār,

1. The cooking utensils were sometimes simply called sufr i.e., copper. cf. Irshād, i, p. 392; see also Mez, p. 386.

2. 'Uyūn, iii, pp. 265-69; Murūj, viii, p. 54; Diyārāt, pp. 80-81; Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', p. 309.

3. Warrāq, fol. 11; Baghdādī, Tabīkh, p. 7; Murūj, viii, 54.

4. Baghdādī, Tabīkh, p. 7.

5. Ibid, p. 7.

6. Ibid, p. 7.

7. 'Uyūn, iii, p. 267.

8. For Sikbāj see, above, p. 126.

9. Silq is flesh-meat roasted and thoroughly cooked. cf. Lisan and Lane, s.v. silq.

10. Warrāq, fol. 12b. On special occasions (e.g., wedding parties) qudūr were hired perhaps from the shop at a nominal rate. (cf. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 56; also Mez, 386).

flesh-meat of four goats could be cooked at one time in each of such quḍūr.¹ The medium size cooking pots were generally used in cooking zīrbāj², isfīdbāj³ and other varieties of light dishes. The small size quḍūr were employed in preparing qalāya (fried dishes), ṭabāhajāt⁴ etc.⁵

The lower part of the qidr, it would seem, was coated with some greasy material to increase its resistance to the heat of fire.⁶ The cooking pots described as the Syrian ones (al-quḍūr al-Shāniyya) were perhaps of comparatively better quality.⁷ The large cooking pots made in Tus, Marv and Sughd were highly prized.⁸

Miglā or frying pan, made of steel or stone was commonly used for frying fish, eggs and such other things.⁹ The one made of steel was considered to be the best for frying fish and that of stone for preparing narjisīyāt¹⁰ and 'ijaj'.¹¹

Though the Furn was the common appliance used for baking bread¹², another appliance used for the purpose was known as Tabaq (an Arabicized form of the Persian Tāba).¹³ Tabaq

1. Murūj, viii, p. 54.

2. Zīrbāj is a sour dish made from fat meat, peeled chick-peas, wine vinegar, sugar, sweet almonds, cinnamon, brayed coriander, pepper, sifted mastic, saffron and rose-water. cf. Tabīkh, pp. 13-14 = Eng. Tr. p. 16; also Dozy, Supp. s.v.

3. For Isfīdbāj see above, p. 127

4. Ṭabāhaja was a dish cooked with chopped slices of meat, fat of melted tail (alya), usual seasonings, wine vinegar, grape juice and lemon juice. It was finally garnished with yolks of eggs and sprayed with rose-water. cf. Tabīkh, pp. 14-15 = E.T. p. 17; cf. also Dozy and Lane sv. ṭabāhaj.

5. Warrāq, fol. 12b.

6. Jāhīz, Bukhalā', p. 28.

7. Ibid, pp. 28, 38.

8. Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, pp. 429, 471.

9. Warrāq, fol. 12; Tabīkh, p. 56ff.

10. Nirjisīyya -- from nirjis -- narcissus, was a plain dish (sāḥlīj) cooked with fat meat, fresh melted tail, peeled chick-peas and carrots. For details see, Tabīkh, p. 41-51.

11. Warrāq, fol. 12; 'ujja (pl. 'ijaj) is an egg-fritter or omelette also a certain food made of eggs or flour kneaded (cont.)

was a flat piece of metal, iron or copper which could also be used as a frying pan.¹ The baker's board whereon dough was rolled into various forms of bread was called lawh or plank.² The shawbaq or the rolling-pin was usually made of jujube-tree ('annāb).³

Apart from baking bread in a furn it was also baked in a tannūr or oven made underground.⁴ Tannūr, as described by Lane is a kind of oven, open at the top, in the bottom of which a fire is lighted, and in which the bread, in the form of flat cakes, is generally stuck against the sides, either portable, and made of baked clay, wide at the bottom, and narrow at the top, where it is open, and if so the bread is sometimes stuck upon the outside, to bake; or fixed, and in this case made of baked clay likewise, or constructed of bricks; or it is a hole made in the ground, and lined with bricks or tiles or the like, against which the bread is stuck, to bake, and sometimes flesh-meat, cut into small pieces, is roasted in it, or upon it, on skewers.⁵

(continued from the last page):-- with clarified butter and then fried or roasted. cf. Lane, Lexicon, s.v. 'ujja.

12. Tabīkh, p. 78f.

13. Irshād, vii, p. 207.

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1. Murūj, viii, p. 399; Nishwār, i, p. 74; Lane, s.v. Ṭabaq.

2. Warrāq, fol. 12a.

3. Ibid, fol. 12a; cf. also Aghānī², v, p. 342.

4. Ibid, fol. 13b; Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, p. 197.

5. Lane, Lexicon, s.v. tannūr.

For roasting purposes saffūd (pl. safāfīd) or sīkh hadīd, an iron appliance with curved prongs for holding flesh-meat, was used.¹

Tinjīr --- another vessel made of copper or brass and resembling a tabaq² but without a cover, was used in cooking sweet dishes.³ The tinjīr, according to Lane, is now used for a saucepan.⁴ The khabīs, fālūdhaj⁵ and the like were cooked in the tinjīr.⁶ Ladles of iron were used to take out the sweets cooked in a tinjīr.⁷ To clear off the scum (raghwa) from the vessel a strainer called nisfāh was employed.⁸

The utensils (awānī) used at the table were numerous and of varied material. Those imported from China and known as al-Sīnī were highly esteemed.⁹ The Arabs held the Chinese vessels in such a high esteem that they applied the term 'Chinese' for every delicately or curiously made vessel.¹⁰ As late as the 5th/11th century the situation remained unchanged. Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1038) reports that the word 'Chinese' was used for the finest quality of vessels in his time.¹¹ The Chinese vessels included fine, translucent pottery which was used for cooking, boiling and frying purposes. It

1. Warrāq, fol. 12a; Tabīkh, p. 60; Lisān and Lane, s.v. safād.

2. For tabaq see below, p. 211

3. Warrāq, fol. 13b; Nishwār, i, pp. 171-72.

4. Lane, Lexicon, s.v. tinjīr.

5. For Khabīs and Fālūdhaj see above, pp. 163, 165.

6. Warrāq, fol. 13b; Nishwār, i, p. 172.

7. Ibid, fol. 13b.

8. Ibid, fol. 13b.

9. Nishwār, viii, p. 149; cf. also Mez, p. 386.

10. Lata'if, p. 220 = Eng. Tr. by C.E. Bosworth, p. 141; Thimār, p. 543.

11. Ibid, p. 220; Thimār, p. 543. The Caliph Wāthiq abolished customs on Chinese goods (cf. Ya'qūbī, History, p. 590).

could, at the same time, be employed simply as a dish to eat from. The best of these "Chinese" vessels are the delicate, evenly-pigmented, clearly-resounding apricot-coloured ware, or the cream-coloured ware with similar characteristics.¹

The plate which the Abbasids used while taking meals was known as ṭabaq. The ṭabaq may be, in the words of the medieval lexicographers, defined as : a household utensil in the form of a plate, dish or a round tray upon which or in which one eats. It could also be used as a fruit-bowl.² The word ṭabaq in the sense of ^a'plate' is perhaps derived from the original word which meant lid or cover of a cooking-vessel, also used as a plate to eat from.³ Wooden trays (aṭbāq khai-zurān) were used as fruit bowls.⁴

There were some bowls whose capacity determined their names. A bowl or dish, large enough for more than ten persons, was called jafana (pl. jifān)⁵. Some of these were so large that, if filled with water, a small child could be easily drowned in them.⁶ Their huge size can well be judged from the fact that men could eat from them only in a standing position.⁷ These gigantic utensils were made of various metals or wood.⁸

Next to the jafana in capacity came the qas'a from which ten persons could easily be fed.⁹ A bowl called ṣahfa was large enough for a group of five persons; the mi'kala was

1. Latā'if, p. 221 = E.T. p. 141.

2. Lisān and Lane, s.v. ṭabaq; see also Jāhiz, Bukhalā', pp. 38, 108, 111, 121, 134, 180; Murūj, vi, p. 353; vii, p. 33; Qutub al-Surūr, pp. 70, 305

3. Lane, Lexicon, s.v. Ṭabaq.

4. Murūj, vi, p. 353.

5. Mukhassas, i, Chap. 5, p. 57; cf. also Lane, s.v. jafana.

6. Uyūn, iii, p. 269.

7. Ibid, iii, p. 269.

8. Jāhiz, Rasā'il, p. 386.

9. The picture of a Qas'a can be seen in the "Excavations at Samarra" (1936-39), ii, pl. 28.

sufficient for two or three persons; last came the suhayfa which contained food just enough for one man.¹ People ate directly from these voluminous vessels or dished out food from them in smaller plates.²

Ghadāra was still another vessel which belonged to the class of these gigantic utensils. It was made of cohesive (lāzib) green clay and was usually of the size similar to that of a qas'a-vessel.³ Jāhiz has mentioned a ghadāra which, he says, was made of Kaimākish (Turkish) khalanj-wood⁴ and was as good as the highly prized glazed Chinese bowls (ghadār al-mulanna' al-sīnī).⁵ The khalanj-wood was, at this period, widely used for carving bowls and beakers.⁶ Kaimākiya, according to Yāqūt was a district of China and was inhabited by the Turks.⁷ Tha'ālibī mentions khalanj hard-wood among the specialities of the Turkish lands.⁸ Corroborating this view Maqdisī and Qazwīnī tell us that large bowls were made from this fine-grained hard khalanj-wood, which was imported from Tabaristan.⁹

Another vessel in common use for serving food, at this period, was known as Tayfūriya (pl. ṭayāfir, ṭawāfir).¹⁰ From

1. Mukhassas, i, Chap. v, p.57; Lane, s.v. Jafana.

2. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', pp. 64,67,85,182; 'Uyūn, iii, p. 268.

Baghdādī, Bukhalā', pp. 90,107,184.

3. Lisān and Lane, s.v. Ghadāra. ; see also Jāhiz, Rasā'il, i, p. 392; Nishwār, i, pp. 55,63.

4. Khalanj is described as a tree that produced a variegated and sweet-smelling wood, of which the beads of chaplets were sometimes made, and the best kind grew only on the Tabaristan mountains. (cf. Muq. p. 367; also, Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, p. 376).

5. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 47; see also Mez, p. 386.

6. 'Iqd, iii, p.296; Lisān, s.v. cf. also Bosworth, in the Eng. Tr. of the Lata'if, p.142,n.154; also Eastern Caliphate pp. 369,376,459.

7. Yāqūt, Buldan, vii, p. 307.

8. Lata'if, p.224 (= E.T. p.142). Khalanj has been read in this passage as Khadanj.

9. Eastern Caliphate, pp. 227,376--- who quotes both Maqdisī and Qazwini.

10. Murūj, viii, 243-45; Diyārāt, 124; Nishwār, i, 249.

some passages and anecdotes found in the chronicles and the adab literature, it appears that the tayfūriya was a vessel similar to a sahfa or a tabaq¹ and that it was generally used to dish out harīsa.²

The pot in use for sauces and salt at the table was called sukurruja or sukurraja³--- originally a Persian word arabicized to mean a saucer.⁴ According to Lane, sukurruja was a small varnished bowl-shaped vessel for sauces etc., served at the table with meat dishes, to incite appetite and to aid digestion.⁵ The sukurruja was found in two sizes --- the larger holding six ounces and the smaller three ounces or four nithqāls.⁶ The well-off families used saucers made of onyx (jaza').⁷

To prepare sauces and relishes and to hold ground spices etc., a vessel made of glass, porcelain or baked clay was used which was known as baraniyya, a thick vessel with a wide mouth ; bulky and green coloured similar to a gārūra i.e., a flask or a bottle.⁸ A crystalline baraniyya was also a familiar sight in well-to-do houses.⁹ Warrāq commends a glass baraniyya as the most suitable vessel for ground spices in the absence whereof an abzār-dāna (spice-box) made of willow-tree (safsāf).¹⁰

1. Murūj, viii, pp. 243-45; Diḡārāt, p. 124, note given by the editor on the tayfūriya. See also Baghdādī, Bukhala, 143-4

2. Ibid, viii, 243-45; Diḡārāt, p. 124.

3. Ibid, viii, pp. 244-45, 269-70, 392; Diḡārāt, p. 186; Nishwār, i, p. 53; Qutub al-Surūr, pp. 70, 145-55; Tab.iii, 548; Bayhaqī Mahasin, 19

4. Lane, Lexicon, s.v. Sukurruja.

5. Ibid. See also Diḡārāt, note given by K. 'awwād, p. 186, and

6. H. Zayyāt, in Masriq, 1969, p. 483.

7. Ibid, Lane.

8. Murūj, viii, pp. 269-70.

9. Warrāq, fol. 12a; Tabikh, pp. 65-66; cf. also Lane, s.v.

10. Qutub al-Surūr, p. 57.

10. Warrāq, fol. 12a.

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A receptacle made of sheep skin for dry things like salt, saltwort (ushnān) etc. was known as Jarāb or Jirāb.¹ The name is also applied to a provision bag of a traveller or a common receptacle for carrying goods and utensils.²

For sweets, a special vessel called Jām (pl. Jāmāt)³ and made of silver or glass⁴ was used. In shape it was more or less like a dish or tray or a fa'thūr (i.e., a basin, or a tray used as a table).⁵ Mas'ūdī mentions a jām made from onyx (Jaza') whose borders were decorated with gold.⁶ A Jām could also be used as a sort of saucer or as a coin box which generally held the money the caliph or the wazir distributed among people on happy occasions.⁷

The bowl used at banquets as a dish or a plate to serve meals and also as a wine tankard was named as qadah,⁸ large enough to quench the thirst of two persons.⁹ These drinking cups were usually made to suit some special measure of capacity (e.g., two ratls, five ratls).¹⁰ The Caliph Amīn used to drink from a cup having the capacity of five ratls¹¹—hence the name khumāsiya.¹² The vessel with the capacity of

1. 'Uyūn, iii, p. 39; Khālidiyyān, Tuhaf, pp. 120, 192; 'Iqd, vi, p. 234; Muhōdarāt, ii, p. 262; cf. also Lisān, s.v.

2. Lane, Lexicon, s.v. Jarāb.

3. Murūj, viii, pp. 226, 243, 269-70; Diyārāt, pp. 157, 296; Nishwār, i, pp. 61, viii, p. 146; Qutub al-Surūr, p. 70

4. Murūj, vi, p. 295; cf. also Lane, s.v. Jām.

5. Lisān and Lane, s.vv. Jām.

6. Murūj, viii, p. 269.

7. Ibid, vi, pp. 295, 350.

8. Ibid, vi, pp. 306, 427; Aghānī¹, iv, p. 189, ix, p. 58; Qutub al-Surūr, pp. 12, 22, ——— 33, 36, 70, 92, 191.

9. Lane, s.v. qadah.

10. Murūj, vi, p. 427; Qutub al-Surūr, p. 12.

11. Murūj, vi, p. 427.

12. Yāqūt, Irshād, v, p. 260.

one ratl was known as ratliya.¹ The well-to-do people used cups made of crystal(billawr).² The qadah has also been defined as a vessel resembling the 'ulba, a pot used for milking, sometimes made of camel skin and sometimes of wood.³

A drinking cup called Ka's⁴ has also been mentioned among the utensils of the period. Apparently it was exclusively used for drinking purposes. But apart from this, the term ka's also has a general connotation and as such it means a goblet containing wine, full or otherwise.⁵ To differentiate a ka's from a qadah, the former sometimes referred to a brimful goblet whereas the latter was used for any empty tankard only.⁶

Another vessel used generally for drinking was Kūza (pl. kīzān).⁷ It was a mug type vessel with a handle.⁸ In prosperous houses kīzān billawr (i.e., mugs made of crystal) were used for drinking water.⁹

Drinking water was usually kept in an earthenware pitcher or a jar called Jarra.¹⁰ The water pot (jarra) which was imported from Madhār, a village in Maysān between Wāsīt

1. Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', p. 261; Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 240; Tajārīb, v, p. 259.

2. Murūj, vi, p. 427; Aghānī¹, iv, p. 189; Muntazam, v, pt. 2, p. 126.

3. Lane, Lexicon, s.v.; some pictures of the qadah found in the excavation at Sanarra can be seen in, F. Särre, Die Keramik von Sanarra, pls. xii, xix, xxxiii. The picture of a cup or dish with stands can also be seen (ibid., pl. x) and also in "Excavations at Sanarra" (1936-39), ii, pl. 58.

4. Diyārāt, pp. 41, 68; Qutub al-Surūr, 18, 211; Nishwār, i, 256.

5. Lane, s.v. Ka's.

6. Ibid.

7. Jāhīz, Bukhalā', pp. 101, 328; Murūj, vii, p. 69; Diyārāt, p. 143.

8. Lane, s.v. Kūza.

9. Nishwār, viii, pp. 149-50.

10. Murūj, vii, p. 69; Jāhīz, Bukhalā', pp. 70, 77, 90, 138.

and Basra was highly prized at this period.¹ Yāqūt (d.626/1229) also mentions the village Madhār as famous for its pitchers.² The Jarra al-Madhāriya was also used as a water cooler.³ A passage in the Bukhalā' of Jāhiz shows that the jarra was provided with a loop-shaped handle called 'urwa'.⁴ It is noteworthy that though the jarra was originally designed for storing drinking water, its use for keeping liquids like oil and clarified butter was not uncommon.⁵ The large water jar which an ordinary man could hardly carry was known as Khābiya.⁶ The gigantic jar which was generally kept in the mosque for public drinking and also used in big families was called habb (pl. hibab).⁷

A special vessel which was used as a flask was called nuzzammila (lit. the enveloped one). It appears that the nuzzammila was commonly used by the people for storing water and keeping it cold.⁸ The vessel nuzzammila has been described as a green jar-shaped pot (jarra, khābiya) with a silver or lead mouth (tap), its outer surface being lined with layers of straw which were wrapped in the khaysh canvas. At night water was cooled down in a special cooling-jar, barrāda, then poured into the nuzzammila to keep it cold

1. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p.38, see, in particular, the note given by Tāha Hājirī, pp.277-78; Yāqūt, Buldān, s.v. Madhār.

2. Yāqūt, Buldān, s.v. Madhār.

3. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 38.

4. Ibid, p. 138.

5. Ibid, pp. 44, 134.

6. Ibid, p. 183. A picture of a blue glazed pottery storage-jar (khābiya) can be seen in the "Excavations at Samarra" (1936-1939), ii, pl. 55.

7. Sābī, Wuzarā', pp. 26, 391; Jāhiz, Bukhalā', pp. 70, 101, 177.

See for a picture of a habb, Excavations at Samarra, ii, pl. 23.

8. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p.101; Intā', iii, p.69; Muntazam, vi, p.

9; Nishwar, I, pp. 23, 60; Maqdisī, p. 394.

and unaffected by the hot weather.¹ Sābī has mentioned many water-pots (muzzamnilāt) kept in the royal palace for storing, it would seem, iced water.² In modern Arabic, however, muzzannila (pronounced in spoken language naznala) is used for tap, attached to a water pot or otherwise.³

The vessel barrāda, as the very name shows, was used for cooling water by placing mugs (kīzān) on it.⁴ According to Ahmad Taynūr a barrāda was an earthenware which was exposed to wind for cooling water.⁵ The use of mugs along with other pots for cooling purposes is also mentioned by Ghazūlī who writes : "Kāfūr (the Fatimid General) was averse to the use of ice, so mugs were placed on the barrāda and water thus cooled was used by him for drinking. This saved him from harm associated with the use of ice while giving him water just as cold".⁶ In Sābī's Kitāb al-Wuzarā' another water-cooler known as thaljiyya is mentioned and deserves special notice.⁷ We do not know definitely whether it was a sort of contraption used for making ice or was just an ordinary pot for keeping water cool. A passage in Ibn Abī 'Usaybi'a's 'Uyūn al-Anbā' where a prescription from an

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1. Ahmad Taynūr, Tafsīr al-alfāz al-'Abbāsiya RAAD, ii (1921), pp. 324-25 -- quoting from Shifā' al-Ghalīl and Sharh Maqānāt al-Harīrī. See also H. Zayyāt, Mashriq, 1969, pp. 478-80; also the note given by Taha Hajiri in Jāhiz's Bukhālā', p. 331. A pear-shaped muzzannila with trefoil mouth and modelled handle, covered with transparent turquoise glaze with an inner container; the outer shell being pierced with decoration showing inscriptions and foliate background (belonging to the 2nd half of 12th century from Rayy, height 9-3") can be seen in the collection of Sir Alan & Lady Barlow. (cf. A. Lane, Early Islamic Jares, London, 1950, pl. 42).
 2. Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 216.
 3. Wadī'a Taha Najm, (SOAS. Thesis, 285) p. 311.
 4. Nishwār, i, p. 264; Jāhiz, Bukhālā', p. 73; Lane, s.v. barrāda.
 5. Ahmad Taynūr, RAAD, iii (1930), pp. 269-70.
 6. Ghazūlī, Matāli', ii, p. 71.
 7. Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 239.

earlier source for freezing (solidifying) water even in June or July is reproduced¹, suggests that the Abbasids were not unfamiliar with the art of ice making. Thus it is reasonable to assume that the word thaljiya indicates a pot used for making ice rather than being an ordinary cooling jar, or vessel used to keep ice.

The Sīnī or large round metal plate with raised sides was also commonly used as a tray.² G. Van Vloten writes that this plate was made of copper.³ In the royal palace, among other golden utensils, ^{the} golden sīniyya is also mentioned.⁴ The word Sīniyya is still used for a tray, whatever its material, glass, copper or any other metal.⁵ In his Kitāb al-Bukhalā', Jāhiz uses the word al-sīniyya in accompaniment of the word al-salāhiyya⁶ which has been in the Muḥīt al-Muḥīt of Bustānī described as a vessel used by common folk. He says "they use it and it is a big pot large at the bottom and narrow at the top".⁷ From this description we may safely conclude that it had a semblance to what now-a-days is known as al-sarāhiyya or al-surāhiyya, a pitcher made of glass which is used as ^awater container. It is also large at the bottom and narrow at the top, usually with no handle. We would like to point out here that the plates and pots imported

1. 'Uyun al-Anbā', i, p. 83; cf. also Ahmad Taymūr, RAAD, iii (1930), p. 269.

2. Aghānī¹, iv, p. 189; vii², p. 299; Diyārāt, pp. 151, 169, 411; Tajārib, v, p. 259.

3. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', ed. Von Vloten, Preface, p. xv.

4. Nishwār, i, pp. 145-6, 150.

5. Wadī'a Najm, (Thesis, SOAS, No. 285,) p. 311.

6. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', pp. 93, 129.

7. Muḥīt al-Muḥīt, s.v. see also Dozy, Suppl. s.v.

from China were also known as al-Sīnī (o.g., Azdī mentions coloured plates as al-sīnī)¹.

The water-pot used for washing hands was called ibrīq² an arabicized word from Persian āb+rīz.³ The vessel ibrīq was an ewer with a handle and a long and slender spout.⁴ The first thing that a guest is given in a house is the facility of washing hands and mouth and that in a form of an ewer and a basin generally carried by two servants --- one holding the basin and the other pouring water while guests washed their hands.⁵ At dinner parties guests were also provided with an ibrīq and a ṭast to wash their hands before starting their meals -- an important part of the table manners of Muslim society. The ṭast was a round flat brimmed basin which was generally made of tinned copper, brass or silver.⁶ The basin was provided with a cover having holes, with a raised receptacle for the soap or ushnān (saltwort) in the middle; the water, being poured upon the hands passed through this cover down into the underpot. Thus a man washing his hands in the basin was spared the sight of the water used by someone before him.⁷

The receptacle used in carrying food was known as salla.⁸ It was a basket that was sometimes covered with red skin.⁹ The shopping bag was known as zanbīl or zabbīl. Sijistan was noted for its date baskets (zanābīl) which were mainly

1. Azdī, Hikāyāt, pp.38-41; Lata'if, p.220; Thinār, p.543; cf. also Wadī'a Najm, op.cit, pp. 310-11.

2. Nishwār, i, p.193; viii, p.149; Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, pp.118-19.

3. Lane, Lexicon, s.v.

4. Ibid. A pictorial representation of a bronze ewer belonging to the 9th or perhaps early 10th century A.D. can be seen in IC. 14(1940), p.432. Representations of two other ewers belonging to xth & xiith century, can also be seen in II. Suppl. s.v. Ceramics (J.H.Schmidt), pl.11, n.1, 3.

5. Nishwār, i, p. 193; viii, p. 149.

6. Ibid, viii, p. 149.

7. Lane, Modern Egyptians, p. 142

8. Murūj, viii, 392, 394; Tuhaf, p.105; Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', 119-20

9. Lane, s.v. salla.

made for export.¹

The kitchen utensils were washed clean and thoroughly, and there were several substances known to the Abbasids for removing the burnings of the vessels.² The utensils were rubbed with brick dust, then with dry, powdered potash and saffron, if possible and finally rinsed with fresh leaves of citron or lemon.³ In the houses of the well-to-do, these utensils were also rinsed with scented water.⁴

Spices were pounded in the mortar called hāwan or minhāz.⁵ Copper mortar was considered most suitable for spices and stone mortar was used for pounding meat.⁶ Seasonings were also ground in a mill.⁷

The markets of Baghdad were famous for all kinds of curious wares from foreign lands and country-made articles. These utensils, as has been mentioned above, were generally made of clay, glass, silver and gold. The 9th and 10th century form a bright period in the history of Mesopotamian pottery.⁸ Small and large jars for water and wine, pots, dishes, oil lamps, spouts of wells etc., were made of glazed and unglazed pottery, either plain or artistically decorated.⁹

1. Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, p. 351--quoting from Maqdisī, pp. 297, 303-304, 324.

2. Warrāq, fol. 15.

3. Baghdādī, Tabīkh, p. 8.

4. Ibid, Br. Mus. MS. NO. Or.5099, fol.7

5. Jāhiz, Bukhālā', pp. 73, 104, 318; Baghdādī, Tabīkh, p.8.

6. Ibid, Tabīkh, p. 8.

7. Ibid, p. 8.

8. EI¹, Suppl. s.v. Ceramic, p. 44; cf. also Dūrī, Mesopotamia, p. 110.

9. Ibid, Suppl. Jāhiz, Bukhālā', p. 218; cf. also Ghanīna, Majalla Ghurfa al-Tijāra, 1941, pp. 569-70

Adāb al-Mā'ida (Table Manners) :---

Very few books have been written by Muslim scholars on this particular aspect of study. Books written exclusively on this subject like Kitāb Adab al-Mawā'id by Qādī al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khallād al-Rānhurnuzī¹, Kitāb adab al-ta'ām wa'l-sharāb by Abū Nasr al-Iṣfahānī² seem to have been lost to the world and are known to us through the writings of succeeding scholars only. Two other books on this subject known as the Fawā'id al-mawā'id and Risāla ādāb al-mu'ākala written respectively by Jamāl al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-'Azīm b. al-Jazzār (d.679/1280) and Shaikh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī (904-984/1499-1577) are still extant. The former is in manuscript form³ while the latter has been recently edited and published in Majalla al-Majna' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī⁴. In addition to the above, books on hadīth and fiqh also contain special chapters dealing with the rules of table manners. Books written on culinary art like al-Warrāq's Kitāb al-Tabīkh also contain a few chapters on this topic. Kushājim's Adab al-Nadīm, al-Ghazzālī's Ihyā' al-'Ulūm⁵ and similar other works also throw some light on this topic.

From the information scattered in different sources at our disposal it appears that the term mā'ida in Islamic literature includes two types of dining tables --- one known as sufra and other as khiwān. During the period, we are discussing, the sufra was usually made of cloth, or copper or palm-leaves in round

1. Fihrist, p. 221.

2. H. Zayyāt, Ādāb al-Mā'ida fī'l-Islām, Mashriq, 37(1939), p.162.

3. The MS. is preserved in the British Museum, No. Or.6388.

4. The editor of the Risāla is Dr. 'Unar Mūsā Pāsha, published in Vol 42(1967).

5. See the German Translation by H. Kindermann with many useful notes.

shape and was put on the ground where people sat around it.¹ In course of time, however, an improvement was introduced when people started using sufra made of leather which facilitated its cleaning.² The word khiwān was applied to a mā'ida which was elevated from the ground.³ It was generally made of wood and stone.⁴ Affluent people preferred it to be of marble, onyx etc.⁵ Large round trays of brass set on a low table and often inlaid with ebony, mother of pearl or tortoise-shell, were also a common sight in the houses of the rich.⁶ The Abbasid caliphs, however, had some of their dining tables made of gold or silver.⁷

Generally the Abbasids washed their hands together at the table, before the meal, which was done with one and the same bowl. In compliance with the Prophetic traditions the ṭast was presented from the right to each successive guest; the servant simply let the water run from the ewer upon the fingers of the right hand only, since the left hand was not used for touching the dishes except for holding the bread. The practice of the 'hand-bath' prior to eating was considered inevitable and no time gap between hand washing and eating was allowed. It is said that at a banquet, given in honour of the Caliph Ma'mūn, one of the guests present touched his head after he had had his hand washed before eating. At this Ma'mūn asked him to have his hand rewashed.

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1. Ibn Zubayr, Dhakhā'ir, p.63; H.Zayyāt, Mashriq, 37(1939), idem, in Khizānat al-Sharqiyya, iii, p. 155.
 2. Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 261; cf. also H.Zayyāt, Mashriq, 1939, 164.
 3. Mukhassas, i, pt. v, p.11
 4. Dhakhā'ir, p. 256
 5. Ibid, pp. 27,179,195,261; Murūj, viii, p. 269
 6. Hitti, History of the Arabs, p. 335
 7. Dhakhā'ir, pp. 19,170,185,231.

The man again touched his beard whereupon Ma'mūn admonished him for not observing the rules of table manners and asked him to wash his hand the third time.¹

With a view to making the guests feel at home, and because "no one need feel ashamed" (i.e., of undue haste in starting the meal), it was a general convention that in a banquet the host first washed his hands and the guests followed him.² On other occasions, however, people themselves washed their hands presumably in a basin kept outside the dining room or near a sewerage (bālū'a) of the courtyard.³ It was the chief guest or the oldest man in the assembly who began eating while others followed him.⁴

As regards the serving of food at the dining table, two practices were commonly in vogue among the people of this society. The old Muslim practice was to serve up entire food and it was left to the discretion of each individual to take what he pleased.⁵ This old practice would seem to be common among the masses. In the higher circles, at this period, instead of bringing all the food at one time, a menu was presented to the guests and everyone was served with what he desired.⁶

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1. Warrāq, fol. 164a; Ghazzī, Adab al-nu'skala, MMII 42(1967), p. 506; Adab al-Nadīm, p. 28
 2. Ibid, fols. 164-65; Adab al-Nadīm, p.28; Ihyā', ii, p.16; 'Iqd, vi, p.298; cf. also Mez, p. 394.
 3. Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 43.
 4. Warrāq, fol. 164a.
 5. Mustatraf, p. 149; cf. also, Mez, p. 394.
 6. Adab al-Nadīm, p. 17

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While eating the people particularly observed the following norms and mannerisms :---

(a) Everybody started eating with the introductory phrase basmala.¹

(b) It was considered a mark of culture and good breeding to indulge in conversation in particular in narrating stories of the eating manners of pious predecessors.² There was some disagreement as to whether the host should make any conversation with the guest or not. According to Arab customs, as Abshihī points out, they believed in freedom and informality to put the guests at ease. Guests and hosts indulged in long conversations.³ The evidence available relating to this period shows that the Abbasids talked freely at the dining table. Meals lasted for hours at a time.⁴ It was the host who carried on the conversation to enable the guests to enjoy their meal undisturbed. Jāhiz, however, criticizes a miser who used to involve his guests

1. See, for example, 'Iqd, vi, p. 298.

2. Adab al-Nadīm, pp. 7-8; cf. also Badrī, 'Āmma, p. 135.

3. Mustatraf, i, p. 21; cf. also, Mez, p. 395.

4. Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 262; Qutub al-Surūr, pp. 154-55; Aghānī², xiii, p. 179.

in conversation and would eat all the food alone.¹ The zurafā' (men of refined taste) who habitually abstained from joking and indulging in loose talk, conversed or laughed but little at the table.²

(c) Staring at others was considered ignominious. People looked at their own dishes and did not raise their eyes to see how others were eating. People in the habit of eating swiftly waited until the last man of the company finished his meal.³

(d) While eating from the same bowl one particularly took care of one's neighbour, encouraging him by admonishing "please have some more". The diner did not extend his hand to take things in front of his neighbour, he did not do anything which might offend the feelings of the neighbour e.g., shaking hands on the bowl at the time of taking a morsel, dipping into the pot the rest of a morsel etc.⁴ Jāhiz recommends as a table companion one who does not pick marrow from the bone; who does not grab at the egg lying upon vegetables; who does not appropriate to himself liver and breast of the fowl, brains or kidneys, or the choicest piece of mutton or chicken.⁵

(e) Just as in the beginning so also at the end of the meal, the people of this society said ḥamdala. As it was an indication of finishing the meal, offering of this prayer in the midst of eating was considered unpleasant.

1. Bukhalā', p. 87.

2. Washshā', Muwashshā, p. 193.

3. Kushājīn, Āḍāb al-Nadīm, pp. 8-9; Ghazzī, Āḍāb al-Mu'ākala, pp. 741-42; cf. also Badrī, Āḥḥa, p. 136.

4. Āḍāb al-mu'ākala, pp. 741-2, 748, 750; Warrāq, fol. 164; Jazzār, Fawā'id al-nawā'id, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 6308, fols. 13-14; Muwashshā, pp. 191-93; Khatīb, Tatfīl, p. 79.

5. Tha'ālībī, ZUNG, viii, p. 518 -- cited by Mez, p. 395.

Warrāq in his Kitāb al-Tabīkh records the story of a man unaware of this custom who uttered this phrase in the midst of eating. At this people became disgusted and were about to beat him. Jahza (d. 324/935) who was present on the occasion instantly composed a few verses to teach the man the appropriate manners of social gathering and the norms of eating.¹

(f) Unlike the zuhād (ascetics) who grabbed meat with their teeth and licked their fingers at the end of the meal, the men of elegant taste cut their meat with knives and avoided licking their fingers.²

(g) They took particular care in making their morsels as small as possible and avoided making sounds while eating. Therefore, they did not take two morsels of different kinds into the mouth nor did they sip their soup. They did not soil their hands with fat, nor did they take an excessive amount of salt. This was regarded as vulgar. They did not dabble about in vinegar, make the bread lying before them greasy, reach out from their places, take huge pieces which made their lips greasy etc.³

(h) An important table manner was to wash hands and mouth after the meal. This was a bit different from that which preceded eating and therefore particular attention was paid towards cleaning them. With a view to washing away grease ,

1. Warrāq, fol. 167b; cf. also, Ghazālī, op.cit, pp.737-38.

2. Muwashshā, pp. 191-92; Miskawayh, Tahdhīb, p. 50.

3. Muwashshā, pp.191f. ; Warrāq, fol. 165, 166; Khatīb, Taṭfīl, p. 79 ; cf. also, Mez, pp. 395-96.

people generally used a substance known as ushnān (saltwort). To make it more effective and scented the well-to-do people added to it different ingredients like ground rice, Khurāsānī clay, frankincense, cyperus (su'd), sandal wood, musk, camphor, rose-water etc.¹ This was a sort of 'washing powder' kept in a pot known as ushnāndān.² Any one intending to wash his hands took out a spoonful for the purpose.

The 'ablution' after meal began from the left of the host and proceeded onward so that the host's turn came last.³ The Khurāsānian author al-Qummī (d. 381/991) testifies to another custom presumably of Khurasan. Here they began right from the door, no matter whether there was a slave or a free man.⁴ This hand washing, in the early Abbasid period, was not performed in the dining room as it presented an unsightly scene. Since it was an elaborate ablution, it was done in a side room.⁵ In the houses of the common and less cultured people, the guests were taken to a drain (bālū'a) flowing at the end of the courtyard of a house for this purpose.⁶ The practice of washing hands at a place other than the dining room goes back as early as the time of the Caliph Maḥdī. It is reported that Ibn Da'b, a boon companion of the Caliph Maḥdī declined to dine with the Caliph saying "I can't eat where I cannot wash my hands".

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1. Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 41; Wuṣṣā, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 6388. fol. 90. In the 4th/10th century the shop of a Jewish merchant known as Ibn 'Adara, was famous for the best quality of ushnān, basin and ower. (cf. Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 42).
 2. Ghazūlī, Maṭāli', ii, p.66; Tabarī, iii, p.416; cf. also, Badrī, 'Anna, p.139; H. Zayyāt, Mashriq, 37(1939), p.167.
 3. Kitāb al-'ilāl, Berlin, fol. 112b --cited by Mez, p. 394.
 4. Ibid, quoted by Mez, p. 394, n.2.
 5. Sābī, Wuzarā', pp. 261-62; Nishwār, viii, p. 135.
 6. Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 45

Because of his protest he was, however, given permission to wash hands in the presence of the Caliph.¹ On the other hand, Afshīn, the military commander of the Caliph Mu'tasim is reported to have fallen in disfavour with the Caliph because he failed to comply with the rules of table manners and washed hands in the presence of the Caliph.² If, however, there were all equal in a majlis, it was not inadmissible to wash hands at the table.³

Unlike the people of the early Islamic period who dried their hands by rubbing them on the upper part of their feet, the common people of the Abbasid society generally used towels, while those fond of the luxurious life preferred fine Dabīqī silken kerchiefs.⁴

At the end of the meal, after the washing of hands, the guests took their seats on the couches placed all round the room while the servant or the master of the house passed around small graceful ewers containing rose-water or other fragrant water which was sprayed over one's face or over one's clothes. This refinement was followed by the funigation of perfumes, incense, sandal etc. burnt in a censer.⁵

The supply of tooth-picks (khilāl) in a banquet was considered one of the important social manners of eating.⁶ Its indecent use, however, was despised by the people. A

1. Irshād, vi, p. 105.

2. Warrāq, fol. 164; cf. also Matāli', ii, p. 67

3. Mez, p. 394.

4. Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 262; H. Zayyāt, Nashriq, 37(1939), p. 167; Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 42.

5. Ibid, Wuzarā', p. 262; Murūj, viii, p. 158; Warrāq, fol. 165 a. ; Ihyā', ii, p. 5.

6. Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 41; Warrāq, fol. 164a.

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guest was to pick his teeth only when alone. Ibn Mu'tazz criticizes an undesirable table companion in these words : "he continually picks his teeth with a tooth-pick".¹

The people of this society usually used their fingers for eating as is evident from the elaborate rites concerning the washing of hands after finishing a meal; however the use of the spoon and the knife was not unknown to the more sophisticated ones among them.² We do not have as yet any reference to the use of the fork. For the purpose of keeping their clothes tidy they laid a kerchief on their chest such as the modern napkin. We are told that the wazir Ibn al-Furāt and his boon companions used Dabīqī kerchiefs soaked in scented water.³

It appears that the use of the spoon was popular among the upper classes. Some of them were so fastidious as to use thirty spoons at one meal.⁴ We are told that when the wazir al-Muhallabī dined, there stood two servants on his right and left, with a bundle of spoons. He took one morsel of food with a spoon and passed it to the servant on his left. The servant on the right handed over to him another spoon with which he took his second morsel. This process continued till he finished his dinner.⁵ Spoons were generally made of glass, copper, silver, gold etcetera.⁶

It was not the custom to give a single plate to each individual. The guests, instead took food from a common plate kept in the middle of the table.⁷ The practice of

1. Ibn Mu'tazz, Dīwān, ii, p. 6 -- quoted by Mez, p. 395.

2. Ibn Hājī, Madkhal, pp. 185-86, 191; Qutub al-Surūr, 154-55.

3. Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 262.

4. Irshād, v, pp. 152-53.

5. Ibid, v, pp. 152-53.

6. H. Zayyāt, Ādāb al-Mawā'id, Mashriq, 37 (1939), p. 163.

7. Jāhiz, Bukhālā', pp. 14, 19, 67ff; Aghani, xiii, p. 179; Qutub al-Surūr, pp. 154-55; cf. also Mez, p. 396.

sharing food from a common plate made them very conscious of the ādāb of the mā'ida. Numerous adjectives were coined for those who did not observe the strict rules of the table and indulged in practices unpleasant to his table companions.¹

Offering guests a variety of food became a sign of luxury and hospitality. Therefore, it was expected that the surface of the table would not be exposed to the eyes of eaters, rather it should be covered with bread.² Jāhiz blames several persons for their shortage of bread on the table. A man was labelled as a miser simply because the bread-loaves which he offered were of the same numbers as the eaters, in spite of the fact that food was carefully prepared and neatly laid out.³

Water was taken as drink with the meal.⁴ "Even, in the most dissolute period, wine was never taken with meals".⁵ The Abbasid caliphs at dinner did not take wine nor did they allow it to appear on their dining tables. It is reported that the Caliph Mansūr refused Bakhtīshū', the Christian physician of the Abbasid court when he asked permission for taking alcoholic drink on the caliphal table.⁶ Non-alcoholic drinks in the form of sherbet, consisting of water sweetened with sugar and flavoured with extracts of violets, bananas, roses or mulberries, were served on the table or in the drinking parties.

1. See, for example, Jāhiz, Bukhalā', pp. 66-68; Jazār, Ḥawā'id al-nawā'id, fols. 3ff; Ghazālī, op.cit., p. 741ff.

2. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 47.

3. Ibid.; p. 47.

4. Ibid., pp. 85-86; Hamadānī, Macānat, 66; Khatīb, Ta'rikh, iii.

5. Mez, p. 396; cf. also Hasan, Islām, p. 380. p. 383.

6. Bayhaqī, Mahasin, pp. 321-22; cf. also Hasan, Islām, 380-81.

Chapter IV

Hunting

Section I:- Hunting Literature; Popularity of Hunting.

Hunting was a favourite pastime of Abbasid society. It was for them a recreation, a physical exercise, a source of income and food, and above all, a well-accomplished art. Summarizing the benefits of the hunt the author of al-Fakhri notes that the highest objective of hunting is the exercise of troops in charge and attacking, in aggression and retreat; training them to chivalry (furūsiyya) and in shooting with the bow and arrow, fighting with the sword and the mace; it also accustoms the huntsmen to killing, bloodshed, provides excellent opportunity for physical exercise which promotes digestion and keeps the constitution in health.¹ Hunting trips were, therefore, utilized at this period to impart military training to the soldiers. The enthusiasm of the early Abbasids in hunting chiefly through animals made it a special subject of study. Treatises written during this period and even afterwards on the art of hunting, some of which survived and many lost,² present a graphic and interesting picture of their skill especially in the art of the

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1. Fakhri, p. 75. A more or less similar statement can be seen in al-Bayzara (attributed to Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Hasan) pp. 18, 21, 24.
 2. Presumably the first treatise written on this subject was that of the famous philologist Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna (114-210/732-825). Ibn Nadīm attributes two books to him viz : Kitāb al-Bāz (Book on Hawking) and Kitāb al-Hamām (Book on pigeons). (cf. Fihrist, p. 80). During Harūn al-Rashīd's reign a certain expert huntsman called Ibrāhīm al-Basrī wrote a book on hunting called al-Bayzara. According to Mangālī it dealt more with tonics and medicinal properties of birds and beasts of prey than with the hunting art. (cf. Mangālī, Uns al-Malā', p. 81). Similarly Asma'ī compiled a book called Kitāb al-Wuhūsh (Book of wild animals); Abū Hātim al-Sijistānī (d. 255/868) wrote books on (i) beasts (ii) birds (iii) entomology and (iv) hunting weapons. (cf. Fihrist, pp. 82, 87). Several other books written during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, relating

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training of birds and beasts of prey and protecting their lives from ailments. These treatises also throw sufficient light on zoological information and also on legal and religious questions arising from this pastime.

Hunting in one form or another was practised by the Arabs even in the pre-Islamic period. To the pagan Arabs it was more a training in the art of fighting and a source of

(Continued from the last page) :--^{to} hunting, trapping and falconry are:-- ... Kitāb al-Sayd by Khālidiyyān (d. late 10th century); Kitāb al-Masāyid by Tabīb 'Isā al-Raqqī --one of the physicians of Ṣaif al-Dawla (ruler at Aleppo, 944-967); Kitāb al-Jawāriḥ by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar al-Bazyār (d. late 9th century); Kitāb al-Jawāriḥ wa'l-la'b bihā (also called Kitāb al-Buzāt wa'l-sayd), Kitāb al-Ṣilāḥ by Abū Dalaf al-Qāsim b. 'Isā (226/840 or 227/841); Kitāb al-Jawāriḥ wa'l-sayd by Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 296/908); Kitāb al-Sayd wa'l-Jāriḥ by Fath b. Khāqān (d. 247/861 or 248/862); Kitāb al-Tard by Ahmad b. Abī Tāhir (d. 280/893); Kitāb al-Sayd by Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd al-'Ayyāshī (probably 10th century); Kitāb al-Sayd wa'l-dhabā'ih, by Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798); Kitāb al-Sayd wa'l-dhabā'ih, by Qādī Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (d. 189/804); Kitāb al-Sayd by Shāfi'ī (d. 204/819); Kitāb al-Sayd by Dāwūd b. 'Alī (d. 270/883); Kitāb al-Jawāriḥ wa'l-Sayd bihā by Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Sarakhsī (d. during the reign of Mu'tadid) etc. (cf. Fihrist, pp. 222, 438; 169, 170, 210, 276, 286, 288, 296, 304, 366-67). Jahiz is also said to have authored a treatise on hunting entitled Kitāb al-Jawāriḥ (cf. Ch. Pellat, The Life and works of Jahiz, Eng. Tr., p. 10). (Hajī Khalīfa and Brockelmann have mentioned some more books written on this art of falconry and chase). These compilations do not seem to have survived. The earliest available book, so far known, is al-Masāyid wa'l-Matārid by the encyclopaedic writer Kushājim (d. after 358/968). This book has fortunately been edited and published by an Aleppan scholar As'ad Talas in 1954. A year before, the Syrian scholar Kurd 'Alī published a treatise called al-Bayzara, by an anonymous author devoted to the falconry of the Fatimid Caliph 'Aziz billāh (975-96), Damascus, 1953. The book written, according to its editor, thirty years after Kushājim's Masāyid wa'l-Matārid, gives us a vivid description of the art of hunting. The book has been translated into French (Leiden, 1967) by Francois Viré. Similarly the hawking-sport memoirs of Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 1188) contained in autobiography, Kitāb al-I'tibar, the work of the Mamluk author Mangālī, Kitāb Unṣ al-Malā' bi wush al-Falā' (Paris, 1880) and the Kitāb al-Manṣūrī fi'l-Bayzara (published in Mashriq, 1968) and (Cont..)

food than a recreation.¹ During the early age of Islam large scale hunting remained unattended. It was the Umayyad Caliph Yazīd I, who appears to be the first to operate large-scale hunting. He spent large amount of money on the maintenance of the birds and beasts of prey.²

The Abbasid caliphs in general seem to have been very fond of hunting which was one of their favourite amusements. What made them conspicuous in this field was their skilful use of trained birds and beasts in their hunts. The influx of wealth, the intimate connections with the Persians and their non-expansionist policy perhaps explain the ever-increasing enthusiasm of the Abbasid caliphs in such costly and complicated sports.

The Caliph Maḥdī used to take a special interest in going out on regular hunting trips in company with his close friends, horsemen armed with swords, and followed by a regiment of soldiers and pages.³ His keen interest in hunting is reported to have cost him his life.⁴ The Caliph Amīn like the Umayyad Yazīd I, was excessively given to pleasure and hunting.⁵ He spent lavish sums of money to purchase bear skins, hunting beasts and birds and best animals for the royal zoo.⁶ He was particularly fond of

(Continued from the last page):--an unpublished manuscript of Kushājim named al-Bayzara and several other tardiyāt poems throw much light on the art of chase and hunting during the middle ages.

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1. Cf. the pre-Islamic poetry, especially the poems of Imr al-Qays in the Sab' al-mu'allaqāt, cf. also, Mercier, Chasse, p. 13ff.
2. Murūj, v, p. 156; Fakhrī, p. 76.
3. Murūj, vi, pp. 227-28; Fakhrī, pp. 243-44; Bayzara (attr. to Abū 'Abdallāh al-Hasan), p. 43.
4. Fakhrī, pp. 245-46
5. Murūj, vi, 431-32; Masāyid, p. 5; Bayzara, p. 46; Mangalī, 69.
6. Tabarī, iii, p. 957; cf. also Enc, s.v. Bayzara (F. Viré).

hunting lions¹, and a brother of his is said to have met his death pursuing wild boars.² The Caliph Mu'tasim was so much interested in hunting that he is said to have built a special horseshoe-shaped wall along the Tigris and used his circuit of men to drive the game inside, thus shutting it in between the wall and the river.³ Like Mu'tasim, the Caliph Mu'tadid was very fond of this pastime. It was his practice to engage in hunting expedition at the conclusion and the beginning of military campaigns.⁴ In lion hunting he was such an expert that, in the words of Kūshājīm, "he seldom came back leaving behind lions that were not dead".⁵ Likewise the Caliph Mustakfī was keenly interested in hunting by cheetah and falcons so much so that he would personally take care of the predatory beasts and birds.⁶

It appears that because of the interest in hunting the early Abbasid caliphs established a special zoo (hayr al-wuhūsh) attached to the royal palace.⁷ It was here that they brought and preserved every kind of animal known to them.

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1. Murūj, vi, pp. 432-33. Most of the tardiyāt (cynegetic) poems of Abū Nuwās are said to have been composed relating to Amīn's hunting pastime. (cf. Masāyid, 5; Bayzara, 46).
 2. Aghānī², x, p. 190.
 3. Fakhri, pp. 73-74; Kāzrūnī, Ta'rīkh, p. 139; Nishwār, viii, p. 28f; Masāyid, p. 5; Bayzara, p. 46.
 4. Masāyid, pp. 5-6; Bayzara, 46; Muntazam, v, pt. 2, pp. 123, 129.
 5. Ibid, Masāyid, p. 6; see also, Bayzara, p. 46. For a story of a duel fought by this Caliph with a lion see, Muntazam, v, pt. 2, p. 129.
 6. Masāyid, p. 7; Bayzara, p. 48.
 7. Jāhiz, Hayawān, iv, 422; Sābī, Rusūm, p. 7; Muntazam, v, pt. 2, p. 144; Creswell (Early Muslim Architecture, ii, 241, 292) calls it "Game preserve". On "Game reserves" of Samarra see, Rogers, Samarra, in "The Islamic City", ed. by Hourani and Stern, Oxford, 1970, p. 151f. It is in this zoological garden that the Byzantine embassy was brought, during the reign of the Caliph Muqtadir, and shown herds of wild animals, lions, elephants. (cf. Rusūm, p. 11f; Khatīb, i, 103).

Hunting animals exchanged as gifts :---

The Caliphs, wazirs and wealthy people, who were fond of hunting, delighted in exchanging gifts of falcons, hawks, cheetah and dogs.¹ The Abbasid caliphs often received such gifts both from their wazirs and governors and from monarchs of friendly countries. According to Tabarī, in the year 190/805, Hārūn al-Rashīd received a set of presents from the Byzantine king among which were included 12 falcons and four hunting dogs.² The Queen of Ifranj, Bertha is said to have sent among other magnificent presents, 10 big dogs of unequalled species, 7 falcons and 7 saker falcons to the Caliph Mustakfī in 293/905.³

Ibn Zubayr in his book "Treasures and Gifts" records a number of instances when the Caliph Mu'tadid received, among various things, gifts of falcons and cheetah from 'Amr b. al-Layth al-Saffār. In 281/894 'Amr presented to the Caliph 15 falcons; in 282/895 30 falcons; in 283/896 20 falcons; in 286/899 a large number of falcons.⁴ In 280/893, this Caliph is also reported to have received 11 falcons and 3 cheetahs from the Samanid ruler Ismā'īl b. Ahmad.⁵ In 298/910 Isma'īl again sent 50 falcons and 100,000 furs of sable (sammūr), foxes and marten (fanak) to the Abbasid court.⁶ The enthusiasm of the Abbasid caliphs for hunting with predatory animals is also reflected in their demand that the kharāj be paid partly in the form of hunting animals. For example, the Caliph Hārūn received 30 falcons from Armenia, 10 falcons and 20 dogs from Babr and Taylasan per annum.⁷

1. al-Mahāsin wa'l-Addād, 197; Dhakhā'ir, 39f; Khālidīyān, Tuhaf, 14.

2. Tabarī, iii, pp. 710-11

3. Dhakhā'ir, p. 49

4. Ibid, pp. 40, 41, 43.

5. Ibid, p. 42.

6. Ibid, p. 59.

7. Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', p. 236; cf. also Salah A. Ali, JENSO, 14(1971), p. 309.

Social classes engaged in hunting:---

The literature on the subject shows that the art of hunting was in essence practised by two distinctly different social groups.¹ On the one hand the caliphs and their court dignitaries indulged in hunting as a lively pastime. They spent large sums of money on this diversion and conducted elaborate hunting expeditions for pleasure almost throughout the year.² On the other hand, the poorest social classes took to hunting as a vocation. These "professionals" looked upon hunting as a means of earning their livelihood.³ The methods and technique they used depended upon their meagre resources. Interestingly we find very little evidence in the literature about the practice of hunting by the common people. It seems that both city and country dwellers of ordinary means did not engage in hunting regularly. This conclusion of course may be an erroneous one as the existing social literature does not usually concern itself with describing the customs and the culture of the common people. Hence it is difficult to say something authoritatively on the extent to which the commoners engaged in hunting as a profession or as a temporary (seasonal) vocation. The evidence that we summarize about the expense involved in the undertaking of hunting expeditions would, however, point to the conclusion that the expense involved made hunting prohibitive for the ordinary people. On the other hand it is likely that the small farmers and the beduins may have engaged in hunting as a temporary means of sustenance especially during periods of famine, draught and agricultural inactivity.

1. Masāyid, pp.15-16; Bayzara, pp. 19-20

2. Sābī, Wuzarā', p.24; Diyārāt, p.164; Nishwār, viii,28; Murūj, vi,227-29; Masāyid, p.3ff; Bayzara, 41f; ET,² s.vv. Bayzara & Fahd (F.Vire).

3. Bayzara, p. 19; Jāhiz, Hayawān, v, pp. 439-40.

In hunting, during this period, three types of instruments were generally used. They can be classified as :--

(a) beasts and birds of prey (b) various types of hunting weapons (c) tricks and devices employed to trap animals.

(a) Beasts and birds employed in hunting :---

It is worth mentioning here that a reader of works on al-Masāyid wa'l-Matārid written during the medieval period frequently comes across terms like al-dawārī and al-jawāriḥ to indicate beasts of prey and birds of prey respectively. Lexicographers do not appear to make any distinction between the two and modern writers on hunting confusingly use one of them in place of the other. But a study of Arabic sources makes it clear that al-dawārī was used particularly to denote the beasts trained to the chase while al-jawāriḥ was used to mean only the birds trained to hunt.¹

Among beasts, employed in hunting were hounds, horses, ferrets, wolves, panthers, weasel, lynx caracal, jungle cats, tiger cats and the like. But the most prized and desired animal trained to the chase was fahd or the cheetah. Cheetah.

Cheetah, being the most somnolent animal on earth, is the swiftest of all quadrupeds and has got a speed of about eighty miles an hour for a distance of five or six hundred yards.² Modern mammalogists, in fact, "recognize it as a greyhound with the fur of a big cat from the form of the cranium, teeth like those of the canidae, non-retractile

1. Masāyid, pp. 7, 18, 21, 61, 49ff; Bayzara, pp. 18, 29, 48ff; cf. also, Anonymous, al-Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara in Mashriq, 1968

2. Kushājim, al-Bayzara, SOAS.Ms. no.2091, fol.10; cf. also EI², s.v. Fahd (F.Viré).

claws, its habit of running in strides, each step being a leap of five to six yards, and its peaceful nature; the cheetah does not experience the blind atavistic ferocity shown by the big felines at the sight of blood". This beautiful animal, found mostly in Iraq, Syria, Persia and India was almost unknown to contemporary Europe and was surprisingly not used by the Muslims in the Maghrib and Spain. It was at the time of the Crusades in the 14th century that the cheetah was introduced to the courts of Sicily and Italy and subsequently from there to the courts of France, Germany and England.¹

The methods of snaring and trapping a cheetah, giving it proper training for the chase and the techniques of its hunting has been vividly narrated by Arab writers such as Kushājim and Mangalī.² The information contained in these treatises has been analysed and paraphrased by F. Viré in his article Fahd in the new Encyclopaedia of Islam and also by Mercier in his book on chase and sports. Therefore there is hardly any need of repeating them here. However, when a cheetah was caught by the trailers by the kadd and it'āb (i.e., tease and fatigue) method³, it was carried home with extreme caution and care where it was subjected to vigorous and sometimes painful training to become efficient at the chase. Through a gradual process of manning it was accustomed to take food in front of people, to jump on the pillion and ride horses without any fright and hesitation. It was also supplied some "bagged quarry" preferably in the jungles

1. EI², s.v. Fahd (F. Viré).

2. Masāyid, pp. 183f; Bayzara, p. 118f; Uns al-malā', 61-62.

3. Masāyid, p. 183; al-Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara, p. 135. For the description of snaring the cheetah see, EI², s.v. Fahd. The Arab authors who are apt to believe fabulous ideas inherited from Greek writings through Arabic translation.
(Cont.)

and the quarry was slaughtered under its feet to enable the cheetah to lap the blood and bring out hunting instincts quickly.¹

When the cheetah-master (fahhād) thought that the cheetah had become efficient at the chase, it was taken to the hunting ground hooded on its pillion, knotted to the saddle-bow and was kept untied except for its sleep.² Hunting treatises mention three ways of hunting with this predatory animal which are called mukābara or mujāwada (hunting at force), dasīs (stalking) and mudhānaba (trailing). The best method which said to be the princely prerogative is mukābara also called muwājaha (confrontation). This method involves more hardship and more risk for the cheetah-master than the cheetah. In this method of "hunting at force" the huntsmen, having reconnoitred the herd of animals from a distance, select a buck and run it down until the buck becomes fatigued; now the cheetah is cast on the exhausted quarry who lay it low without difficulty or fatigue.³

The second method depends mostly on the animal itself. It usually becomes greatly relished for the thrilling spectacle that it presents. In this stalking method, the cheetah is kept unhooded on the ground and is set off by a signal to take its quarry by surprise when it reconnoitres from distance the gazelle grazing in the field. While stalking towards its quarry, the cheetah takes every caution

(Continued from the last page):-- mention that cheetahs and other wild animals were caught with the help of "beautiful voice" (sawt hasan) cf. Jāhiz, Hayawān, vi, 471-72; Masāyid, 183; al-Mansūrī fi'l-Bayzara, p. 185; Damiri, Hayawān, s.v. Fahd. Though these Arab writers have not substantiated their statements by citing any example, it is not quite impossible that the cheetah like, some other wild beasts, would allow itself to be approached when it is made to hear music. (cf. 21-2, s.v. Fahd). That the wild animals are responsive to music and singing is supported by the experiments in the field, and is illustrated by the example of countries like India where it is still practised successfully by some people. (Cont..)

to conceal its scent and not to startle the quarry. The huntsmen usually cover themselves not to be seen by the quarry while the cheetah creeps up to the gazelle very carefully remaining stock-still at the first signal and keeping one foot after another and taking full advantage of every undulation of the ground until it comes up quite close to the quarry and attacks surprisingly without giving its quarry any chance to be on its alert. This sort of careful and stalking movement of the cheetah is known by the technical term da'lān.¹

The third method commonly used by huntsmen and said to be the popular hunting technique of the dahāqīn² (gentlemen farmers) is mudhānaba or 'trailing'. In this method the cheetah-keeper usually recognizes the herd of gazelle, hares and the like by its footprints and trails it upwind as far as its cover without giving it any chance to be alert. When the cheetah-master is within the striking distance, he releases the cheetah which succeeds in hunting down a number of animals from the herd.³

(continued from the last page):--

1. EI², s.v. Fahd (F.Viré) based on the materials found in the Masāyid, p. 183f; Uns al-Malā', p.61f. cf. also, Mercier, Chasse, pp. 72-73.
2. EI², s.v. Fahd. See a picture of the cheetah being taken to the hunting ground on the horseback, Mercier, Chasse, facing p. 73 (copy from an Indian illustration).
3. Masāyid, p.183; Bayzara, p.119; al-Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara, p.186; cf. also EI², s.v. Fahd (F.Viré).

Footnote of this page.

1. Masāyid, p.184; Bayzara, pp.120-21; al-Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara, pp. 186-87; cf. also EI², s.v. Fahd, also Mercier, p.73.
2. On dahāqīn see, EI², s.v. Dihkān, (A.K.S.Lambton); cf. also, Fahd, in JESHO, VIII (1965), p. 185f.
3. Masāyid, p.184; Bayzara, pp.120-21; EI², s.v. Fahd.

It is very important that after every career (tīlq) the cheetah keepers do not forget to cut the quarry's throat under the cheetah's feet and let it lap up the blood caught in the bowl in order to remove it from its quarry. Similarly, the huntsmen did not neglect to hood the cheetah as soon as it remounted the pillion lest it jump on unwanted animals on its own accord.¹

Whichever hunting method is applied, the cheetah-master should not call for more than ten 'careers' from his cheetah in one day though it could be twenty careers as a maximum with some exceptional cheetahs. If this is not observed strictly, the cheetah becomes useless and sometimes it loses its rapine instinct. This is why it is advised by hunting experts that this animal should be taken to the hunting ground only on alternate days.²

As the cheetah was highly priced as a rare animal in Abbasid Iraq, it was regarded by people to be status symbol. The Abbasid wazir Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī (718-55) and some Abbasid and Fatimid caliphs showed such uncommon interest in this predatory beast, that they frequently took it in their official processions.³ It was also an article of gift exchanged amongst wealthy and high dignitaries.⁴

1. Maṣāyid, p. 184; Bayzara, pp. 120-21; al-Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara, pp. 186-87; cf. also EI², s.v. Fahd (F. Viré); see also Mercier, Chasse, p. 73f.

2. Ibid.

3. EI², s.v. Fahd. cf. also Mercier, Chasse, p. 71 apparently quoting from al-Faqīhī, Paris MS. No. 2834.

4. Dhakhā'ir, p. 42; al-Mahāsin wa'l-Addād, p. 197.

'Anaq al-Ard :---

From the various synonyms used for the Lynx caracal ('anaq al-ard) it appears that it was perhaps one of the most popular beasts of prey used during this period. The caracal, resembling the cheetah in appearance and smaller than a dog in size having wonderful jumping capacity of twenty yards high and forty yards long, lighter in weight than the cheetah, and less exacting in its requirements, seems to have been used for 'fur-hunting', and appears equally adept with 'feathered creatures', partridges, wild geese, bustards, cranes etc.¹ Al-Mangalī informs us that it was trained to the chase like the cheetah.² From Kushājim it would seem that the popular hunting method of this animal was the dasīs or stalking.³

The Arab authors mention, though not at all convincingly, that lions could not harm the Lynx Caracal as it was apt to slip in between the legs of the lion and catch hold of its neck with its forelegs and hurt the chest of the lion with its back until the lion is compelled to jump in the water and get rid of the caracal.⁴ For such unique tricks and artifices of the 'anaq al-ard, the author of al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara holds it superior to the cheetah.⁵

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1. Masāyid, pp. 186, 224f; Mangalī, Uns al-Malā', pp. 73-74; al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara, pp. 159, 188. 'Anaq al-Ard was often known as Tuffa or Tiffa; al-Ghunjul or Funjul; 'Unfut; Hanjal, Farāniq al-Asad etc. (cf. Masāyid, pp. 224, 227; Damīrī, Hayawān, s.vv. 'anaq al-ard, tuffa; lane and the Muhīt al-Muhīt, s.vv. Ghunjul and Funjul; see also EI², s.v. Fahd (F. Viré).
 2. Uns al-Malā', pp. 73-74
 3. Masā'id, pp. 186, 225-226.
 4. Uns al-Malā', pp. 73-74.
 5. al-Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara, p. 159.

Dogs :--

The next important animal widely used in hunting, during the period under review, was the hound.¹ Hounds were usually employed to retrieve the game and to assist the falcons attacking gazelles or hares. It was for their wonderful smelling power, loyalty to the master and other characteristics rarely found in other beasts of prey that the hounds were regarded an inevitable part of hunting trips. On frosty and snowy days none but hounds could discover the lair of hares, gazelles and other animals. Moreover, unlike the cheetah the dog is a light sleeper and a keen watcher and contrary to all beasts of prey it habitually pursues the chase for the master and not for itself.² According to other beliefs of Arab writers, the hunting dog can easily distinguish between a really dead animal and an animal that pretends ^{to be} so. These dogs were so expert that even foxes who were apt in pretending death could not escape their eyes. Moreover, if several dogs are slipped and one seizes the quarry while the other fails, the latter does not dispute possession, but seeks another quarry.³

The best hounds employed in hunting during the early Abbasid period were those imported from Salūq --- a village in the Yemen.⁴ Mercier believes that the Salūqī was the only dog with which the Arabs hunted in the medieval period.⁵

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1. See, for example, the tardiyāt poems of Abū Nuwās which are mostly devoted to hunting dogs, their merits and their hunting methods., Dīwān, pp. 206-223.
 2. Masāyid, p. 134; Bayzara, pp. 142-43; Jāhiz, Hayawān, ii, pp. 118-119; Al-Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara, pp. 164-68; Kushājim, al-Bayzara, SOAS. MS. No. 2319, fol.12 (= Extracts published with English translation by Phillot and Azoc, in JASB, 1907, pp. 47-49).
 3. Masāyid, 134; Bayzara, 43; al-Bayzara, fol.12; al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara, p. 162.
 4. Ibid, Masāyid, p. 131; Bayzara, 140f. cf. also Mercier, 67.
 5. Mercier, Chasse, p. 68.



Salūqī dogs employed for hunting

Illustration from Jāhiz's Kitāb al-Hayawān.

(From Lofgren Oscar and Carl Johan Lamm, Ambrosian fragments of an illuminating manuscript containing the zoology of al-Jāhiz, Uppsala, 1946).

But his observation that these dogs were used to retrieve animals rather than engage in hunting is erroneous and seems contrary to our sources.¹ Several traditions, poems and the writings of hunting experts point to the conclusion that the *salūqī* dogs were successfully employed to hunt hares, foxes, francolins, gazelles and even stags.² The latter was the biggest quarry to which hounds were bound and it involved great risk as the sharp horns of the stag badly injured the dogs. For big quarries, as a rule, two or three dogs were released at a time, and sometimes falcons were slipped to assist the hounds.³ The *Zaghūrī* hounds (drawn from ^{the} Roman territory called *Zaghūr*) often cited by *Usāma* and *Mangalī* as equally good hunting animals⁴ do not appear to have been employed in hunting during this period.

An anecdote connected with the person of the Caliph *Ma'mūn* shows that the good qualities of hounds are the same as in the horses.⁵ Such good qualities, as outlined by the medieval writers on the chase, are that the animal should be light coloured and black-eyed; long between the forelegs and the hindlegs; short in the back; small in the head; long in the neck; pendant-eared, with breadth between the ears; that it should possess large prominent eyes; a long slender muzzle, and be deep-mouthed. It should have a loud and fierce bark; a prominent and broad forehead with a few

1. Mercier, *Chasse*, p. 67.

2. For Traditions see, *Concordance*, s.v. *sayd* ; cf. also the *tardiyāt* poems of *Abū Nuwās*, *Diwan*, pp. 206-223; see also *Maṣāyid*, p. 141; *Jāhiz*, *Ḥayawan*, ii, p. 23

3. *Maṣāyid*, p. 141; *al-Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara*, p. 193.

4. *Usāma*, *I'tibār*, p. 212; *Mangalī*, *Uns al-Malā'*, p. 37

5. See the anecdote in the existing hunting treatises (e.g. *Maṣāyid*, 13; *Bayzara*, 145; *al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara*, 168; *Kitāb Jamhara fī 'ilm al-bayzara* by an anonymous author of the 10th century; extracts of this book published (Con.)

coarse hairs under the chin and on the cheeks. Moreover, it should be long in the thighs and short in the forelegs.¹

The medieval writers on hunting have mentioned, perhaps through their observation and experience, a number of methods to select the best pup suitable for giving training in the chase. They hold that if the bitch produced only one pup, it was regarded better than its parents; if two, the male thought to be better than the female; if three, the one resembling the mother, thought to be the best of the three; if amongst the three there happened to be only one male, it was regarded as the best.² In another method of determining the best pup it is said that the dog keeper should take a number of newly born pups in a room and call them to approach him to a distance. The one that moved on all four legs without much stumbling was regarded to be the best among the lot.³

The training method for such salūqī dogs for binding to quarries was not complicated. For this purpose they were bound to a muzzled fox. The dog encouraged by the fox's inability to bite, easily tore it into pieces and thus became an efficient chaser after a few repeated games provided by its master.⁴ As a precaution not to get it frightened by the sight of game during its immaturity and consequently losing its rapine instinct, a hound is generally not taken to the hunting ground before attaining ten months of age.⁵

(Continued from the last page):-- and translated by D.C. Phillott and F. Azoo in JASB, 1907, p. 599).

1. Masāyid, pp. 136-7; Bayzara, 144-45; Kushājim, al-Bayzara, SOAS, MS. No. 2091, fol. 11 (= Extracts of this MS. with English translation by D.C. Phillott and F. Azoo, JASB, 1907, pp. 47-49).
2. Ibid, al-Bayzara, fol. 11 = Extracts, op.cit, pp. 47-49; see also the extracts of Kitāb al-Jamhara., op.cit, 599-600; also, Masāyid, p. 137; Bayzara, p. 145.
3. Masāyid, pp. 137-38; Bayzara, p. 145.
4. Mercier, 69; cf. also, Zaky Hasan, Hunting as practised, 11-12.
5. Al-Mansuri fi'l-bayzara, p. 171.

Horses :--

Horses were frequently employed by the huntsmen to chase the prey. The horse was employed to meet the lion and other ferocious animals. To train it not to get frightened at the sight of a lion, it was supplied with fodder in front of a wooden lion-dummy for a few days and then it was fed near a real lion placed in a cage with whose smell and roar it becomes gradually accustomed. Finally, to make it more familiar with lion, the horse was ridden to the forest and was made to approach the caged lion upto a spear's length.¹

The method of provoking and attacking a lion, mounted on such a trained horse with spears and bows in hands, presents a thrilling scene. The lion, infuriated by the teasing of the horseman, usually runs after him. But since the horse runs faster than the lion, the latter gets fatigued, and the horseman availing the opportunity wheels round with a rapid and deft movement and waits for the lion to approach. As soon as the lion comes within the arrow-range, the horseman shoots it in the foot. The lion though roaring in pain, continues to pursue the horseman who continues to shoot arrows at it from distance getting shorter and shorter until in the end, when the lion is overpowered with fatigue and wounds the horseman brings the combat to an end by further use of arrows, spears and swords or knives if necessary.²

1. Uns al-Malā', pp. 41-42; cf. also Zaky Hasan, Hunting as practiced in Arab countries of the Middle Ages, p.4; also Mercier, Chasse, p.20, quoting from Mangālī.

2. Masāyid, pp.170-71, Usāmā, I'tibār, pp.106,109; Zaky Hasan, op.cit, p. 4; Mercier, p.20 quoting from Mangālī.

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Lion hunting appears/a favourite pastime of the early Abbasid Caliphs¹ and other members of the futuwwa organisations.² Some recent archaeological evidence has corroborated the practice of lion hunting in the Abbasid period.³

Weasels (Ibn 'irs) :---

Not unlike the dogs, the weasels were used by the hunters as an indispensable aid in hunting.⁴ This animal has often been confused with ferrets, which, according to the scientific data of modern mammalogy, are essentially of European origin.⁵ Weasels, found almost in all the countries of Islam with slight difference of coat and size possess uniform character. It was for the extremely blood-thirsty instincts of this miniature wild-beast, its feline suppleness, its agility in creeping noiselessly into the narrowest fissure, the lightning speed of its leap, the inexorable vice-like grip of its jaws, its great aptitude for being trained, the least attention that it required and the extreme ease in carrying it about on account of its small size, that the weasel played an important part in Abbasid hunts.⁶

Weasels were generally used to retrieve game-birds from within impenetrable thickets or to terrify and flush them out from dense coverts to be taken by the falcons and for

1. Masāyid, pp. 5-6; Bayzara, p.46; Muntazam, v,pt;2,pp.123,129.

2. Muntazam, ix, p.47; cf. also, Badrī, 'Āmma, pp.245-46.

3. See, for example, Abdur Rāziq, Annales Islamologiques, ix, 1970, pp. 109-121 ; I am indebted to Professor Claude Cahen for drawing my attention to this article.

4. Masāyid, pp. 19,48,227-28; al-Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara,p.168; cf. also, Jāhiz, Hayawān, vii, Index, s.v. Ibn 'irs.

5. Et², s.v. Ibn 'Irs. (F. Viré).

6. Ibid. ; cf. also, Masāyid, pp. 227-28.

digging out fox, badger and porcupine. To dislodge foxes, hiding in their earths, the weasel, fastened at the neck or waist to a long leash, was released. Its appearance terrorized the foxes and forced them to flight, or else, they, having been siezed in the throat by the little steel-jaws of the weasel, were forcibly dragged out by the leash fastened to their assailants, which would never release its hold.¹

The avid interest of the people in the early Abbasid period in hunting is evident from reports that some people even trained wolves, lions and panthers to the chase and used them as dawārī (beasts of prey).² But these are isolated evidences which can not be generalized as a common practice. Jāhiz mentions a wolf and a lion, presumably during the khilāfat of Mutawakkil, to have been trained to the chase which hunted wolves, foxes, asses, cows and wild animals quite freely.³ Similarly Usāma b. Munqidh (c. 584/1188) tells us of a trained lion cub which often used to attack horses and caused harm to people.⁴ He also speaks of a Lynx (washaq) which was employed for hare hunting.⁵ Kushājim also speaks of a black expert hunter who was reported to have trained wolves and lions who hunted deer, asses and similar other animals.⁶

1. EI², s.v. Ibn 'Irs, (F. Viré); cf. also, Masāyid, pp.227-28.

2. Masāyid, p.42; Jāhiz, Ḥayawān, vii, pp.252-53; I'tibār, 106-7.

3. Ḥayawān, vii, pp. 252-3.

4. Usāma, I'tibār, pp. 106-107.

5. Ibid, p. 193.

6. Masāyid, p. 42

Birds of Prey (Jawāriḥ) :---

Like the hunting beasts, the hunting birds or more precisely falcons were very sophisticated hunting instruments of the Abbasids. They used generally four types of hawks known as bāzī (the goshawk), shāhīn (the peregrine falcon), saqar (the saker falcon) and uqāb (the eagle). The abundance of technical words designating sporting birds in accordance with their age, sex and habitat are to be noted.

Broadly speaking the Bāzī had five species each having some special and peculiar characteristics readily recognized by the expert falconers. They are : bāz (female goshawk), zurraq (male goshawk), bāshiq (sparrow-hawk). Similarly the shāhīn had three species known as shāhīn (peregrine falcon); anīqī (inferior to shāhīn and used for sparrow hunting), and the qatāmī or qutāma (a large species similar to shāhīn in hunting instinct). The saqar had again three species viz : saqar, kubaj and yū'yū.¹

The preferred colour for the bāz and shāhīn was al-asbahraj (i.e., a colour in which whiteness is predominant); next dark black.² According to the author of the Tabassur bi'l-Tijāra the best bāz was the light coloured one drawn from the suburbs of Turkistan and Jilan; next the dark black imported from the parts of Zanj, the Yemen and India. The red ones or those having two colours intermingled were considered to be of inferior quality. Among the shāhīn the

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1. Maṣāyid, pp. 48-103; Bayzara, p. 50f. cf. also HI², s.v. Bayzara (F. Viré); also, Mercier, Chasse, chapter Falconry
 2. Bayzara, pp. 65, 104; Maṣāyid, pp. 55, 79; Mangalī, Uns al-Malā', pp. 92-93.

peregrine black coloured and light coloured brought from Jurjan was considered to be the best. In bawāshiq (sparrow hawks) black colour was much sought after. Next to it was the light coloured of India and the red having red back and spotted breast.¹ In sagar and eagle generally red and black colours were preferred respectively.² However other colours were not disliked; it was only a matter of preference and sometimes personal taste.

The usual weight of a preferred bāzī, as outlined by the grand falconer of the Fatimid 'Azīz billāh, was 3 to 3½ Baghdadi ratls³; of a shāhīn, 2½ to 3 Baghdadi ratls⁴; of a sagar, 2½ ratls⁵; of an 'uqāb, 10 to 14 Baghdadi ratls.⁶

Among all the hawks the goshawk or bāz has been traditionally regarded the best of its species obviously for its rapid stooping power to its quarry, unexcelled patience in holding up the quarry and, above all, its delicate temperament. It was widely believed that the bāz was born to the flying art.⁷ That is why the enthusiasts for hawking did not hesitate to import it from far-off lands like Greece, Turkistan, Persia and India.⁸

1. Tabassur bi'l-Tijāra, pp. 35-36.

2. Masāyid, pp. 85, 96; Bayzara, pp. 95, 108.

3. Bayzara, p. 65.

4. Ibid, p. 104

5. Ibid, p. 95

6. Ibid, p. 110. It is the largest of all the hunting birds. It binds to all birds and hunts four legged animals such as the hare, the fox, the lynx etc. (cf. ibid, pp. 110-12; Masāyid, p. 93ff.) According to Damīrī it is the swiftest of all birds of prey and can fly from Iraq to Yaman between morning and evening. (cf. Damīrī, Hayawān, s.v.)

7. Masāyid, p. 52f; Shawkat, Sayd gāhe shawkatī, pp. 12-14; EI,² s.v. Bayzara (F. Viré); cf. also the poems of Abū Nuwās (Dīwān, pp. 223-25) and Ibn Mu'tazz (Dīwān, p. 186) describing the various qualities of falcons and their hunting skill.

8. See, for example, Jāhiz (?), Tabassur bi'l-Tijāra, 35-36.

These falcons were generally snared or limed and caught at their young age by means of nets of noose and chiefly of "flying decoys"¹. Now they were given extensive training to be used by the huntsmen as an effective weapon of hunting.

The young hawks (ghitrif) when caught are sealed in the eyes, kept ~~awoke~~ and abated by fasting for several days. It is generally kept for about a week in a dark room and offered its necessary diet (preferably flesh of some birds like sparrow, doves and pigeons or mutton of a young sheep) after emitting a certain sound to which the falcon gradually becomes accustomed and induced to step on the fist at its own accord. During this period, the eyes are generally not unsealed though sometimes progressive unsealing could be possible. Some trainers unseal it at night only but seal it again as soon as it is day. When tamed to step on the fist, its eyes are unsealed and hoods are supplied instead; then in order to make it bold and receive more 'manning' it is taken to noisy places where there is music and dancing, where drums are beating, and to the smithies where it hears the ring of hammers on the iron.²

After receiving necessary manning, the primary training for stooping at games begins. Now it is carried for several successive days on the fist with gloves in hand³ to the open places preferably to the hunting grounds, kept on the ground and fed there by accustoming it to respond to the trainer's call to step on his fist. The trainer usually

1. EI², s.v. Bayzara (F.Viré).

2. Masāyid, pp. 50-51; Bayzara, pp. 49-113; Uns al-Malā' pp. 83-107; EI², s.v. Bayzara; cf. also Mercier, Chasse, Chapter "Falconry", p. 80ff.

3. Gloves are put on the hand as a safeguard against possible wounds by the sharp clutches of the falcon.

waits on horse-back or stands on the ground. Having finished this training it is taken out in the field hooded and mailed in the sock (gabā) with bell and "creance"¹ tied to the leather band round its leg., along with the training birds (kāsira) selected from the species for which it was being trained to hunt. To start with, it is usually released on prophyro (a sort of water fowl) or pigeons. The trainer on horse-back with the hawk on his fist unhooded, waits for the servant hidden nearby, to fly the 'training birds' as soon as the drum is beaten.² Sometimes a long cord is fastened to the feet of the dove with its end in the servant's hand who shakes it several times to cause the bird to flutter and thereby attract the falcon's attention. The falcon thus cast off by the trainer stoops at the 'bagged birds' and seizes it, whereupon the falconer cuts the bird's throat under its feet and gives it the flesh soaked in blood to invoke its carnivorous instinct and awaken its keenness (faraha) to bind to the quarry. Generally it seems that the hawk does not allow the hawk to catch more than one bird a day for the first week, two a day for the second, and three for the third, after which it is allowed, at the

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1. The creance is tied and held by the falconer to keep the hawk in control; because, if it is neglected and the hawk takes fright and flies up into the air to a height greater than the length of the creance and then comes down, it will almost certainly injure itself. In that case the falconer probably will never be able to overcome its nervousness. (cf. Shawkat, Sayd gahe shawkatī, p.61). Bells are fastened generally in the tail presumably for two reasons --- first, it helps the falconer to discover the whereabouts of a hawk when it flows in pursuance of its quarry to bush or thick cover and goes out of the sight of the owner. Secondly, sometimes bells cause the quarry, which is being pursued, to look around as the hawk gets nearer to the quarry, thus reducing its speed and making it an easy prey for the falcon. (cf. *Ibid*, pp.122-123).
 2. Drums are usually beaten to frighten the birds and make them fly in the sky so that the hawk can easily be bound to them.

falconer's discretion to take as many as it can fly at. The hawk is, however, allowed to take her 'pleasure' (ishbā') on one her 'takes'. After repeating these exercises patiently, each time at a greater distance, the hawk is estimated "assured" (mustawin li'l-irsāl) and is flown "for good" (sāda talqan) at waterfowls, sparrows and other hunting birds.¹

To train the hawk especially the saker falcon to bind to gazelles seems interesting. For this purpose a gazelle hide is procured and is filled with grass and straw carefully until it looks like a real gazelle. A piece of meat is tied on the head of the gazelle dummy in between the ears and the saker is fed there for several days with a gradual process of diminishing the quantity until one day nothing is put there. Now a real gazelle is taken to the field with a cord tied in the feet and held by a man in ambush who moves it frequently to cause the gazelle to move. The hawker with the hawk on his fist remains facing the wind until he comes within the limits of the smell and the sight of the gazelle, thereupon he casts off the hawk who readily binds to it. As soon as the man hidden with the cord in hand sights the falcon's stooping at the quarry, he comes out, screams and creates noise as happens generally in hunting. This sort of screaming and noise is used to encourage the hawk to be bold on the quarry. Now the animal is seized and fell to the ground, its throat is cut under the feet of the hawk and is given to eat its "fill" on the gazelle. This exercise is repeated several times on successive days until

1. Bayzara, pp. 49-113; Kushājim, Masāyid, pp. 50-61; Mangalī, Uns al-Malā', pp. 83-107; Sayd gāhe shawkatī, pp. 56-93; cf. also EI², s.v. Bayzara, (F. Viré).

it becomes habituated to fly at the quarry unhesitatingly.¹
 A similar method is applied by the falconers to train their falcons on hares, wolves, foxes and other small animals. Sometimes hounds are employed to help the falcons in seizing the animals. However, on no account must the hooding be forgotten before taking the hawk up after it has fully fed on the quarry.²

It emerges from our sources that the hawk-keeper during the Abbasid period used to take special care of the health of the predatory birds (jawāriḥ), their food and their perches. This accounts for the fact that our treatises on falconry have devoted long chapter in diagnosing numerous diseases of sporting birds, and their cure with various types of tonics, medicines, pills, pessaries and ointments etc. To assure their good health the hawks were never given stale flesh nor fishes, though sometimes in the absence of flesh, fish feeding was taken only as an alternative.³ Similarly when set down to rest, the falcon was placed on the perch or 'block' and was weathered (tashrīq) in the sun, near the bathing pool. Unusual care of feathers and caution in casting off to quarries was always taken. During the period of moult (qarnaṣa) the hawks were kept apart from noise and their mates (dharq) were carefully controlled.⁴

1. Bayzara, pp. 99-101; cf. also Tīmūr Mirza, Bāz Nāma-e-Nāsirī, Eng. tr. by D.C. Phillott, London, 1968, p.99ff.

2. Ibid, Bayzara, pp.101-103; Maṣāyid, pp.84-85; Ṣayd gāhe shawkatī, pp. 42-43.

3. I'tibār, p.199.

4. Bayzara, pp. 59-64; Maṣāyid, pp. 108-130; EL², s.v. Bayzara, (F. Viré).

The Abbasid caliphs and the well-off members of this society seem very interested in hunting water fowls (tayr al-mā') grouse and francolins with the help of hawks and falcons.¹ The Caliph Wāthiq as reported by Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī was in a habit of paying frequent visit to Qātūl (a river linked with the Tigris) for hunting francolins and water fowls with his regular hunting associates.² Generally the huntsmen along with the falconers used to encircle the pond, lake or river side. The drum was beaten to make the waterfowls fly restlessly. As soon as the birds flew, falcons were set on them which stooped to their quarry speedily and did not relinquish the chase as long as there was any chance of success till the falcon seized the quarry and waited for the hounds or servants to approach. The hawks were then fed something from the quarry and hooded.³ It appears that the hawk-keeper generally kept a small drum (tabal) attached to their saddle and beat it when they intended to call their falcons who readily responded to the drum's sound and jumped on the fist.⁴

1. Aghānī², vii, pp. 158-9; x, pp. 227-28.

2. Ibid, vii, pp. 158-59.

3. Masāyid, pp. 57-58; Usāma, I'tibār, pp. 202-205.

4. L. Mercier, Chasse, p. 98; cf. also EI², s.v. Bayzara, (F. Viré).

(b) Hunting Weapons :--

The weapons traditionally used by the Arabs in warfare were also employed in hunting ferocious animals. The Abbasids, in accordance with their elegant taste appear to have effected certain advanced modifications in the shape and size of these weapons which resulted in their sophistication and more successful operation. These weapons generally consisted of double-edged swords, different types of bows and arrows known as sahm, nushshāba, nabl, julāhiq, bunduq etc; spears fitted with flint head (hirāb), lances (rumh); shields, knives, daggers, spades etc.

The word sahm, it would seem, was generally used to denote all types of arrows, whereas the word nabl was used for Arab arrows made of bamboo.¹ The most effective and deeply penetrating arrow was the nushshāba, probably of Persian origin. This arrow was generally made of wood.² Usāma b. Munqidh (1095-1188) tells us that this arrow was so effective that if it pierces the body of a man he will

1. Lane, Lexicon, s.v. sahm ; E. Renatsek, "On some old arms and instruments of war", JRAS (Bombay Branch), xiv(1880) pp. 219-63; cf. also, Latham and Paterson, Saracen Archery, where sahm and nabl are well described (Glossary s.vv.) According to them, nabl is a dart designed to be shot from a hand bow with the aid of an arrow-guide, whereas the word sahm denotes general arrows, to be followed by some adjectives to mean particular types of arrows, such as sahm tamām (a full-length arrow), sahm tawīl (long arrow), sahm sibāq (flight arrow) etc. For details see, Saracen Archery, Glossary, p. 190

2. Maṣāyid, p. 163. A 12th century manual of warfare (Tabṣira. fol. 94b) defines the nushshāba as a collective term applied to arrows complete with wood, fletching, and head. Cf. Saracen Archery, Appendix, 3, p. 164, where the reference is supplied.

meet an instantaneous death.¹ This seems the reason why nushshāba was frequently used in lion-hunting.²

The arrows were most often dressed with birds' feather (rīsh).³ The string (watar) of the bows were generally made of silk twisted cords or leather, the former was suitable for winter and rainy season. During rainy and damp weather the bow-string especially the leather one had to be spanned "forcefully, while in warm and dry weather there was no need of pulling it with force."⁴ That is why the length of the nushshāba was not kept beyond the archer's span of the outstretched arms (tūl al-bā').⁵

The process of shooting and handling the bows and arrows as outlined by medieval writers seems interesting. The archer should hold the arrow with his middle, little and ring fingers and lock the nushshāba with his index finger and then throw at his fancy smoothly. This method of spanning the bow-string with the help of three fingers is known to Arabs as daniyyāt; while releasing with two fingers (i.e. thumb and index fingers) is known as bazm.⁶ It appears that the archers, as a precautionary measure, sometimes set two strings to their bows, one small and the other large, to use either of them according to advantage and necessity.⁷

At shooting the archer should hit the animal in the muscle beneath the shoulder-blades (farīsa) because it finds

1. Usāma, I'tibār, p. 194.

2. Masāyid, pp. 170-171.

3. In fact trimming feathers on arrow controls the motion and speed of its flight. Generally three or four moderate in size and straight feathers of eagle, vulture or falcon were fixed on to the shaft back to belly in position. (cf. Arab Archery, pp. 110-113).

4. Masāyid, p. 163; al-Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara, p. 188 who quotes from Kushājim's Masāyid almost verbatim.

5. Masāyid, p. 164; al-Mansūrī., p. 189;

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

its way to the heart and renders the quarry powerless. Nevertheless, if the archer is very skilled, he might aim at the front part of the animal preferably the neck.¹ The professional hunters were so skilled in shooting the arrows that they could aim at birds while flying and could hit the quarry at any part they liked. Kushājim narrates that he saw "an archer who set a ring in between the thumb and index fingers of his slave and released several arrows of cross-bow through the holes of the ring without causing any injury to the fingers of the slave."² Similarly, it is reported that two enthusiast archers of Basra once confronting a lion in their way shot two shots of Julāhiq each aiming at one eye of the lion making it blind and escaping thereby.³

The Turks, during this period, were great masters of archery. Comparing their skill with the Khārijites and beduins, Jāhiz says that "the Khārijites and the beduins have no skill worth mentioning in shooting from horseback, but the Turk can shoot at beasts, birds, hoops, men, sitting quarry, dummies, and birds on the wing, and do so at full gallop to fore or to rear, to left or to right, upwards or downwards, loosing ten arrows before the kharijites can knock one".⁴

The training method of archery for hunting running animals was interesting. In this a moving target known as

1. Masāyid, pp. 165-66; al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara, p. 189.

2. Masāyid, p. 248.

3. Ibid, p. 248; al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara, p. 190. On Julāhiq see, later in this chapter, p. 260f.

4. Jāhiz, Rasā'il, i, p. 45. (= English translation by C.T.R. Walker, in JRAS, 1915, p. 666).

"imitation beast on a chariot" ('ajala) was preferred. For this purpose generally a four-wheeled chariot was taken tying firmly on its forepart a jackal or hare skin stuffed with straw and behind it a small skin stuffed likewise. The front skin represented the beast to be shot while the hind skin represented the archer's dog which is usually let loose to chase the beast. The chariot was now pulled to a top place preferably to a hill and pushed down the steep incline. As the chariot starts rolling down the hill, the archer starts to shoot at the front skin. If he hits it correctly then he is supposed to be a good archer, otherwise, he is regarded unfit for the hunt and it is feared that he might kill his own dog.¹ Sometimes instead of drawing it to a lofty place a long string is tied to the wheel holding its end to a rider who pulls the chariot running on horseback whereupon the archer mounted behind him is asked to shoot at it. This practice is repeated for several times until the archer becomes skilled at it.

The next important shooting weapon was al-Julāhiq which has often been described and confused with al-bunduq (cross-bow). Julāhiq is most probably of Persian origin. Kushājim being unable to trace its origin in Arabic language asked an expert philologist who was equally unable to find its origin in Arabic.² It has been said that this instrument was first used in Arabia during the khilāfat of Uthmān, who on people's complaint, prohibited its use in the country.³

1. Masāyid, pp. 166-67; al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara, p. 190; cf. also, Arab Archery, pp. 146-47

2. Masāyid, p. 247. The term julāhiq does not occur either in Arab Archery or Saracen Archery, --- books written by the scholars of the Mamluk period and translated into English by N.A. Faris and Latham & Paterson respectively.

3. Masāyid, pp. 247-48.

In describing this weapon lexicographers like Ibn Manzūr, Lane and others do not mention more than the fact that Julāhiq was like bunduq and that bullets were thrown by it. A careful study of this weapon, however, makes it clear that it was a bow-like weapon for throwing earthen round pellets which was extremely effective for hunting birds. Our study also suggests that it was not generally used by the Arabs. Perhaps the foreigners presumably the Persians were mostly acquainted with the use of this weapon.

Hunting with bunduq has frequently been recorded by our sources. The qaws bunduq would seem an ancient weapon frequently used in hunting and warfare in early medieval period.¹ It was a type of crossbow that shot pellets (bunduq) of clay or metal.² The phrase (خمسين بندقه رصاص), recorded in Mas'ūdī's Murūj, indicates lead pellets which were thrown by a crossbow.³ In warfare, the pellets (bunduq) were sometimes heated to glowing point in a fire and used as incendiaries. Other kinds of projectile made out of naphtha were also used along with the pellet.⁴

Shābushtī in his Kitāb al-Diyārāt has mentioned another type of hunting tool called sabtāna which is explained by Qalqashandī as a long and straight hunting instrument like spear. This is made of lumber with a long hollow inside; small earthen bullets are put in the hole which are thrown presumably with the help of a trigger.⁵ This is reported to be a very effective weapon used for bird hunting.

1. Masāyid, pp. 26, 165, 247; cf. also, Bashford Dean, Handbook of Arms and Armour, p. 161.

2. Reinord, pp. 217-18 and Hein, Isl. xiv, p. 304 --- quoted by Latham and Paterson in Saracen Archery, p. 19; cf. also I. A. Mayer, Saracenic Heraldry, pp. 13, 83; also Et², s.v. Barūd.

3. Murūj, viii, p. 17

4. Saracen Archery, p. 139

5. Diyārāt, p. 9; Qalqashandī, Subḥal-A'shā, ii, p. 138.

(c) Tricks and Devices used in Hunting.

The third type of instrument and devices used in bird hunting were flying decoys, nets, bird-lime etc. For beasts, mostly zabī or ukar (deceiving ditches), fire, whistle (safīr), fikhākh (traps) hidden nets (shirāk mastūra), encircling and slipping noose (ahwāq) and the like were adopted. These devices were not used on all sorts of animals uniformly rather different methods were adopted to trap different sorts of animals.¹

Hunting birds by nets was done in several ways. Generally in the fields and in between the branches of the trees and the sides of rocks a net was set wherein sometimes a lure or decoy of small birds like sparrow or dove was fastened. The birds evidently not beholding the net from the distance stooped at the lure and got trapped in the net. The method of hawk-snaring is not mentioned by our contemporary sources. Usāma, however, writing in the 12th century mentions some eye-witness accounts of hawk snaring by the professional hunters. He says that the snarer used to build a little stone house about his own height cover it with branches and conceal it under tufts of straw and dry grass. He made an opening in it, took a dove which he brought to it and tied its two feet to a leafless branch, then he made it go out by this hole, moving the piece of wood. The bird, thus moved, opened its wings; the falcon saw it and darted at it to take it. As soon as the hunter saw the falcon was there, he pulled the branch to the opening, put out his

1. Masāyid, pp. 47-48; I'tibār, p.210; cf. also, Mercier, Chasse, pp. 77-78.



A hunter snaring the birds with a net using an owl as decoy. Illustration from Jāhiz's Kitāb al-Hayawān. (From Lofgren Oscar and Carl Johan Lamm, Ambrosian fragments of an illuminating manuscript containing the zoology of al-Jāhiz, Uppsala, 1946).

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hand, took the falcon's two feet which were grasping the dove, took possession of it and sealed its eyes.¹

Sayd al-dibq (bird-lime) is also reported to have been an effective and safe means to catch sparrows, serins, starling etc. The wood of dibq (a very glutinous tree) is put on the branches of the tree; birds touching the wood, get trapped, and glue sticks to the wings of the birds. Sometimes lime is prepared with the mixture of a number of materials and drawn out into longish strings, and put upon trees; birds are caught by it. It is more free from hazard than the shubbāk (net) because the latter often causes bruise in the wings of the birds.²

Ibn Qutayba and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih quoting the author of al-Filāḥa describe a strange method of hunting common birds with the help of hiltīt (asafetida), hanj (henbane) and kharbaq aswad (black hellebore). In this curious method, it is said that the birds became unconscious on eating grains mixed with such medicinal herbs and gained senses only when the hunters provided these game birds with a food prepared with special medicine.³ The Arab authors quite often narrate things from Greek sources without putting them to experiment or observation and became victims of fabulous beliefs and popular imaginations. The use of chloroformic herbs is, therefore, a legacy of naive idea perhaps widely believed in ancient times.

For catching sparrows a comparatively easier method was adopted. Herein a basket in the shape of ^{an} ink-well (mihbara) is taken, a sparrow is fastened at the bottom of

1. I'tibār, p. 200

2. Al-Mansūrī fī'l-Bayzara, p.190; Uns al-malā', pp.81-82; Lane, Lexicon, s.v. dibq; Mercier, Chasse, pp.78-79.

3. 'Uyūn, ii, pp. 94-95; 'Iqd, vi, pp. 246-7.

the basket which entices the sparrow to enter the basket where there is no way out for them. Being deceived by the squeak of the sparrow in the basket other sparrows enter it and get trapped. In this way one can snare hundreds of sparrows in one day.¹ Jāhiz tells more or less similar instrument for catching pigeons which was known as Baikathir Quffā, Milqaf and Dū-Shākh.²

For trapping waterfowls the contemporary Arab writers mention the following curious method. A dry gourd was thrown in the pool where waterfowls happened to be in abundance. The birds, though a bit frightened at the sight of the gourd, gradually became familiar with it and regarded it as a playing object. Now, the huntsman putting a gourd sheath, with two holes in front of the eyes, on head will quietly get down into the pool and approach the birds playing here and there. Approaching a bird the huntsman will seize it by its feet, plunge in the water, bruise the wings and let it swim in the water helplessly. He will then move to other birds and do the same, until in the end he would throw the gourd sheath off and collect the game.³ This method is reported as so effective that one could catch hundreds of birds in one hour. It is narrated that seeing one hundred waterfowl hunted in one day Jāhiz asked the hunter how he had hunted so many birds. The hunter to the great astonishment of Jāhiz replied that he had caught them through gourd's sheath in an hour's time only.⁴

1. 'Uyūn, ii, pp. 94-95; 'Iqd, vi, pp. 246.

2. Jāhiz, Hayawān, iii, pp. 218-19.

3. Ibid, v, pp. 439-40; 'Uyūn, ii, pp. 94-95; 'Iqd, vi, pp. 246-47.

4. Hayawān, v, pp. 439-40.

In trapping animals, hidden ditches were much used by the professional hunters. The ditches had various names mostly known after their various size and the types of animals they were employed for.¹ The ditches, it would seem, were of two types --- one where the animal got trapped itself and the other where huntsmen used to conceal themselves and wait for the animals to approach. In the first type, it seems, the ditch was covered with iron rods probably in the shape of nets with big holes. This was again covered by earth.² Details of this hunting method are not given by our sources. But it is more likely that the animals were driven there from thickets, dens etc, and were trapped in the ditches. This sort of ditch is reported so effective that the animal once entangled could not come out of it to save its life. These ditches were generally dug for wild asses, cows, deer, boars etc.³ Likewise, zābiya, i.e., pitfall on elevated piece of ground was used for lion and wolf hunting.⁴

The second type of ditches (mawādi' al-qāniṣ) was known as qarmūs (trapper's hollow underground ambush), nāmūs (hunters' ditch like a ghurfa or room), qatra (hunter's bayt place for concealment) and zarība (hiding-place like a lion's den) etc.⁵ Kushājim tells us that these are all well-like ditches (bi'ār) used as ambushade wherein the huntsmen fumigate with animal's fur to conceal their smell from wild

1. The ditches used for trapping wolves were called lahma; for gazelles, hibāla; for lions, zābiya; for mountain goats dāghūt; for foxes, dāhūm etc. (cf. al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara p. 201).

2. Masāyid, p. 47; cf. also, Mercier, Chasse, p. 77

3. Masāyid, p. 47; al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara, p. 201; I'tibār, 214.

4. Masāyid, p. 47; zābiya means a hill which water does not overflow; but in hunting terminology, it applies to the hunter's ditch dug in the elevated ground like hill for trapping beasts like lions etc. For its being in a lofty place water can not reach there. That is why the (cont...)

animals. A sportsman who fumigates his lurking place with fur in order that wild animals may not perceive his smell is called by Arabs "mudammir" i.e., one who usually rushes upon the game unperceived.¹

The hares, antelopes, mountain goats and the like were frequently hunted by nets. The huntsmen set up nets (fikhākh, shirāk) which they stretched across valleys, then chased the animal until it fell into their nets. Hunting by nets was safer because it seldom caused injury to the animal.² Fire, whistle and animal voice have also been recorded as devices for attracting and trapping the animal.³ These devices would seem hardly practical. Perhaps the Arabs got such ideas from the imaginations of the Greeks through Arabic translations. According to these fantastic beliefs, fire was generally kindled facing the animal who stared at it until the animal became puzzled and startled. Sometimes, in addition to fire, bell was rung to bewilder the animal quickly.⁴ Jāhiz speaks of the ṭisās (a kind of vessel or basin of tinned copper or brass) which was sometimes beaten for hunting both birds and beasts --- a statement having no practical evidence. It was believed that on hearing the sound of this vessel the lions approached it and listened to it delightfully.⁵ The 'voice' and the 'whistle' were also believed to produce similar effects.

(Continued from the last page):-- Arabic phrase is made for a thing exceeding the ordinary bound or limits "بلغ السيل الزبي" i.e., the torrent reached the tops of the hill which they do not usually overflow. (cf. 'Uyūn, ii, 84; 'Iqd, vi, p. 247).

5. Maṣāyid, pp. 241-2.

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1. Maṣāyid, p. 242.

2. Ibid, p. 47.

3. Ibid, p. 47.

4. Ibid, pp. 47, 207; Jāhiz, Ḥayawān, iv, p. 484; al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara, p. 194.

5. Ḥayawān, iv, p. 193.

Some other tricks like stalking horse or camel (dariya) lariat (wahag) and slipping noose by taking a turn in the chase (muhawada) were also employed by the huntsmen.¹ Lariats were often used for catching zebra and even lions.² Following the fabulous beliefs of the Greeks, Arab authors mention the use of swooning herbs which cause unconsciousness for catching beasts. In this method a large fish was taken and cut into pieces and was put one by one in the ditch where fire was kindled to spread smoke of the fire and odour of the fish to the animal's thicket. Now some pieces of meat mixed with black hellebore and opium were scattered around the fire. The animal smelling aroma (qutār) of the meat approached there and ate the meat and became unconscious. The people in ambush would now come out and take the quarry.³

In studying the books on hunting and snares we occasionally come across the word hibāla or habā'il used in trapping birds and beasts. It was some sort of snaring tool made of rope often attached to a piece of wood called jurra, having a snare at the head and a cord at the middle with which gazelles were generally caught. When a gazelle is trapped in it, it strives with it a while, struggling in vain to escape. This seems to be the origin of the proverb " تَارَضَ الْجَرَّةُ ثُمَّ سَالَهَا " (he struggled with the jurra and then made peace with it) about a man who opposes the counsel of a wise man and then is obliged to agree with him.⁴

1. Maṣāyid, pp. 48, 207; al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara, pp. 194, 199; cf. also, Mercier, Chasse, p. 77

2. Zaky Hasan, Hunting as practised in Arab countries of the Middle Ages, p. 3; Mercier, Chasse, p. 199.

3. Uyūn, ii, p. 84; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, ʿIqd, vi, p. 247

4. Maṣāyid, p. 211; cf. also, Lane, Lexicon, s.v. jurra.

Hibāla having cords of sinew was sometimes tied with a stick hidden in the earth. When the foreleg of the gazelle enters the snare, the cords of sinew are tied in knots upon that leg, and when it leaps to escape and stretches out its foreleg, it strikes with the stick its other foreleg and its hind leg and breaks them.¹ The question put forward before the Imām Shāfi'ī regarding the legality of the animal killed with the hit of the iron in the hibāla suggests that iron was sometimes used in this snare.² Hibāla does not seem very heavy or complicated snare so much so that boys could use this for catching birds. Abū'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī tells us of a boy who used to snare birds with hibāla in the suburb of Medina using his izār as stalking material by putting its one end on his head.³

In addition to the above, several other tricks and devices were adopted in hunting big animals like lions, ostriches etc. Sometimes, in lion-hunting the hunter lying in ambush provokes the lion to come out of its den by disturbing sounds or by hurling stones. The hunter then stretches out his left arm bound up in rolls of wool to be bitten by the lion. The lion thus enraged and tempted comes to bite. In this way the lion exposes itself to the hunter who uses his sword to advantage.⁴ Some other methods like encircling the lion with a group of people with spears in hand while it is asleep in the afternoon, or attacking by two men one acting as decoy and the other assailant or blinding it by throwing blankets have also been recorded.⁵

1. Lang, Lexicon, s.vv. hibāla and jurra.

2. Masāyid, p. 208.

3. Aghānī¹, i, p.22.

4. Zaky, Hasan, Hunting as practised..., p.6; Mercier, Chasse, 23.

5. Ibid, Hunting, pp. 5-6; Mercier, 21-23; Masāyid, pp.170-71; al-Mansuri fi'l-bayzara, p. 199.

Utilization of the game :---

Dishes prepared with the meat of the hunted animals were highly prized and liked by the Abbasid people. Special types of food was prepared with different types of flesh. Moreover, the utility of feathers, skin, horn and fur of the animals and different beneficial properties of various types of games were not unknown to them. The zoological books and hunting treatises of the medieval period quite often discuss these things with precision and detail. Various tardiyāt and urjuza bear testimony that flesh of games was held superior to all other meat. We quote one of such poems.¹

غدوت للصيد بفتيان نجب - - وسبب للرزق من خير سبب

" I went for the hunt early in the morning in the company of accomplished young men; and it is the best means for seeking subsistence".

It was believed that natural heat of venison increased owing to the terror inspired by the beasts trained for chase, and so it increased the heat of a man.² A wise man is reported to have said, "the best meat is that of a hunted beast that has been well-terrified".³

It appears that the hunt enthusiasts found nothing more pleasant than to broil and take the meat hunted in the company of friends and relatives even in the hunting ground where they were surrounded by poets and singers who sang or recited poems suitable to the occasion.⁴ It is reported by

1. Masāyid, p. 67; Bayzara, p. 170

2. Fakhrī, p. 75

3. Ibid, p. 75

4. Aghānī, v, p. 88. ; Qutub al-Surūr, p. 44.

Ishāq al-Mawsilī that once he called on the Caliph Mu'tasim while he was drinking, and various hunted birds and beasts were lying before him to cause him animation. According to the will of the Caliph, Mawsilī took part in the feast and sang.¹ Tha'alibī, on the other hand, in his Yatīmat al-Dahr gives us a vivid description of such parties and says how fire was kindled and how the game was broiled and served to the caliph after the hunt.² The most prized birds were durrāj (francolin) and water fowls. The cranes which were widely hunted were used in cooking sikbāj,³ after the meat was thoroughly washed and the blood and saliva were drained away.⁴ Pheasants, partridges etc. were also dear to them.⁵

Among other animals whose flesh they liked most were gazelles; buck, hare, wild bull and the like. From the venison, a favourite dish called kushtābiya⁶ (meat-soup) was prepared, which is reported by Kushājim of fine taste.⁷ Hare-flesh believed to have possessed beneficial property of curing epilepsy was liked very much especially in preparing zīrnāj⁸ and roast. It ^{is} said that its meat is the most easy

1. Aghānī¹, v, p. 88.

2. Yatīma, ii, p. 200, quoted by H.I. Hasan, Islam, p. 372

3. On sikbāj and its ingredients see, chapter Food of this thesis, p. 126

4. Masāyid, p. 227 ; al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara, p. 205

5. Shābushtī, Diyārāt, p. 148^{compound}

6. Kushtābiya is a Persian/word from gūsht, meat and āb, water, meaning meat-soup.

7. Masāyid, p. 208.

8. For the ingredients of Zīrnāj and its cooking method see, Tabīkh, pp. 13-14.

to digest.¹ Similarly flesh of the wild bull was preferred to that of the cow. The former has got, it is said, more dietary properties than the latter. It was cooked with salt and water while the latter was served with vinegar.² Medicinal use of the different parts of the animals like gall, fat, flesh, blood etc., was common both for curing the various diseases of mankind and those of birds and beasts.

The fur of the animals like hares, foxes, etc., and the skins of the cow, buffalo, lion, wolf etc. were utilized for various purposes. The fur was mainly used in garments whereas the skins were utilized in making shoes, leather shield and drums.³ It is reported that from lion-hide strings of musical instruments were also made.⁴ Horns were put to use in making bows and the bones of large animals for war instruments. Ostrich-feathers were used for ornament and its tendons and bones for arrow and spear head.⁵

1. Jāhiz, Hayawān, vi, pp. 359-60; Maṣāyid, p. 147.

2. Maṣāyid, pp. 143, 161.

3. Jāhiz, Hayawān, v, p. 477; vii, p. 86

4. Maṣāyid, pp. 171-72.

5. Zaky Hasan, Hunting as practised in Arab countries, p. 10; Mercier, Chasse, p. 56

Timing :---

As regards the timing and days congenial for hunting, the most favourable one was the day overcast with clouds where there was no downpour.¹ The enthusiasts of hunting usually went out for the chase at dawn, because in the darkness of night animals generally take rest and remain fast asleep.² Various hunting poems testify that the hunting-party marched to the hunting fields early in the morning and engaged in hunting for several days.³ Friday was regarded to be the best day for going out for large scale hunting. There were, however, some people who preferred Saturday to Friday.⁴

Hunting treatises often refer to the astronomical calculation and the movements of particular star, planet and moon to be observed by the kings and careful persons.⁵ It appears that the Indian astronomical works and the Persian and Greek books made available in Arabic translations left some influence on the cultural life of the Abbasids. The Persians, of course, took every care in drawing bad and good omen prior to their departure from the hunt. This Persian custom seems to have influenced the Abbasid society to some extent who also looked for auspicious hours according to astronomical observations. But this does not appear to be a regular practice of the Abbasid caliphs; and the common people who had very little access and sometimes no knowledge of the astronomical calculations did not credit them at all.

1. Masāyid, p. 235.

2. Ibid.

3. See, for example, Ibn Mu'tazz, Dīwān, pp. 184, 145, 245-46, 282-83; Abū Nuwās, Dīwān, p. 206ff; cf. also, Mercier, 51f.

4. Masāyid, pp. 235-237.

5. Ibid., pp. 235-40.

Fishing :---

Several instruments and methods were adopted in fishing. Fishes were generally caught by the help of nets (shirāk, shabaka) and hooks (shusūsh).¹ The Caliph Amīn was reportedly very fond of angling. Along with his favourite "slave-girl he used to sit and compete in fishing."² Fishing through making "locks and dams" (al-abwāb wa'l-sukūr) were frequently used. In this method the fishermen used to lock one side of the pond, pool or small canal and threw the water out and caught fishes in the muddy water. It is claimed that the "dams and locks" method was the best for fishing.³ Fishing by net at night was regarded very effective because fishes, at that time, are believed to be overpowered with sleep. Similarly fishing in the moonlit-night was considered pleasant.⁴

In transparent water fishes could be caught by hand and by throwing javelin and spears. Mas'ūdī tells us of a skilled person who could dip and catch fish by hand.⁵

Jāhiz notes another method of fishing. He says that fishermen sometimes made an enclosure (hazīra) on one side of the river and created noise and clamour through continuous shaking and beating of the stick in water. On hearing the

1. Maṣāyid, pp. 3, 229f; Barhebraeus, pp. 232, 246.

2. Murūj, vi, p. 431; Barhebraeus, p. 232.

3. Warrāq, fol, 21a; al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara, p. 213.

4. Warrāq, fol, 21a-b.

5. Murūj, vii, pp. 96-99.

sound various types of fishes approached there with curiosity and entered the enclosure.¹

As a rule, it was regarded that the more the water is clear the better is the fish. That is why the people preferred fishes of the Tigris to those of the Euphrates and those of the Euphrates to those of the Nile.² Similarly the fishes of deep water were regarded better than others, since they did not live on filth, alga and other dirty things which generally float on the surface of small rivers and ponds. The fishes of stagnant, thicket and sluggish water were regarded as inferior in quality.³

1. Jāhiz, Hayawān, iv, p. 193.

2. Warrāq, fol. 21a; al-Mansūrī fī'l-bayzara, p. 213.

3. Ibid, fol. 21a; al-Mansūrī., p. 213

Section II.

Economic Aspects of Hunting :---

(a) Total Estimate :-

The over-all importance of hunting in Abbasid society can be gauged if one has some estimates about the expenditure of the court in connection with the chase. Hunting provided a full-time occupation not merely for the professional hunters but also for a vast army of organizers, trainers, servants etc. The fahhādīn (cheetah keepers), kallābīn (dog keepers) and bayzār (hawk keepers) were regular employees of the court. Besides a host of other hangers-on, archers, trappers and runners also sought and gained employment. Total expenditure on the hunt by the caliphs was in consequence colossal.¹

Although hunting was not a separate institution in this period (as it was in the Mamlūk and Mughal periods when a separate department under the direction of the master of the chase was established)², a considerable amount of money was set apart for the purchase of predatory animals, their fodder, the staff needed for the upkeep of animals, the purchase of hunting weapons etc. Sābī and Ibn Zubayr have recorded with comparative details the expenses of the early Abbasid court. According to Ibn Zubayr, the yearly budget exclusively for the payment of the hunting staff of the Caliph Mutawakkil was 500,000 dirhams.³ This budget obviously did not include the purchase of animals, equipment and

1. Sābī, Wuzarā', p.24; idem, Rusūm, pp.24-25; Dhakhā'ir, p. 219; Fakhrī, p.75; EI², s.vv. Bayzra & Fahd (F. Viré); cf. also, E. Ashtor, Prix, p. 63.

2. EI², s.v. Bayzara (F. Viré).

3. Dhakhā'ir, p. 219.

other necessary provisions. If half a million dirhams were only spent/for the payment of the staff, then certainly a far greater amount would have been allocated for the purchase of animals (both predatory hunters and game-birds), their fodder and other hunting paraphernalia. Sābī in his Kitāb al-Wuzarā' has given a more detailed estimate of the hunting expenditure of the court of the Caliph Mu'tadid (279-289/892-902). He says that the monthly estimate of the amount paid to the hunting staff comprising of falconers, cheetah keepers, dog keepers, saker falcon keepers, other hunting experts, the lancers, people who knew the habits and disposition of the beasts, the trappers, elephant keepers and other assistants, porters and hangers-on as well as money spent on fodder and provisions of the predatory animals were 2500 dinars per month; the month being of 35 days. Apart from this an instalment of 50 dinars was given for the maintenance of equipments.¹ Regarding the budget of the Caliph Muqtadir's court (295-320/907-932) Sābī in another book Rusūm Dār al-Khilāfa records the total amount required for a host of things. But he does not give a breakdown of the expenditure by different commodities and uses. It is therefore very difficult to ascertain the exact portion of budget spent on a particular item. Sābī notes that the budget for the fodder of the beasts of burden, other animals and birds and some other items was 44,070 dinars per month. Similarly 42,007 dinars per annum were spent on purchasing birds, ostriches, and wild cows and their fodder along with some other items.² Thus it is clear that thousands of

1. Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 24

2. Rusūm, pp. 22, 24-25.

dinars were spent by the caliphs on hunting.

By way of comparison the annual budget of the near contemporary Fatimid Caliph al-'Azīz bi'llāh (975-96) may be mentioned here. The favourite hunting companion of this Caliph informs us that a sum of 50,000 dinars was granted to the grand falconer (al-Bayzār) to pay the salaries of the staff employed in the 'hunting department', to buy provisions for hunting animals, and to buy salūqī dogs and hawks. This amount did not include the extra grant paid to the incharge of the 'hunting department' for the purchase of other animals.¹

(b) Effects of hunting on general economic life.

Hunting with the aid of animals --- a diversion for the rich --- was an important source of income for a number of people. The caliphal palace required various sorts of people for the upkeep of hunting birds and beasts and experts to impart training to these predatory animals.² From the yearly salary of such a staff for the reign of Mutawakkil, it would seem, that a good number of people found employment for such types of works.³ The economic impact of the royal hunt was also considerable. The organization of the pastime led to the development of markets for hunting animals and birds and for their fodder; similarly a thriving trade in hunting equipment also sprang up.⁴ From the Tabassur bi'l-Tijāra (attributed to Jāhiz) it

1. Bayzara, p. 7

2. This is evident from the lists of hunting employees. See, for example, Sābi, Wuzarā', p.24; Dhakhā'ir, p.219.

3. Dhakhā'ir, p. 219.

4. EI, s.v. Bayzara (F. Viré); cf. also, A. Talas, al-Hayāt al-Ijtima'īyya fi'l-qarnayn al-thalith wa'l-rabi', in MMII, ii(1952), pp. 271-301.

appears that dealing in sporting birds was a very profitable business and various types of birds were imported to the Baghdad market to fulfil the need of the wealthy people.¹

To train a hawk was an art; therefore there existed a group of people who earned their livelihood from this business.² Apart from this, some of the poor people who took to hunting as a profession mostly depended on the income earned by selling game.³ A report belonging to the early 3rd/9th century shows that francolin at Basra was sold at one dinar each.⁴ Though the text does not explain whether these birds were snared ones or not, it can be assumed that these francolins were game birds, as our sources do not mention the domestication of francolins. The Basran grammarian Khalīl b. Ahmad al-Farāhīdī (100-70/718-86) is especially mentioned to have lived his life entirely on the income earned from the hunting profession and never accepted any gratuity from the court.⁵ Another anecdote shows that when a hunt enthusiast ascetic was asked why he had taken hunting as a profession, he replied that he did not find any other profession as profitable and enjoyable.⁶

1. Tijāra, pp. 34-35

2. I'tibār, pp. 198, 201.

3. Ibid, p. 200; Bayzara, p. 19; See, for an indirect reference, Jāhiz, Hayawān, v, pp. 439-40.

4. Ibn al-Jawzī, Humuqā, p. 70

5. Bayzara, p. 6.19. On Farāhīdī see, EI² s.v. (Ch. Pellat); also F. Viré, Le traite de l'art de volerie, Leiden, 1967, p. 7, n. 1.

Prices of hunting birds and beasts.

Some further indirect evidence about the expenses involved in the undertaking of the hunt may be gleaned from scattered information on the prices of hunting birds and beasts. These price estimates are of course very limited as a guide to the actual cost involved. It is impossible to give a set of figures that can be dated with precision. Hence it is impossible to either study movements in the prices of these animals or to compare them with the prices of other animals, commodities etc. over a time period. However, some conclusions can be drawn about the relative prices of hunting birds. In general these animals were highly priced in Abbasid society and only the rich could afford to buy them.

Our sources do not mention the prices of hunting birds and beasts of the early Abbasid period. Hunting treatises refer to them as very costly and therefore regard hunting by animals a game for the wealthy.¹ There are some reports about falcon prices of the late Abbasid period which may be taken as a specimen of the general price level. A report belonging to the 12th century shows that untrained falcon at that period was sold at 10-15 dinars each.² An anecdote relating to the early Abbasid period (3rd/9th century) mentions that a foolish man bought a dead falcon for two dirhams. When asked why did he buy a dead falcon for two

1. Masāyid, pp. 15-16; Bayzara, p. 20

2. I'tibār, p. 200. About the falcon prices in the Mamluk period see, Mangalī, Uns al-Malā', p.98-99 and Ashtor, Prix, p. 371.

dirhams, he replied that he could not think of buying an alive falcon even for 100 dirhams.¹ The anecdote throws no light on the prices of hunting birds, yet it can be gleaned from it that hunting birds were quite costly. The author of the Tabassur bi'l-Tijāra devotes a chapter on hawks and falcons and their better specimens brought from different lands to the Baghdād market but he does not mention their prices.² In his Kitāb al-Hayawān, Jāhiz compares the prices of hawks and falcons to the prices of pigeons and says that pigeons fetched a very handsome price; some of the pairs were sold at 500 dinars but no hawks fetched such prices.³ He also notes that pigeons brought from Wāsīt cost 30 dinars each.⁴ It is obvious that fully-trained birds must have cost a higher price. A tradition recorded by Kushājim in the course of his discussion on the legal aspects of hunting says that "the blood money of a hunting dog (دية كلب الصيد) is forty dirhams".⁵ If this hadīth is an un-authentic one, 40 dirhams might have been an ordinary price of a trained dog in the early Abbasid period. Jāhiz confirms this to be the value of a hunting dog by quoting the tradition twice in his Kitāb al-Hayawān.⁶ Unfortunately no price quotation is available regarding the prices of other hunting beasts such as cheetahs, weasels etc.

1. Ibn al-Jawzī, Humuqā, p. 28

2. Tijāra, (attributed to Jāhiz), pp. 34-35.

3. Hayawān, iii, p.212; he quotes 500 dinars a price for a single bird, therefore a pair might be a thousand dinars. At another place (vi, p.312) Jāhiz notes apparently very low prices for eagles (uqāb) :— a male eagle for 1 dirham; a female for half a dirham.

4. *Ibid*, iii, pp. 295-96.

5. Masāyid, p. 25. The same hadīth can also be seen in Rāghib, Muhādarāt, iv, p. 665.

6. Hayawān, i, pp. 217, 293; cf. also, Ashtor, Prix, p. 63.

As regards the prices of the bagged-birds supplied as quarry to the hunting birds in course of their training, no more than few instances can be cited. A francolin at this period is said to have been sold at the price of one dirham.¹ From a legal answer delivered by the son-in-law and heir apparent of the Caliph Ma'mūn, 'Alī al-Ridā', it emerges that an ordinary pigeon was equivalent to one dirham, a chicken to half a dirham and an egg to $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a dirham.² The trained pigeons used for race and communication was far dearer and according to Jāhiz a choice pair could be sold at 30 dinars; whereas a young one fetched three dinars and an egg two dinars.³

1. Ibn al-Jawzī, Humaqā, p. 70

2. Masāyid, p. 39.

3. Hayawān, iii, pp. 295-96; cf. also, p.212.

Compensation :--

There is no direct reference of the participation of the land farmers, peasants and beduins in the hunting expeditions occasionally organised at the biddings of the caliphs. Therefore it is rather difficult to assess what were the reactions of such people when a hunting-party marched through their fields and habitations. Whatever might be their reaction and the degree of their participation in such hunting expeditions, it is definitely known that the caliphs and other wealthy huntsmen paid full compensation for the damage of the crops and plantations caused by horse riding during the chase. From Kushājim's advice to the hunters it can be assumed that the peasants and small land owners expected fair and perhaps lavish compensation.¹ One particular instance of compensation at the orders of the Caliph Mutawakkil is recorded by Kushājim. It is narrated that on the return of some hunting expedition, this Caliph asked one of his secretaries, Ibn 'Itāb to estimate and pay for the damage of the crops which was amounted to three hundred thousand and eighty dirhams.²

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1. Kushājim, al-Bayzara, SOAS, Ms. No. 2091, fol. 5. Mercier (Chasse, p.51f.) without mentioning precise period writes that people from the country-side participated in hunting trips mainly to get some food.
 2. al-Bayzara, fol. 5

Section III

The Organization and requirements of the hunt.

The hunt was traditionally organized in the form of a large hunting party which set out from the metropolis for a specified period in order to engage in this pastime. Hunting parties that set out at the initiation or conclusion of a war consisted of the entire army and were elaborate affairs. The other, routine hunting parties were modest, when compared to their grand cavalcades. However they were quite an imposing sight.

Whenever the caliph or the wazir wished to go out hunting, they informed the "master of the chase" to make preparations. The master of the royal hunt now sent message to the archers, trappers, runners, servants and the keepers of cheetahs, falcons, hawks, hounds and horses who instantaneously got ready with their trained beasts and birds to march with the hunting party. This sort of party generally consisted of the members of the caliphal family, boon companions of the caliph, route guide, mu'adhdhins who were experts of locating places, determining times and familiar with rendezvous and movement of stars and planets, the faqīhs who were cognizant of lawful and unlawful affairs of hunting, eloquent Qur'ān readers, secretaries and well-known physicians.¹ All sorts of food provisions, drinks and first aid boxes of medicines were taken with the hunting party. Even salt, fire-steel, saltwort, toothpick and iron skewer for grill were not left behind.²

1. Kushājim, al-Bayzara, SOAS, Ms. Fol. 2; idem, Maṣāyid, p. 3f; Bayzara, p. 41f; 101-103; Sābī, Wuzarā', pp. 144-45; Nishwār, viii, 281; Diyārāt, p. 164; Fakhrī, pp. 73-74.

2. Ibid, al-Bayzara, fol. 2; cf. also, Mangalī, Uns al-Malā', p. 10.

Reaching the hunting ground the whole contingent pitched up their tents and made necessary preparations for hunting. Hunting with halqa or close-drive was a favourite method of the Abbasids.¹ Under certain conditions the hunting party would form a circuit surrounding and closing in on the spot in which the game happened to abound. Drums were beaten to drive the animals to the centre. The animals thus driven in the enclosure were attacked by huntsmen with sticks, maces, arrows and other weapons. No sooner did a bird fly or a hare or gazelle raise the dust than the hunter went in pursuit of it. If a grouse flew, the falcon engaged it; if a hare jumped out, the hawk was cast off to engage it or drive it towards the cheetahs which were instantaneously sent towards it.² In this way game was rarely given a chance to escape. The caliphs who were usually, in the meantime, enjoying the natural scene of the countryside were informed by the huntsmen to come and shoot as much game as they could from the enclosure.³ The hunting trips of the caliphs lasted for several days.⁴

The hunting of the lower social groups was of course differently organized. Many of the professional hunters, no doubt were allowed to join and serve in the royal hunting procession; others hunted on their own in much smaller groups and with very modest preparations.

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1. Fakhrī, pp. 73-74; Ibn Kāzarūnī, Mukhtasar al-Ta'rīkh (ed. Mustafa Jawād, Baghdad, 1970), p. 139.; Mercier, pp. 50-51.
 2. I'tibār, pp. 193, 202; cf. also, Mercier, Chasse, pp. 50-51.
 3. Fakhrī, p. 74; Abū Nasr, al-Hawā, p. 207; Mercier, p. 54.
 4. Ibn Mu'tazz, Dīwān, pp. 184, 145, 245-46, 282-83; Abū Nuwās, Dīwān, p. 206ff; cf. also, Mercier, Chasse, p. 51f.

Sayd al-Mudāfa'at (Hunting for the protection of lives,
Property and Agriculture).

The literature of the period does not provide us with instances of hunting being undertaken ^{exclusively} in order to protect lives and property. However, permission for such hunting is given in a hadīth according to which the Prophet commended a man for killing a mad camel and enjoined the Companion to destroy harmful and dangerous animals.¹ There is little doubt that especially in the villages of Abbasid Iraq, men frequently resorted to the hunting of animals which threatened crops and lives. Ibn al-ʿAwwām and Ibn Sīda have mentioned some of the harmful animals which were constant sources of trouble for agriculture and plantations. These animals were wild rabbits, rats, foxes, jackals, wild boars, weasels, hedgehogs, jerboas, hyenas etc. Other creatures like insects, locusts, snakes etc. have also been mentioned.² We find a great deal of evidence on the hunting of these animals in our sources but they do not mention specifically that these hunts were organised to exterminate harmful creatures. Wild boar hunting was a pastime of many celebrated hunters. A son of Hārūn al-Rashīd met his death while chasing a wild boar.³ Usāma recollects a number of occasions when he and his party engaged in boar hunting --- a task said to be tedious

1. See, Concordance, s.v. sayd ; cf. also, Masāyid, p. 37.

2. Ibn Wahsiyya, al-Filāha al-Nabatiyya, Vienna Library MS. fol. 23b; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, Filāha, fols, 155b-157a; Mukhassas. viii, pp. 91, 98, 117-8, 120, 141-3, 177, 182--cited by El-Sāmarrāʾī, Agriculture in Iraq, 3rd/9th century, p. 114.

3. Aghānī², x, p. 190.

and extremely dangerous.¹ Since boars, jackals, hyenas etc. were not eaten, it is reasonable to assume that these animals were hunted down mainly to protect agriculture and probably live-stocks too. We find reference to the fact that buffaloes were trained in the hilly border areas of Syria to destroy lions, leopards and other harmful creatures.²

Locusts have been mentioned as the only pest frequently attacking agricultural fields.³ These were caught and eaten. Locusts were also sold in the market.⁴ For pesticide Ibn Wahshīyya suggests either fumigation of the orchards during an attack by locusts or the destruction of their eggs during the hatching period.⁵

1. Usāma, I'tibār, p.214

2. Jāhiz, Hayawān, vii, p. 131ff; Nuwayrī, Nihāya, x, p.124.
There are some references which show that beasts attacked live-stock and killed them. (cf. for example, Jāhiz, Hayawān, v, p.355; Wakī', Akhbār al-Qudāt, ii, p.269).

3. See, for example, Kāmil, viii, pp. 106, 393-4.

4. Tanūkhī, ii, pp. 86, 198.

5. al-Filāha al-Nabatiyya, fol. 36b-37b- quoted by El-Sāmarra'i, op.cit, p. 115.

Hunting Practice and Fiqh :---

The religious literature of the period discusses various aspects of hunting in great detail. This provides some evidence about the popularity of the hunting pastime in Abbasid society. The unique position of the scholars and the 'ulamā' in Abbasid society which resulted mainly from their control of the judicial and legislative systems of the state, necessitated that their approval be sought on all occasions. The overwhelming importance of the 'ulamā' in this society is illustrated by the fact that the caliphs had to seek guidance and approval from the 'ulamā' even when they planned their excursions and pastimes. The fukahā' always accompanied the hunting parties.¹

The general principle on the basis of which the Fiqh permitted the "ṣayd" were quite clear. The Qur'ān says : "... Reply (to them) : (all) good things are made lawful for you. And those beasts and birds of prey which you have trained as hounds are trained, you teach them that which Allah taught you; so eat of that which they catch for you and mention Allah's name upon it, and observe your duty to Allah." ² There are a number of ahādīth which can be cited to prove that hunting is permissible under Islam.³ However, the fundamental sources of Islamic law detail the proviso under which hunting is considered permissible. The primary

1. See, Supra, p. 284

2. Qur'ān, V:5. The full verse is : يسألونك ماذا أحل لهم قل أحل لكم الطيبات وما علمتم من الجوارح مكلبين تعلمونهم مما أمركم الله فكلوا مما أمسك عليكم واذكروا الله عظيمه واتوا الله ان الله سريع الحساب

3. See, for example, Wensinck, Concordance, s.v. ṣayd.

objective, on the basis of which hunting is allowed under Islam, is to provide for the sustenance of the hunters.¹ In fact the social life of the Muslims in the days of the Prophet and the "Rightly Guided Caliphs" provided very little scope for the practice of hunting as a pastime. Hunting was undertaken by the beduins who considered agriculture as demeaning and would not attune themselves to urban life. They hunted for food. Hence no direct approval for the practice of hunting as a pastime could be gleaned from the primary Islamic sources. A number of theologians of the early Abbasid period and their successors discussed various legal problems relating to hunting and also provided solutions to a number of hypothetical questions that might arise in the course of a hunt.² This is why the legal problems of hunting constitute the introductory part of almost all the works dealing with falconry and venery.³

However, the avid interest that the fugahā' took in this field shows the popularity of hunting. The religious literature thus testifies to the fact that in early Abbasid society hunting was a common practice for the rich and had an effect on the social life of the poor people.

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1. See the Ahādīth relating to hunting and the books on Fiqh.
 2. The Imām Shafi'i (d. 204/819), Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), Muḥd. b. Ḥasan (d. 189/804) compiled special treatises entitled Kitāb al-Sayd wa'l-dhabā'ih (cf. Fihrist, pp. 286, 288, 296). See, for a clear account of the different positions adopted by each of the four schools of law, Averroes, Le livre de la chasse, extr. of the Bidāya, text and trans., annotated by F. Viré in Revue Tunisienne de Droit, nos. 3-4, Tunis, 1954, 228-59; cf. also the chapter on hunting contained in the books of law (e.g., Hidāya, s.v. Bāb al-sayd wa'l-dhabā'ih = Eng. Tr. by Hamilton). cf. also, Mercier, Chasse, pp. 38-41.
 3. See, for example, Masāyid, pp. 14-40; cf. also, FI², s.v. Bayzara (F. Viré).

Chapter V

Indoor and Outdoor Games

The Abbasids practised a number of sports, some of which were inherited from their forefathers while others were adopted from foreign societies. Among their outdoor sports, horse-racing, archery, running, polo, wrestling etc., had a notable place. Chess, backgammon and the like were popular as indoor games. The literature surviving from this period throws insufficient light on such questions as whether or not the Abbasid period saw the emergence of new sports --- or even the introduction of improvements into games and pastimes already known.

Outdoor games were played not only for recreation, but also for physical exercise and military training, whilst indoor games were regarded as a means to sharpen the mental faculties.

Outdoor Games.

Horse-racing :---

Horse-racing had been a major sport of the Arabs, even in pre-Islamic days. During the Islamic period there developed a strong impetus towards the breeding, maintenance and training of horses as one of the means facilitating the prosecution of the jihād. The Prophet regarded horse raising as a meritorious calling and assigned to it a share in the booty obtained on the field of battle. This religious sanction fostered a competitive attitude amongst the breeders and encouraged the augmentation of the stock which suffered a considerable depletion in the course of the wars of that time. Cavalry was in fact to become an

important factor in the military success of the Muslims. It is not surprising, therefore, that under the Abbasids a rich literature came into being which contained information on hippology, horse-breeding, the genealogies of horses and their various categories, on race-courses, horse-racing, farriery and equitation. No other animal evoked from the writers of the time so large^a number of literary works, both in prose and poetry.¹

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1. Ibn Nadīm mentions the following works on the horse and on matters relating to it : K.al-Khayl of Abū 'Ubayda (d.210/824); K.al-Khayl, K. khalq al-faras and K. al-sarj wa'l-lijām of Asna'i (d.213/828), the famous grammarian; the K.al-Khayl has been edited and published (Vienna, 1875) by Haffner; K.al-Khayl of Ahmad b. Hātim (d.231/854); K.khalq al-faras of Ibrāhīm al-Zujāj (d.310/922); K.khayl al-kabīr and K. khayl al-saghīr and K. al-sarj wa'l-lijām of Ibn Durayd (d.321/933); K.al-khayl and K. nasab al-khayl of Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-A'rabī (d.231/845); one of his books has been edited and published (Leiden, 1928) by G. Levi Della Vida under the title K. Asmā' al-khayl wa fursāniḥā ; K. khalq al-faras of Ibn Abī Thābit; K.khalq al-khayl of Hishām b. Ibrāhīm al-Kirmānī; K. khalq al-faras of Qāsim al-Anbārī; K. khayl al-sawābiq of Khawlānī; K.khalq al-faras of al-Washshā' (d. 325/936-7); K. al-khayl of Hishām al-Kalbī (d.207/822); this work has been published (Leiden, 1928) by G. Levi Della Vida under the title "K. Nasab al-khayl fī'l-Jāhiliyya wa'l-Islām"; K. al-khayl wa'l-riḥān of al-Madā'inī (d.215/830); K. al-halā'ib wa'l-riḥān of Ahmad al-Khazzāz (d.258/871); K. al-khayl bi khatt Ibn al-Kūfī of Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb ; K.al-halā'ib wa ijrā' al-khayl of Muḥd. b. Salām al-Jumhī; K.al-fursān of Abū Khalīfa (d.305/917); K.sifat al-khayl wa'l-ardiya wa asmā'ihā bi Makka wa mā wālāhā

** The book has been re-edited and published (Continued..) by Ahmad Zakī Pashā from Daru'l-kutub al-Misriyya, in 1946.

Horse-racing (sibāq al-khayl or ijrā' al-khayl) --- a part and parcel of furūsiyya (equitation) --- was regarded as essential for military training and also as an object of entertainment for the caliphs, princes and for people in other walks of life. Long maydāns (hippodromes) in Baghdad, Samarra, Raqqa, Shamāshiya etc. were set apart for this purpose.¹ Islam forbade gambling (maysir)--- but allowed the placing of wagers in respect of archery (naṣal), foot-racing (qadam) and horse-racing (hāfir).² At the horse races there were prizes offered by the caliphs, by the high dignitaries of the court (e.g., the wazir) and also by affluent members of society.³ A special horse called muhallil or dakhil was allowed to take part in a race with

(Continued from the last page):-- of Abū al-Ash'ath; K. akhbār al-faras wa-ansābuhā of Abū'l-Hasan al-Nassāba; K. al-khayl of Qādī al-Ashnā'ī; K. al-khayl of al-'attābī; K. al-khayl of al-'Utbī (d.228/842); K. al-khayl al-kabīr of Ahmad b. Abī Tāhir (d.280/893); K. jamhara al-ansāb al-faras of Ibn Khurdādhbih (d. about 300/912) (cf. Fihrist, pp. 80,82,83,91, 92,103,104,105,112,119,126,141,153,155,165,166,175,176,210, 213). Mas'ūdī (Murūj, iv, pp.24-25) mentions a book called al-Jalā'ib wa'l-Halā'ib written by the famous muhaddith and historian, 'Isā b. Lahī'a --- a work which, according to him, included a detailed description of almost every race (halba) of the Jāhiliyya and the Muslim eras. For further furūsiyya literature see, EI², s.vv. Faras (F.Viré) and Furūsiyya (G. Douillet); D. Ayalon, Scripta, ix, p.31ff. and H.Ritter, in Der Islam, xviii, p.116ff.

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1. Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', p.207; Iqd, i, p.194; cf. also Jurjī Zaydān; Tamaddun, v, p. 158. For the description of the maydān, see below, pp. 316-317.
2. Concordance svv. hāfar, naṣal; cf. also Ibn Hudhayl, Hilyat al-fursān fī shi'ār al-shuj'ān, p.142; anonymous, al-Risāla fī'l-rimāya, SOAS, Ms. No.46339, fol, 159.
3. EI², s.v. Furūsiyya (G.Douillet); cf. also, Mercier, La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes, pp. 200-201.

the condition that its owner made no wager, but received the whole amount staked by all other entrants, if his horse won.¹

A race could take place only between horses of the same class, age, blood, degree, training etc. One could, however, hold a race between a trained and untrained horse provided that no wager was being placed on the occasion. Moreover, the length of the course was to be precisely defined for the race. According to Asna'ī, the length of the 'run' was fixed by the age of the horses as follows: at two years, 40 bowshot (about 7500 metres); at three years, 60 bowshot (about 11,300 metres); at 4 years, 80 bowshot (about 18,800 metres).²

Between two competitors, a race is authorised only if it does not take place on a bet or if the stake is furnished entirely by one of the two competitors, in such a way that one recovers the bet if he wins and loses it if he is beaten. The winner of the race is the horse who, upon reaching the goal, passes the other at least by an ear, if the two necks are equal in length; if not he must be at least a shoulder ahead. In case of a tie the bet should, however, be divided between the two winners.³

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1. Ibn Hudhayl, Hilya, pp. 143-44; ʿIqd, i, p.207; Risāla fī'l-rināya, SOAS, Ms. No.46339, fols. 161-63; EI², s.v. Furūsiyya (G. Douillet); cf. also, Mercier, Chasse, 199.
 2. Mercier, Chasse, pp. 198-99 --- quoting from Asna'ī and other furūsiyya Mss. The Prophet organised races at Madīna from Hafya to Thaniyyat al-Wadā' (60 ghalwa) for mature horses and from Thaniyyat al-Wadā' to Banū Zurayq (10 ghalwa) for young horses. (cf. al-Aqwāl al-Kāfiya, Br. Mus. Ms. Or.3830, fol.58; Hilya, p.141; also EI², s.v. Furūsiyya (G. Douillet).
 3. Mercier, Chasse, p. 199---- deriving from Arabic furūsiyya manuscripts. See also Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Furūsiyya, pp. 100-101.

It is also evident that one man could enter more than one horse in a race. Khālīd al-Barnakī is said to have won the first three prizes in a race organised by the Caliph Mansūr.¹ It appears that the horses, at the start of a race, as a rule, were placed in a line, the straightness of that line being determined by stretching in front of them a long thread known as miqwas.²

It appears that, during the period here under review, two methods of horse-racing were in vogue which can be described as long distance races and hippodrome races. In the former a bamboo pole was fixed at a point far distant from the starting-post and the horseman who first plucked it from the ground was considered to have won the race.³

In a maydān (hippodrome) race the 'field' (ḥalba) consisted of ten horses. Seven tokens (qasab) were placed on lances set within an enclosure (ḥujra) --- capacious to hold eight horses only. The tokens placed on the lances generally constituted clothing or piece of embroidered garment, purses containing silver etc.⁴ The first eight horses of the 'field' were allowed to enter the enclosure. Seven received prizes according to their final placing in the race and only the eighth was denied a prize, its

1. Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', pp. 207-208.

2. 'Iqd, i, p. 207; Hilya, p. 174; Mercier, Chasse, p. 200.

3. 'Iqd, i, pp. 194-95; Irshād, iv, pp. 116-117; EI², s.v. Turūsiyya, ; cf. also Λ. Talas, al-Hayāt al-ijtimā'iyya. in MMII, ii(1952), pp. 277-78.

4. Mercier, Chasse, p. 200. The prophet is reported to have offered the winners of a particular race, organised by him between Thaniyat al-Wadā' and Masjid Zurayq, prizes as following :- 1st, three Yanani Hulla (pieces of clothing); 2nd, two hulla; 3rd one hulla; 4th, one dinar, fifth, one dirḥām; sixth, one token and the others blessings of God. (cf. Kalbī, Ansāb al-Khayl, ed. Zakī Pasha, Cairo, 1946, p. 8, n. 2. ---

admission to the enclosure being regarded as a sufficient reward. According to the order of finishing each of the ten horses was given a special name.¹ Mas'ūdī and other writers have listed these names (with slight variations)² :

- 1st. Sābiq, the winner.
- 2nd. Mutabarriz, the fighter; the champion.
- 3rd. Mujallī, the horse, who, because of its success in a race, removes his master's sorrow.
- 4th. Muṣallī (from sala, i.e., the extreme end of the tail), so named because it sets the front of its head near the tail of the preceding horse.
- 5th. Muṣallī (from suluww, i.e., consolation), because it brings pleasure to its master and dispels some of his anxieties. Tha'ālībī calls the fifth horse 'Ātif, the comforter.
- 6th. Tālī, the follower. It was also known as hazī, the lucky one.
- 7th. Murtāh³, the contented.
- 8th. Mu'ammil, the hopeful.
- 9th. Latīm (thrown out of the enclosure), so called because it had sought to reach the goal, but had failed to do so.
- 10th. Sukkayt, the silenced, so called because its master was overcome by humiliation and was unable to talk about the race.

1. Hilya, pp. 144-47; EI², s.v. Furūsiyya; Mercier, Chasse, p. 200; cf. also 'Abd al-Qādir, Nukhba., pp. 245-8. A report to be found in Yāqūt's Irshād regarding a horse-race organised at the bidding of the Umayyad Caliph Hishām, is very unusual and difficult to believe. In this particular race, four thousand horses are reported to have participated over a distance of 250 ḡhalwa. Hundred tokens were placed and the row of the horses stretched over a distance of six bow shot. (cf. Irshād, iv, pp. 116-17)

2. Marūj, viii, 359-72; he has also recorded a poem which describes the merits of the horses participating in a race ----- a description which underlines the keen interest
(Continued.)

The Muslims used to fasten a rope around the last horse and place a monkey on its back with a whip in its hand to lash the horse, thus putting its master to shame and humiliation, while the owners of the winning horses were welcome with ovation and received robes of honour.¹

Horse-racing, during the early Abbasid period, was popular amongst people from all walks of life. Even the caliphs, the princes and the wazirs vied with each other in the breeding of race-horses. The scattered material available on this topic does not throw sufficient light on the organization of these races, the financing of them and their frequency. Jahshiyārī, however, notes that in the court circle such races were arranged at the bidding of the caliphs. Thus Ja'far al-Barmakī organized a horse-race at Raqqa in response to an order from the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd--- a race in which the horse of the Caliph was beaten by that of the wazir.² In another account, given by Mas'ūdī, it is known that Hārūn al-Rashīd became overjoyed, when he found that his horse ran first and that of his son second.³

(Continued from the last page). of the public in these matters. (op.cit). A similar list with slight variations can also be seen in Ibn Hudhayl, Hilya, pp. 144-46.

3. Murtāh has been regarded by some authors as the fifth horse. In that case the word derives from rawāh, the palm of the hand, which signifies five numbers. (cf. Hilya, 145).

1. Murūj, viii, 371-72; Iqd, i, 208; cf. also, Mercier, Chasse, pp. 200-201.

2. Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', pp. 207-208.

3. Murūj, vi, pp. 348-49. A similar story can be seen in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, (Iqd, i, pp. 194-5) where it is mentioned that in a race held in the year 185/801, the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, having won the race asked the grammarian, Asma'i to extol his horse by describing the various parts of the horse's body in a poem --- a poem which contains a rich vocabulary of technical terms relating to the horses.

It is interesting to note that people used to call their horses by a specific name,¹ e.g., a favourite horse of Hārūn al-Rashīd was called mushammir.²

A horse before competing in a race had to undergo a period of training, termed tadnīr or idmār, which lasted for some forty to sixty days. Special care was taken by the trainer to bring the horse into good condition. It was supplied with fodder early in the morning and evening --- with grass and barley for a week and then the quantity of grass was gradually decreased, until its fodder consisted only of barley. The horse was ridden daily for a shawt (round, course) or two. The excess weight of the horse was sweated off under a few blankets, a process known as ijlāl. Before being entered for a race, horses were generally given a trial run over the distance specified for the stake. If the horse was not over-exhausted and panting, it was considered well-trained and fit for the competition.³

With regard to the qualities which the Muslims prized in a horse, Asma'ī states that a thoroughbred should have a tall belly (batn) and short back (zahr), long shanks to the front legs (tūl al-wazīfatain fī'l-rijlain) and short shanks to the hind legs (qasr al-wazīfatayn fī'l-yadain).⁴ Other good "signs" (shiyāt) of horses were the "blaze" (ghurar), the "stockings" (tahjīl) i.e., white markings at the foot of the legs, and the dawā'ir i.e., tufts of hair

1. 'Iqd, i, pp. 195, 200 ; Aqwāl al-Kāfiya, Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 3830, fols, 99 seq. Kalbī, K. Ansāb al-khayl fī'l-Jāhiliyya wa'l-Islām, p. 5ff.

2. 'Iqd, i, p. 200; cf. also 'Abd al-Qādir, Nukhbat 'Iqd al-Ajyād, p. 253.

3. Hāliya, pp. 149-50; K. al-Baytara, Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 1523 fols. 37-46; cf. also EI², s.v. Furūsiyya (G. Douillet).

4. Asma'ī, Kitāb al-Khayl, pp. 15-17

growing in different directions.¹ The shape of the "upper parts" (al-a'ālī) and the "under-side" (al-sāfil) and the "fore-hand" (al-maqādin) and hinderquarters (al-na'ākhir), its posture, its manner of walking and trotting, its speed and stamina --- all these points were taken into consideration by horse lovers.²

Full knowledge of the principles of equitation was necessary for riders willing to compete in a race.³ The advice given by medieval Arab writers to aspiring riders is simple. The main points observed by the riders are the firmness of the seat (thubāt) and the evenness of the reins (taswīyat al-'inān).⁴ There is no specific period for training in horse riding. The firmness is acquired by riding bare-back ('alā'l-'ārī), the rider being held in position by the grip of his thighs. As soon as the rider has some measure of experience, he is advised to use saddle and fork seat. The rider has to practice riding over short and long distances regularly until he masters it and becomes an efficient rider.⁵ The Turks are regarded by Jāhiz as the masters of horse-riding and fighting with bows and arrows and other weapons.⁶

Under the Abbasids racing would seem to have been a passionate interest. The people, in general, being unable to meet the expenses of horse-racing, held competitions involving camels, donkeys, mules, dogs etc.⁷ The two-humped racing-camels were known as 'bukhtī'.⁸

1. EI², s.v. Faras (F.Viré).

2. Ibid.

3. Hilya, p. 131.

4. Ibid, p. 131 ff. cf. also EI², s.v. Furūsiyya.

5. Ibid.

6. Rasā'il, i, p. 45.

7. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, al-Furūsiyya, pp. 4, 8ff.; cf. also As'ad Talas, in MMII, 1952, pp. 277-78; Mez, 457. The rules
(Continued).

Pigeon-flying :--

Pigeon-flying (zajl or zijāl) in competitions enjoyed also a wide popularity.¹ Pigeons like horses, called forth a considerable literature, most of which seems to have been lost.² Being less expensive than horses pigeons offered to the most of the people a readily available means to satisfy their love of gambling. The populace became so infatuated that pigeon-racing became a social problem. The government sometimes had to take repressive measures against it, ordering the demolition of dove-cotes (abrāj, harādī) on the grounds that the privacy of the women dwelling nearby might be endangered and that the clamour of pigeon-trainers

(continuation from the last page). and regulations governing the races between these animals were probably the same as in the case of horses. On the analogy of the legality of horse-racing, the Imam Abū Hanīfa and Shāfi'ī regarded it lawful to organise races of camels, mules, donkeys etc. and placing of wagers on them. The Imam Mālik and Ahmad b. Hanbal, however, discouraged such races and regarded horse-racing to be the only lawful ḥafir (hoof) game mentioned in the famous Prophetic tradition. But the majority of the fugahā' (Jamhūr) regarded camel-racing to be lawful. (cf. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Furūsiyya, p. 8).

8. Mez, Renaissance, p. 457.

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1. Jāhiz, Hayawān, ii, pp. 256-57.
 2. Ibn Nadīm, in his Fihrist, mentions a number of books written during the time of the early Abbāsids, e.g., the K. al-Hamān of the philologist, Abū 'Ubayda (d.210/824); the K. Ansāb al-Hamān and K. nā wurida fī tafdīl al-tayr al-hādī of a certain Ibn Tarkhān al-Mughannī; and the Risāla fī tanwīkh al-Hamān, of al-Kindī (cf. Fihrist, pp. 80, 222, 242). Qaṣashandī notes that a certain al-Qawwas al-Baghdādī wrote a book on pigeons for the Abbasid Caliph Nāsir --- an ardent pigeon enthusiast. (cf. Subh, ii, 87ff; xiv, p. 369 ff.). The Mamluk scholar Qādī Mūhī'l-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir (620-92/1123-93) is said to have compiled a book called K. Tamā'im al-Hamā'im. (cf. ET, s.v. Hamān) by F. Viré,

and their hurling stones at pigeons sitting on adjacent roof-tops was a cause of public disturbance.¹ We are also told that in Baghdad there was a market called "sūq al-tuyūr," wherein the chief article of sale was pigeons.² In this market a young pigeon, according to Ghazūlī, was sold at 20 dinars and a pigeon egg at five dinars.³ The pigeon-fanciers, however, did not hesitate to pay large amounts of money to obtain choice pigeons whose records of pedigree (dafātīr al-ansāb) were carefully kept. If the report of Jāhiz be true, the price of such pedigree birds reached 500 dinars each in the Baghdad market.⁴ Jāhiz notes that a pair of pigeons is as productive as a landed estate and in the markets of Baghdad and Basra a young male pigeon of good pedigree will fetch 20 dinars or more, a female 10 dinars or more, and an egg 5 dinars.⁵ Similarly, pigeons brought from the city of Wāsiṭ were highly prized. A Wāsiṭī pigeon was sold, at this period, at 30 dinars, a fledgeling at 3 dinars and an egg at 2 dinars.⁶ Jāhiz observes that, although pigeon-racing was popular among people from almost all walks of life, it was the khīṣyān (eunuchs) who showed the greatest interest in it.⁷

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1. Muntazan, viii, pp. 294, 303; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, x, 85; Damīrī, Hayawān, s.v. hamām. According to Hamadānī (Maqānat, p. 168.) thieves and burglars used pigeons as their aide in their theft. They released the pigeon onto the roof-top of a house and followed the bird pretending to be a pigeon-fancier.
 2. Jāhiz, Hayawān, i, p. 118; Manāqib Baghdād (attributed to Ibn al-Jawzī), p. 26.
 3. Maṭālī, ii, p. 260.
 4. Jāhiz, Hayawān, iii, p. 212.
 5. Ibid, iii, pp. 212.
 6. Ibid, iii, pp. 295-96
 7. Ibid, i, p. 118; cf. also Bayhaqī, Mahāsīn, p. 611.

The method used for training the homing pigeons (zājil, pl. zawājil) was that the moment the young pigeon, having grown its feathers, left the nest and tried to fly, it was compelled to return to the nesting place through narrow-pierced holes at the foot of the loft (burj). The bird was thus persuaded to climb up the top of the loft along the steps of the ladder. This process was repeated several times, till the muscles of the bird became sturdy and its homing instinct became "experienced" (mujarrab). To intensify the homing instinct of the bird, it was mated at a very early stage. To ensure that the affection of the bird for its mate would bring it back, when taken away from it, the owner carried it in a basket and released it. This manoeuvre was continued for sometime, the distance being increased every day.¹

A second method of training was to raise a long post on the roof of a tall house. Around this post the food of the bird was scattered and the bird was taken there twice a day. After having been fed, it was released to fly over the nearby houses, the point of release being extended gradually further and further from the food. The owner of the bird took special care to see that no pair of birds was released at the same time; if the male mate was to be released, the feathers of its female mate were plucked out and vice-versa. Once the bird was accustomed (muwattān) to this training, it could return with ease to the post from distant places.²

1. EI², s.v. Ḥamān (F.Viré); Sabbāgh, Musābaqāt al-barq wa'l-ḥamān, p. 53ff.

2. Jāhīz, Ḥayawān, iii, pp. 274-5.

From the observations of Jāhiz it appears that a wide publicity was given to each pigeon-flying competition before it was held. We are told that on one occasion a large number of people gathered on a high place merely to enjoy the sight of the pigeons returning home at the end of a particular contest.¹ Despite demands from some quarters that pigeon-racing be declared illicit, some of the fuqahā legalised this sport on the grounds that it was useful in warfare and as a means of rapid communication.² The people of this time, taking advantage of this approval, satisfied their interest in it by placing bets on competitions. The Abbasid Caliphs Maḥdī, Hārūn al-Rashīd, Wāthiq and Nāṣir were all known to be addicted to this pastime.³ It is reported that, realizing the enthusiasm of Hārūn al-Rashīd for pigeon-racing, one ḥadīth narrator concocted a ḥadīth by adding the word ḥanām to the well-known tradition of the Prophet, wherein archery and horse-racing received encouragement. The Caliph, however, ordered the pigeon which had occasioned this deceit to be killed, saying that it had led a man to concoct a ḥadīth for him.⁴

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1. Jāhiz, Ḥayawān, iii, pp. 256. It has been reported that some birds were able to fly from the Bosphorus to Basra, from Cairo to Damascus or from Tunis to Cairo in a single flight. (cf. EI², s.v. Ḥanām, by F. Viré).
 2. Damīrī, Ḥayawān, s.v. Ḥanām; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Furūsiyya, p. 8. ; Ṣabbāgh, Musābaḥāt al-barq, p. 29.
 3. EI², s.v. Ḥanām (F. Viré). See also, Murūj, vi, p. 314.
 4. 'Abd al-Qādir, Nukhbat 'Iqd al-Ajyād, p. 239.

\ Polo :---

Unlike pigeon-racing, the game of polo (la'b bi-sawlajān) was limited to the higher and more sophisticated elements in Abbasid society.¹ The Abbasid caliphs, especially Hārūn al-Rashīd and Mu'tasim, were very fond of this pastime.² They used to play this game often with their nadīns. Tabarī records that the Caliph Mu'tasim was seen playing sawlajān with his nadīm Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, both of them wearing a light sports costume called sudra.³ Like the caliphs, their wazirs also took keen interest in this sport. 'Ubayd Allāh, the wazir of the Caliph Mu'tadid, is said to have been in the habit of practising it regularly.⁴ It is possible that the soldiers also paid much attention to this sport and practised it as a part of their military training. The Turkish soldiers, according to Jāhiz, played it skilfully.⁵ The details found in our sources are, however, inadequate to provide a full picture of this game which was widely played in court-circles.

Sawlajān (the word is an Arabic version of the Persian Čawgān) originated in Persia and came into the Muslim usage possibly during the Umayyad period.⁶ It was under the early

1. Tabarī, iii, pp. 496, 1326-27, 1808; Murūj, vii, 298; Mez, 406.

2. Ibid, iii, pp. 1326-27; Murūj, viii, p. 296; Kāmil, vi, p. 216; Ibn Qayyīn al-Jawziyya, Ahkām ahl al-dhimma, i, p. 220.

3. Tabarī, iii, pp. 1326-27. On one occasion, Mu'tasim's Turkish General, Afshīn refused to play against him because Afshīn did not want to be against the Caliph even in a game. (Ibn al-'Abbās, Āthār al-Uwal, p. 130 -- cited by Hitti in the History of the Arabs, p. 339.)

4. Quatremere, Mamlukes, i, 125--- quoting from the History of Bibars -- Mansourī man. Arab. 668, fol. 38.

5. Jāhiz, Rasā'il, i, p. 21.

6. EL², s.v. Čawgān (H. Massé). Mercier (p. 226) considers it an "Aryan" invention. On the authority of Tabarī he also notes that polo was played in Persia as early as the 4th century before Christ in the court of Darius III. (cf. Chasse, pp. 223-26).

Abbasids that it became a favourite pastime of the caliphs and other affluent members of society. The game was generally played on horse-back.¹ It appears that, to avoid all danger in the game, a limited number of people took part in it. According to the Qābūsnāna four people formed such a team.² Players were divided into two teams, each carried a long-handled stick with the end bent back (sawlajān).³ The game was started by one of the players throwing the ball as high into the air as possible. Another caught it and did the same thing, and thus the ball passed from player to player. Each team tried to get the ball between two posts defended by the opponents --- the posts being located at the end of a pitch so large that it gave ample freedom of movement for the evolutions of the mounted participants in the game.⁴

The players, as a rule, had to be very careful in playing the game as not to injure the other players or smash the ball, even though half a dozen of these balls were worth only one dirham.⁵ Balls were generally made of leather.⁶ The Caliph Mutwakkil is said to have been in the habit of playing polo with leather balls and wooden sticks.⁷ His

1. EI², s.v. Čawgān (H. Massé).

2. Qābūsnāna quoted by R. Levy in "A Mirror for Princes". According to Quatremere (Mamluke, p.122f.) and Mercier (Chasse, pp. 224-25) 6 men constituted a team--- two at the entry of the arena, two in the middle and two on the far side.

3. EI², s.v. Čawgān (H. Massé). Quoting Quatremere, Mercier states that the word sawlajān corresponds to the modern club, while čawgān indicates a kind of small racket with a very long handle. (cf. Chasse, p. 223)

4. EI², s.v. Čawgān (H. Massé); Jurjī Zaydān, Tanaddun, v, p. 159. See also the pictorial representation of the game in Mercier's Chasse, Plate no. 9, facing p. 224.

5. Ibn Qutayba, Uyūn, i, p. 134; cf. also Mez, p. 406.

6. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Ahkām ahl al-dhinna, i, p. 220.

7. Ibid, i, p. 220.

Christian nadīm Salma b. Sa'īd once disclosed to the Caliph that his ostentatious wazir 'Abd Allāh b. Yahyā spent thirty thousand dinars on balls and polo-sticks made from silver--- an information which incurred the displeasure of the Caliph and led him to take some drastic actions.¹ To prevent any interference with the spectators, sitting on the wall of the maydān (hippodrome) the polo players 'made the course 60 yards broad'.²

Tabṭāb :---

The game of tabṭāb was quite common at the court of the Abbasids.³ It appears to have been one of the most popular of the furūsiyya games.⁴ The game of tabṭāb, it would seem, was very much similar to polo-playing. It was played on horseback with a broad piece of wood or racket (tabṭāb) and a ball.⁵ The game of tabṭāb is reported as one of the favourite pastimes of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who is also credited to be the first among the Abbasid caliphs to have played it in a maydān.⁶ The Turkish troops of the Abbasids are reported by Jāhiz, to have been the champions of the game of tabṭāb.⁷

1. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Ahkām ahl al-dhimma., i, p.220.

2. 'Uyūn, i, p.134; Mez, p.406. In the time of the Mamluk sultanate, polo games began, as a rule, after the Zuhr prayer and continued till the 'Asr prayer, i.e., from about 2 p.m. until 5 p.m. (cf. D'Aréval, Scripta, ix(1961), pp. 53-54---quoting from Qalqashandī, Subh, iv, p.47).

3. Murūj, viii, p. 296

4. Jāhiz, Rasā'il, i, p. 21; ii, p. 376.

5. Lisān and Lane, s.vv. Tabṭāb. cf. also Ahmad Taynūr, Al'āb al-'Arab, pp. 54-55. Hitti's (History of the Arabs, pp. 339-40) suggestion that tabṭāb might have been 'tennis in its rudimentary form' does not seem correct as the game of tabṭāb was generally played on horseback. (cf. Jāhiz, Rasā'il, ii, p.376). The rules and regulations of the game were probably the same as in polo.

6. Murūj, viii, p. 296

7. Jāhiz, Rasā'il, i, p.21.

Birjās :---

The game called birjās¹ was widely practised at this time.² It was more a military exercise than a public game. According to Mas'ūdī, the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd was the first Caliph to play birjās in the hippodrome.³ It was a game in which the players, mounted on horses, rode one after the other, releasing arrows at a target.⁴ It is reported that during the reign of the Caliph Mu'tadid regular military training was carried out by means of this game. The mounted troops had to participate in the game of birjās as a test by which their proficiency was judged and their rate of pay fixed.⁵ Each horseman was asked to shoot at the birjās target; if he shot correctly, remaining firm and still, and kept the reins of his horse under control, his name was enrolled in the group ج , an abbreviation of jayyid,

1. The word appears with (ج) in Mas'ūdī (Murūj, viii, p. 296) and with (ج) in Sābī (Wuzarā', p. 17).

2. Murūj, viii, p. 296; Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 17

3. Ibid. viii, p. 296.

4. Dozy, Suppl. s.v. Birjās; Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 17. Redhouse defines birjās as "a mark to shoot at". According to Steingass it is "a butt to shoot at, especially elevated high in the air". (cf. D. Ayalon, Scripta, 1961, p. 56, n. 141; also, Latham and Paterson, Saracen Archery, p. 83). Mercier, (from his observation of miniature paintings in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) defines the game of birjās as 'a particular target, an empty cylinder or barrel set up horizontally on four legs. The horsemen passed at a gallop, normally with an axe and at a certain distance from the cylinder, threw it while arriving in front of its opening, and the axe had to pass straight through'. (cf. Chasse, p. 205). According to the observations of Latham and Paterson, birjās is a 'ring or hoop mounted on a spear for use in lance exercises. Under certain circumstances it may also have served as a target for archers in training.' (Saracen Archery, p. 180). On the authority of a sixteenth-century Paris MS. entitled Kitāb al-makhzūn jāmi' al-funūn (Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe, 2826, fols. 104a-b) Latham and Paterson note that in the game of birjās the cavalrman, having set a hoop by means of a wooden truck on top of a short lance, charge and, engaging the target on his left, aims to snatch up the hoop with the end of his full-length 'candle-form' lance. (Saracen Archery, p. 83).

5. Sābī, Wuzarā', pp. 17-18.

meaning excellent; whereas those who missed the target narrowly were placed in group ḥ, an abbreviation of mutawassit, meaning mediocre; and those who arrived late, could not ride well or failed to hit the target came under group ḍ, an abbreviation of dūn (pl. of adwan), meaning inferior.¹ The Turkish soldiers, being traditionally good archers, excelled at the game of birjās.²

Archery :--

Archery (ramī al-nushshāb) was one of the most popular games of this period. Since the bow was a main weapon in war, the game of archery was always regarded with special favour and esteem. The Abbasids devoted much attention towards the maintenance of archery, which now assumed sufficient importance to attract the attention of numerous authors who compiled treatises on this subject.

Archery was one of the main elements in the military training and the furūsiyya exercises practised under the Abbasids. The sources written during or soon after the 3rd/9th century often refer to archery, but give few details about it. Some information of value relating to this particular century can be gleaned, however, from later works of furūsiyya composed in the time of the later Abbasids, the Ayyubids and the Mamluks.

In flight shooting (ramī al-sibāq) preference was given to arrows which were round, thin, spindle-shaped, light, hard and strong. It was thinned down near the nock

1. Sābī, Wuzarā', pp. 17-18.

2. Jāhiz, Rasā'il, i, p. 21.

and trimmed with pinion feathers.¹ People practised archery in a number of ways, and on special occasions competitions were held amongst renowned archers. A novice generally practised archery by shooting against targets of all kinds : near, still and moving. It appears that in trick shooting the archer used various methods of releasing the arrow and aimed at different types of targets.² For "still targets" archers made use of "imitation horsemen" and "opposing targets". In the former case, material the height of a mounted horseman was set in position; a disc about a span in diameter was attached to it, representing a horseman's head; and a shield about three spans in diameter was placed one span below the disc. The target was located at a distance equivalent to the cast of the bow, and arrows were aimed at the shield and the "head". In the second method, four targets were set up, one to the right, another to the left, the third in front and the fourth to the rear. The archer, having planted his feet firmly on the ground, had to stand in the centre, holding four arrows between his fingers, and shoot them at the four targets, moving only his waist and not his feet.³

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1. Arab Archery, p.117; Saracen Archery, p. 104; Qissat caws wa sahm, Br. Mus. MS. Or.3134, fol. 32. These arrows, including the arrowhead and the feathers, weighed six to eight dirhams. (cf. Arab Archery, p.118). The Manluk author Taybughā' notes that the lighter the arrow, the greater its range; the lightest flight arrows in his experience weighed six dirhams (285.6 gr.) cf. Saracen Archery, p. 104. The weight of a competition bow was heavier than that of a normal bow by three ratls (cf. Arab Archery, p. 118). On weights and measures of Islamic bows and arrows, see, Saracen Archery, pp. 159-60. For further details on Arab arrows and bows see, A. Boudot-Lamotte, Contribution a l'etude de l'archerie musulmane, Damascus, 1968.
 2. Arab Archery. pp. 131-45. On the procedures, conduct, and principles to be observed by a novice in archery see, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Furūsiyya, p. 106ff; Saracen Archery, p. 152ff.
 3. Arab Archery. pp. 145-46.

Archery competitions were carried out in two ways, by target shooting and by long-distance shooting --- the former being unanimously approved of by the 'fuqahā', whereas the latter was discouraged by some amongst them.¹ Since betting was allowed on archery, the people showed great enthusiasm for this sport. As in the case of horse-racing, so in archery the employment of a muhallil² was considered necessary for such wagers.³

Some of the rules observed in the target shooting are that the number of shots (rashq) be determined before starting a flight competition; the bows and arrows of each competitor should be of same kind and quality; shooting-distance be fixed -- according to the Shāfi'ites of Iraq, the minimum distance is 250 yards and the maximum is 350 yards; the prize money should be particularized and not be kept vague. Lots may be cast to determine the man to start shooting; if the prize is being given by a dignitary, he might choose a competitor and ask him to start.⁴

Like the ramī al-nushshāb, the ramī bi'l-bunduq (shooting with the cross-bow) was also popular. The projectiles (banādiq) were made of earth, stone, steel, lead etc.⁵ The use of the cross-bow, a weapon popular among the Persians, is said to have made its appearance amongst the Muslims as early as the time of the Caliph 'Uthmān.⁶ By the

1. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Furūsiyya, pp.79-80; Ghunya, Br. Mus. MS. Or.1358, fols, 94, 196-99.

2. For muhallil see above, p.292f.

3. Ghunya, fols, 196-97; Risāla fī'l-rimāya, SOAS, MS. 46339, fol, 159.

4. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Furūsiyya, p.80ff.; Risāla fī'l-rimāya, fols. 163 ff. For details see, Furūsiyya, p.80f.

5. Ghunya, fol. 179. For a discussion on the qaws al-bunduq see, Chapter, Hunting of this thesis, p.261.

6. Kushājīn, Masāyid, pp.247-48; cf. also A.Talas, in MMII 1952, p. 278.

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time of the first Abbasids there were men famous for their skill with this particular instrument. These men used to visit different parts of the empire, urging other experts to compete with them.¹ It is reported that the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd had in his service a group of these archers, known as al-namal, who attended him in sport and on hunting expeditions.²

Three schools of archery emerged during the Abbasid period --- each school being named after a renowned archer of that time, i.e., after Abū Hāshim al-Māwardī, Tāhir al-Balkhī and Ishāq al-Raqqī.³

Competitions in archery, both on horseback and on foot, were held usually in Autumn, either in the morning or in the evening. Humid or windy weather was avoided for such contests, since these conditions hindered the best use of the bow and decreased its range.⁴

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1. Aghānī¹, xx, p. 93; see also As'ad Talas, al-Hayāt al-Ijtima'īyya, in MMII, 1952, p. 279.
 2. Ibid, xx, p. 93; cf. also, J. Zaydān, Tanaddun, v, p.159.
 3. Qissat al-gaws wa'l-sahm, Br. Mus. MS.Or.3134, fols,11-12; K. al-ranī, Br. Mus. MS. Or.3135, fols,1-2; Arab Archery, p. 16. Some writers (e.g., the author of the Qissat al-gaws wa'l-sahm, fol, 11b, and of the Kitāb al-Ranī, fol. 1) read Māwardī as Bāwardī and Raqqī as Raffā'. Latham and Paterson think Māwardī to be erroneous and take it as al-Bāwardī -- from Bāward, a town and district on the northern slopes of the mountains of Khorasan in an area now within Turkmenistan (U.S.S.R.). cf. Saracen Archery, p. 39. The dates at which these three masters of archery lived are very uncertain, and in the absence of documentary evidence, impossible to ascertain. The tentative findings of Latham and Paterson may be accepted until some further research proves something conclusive. They observe that "to judge from their names, they were certainly all Muslims and therefore could not have antedated the first quarter of the seventh century A.D., and, as they are mentioned by Mardī, the second half of the twelfth century can be taken as a rough terminus ante quem. To suppose that they lived no earlier than the middle of the eighth century would, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, be a reasonable guess since it was from early Abbasid times that large-scale recruitment of troops and officials from
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Wrestling (Musāra'a) :---

Another popular sport was wrestling. The caliphs, and the high dignitaries of the imperial court encouraged this pastime, employed famous wrestlers, watched the matches and even joined personally in feats of wrestling.¹ The Caliph Amīn is reported to have been especially fond of this physical exercise.² He fought a duel with a lion and injured his fingers badly in the combat.³ In order to show his physical strength and prowess the Caliph Mu'tadid fought a duel with a lion and killed it. He attacked the lion so suddenly with his sword that it took only two strokes to finish the combat.⁴

Wrestling matches of the 4th/10th century held at the bidding of the Buwayhid Mu'izz al-Dawla at Baghdad present a remarkable scene. On the day of the wrestling competition a tree was set up in the race-course (maydān) with prizes containing valuable things hanging thereon. Purses of dirhams were also placed at the feet of the tree. Musicians with drums and flutes made the occasion colourful. The contest continued for hours and the winners received rewards and robes of honour from Mu'izz al-Dawla.⁵

(continued from the last page) :--- Khorasan and Transoxiana began." (cf. Saracen Archery, p. 39)

4. Qissat al-qaws wa'l-sahm, fol.33; Br. Mus. MS. Or.1358, fol. 98; Arab Archery, p. 120.

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1. Muntazan, vi, p. 341; cf. also A.Talas, MMII, 1952, 279.

2. Murūj, vi, p. 432

3. Ibid. vi, p. 432.

4. Muntazan, v, pt. 2, p. 129; Nishwār, ii, RAAD, xvii, 453.

5. Ibid, vi, p. 341; cf. also Mez, Renaissance, p. 406

Weight Lifting :---

Weight lifting was also popular at this time, even with the caliphs and their courtiers. Mu'tasim possessing a well-built body, often took this form of exercise. It is said that he was able to lift a weight of a thousand ratl (about one thousand pounds), which he raised above his head, walking several steps with it.¹ On one occasion he lifted an iron door which weighed 750 ratls (about 750 pounds).²

Other sports like running, fencing, boat racing, swimming and the lance game (la'b al-rumh) were also in vogue amongst the populace.³ As these recreations cost little, people from all walks of life took an interest in them. The military training of the Abbasid troops depended in no small degree on furūsiyya exercises of this kind.⁴ The Abbasids enthusiastically practised and vied with each other in swimming with the result that some of them acquired skill in performing the most difficult feats of swimming. Expert swimmers could even 'swim standing, carrying, in their hand, a utensil with fire in which food was cooked'.⁵ The Tigris of Baghdad with its 30,000 boats employed in passenger and good transport, offered excellent facilities for boat racing.⁶ Like other sports, this sport too, presented a colourful scene for the spectators. On festive occasions, however, boat racing might have been one of the main sources of recreation for the people of Baghdad.

1. Fakhri, p. 316

2. 'Iqd, ii, p. 304; cf. also Munajjid, Bain al-Khulafā', 100.

3. Muntazan, vi, p. 341; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Furusiyya, pp. 7, 106; Baghdad, (ed. M. Jawad & others), p. 38--quoting from Abu'l-Wafa', (d. 513/1119); see also, A. Talas, MHI, 1952, p. 279. There was much betting on these games -- with the result that some of the fugahā' declared these pastimes to be unlawful. (cf. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Furusiyya, pp. 7-8)

4. Jāhiz, Rasā'il, i, p. 21. According to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (Furusiyya, p. 106) furusiyya has four branches viz. horse

Contests of Animals :---

Amongst the sports of the Abbasid period, contests of animals and bird-fighting have a special place. Such games were welcomed with enthusiasm by the caliphs as well as by the common people. Beasts such as dogs and rams and birds like cocks, partridges and quail were used in such competitions.¹ The large traffic in these animals at the special markets called Shāri' al-kabsh wa'l-asad (the street of rams and lions) and sūq al-tuyūr (birds' market) in Baghdad indicates the favour shown to these sports.² From information to be found in Mas'ūdī it appears that the Abbasid caliphs kept a large number of such animals in their royal zoo.³

Contemporary sources throw very little light on the details of animal contests organised perhaps periodically by the enthusiasts. The avid interest of the early Abbasid caliphs however led a group of people to find employment in the court chiefly as the keepers of rams, cocks, dogs etc. The kabbāshīn (ram keepers), dayyākīn (cock masters) and ashāb kilāb al-hirāsh (keepers of fighting dogs) were the regular employees of the Abbasid court.⁴ With

(Continued from the last page) :--- riding, archery, lance throwing and fencing --- whosoever masters these exercises, masters the furūsiyya.

5. Muntazan, vi, p. 341; cf. also, Mez, p. 407.

6. Mez, p. 407; Manāqib Baghdād (attributed to Ibn al-Jawzī), p. 27

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1. Murūj, viii, p. 230; Aghānī¹, vi, p. 75; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, Ma'ālin al-Qurba, p. 242; cf. also Mez, p. 404.

2. Murūj, viii, p. 184; Manāqib Baghdād, p. 26. The common people often laid bets on these competitions (cf. Mez, 404).

3. Murūj, viii, p. 19. About the middle of our period Mu'tazz is said to have shown to his guests, as a great marvel, a fight between the lions and the elephants in the zoological garden. (cf. Mez, p. 404).

4. Ibn Zubayr, Dhakḥā'ir, p. 220; Murūj, viii, p. 19.

reference to the court of the Caliph Mutawakkil, Ibn Zubayr has mentioned the enormous sum of money spent for the maintenance of such a staff. The annual pay of these employees and three other court servants amounted to five hundred thousand dirhams.¹ This amount did not include the money spent on the purchase of animals, their fodder and the like.

Since these contests were not regarded lawful by the Shari'a, there is no mention of the rules and conditions governing the contests in the books of fiqh and furūsiyya. How far the common people were addicted to these sports is, therefore, difficult to ascertain. There are evidences, however, that in the court circles, contests of animals were frequently organised at the biddings of the caliphs on special occasions such as Nawrūz etc. It is said that a duel of lions and buffaloes was organised at the orders of the Caliph Mu'tasim.² On special occasions the animals were brought out, perhaps to a maydān, and matched one against the other --- a contest which thrilled and delighted the spectators. These sports sometimes caused dissension amongst the owners of the animals and birds.³ Thus we hear of an enmity between the Caliph Mustakfī and Fadl b. Muqtadir,

1. Ibn Zubayr, Dhakhā'ir, p. 220.

2. Jāhiz, Hayawān, vii, p. 131; Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, x, p. 124.

3. Murūj, viii, p. 379; cf. also Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, Ma'ālin al-Qurba, p. 242.

provoked by a dispute which arose in the course of a contest involving pigeons, rans, cocks and quail.¹ It was perhaps to prevent such discord that the Caliph Muhtadī bi'llāh (r. 869-870), after assuming the office of khilāfa, banned all fighting between animals, ordering the beasts in the royal zoo to be killed immediately.² His decree, however, did not continue long in force, since the court circle rejected such a severe attitude, the earlier state of affairs being restored after the assassination of Muhtadī.

It is reported that the servants of the caliphal palace were greatly addicted to these games. Their enthusiasm went so far that sometimes it made them indifferent to their duties. Ibn Tayfūr records that, although he called them several times, the Caliph Ma'mūn was unable to gain the attention of his servants, then intent on watching cock-fighting and other games in the courtyard.³ Jāhiz states that the khisyān (eunuchs) revealed a great interest in these sports as they did in pigeon-flying.⁴

1. Murūj, viii, p. 379

2. Ibid, viii, p. 19

3. Ibn Tayfūr, Baghdād, p. 55 ; Bayhaqī, Mahāsin, p. 554.

4. Jāhiz, Hayawan, i, p. 118. ; Mahāsin, p. 611.

Maydān (hippodrome) :--

It is interesting to note that hippodromes (mayādīn) were constructed by the Abbasid caliphs for the practice of various sports and for organized competitions. These maydāns also served as furūsiyya training grounds for the military elements. From the information of Ṣābī, it appears that there was more than one kind of hippodrome.¹ The caliphs built hippodromes around or inside their palace, these structures being different no doubt from the maydāns erected outside the towns (often on the bank of a river).² Thus Ṣābī speaks of the "maydān al-ṣaghīr," at Baghdad --- an arena which the Caliph Mu'tadid bi'llāh used to visit and where he participated in games with much enjoyment.³ This maydān which was built near the birkat al-sibā', seems to have been a large one, as sumptuous apartments were erected on it for the caliph and his nadīms (boon-companions) and a large garden was laid out there. Most probably the maydān was surrounded by a stone wall, with a large gate protected by an iron chain. Ṣābī speaks of a 'garden gate' inside the maydān which was shut before any exercise was carried out. This might be another small gate or else it indicated the main gate which we have assumed to exist there. A number of amenities were provided in the hippodrome for we hear about a place for ablutions (ḥujrat al-waḍū), a dining room (khawarnaq) and a rest room (najlis) in the maydān. The room for ablutions was at some height, since we are told that the Caliph Mu'tadid ascended some steps

1. Ṣābī, Wuzarā', p. 17; Tabarī, iii, 1808; Murūj, vii, 299.

2. Nishwār, i, p. 70; Kāmil, vi, p. 155; cf. also Samarra', Baghdad, 1940, pp. 62-65. Tabarī (iii, 1808) mentions a maydān called "maydān Bughā al-ṣaghīr" at Samarra where Turkish soldiers played polo.

3. Ṣābī, Wuzarā', p. 17.

to it.¹ From another passage found in Tabarī it is known that well-heated and perfumed bath rooms were built in the maydān to enable the caliph and others to clean their bodies after exercise.² The Caliph Mu'tasim is said to have enjoyed a bath in one of these rooms after playing polo and spent there several hours, talking there with his partner.³

The first maydān in Baghdad for horse-racing was built by the Caliph Mahdī after 30 years of the foundation of Baghdad.⁴ After the extermination of the Barmakids Ma'nūn is said to have built a maydān for polo within the grounds of the Hārūnī palace.⁵ Similarly Amīn, after he became caliph, ordered the building of a maydān at the palace of Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr.⁶ The Jawsaq palace of the Caliph Mu'tasim had 'an almost bottle-shaped race-track, the neck lying on the axis of the palace.⁷ The east side of the Jawsaq with its vast rectangular enclosure and a number of transverse walls behind it has been identified by Herzfeld and Voillet as the palace . . . polo-ground, the stables being of the polo-ponies, and the lodge for the spectators.⁸ The bottle-shaped race-course to the East of this is, according to Rogers, something different.⁹ The Caliph Mutawakkil is said to have erected the Tall-al-'Alīj or Tall-al-'Alīq and the burj al-Qā'im, an enormous mound, as a grandstand to have an adequate view of the race-course. The Tall-al-'Alīq, it is said, had a nine-roomed kiosk on top from which the Caliph could watch his horses.¹⁰

1. Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 17.

2. Tabarī, iii, pp. 1326-27; cf. also Murūj, vii, p. 299.

3. Ibid, pp. 1326-27.

4. S.A.El-Alī, The Islamic City, ed. Hourani & Stern, pp. 93, 101.

5. Ya'qūbī, 253 -- quoted by Rogers in Islamic City, p. 151

6. Kanīl, vi, p. 155

7. Rogers, Islamic City, pp. 151-52; see also Herzfeld, Geschichte, air-photographs 3 and 4.

8. Herzfeld, Mitteilungen, pp. 196-204; Voillet, Description,

9. Rogers, op.cit, p. 152, n. 109. pp. 695-8.

10. Qazwīnī, Nuzha, 42; Yāqut, Buldān, iv, 22; Rogers, op.cit, 151-52.

Indoor Games

Shatranj :---

Shatranj or shitranj (chess) seems to have been the favourite indoor game of the Abbasids. According to the sources, a certain Abū Hāfiz al-Shatranjī was famous as a renowned shatranj player who lived in the time of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd.¹ Other renowned chess players of the third and fourth centuries A.H. were 'Adlī, Rāzī, Māwardī and Sūlī.² 'Adlī in fact had stood alone in the first class of chess players for some considerable time until he was defeated by Rāzī in a match which was played in the presence of the Caliph Mutawakkil.³ Among the caliphs, Hārūn al-Rashīd is said to be the first who played shatranj. He granted a maintenance allowance to some chess players.⁴ His son Ma'mūn, like his father, showed a keen interest in the game. He used to say : "Shatranj sharpens the intellect" and is said to have written a poem on it.⁵ Of other caliphs of this time Mutawakkil and Mu'tadid were enthusiastic players of chess.⁶

Competitions often took place amongst chess players. The first well-known competition was arranged in 819 A.D. in

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1. Maḥfūz, Shatranj, pp. 7-8.
 2. Murūj, i, p. 161; viii, pp. 311-12; Munajjid, Khulafā', pp. 108-109; A. Talas, MMLI, 1952, pp. 276-77; cf. also Murray, History of Chess, pp. 198ff.
 3. Fihrist, p. 221; Murray, History of Chess, pp. 170, 198.
 4. Murūj, viii, p. 296. Hārūn's enthusiasm for chess is evident in his own words when he says : "it is impossible to live without some kind of recreation, and for a monarch, I can suggest no better diversion than chess". (cf. Br. Mus. MS. Add. 23,517, fol. 163).
 5. Munajjid, Khulafā', p. 108. cf. also Murray, History of chess, p. 197. — quoting from Ibn Badrūn and Suyutī.
 6. Murūj, viii, p. 271; Tabarī, iii, 1671; Ḥusrī, Jam' al-Jawāhir, p. 30. For a chess competition organised at the orders of the Caliph Muktafi (289-295/902-903) where Sūlī beat the then court champion al-Māwardī. Murūj, viii, 311-12.

Khurāsān between Jābir al-Kūfī and Ziryāb al-Qaṭṭān in the presence of the Caliph Ma'mūn.¹

The popularity of chess can be judged from the fact that, with a view to increasing the prices of their slave-girls, the merchants took pains to train them in chess. 'Arīb, the slave-girl of the Caliphs Amīn and Ma'mūn, was regarded as an 'accomplished slave-girl' because of her excellence in chess, amongst other attainments.²

The wide interest shown in this game made it a subject of special study and writers of the time wrote books about it. According to Ibn Nadīm, the first man to write on the subject was 'Adlī who produced two books, called Kitāb al-Shaṭranj and Kitāb al-nard wa-asbābuhā wa'l-la'b bihā, on chess and backgammon.³ Other noted writers of the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. were Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, Rāzī, Sūlī, Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Lajlāj, Ibn al-Uqlīdasī, Qarīs al-Mughannī and Abū Yūsuf al-Maṣṣīsī.⁴

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1. Mahfūz, Shaṭranj, pp. 7-8. ; Muhādarāt, ii, p. 727.
 2. Suyūṭī, Mustazraf, p. 37; Munajjid, Khulafā', pp. 108-9.
 3. Fihrist, p.221 = Eng. Tr. by Bayard Dodge, i, p. 341.
 4. Their works were :-- Abū Zayd al-Balkhī -- Kitāb al-Shaṭranj; Rāzī -- K. Latīf fī'l-shaṭranj ; Sūlī-- K. Al-Shaṭranj (nuskhat al-ūlā, i.e., first manuscript) and K. al-Shaṭranj (nuskhat al-thāniya, i.e., the second manuscript); Lajlāj-- K. Mansūbat al-Shaṭranj; Ibn al-Uqlīdasī -- K. Majnū' fī mansūbat al-Shaṭranj; Qarīs -- K. fī'l-shaṭranj; Maṣṣīsī-- K. Tad'if buyūt al-Shaṭranj . (cf. Fihrist, pp. 199, 221-22, 392 = Eng. Tr. by B. Dodge, i, pp. 304, 341-42; ii, p. 665). Ibn Nadīm mentions Ibn Tarkhan too among the writers on chess but forgets to give the title of the work. (cf. Fihrist, p.222= Eng. Tr. p.342). None of these treatises would seem now to be extant. (cf. Murray, op.cit., 169ff.) For existing chess manuscripts of late Muslim medieval period and a brief discussion on them see, Murray, op.cit. p. 171ff.

Chess, originally an Indian game, is said to have been invented by an Indian prince Siṣṣa for a king named "Baltīt".¹ Later, it passed from the Indians to the Persians and then to the Arabs.² In the country of its origin the game was known as "chatūr anga", meaning 'four members of the army', viz., elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers (the king and queen being not counted amongst the troops).³ Arab grammarians and philologists, however, tried in vain to find a derivation for the word shatranj either from the Arabic or from the Persian language. According to Danīrī, the word is derived either from al-mushātara (halving) or from al-tashtīr (uniting, bringing together).⁴ According to Hākim, the author of the Kitāb Nuzhat al-Shatranj, it is derived from the Persian shash-rang (six colours), the six kinds of chess-men, or from hasht-rang (eight colours), the eight squares of the chess-board.⁵

From the presents of the 'Rāja' of Qanūj given to the Shāh of Persia, Khusraw I, Anūshirwān (A.D. 531-79) it appears that chess-boards, at first, were generally made of wood.⁶ Mas'ūdī referring to the 3rd/9th century, makes

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1. Murūj, i, p.159; EI¹, s.v. shatrandj (B. Carra de Vaux); Somogyi, Table Games, p. 238; cf. also Murray, op.cit, 207f.
 2. Murray, op.cit, p. 186ff; Firdawsī, Shāhnāma (ed. J. Mohl, Paris), vi, pp. 385-401.
 3. Table Games, p. 240, n. 3; Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary, London, 1892, p. 734; Majid Yaktā'i, Peshina-e-Tarikh-e-Shatranj, in Majalla Bar Ras-iha-e-Tarikhī, Iran, vol. 26, 5th year, no. 2, pp. 105f.
 4. Danīrī as quoted by Somogyi, Table Games, p. 240
 5. Cf. John Rylands Library, Manchester, Ms. 766--as quoted by Somogyi, in the Bulletine of the John Ryland Library, vol. 41, No. 2, March, 1959, pp. 431-32.
 6. Firdawsī, Shāhnāma, vi, pp. 385-401; cf. also Murray, op. cit, p. 150f. For a detailed discussion on Muslim "chess boards" see, Murray, op.cit, p. 220f. Jāhiz mentions takht al-nard i.e., backgammon board in Bukhalā', p. 30.

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mention of a red leather chess-board.¹ An addition to the popular forms of the game, introduced at this time was known as al-Jawārihiyya or zodiacal chess playing with the human organs², where all the six limbs of man³ were arranged against each other. The game was begun with the throwing of a die--the throw indicating which of the chess-men was to be moved.⁴ It was the dice that settled the movement of the pieces and not the skill of the player.⁵

Much attention has been paid in Muslim literature on chess to the qualifications which made a man eligible for the game and also to the manners which should be observed in the playing of it. A chess-player ought to be a man of elegance, good memory and probity. He should be well-groomed, well-behaved and quick in his answer, whenever he is asked to answer a question.⁶ This mode of conduct was observed by the players of this time, especially when they competed with the caliphs or the high dignitaries of the court. The Caliph Ma'mūn, however, did not like such formalities in playing and is reported to have said to the players, who were playing stiffly and formally in front of him "chess and politeness do not go well together, talk naturally as

1. Murūj, viii, p. 316

2. Ibid, viii, p. 314; Mez, p. 403; EI¹, s.v. Shatrandj (B. Carra de Vaux).

3. The six limbs are those by which we speak, hear, see, grasp and move -- and the universal sense belonging to the heart. (cf. Murray, History of Chess, p.342).

4. Somogyi, Table Games, p. 237

5. EI¹, s.v. Shatrandj (B. Carra de Vaux).

6. Ibn Abī Ḥajālā, Kitāb Annudhaj al-qitāl fī la'b al-shatranj, John Rylands Library, MS. 767, fols. 31a-41b; also, MS. No. 766, fol. 42a.

if you were among yourselves".¹ It is perhaps because of this fact that, among the qualifications of a prospective boon companion, the author of the Kitāb al-Tāj lists ability in archery, hunting, playing ball and chess--- in all of which the companion may equal his royal master with no fear of affronting him.²

Nard (Backgammon) :---

Another indoor game popular at this period was backgammon or nard. It was played on a checkered board divided into twelve points symbolizing the number of months in a year, thirty pawns representing the number of the days in a month and two dice acting as the divine will and human submission to it.³ Backgammon was, however, held to be inferior to chess --- a game in which the decisive features are the insight and choice of the players and their capacity for discrimination between good and bad.⁴

1. Rāghib, Muhādarāt, ii, p. 727; Mez, p. 404; Murray, op.cit. 197.

2. Tāj (attributed to Jāhiz) p. 72. Mālik b. Anas, Abū Hanīfa and Ahnad b. Hanbal --- basing their verdict on specific hadīth--- regarded chess-playing as unlawful; whereas Shāfi'i and some of the other fugahā declared it to be legal, resting their judgement on the usefulness of the game, which sharpened the mind and afforded a training in warfare, and on the point that some of the ulama active in earlier times had played chess. A more 'correct' opinion -- as Danīrī indicates -- held the game to be makrūh (disfavoured). Even the ulama who thought chess to be licit imposed a number of conditions --- it should not be played for wagers; it should not be allowed to draw a man from his prayers and his other religious duties; it should not become an occasion for improper language; and it should not be played in the street or in a public place. (cf. John Rylands Library, MS. No. 766. fol. 14b; also Sonogyi, Table Games, pp. 241-43. For a detailed discussion on the legal aspects of chess, see Murray, op.cit., p. 188f. who derives information from the traditions recorded in the existing chess literature).

3. Murūj, i, p. 158; Table Games, pp. 239-40; Mez, p. 404.

4. Table Games, p. 240; Mez, p. 404.

Medieval Muslim sources are almost unanimous in describing that backgammon originated in Persia.¹ The historian Mas'ūdī, on the other hand, asserts that it came from India, offering, however, no historical evidence for his contention.² The Arabo-Persian name of the game, Nardashīr, might be connected with its legendary inventor, Ardashīr b. Bābak (A.D. 212-241), king of Persia.³

Notwithstanding the unanimous opinion of the 'ulamā' that backgammon was illicit, the people of this time, high and low alike, played it frequently. Since nard was a game of chance, it was openly played for money.⁴ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamdūn is said to have gambled away seventy thousand dirhams in one sitting with the Caliph Mu'tadid bi'llāh.⁵ It is interesting to note that, on one occasion, the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, while playing backgammon with Ibrāhīm al-Mawsilī, lost the game and was compelled to put off his clothes according to the stipulations of the bet.⁶

There was yet another indoor game called la'b bi'l-ka'b i.e., draughts ? or ossicles ?⁷. According to Lane ka'b means a play-bone, a little bone, more or less oblong in shape, taken from the foot of a sheep and thrown in play

1. Cf. Table Games, pp. 239-40, 243-44 and the sources quoted there.

2. Murūj, i, p. 157. At another place, however, Mas'ūdī notes that it was Ardashīr b. Bābak who played this game for the first time. (cf. Murūj, i, p. 158).

3. Table Games, p. 239

4. Shābushtī, Diyārāt, p. 13; Mez, p. 404

5. Ibn al-Jawzī, Adhkiyā', p. 35

6. Aghānī¹, v, p. 39.

7. Ibn Tayfūr, Baghdād, p. 55; Bayhaqī, Mahāsin, p. 554.

like a die.¹ No details of this game have been given in the available sources. It seems likely, however, that it was in the nature of other table games like chess and backgammon.² It was a game which appealed, it seems, mainly to children, although adults also took part in it.³ From Shayzarī's Nihāyat al-Rutba it would seem that ka'b was a game of chance.⁴

Shādghullī.

Another game was known as shādghullī --- a game, however, about which the sources provide only fragments of information which are difficult to interpret.⁵ The name shādghullī is said to derive from the Persian shād (enjoyment) and gul (roses).⁶ On the actual playing of shādghullī the chronicles give no more than one or two brief anecdotes. It is recorded ^{by Shābushtī} that the Caliph Mutawakkil, on one occasion, is said to have had five million light dirhams (each weighing two grains) struck in red, yellow and black colours and ordered his courtiers and servants, numbering 700, to don new tunics and caps in contrasting colours. The Caliph gathered them together, on a windy day, in a magnificent dome-shaped edifice having forty doors and built especially for the purpose. When all the courtiers encircled him, he ordered the coloured dirhams to be thrown on the wind which caused them to scatter like the petals of roses, thus presenting a colourful and lively scene.⁷ This was the game

1. Lane, Lexicon, s.v. ka'b.

2. Shayzarī, Nihāyat al-Rutba, p. 103; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, Ma'ālin al-Qurba, p. 171; Ka'b might also be played with date-stones. (cf. Jāhiz, Bukhālā', p. 137; Uyūn, iii, p. 261). The phrase la'b al-ḥawa to be found in Shābushtī's Diya'rāt (p. 173) perhaps indicates the game of ka'b.

3. Ibid, Nihāya, p. 103; Ma'ālin, p. 171; cf. also Badrī, ʿAnna, p. 278.

4. Nihāya, pp. 103-4.

5. Nishwār, i, pp. 147, 234; ii, in RAAD xvii, pp. 517, 522; Shābushtī, Diya'rāt, p. 160; Ibn Zubayr, Dhakha'ir, p. 122.

6. Ahmad Taymur, La'b al-ʿArab, p. 37.

7. Diya'rāt, p. 160; Dhakha'ir, p. 122.

of shādghullī which the Caliph was playing with such elaborate preparation. Also in connection with Shādghullī, Abū'l-Qāsim al-Barīdī, on one particular occasion at Basra, is said to have drunk over roses valued at twenty thousand dirhams; into the roses he threw twenty thousand dirhams, equal to half the same number of ordinary dirhams in weight; numerous fine pieces of nadd,¹ camphor and figures (tamāthīl) to play "shādghullī with. The attendants afterwards plundered the roses with the dirhams and scent which they contained.² The poet Abū Firās compared the game with a snow-fall in the following verses :³

"The eye that sees the falling snows

Might think them petals of white rose,

Samāja Raining on men who play shādghullī ".

Another game played by the caliphs and other high ranking officials at the court was the play of samāja or something like masquerade.³ The Caliph Mutawakkil is said to have participated in this game on the days of Nawrūz and mixed with other masked actors freely.⁴ Samāja is defined by Lane and others as a play which is foul, unseemly and ugly.⁵ On the actual play of samāja our sources do not mention more than that the participants wore masks and plundered the coins or other valuable objects thrown in the course of

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1. For nadd see, Lane, s.v., where the word is defined thus: "A certain kind of perfume, well-known, with which one fumigates or a compound of aloes-wood aromatized with musk and anbergris..".
 2. Nishwār, i, p. 147 = Eng. Tr. by Margoliouth, p. 161.
 3. Ibid, i, p. 234.
 4. Diyārāt, pp. 39-40; Tabarī, iii, p. 1318; Intā', i, p. 59; Sūlī, Ash'ār awlād al-khulafā', p. 249.
 5. Lexicon, s.v. samāja.

play by the caliph or other dignitaries.¹ It is reported that while the Caliph Mutawakkil was playing with the actors of samāja, one of the actors came very close to him and began to look for a stray coin under the flaps of the royal coat. This provoked the displeasure of an old nadīm of the Caliph who advised him not to allow any actor to approach so close to the Caliph warning that it offered too many opportunities for assassination. Henceforth the Caliph witnessed the performance from a height in a majlis.² Tabarī mentions the suwar (figures, masks) of samāja found in the house of the Turkish general Afshīn when his house was searched at the orders of the Caliph Mu'tasim.³

An important feature of Abbasid society was the existence of social centres --- "clubs", where people gathered together and played various games. The establishment of such "clubs", according to Aghānī, dates back to the early Umayyad period, when a wealthy man established such a "club-house" in Mecca and provided it with facilities for the playing of chess, backgammon and dice.⁴ The "club-houses" of Abbasid times were furnished with all the amenities of life; even pegs were fixed in the wall to receive the upper garments of visitors.⁵ In addition to the "club-houses" accessible to dignitaries and belletrists, there

1. cf. for example, Diyārāt, pp. 39-40.

2. Ibid, pp. 39-40; cf. also Mez, p. 424.

3. Tabarī, iii, p. 1318. **

4. Aghānī¹, iv, p. 52

5. Ibid, iv, p. 52; cf. also, Table Games, p. 243, n.2;

see also, H. Zayyāt, Mashriq, 35(1937), Mutāla'a al-dafātir wa'l-kutub wa'l-lahw bi'l-al'āb fī'l-nujtana'āt qadīnan. pp. 499-500.

** According to Ibn Zubayr, the Caliph Mu'tadid on one Nawrūz occasion spent 13,000 dinars for the play of samāja. (cf. Dhakhā'ir, p. 38).

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were special rooms in the houses of well-to-do people --- rooms reserved for indoor games and used only by the owner or by his guests. A merchant of Damascus, we are told, entertained his guests, in his games-room, with chess, backgammon and also with books which he kept for this purpose.¹ An incident connected with Ahmad b. Mudabbir, collector of taxes in Palestine under Muhtadī (255-6/869-70), shows that wealthy people also kept good chess-players in their households.² The hostelries (ḥanāt) conducted by Jews and by Christians may have served as establishments where people could play indoor games.

Ladies Games :---

The women of Abbasid society took an interest in indoor games such as chess, backgammon etc. Some of them also shared in **outdoor** games like archery and horse-riding. Mahdī's daughter Yāqūta (the Ruby), is said to have been in the habit of riding out by the side of her father, dressed in male attire.³

Another game known as fanzaḥ was played especially by the Nabatī women of our society. It was a game of dancing, where ladies held hands and danced together, while singing a chorus.⁴ Jawāliqī identifies this game with dastband, a Persian word taken over into Arabic and meaning " the

1. Nishwār, i, p. 195; Mez, pp. 402-403

2. Murūj, viii, p. 13

3. Tabarī, iii, pp. 543-544, De Goeje reads Yāqūta as Bānūqa. Muir's reading (Caliphate, p.472) as Yāqūta is more correct.

4. Iqd, iii, p. 179; Jawāliqī, Mu'arrab, p. 237

interlocking of hands" (in dancing). He describes it, furthermore, a Magian (magūsī) game.¹

Foot-racing is also mentioned among the sports of the slave-girls. The Caliph Mutawakkil is said to have been in the habit of organising races amongst his slave-girls.²

Children's Games :---

Among the favourite games played by children at this time can be numbered Buqayrī, 'Azm waddāh, Khatra, Dāra, Shahma, Lu'bat al-dabb, Dūbāraka, La'b bi'l-damī, Junnābī etc.

Of the pastime called Buqayrī (cf. buqara. "to split open") Jāhiz states that it was a game in which children made a heap of sand or dust. One of the players would hide an object in one of his hands, push both of his hands into the pile, asking his opponents to decide which of his hands contained the object.³ A later author, Rāghib (d. 505/1108) describes buqayrī in simpler terms, declaring that the children made a heap of sand, dividing it then into two halves, an object being hidden in one of the halves and the opponents being asked to guess what the object was.⁴

'Azm waddāh or 'Uzaym waddāh was a game in which two groups of children took a white bone on a dark night and threw it away as far as possible and then ran in that

1. Jawāliqī, Mu'arrab, p. 237

2. Huṣrī, Jan' al-Jawāhir, p. 182.

3. Jāhiz, Ḥayawān, vi, p. 145; cf. also Ahmad Taymūr, La'b al-'Arab, pp. 12-13

4. Muhādarāt, iv, p. 724; Lisān, s.v. baqar.

direction to pick it up. The child who was the first to find it was victorious and his group received the privilege of riding on the backs of the rival group from the place where the bone was found to the place from which it was thrown.¹

Khatra (lit. danger) was a game in which children took some rags or scraps of material and twisted them together to form a whip. It was then given to a member of one group of children who would proceed to 'whip' the members of an opposing group. While the boy with the whip in his hand tried to lash the members of the other party, they tried to catch him. If the boy was caught, his party lost the game and had to carry on their backs the members of the rival group.² Jāhiz, in describing the game, says that the whip was thrown by one group to the other, to be caught by them. If they failed to catch it, they would throw it to the former group. If they could catch it, they won the game and had the privilege of riding on their opponents.³

The game of Dāra --- said by Jāhiz to be identical with the game called Kharāj ⁴ --- is explained thus by Muhammad Hārūn : "it is a well-known game, wherein a child hides something in his hand and asks his companions to find out what the object is".⁵ Ahmad Taymūr presents a different explanation of the game. He says that two children sat in a back to back position, other children moving around (dāra)

1. Muhādarāt, iv, p. 724; Jāhiz, Hayawān, vi, p. 145; Ibn Manẓūr notes that children used to make the bone quite small; it was then called 'uzayn ---- the diminutive form of 'azn (cf. Lisān, s.v. 'Azn); see also Ahmad Taymūr, La'b al-'Arab, pp. 39-40).

2. Ibid, Muhādarāt, iv, p. 724; La'b al-'Arab, pp. 23-24

3. Jāhiz, Hayawān, vi, pp. 145-46

4. Ibid, vi, p. 146

5. Ibid, vi, p. 146, note. 2.

them. In course of their movement these other children tried to beat the sitting boys, while they tried to seize those who beat them. If one of the arching children were grasped and held, he would sit in place of the child who caught him.¹

Shahma was played on summer nights. Two groups of children fought each other over a particular boy. One group would try to snatch him away from the midst of the other group, which would try to protect him. The victorious group would enjoy the privilege of the riding on the backs of their defeated rivals.²

La'b al-dabb, i.e., the lizard game, so named because it required a 'portrait' of a lizard, was played by children, one of whom was asked to put his hand on a certain portion of the portrait, with his back turned towards it. If he could place his hand in the correct position, he would have the privilege of asking others to do the same. Should he fail, he lost the game and would be obliged to let all the participants ride on his back, one at a time.³

Dūbāraka (mannikin), as the word indicates, is of Persian origin and meant 'bride'. On the night of Mu'tadidī (New Year's Day)⁴, children used to make a doll the size of a girl, decorating it splendidly and arraying it with ornaments like the ones worn by a bride. The 'dūbāraka'

1. Ahmad Taymūr, op.cit, p. 30

2. Jāhiz, Ḥayawān, vi, p. 146

3. Ibid, vi, p. 146; Muḥāḍarāt, iv, p. 724; Ahmad Taymūr, op.cit, pp. 37-38.

4. For the origin of this day see, Tabarī, iii, p. 2143; EI¹, s.v. Nawrūz (R. Levy).

was then set on the roof of a house and the people amused themselves by beating drums, by singing on flutes and by lighting fire around it.¹

Junābī or Junnābī was a game played with junnābī (a basket, according to the definition given by Ahmad Taymūr).² The basket was hidden by one group of children and had to be sought by another. The game was played usually by children;³ adults also took part in it sometimes.⁴

Young girls played more often with damī (dolls) than with other toys. These dolls were made of clay in the shape of different animals or human beings.⁵ On special occasions such as the 'Īd al-Fitr or the 'Īd al-Adhā, damī were brought to Baghdad in quantities so large that the muhtasib Abū Sa'īd al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. 328/939) had to establish a special market there known as sūq al-la'b.⁶

On special occasions, e.g., at wedding ceremonies, a game known as kuraj was played by the young girls. They took a horse made of wood and covered it with a beautiful tunic, put a rope around its neck and pulled it about, playing and shouting.⁷

1. Nishwār, i, p. 217; Ahmad Taymūr, op.cit, p. 30.

2. La'b al-'Arab, p. 19.

3. Lisān and Mukhassas, s.v. janab.

4. Aghānī², x, pp. 280-81; cf. also Ahmad Taymūr, op.cit, p. 19.

5. Māwardī, Ahkām p. 251; Ghazālī, Ihyā', ii, p. 67; Abū Ya'lā, Ahkām, p. 278.

6. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, Ma'ālin al-Qurba, p. 56; Māwardī, Ahkām, p. 251.

7. Tabarī, iii, p. 971; cf. also, Nawfal, Sannājjāt al-Tarab p. 379. Jāhiz notes that the children in the early Abbasid period played nutshell games mostly in the courtyard of the house. In playing this game children dug holes in them and threw nutshells into the hole. (cf. Jāhiz, Bukhālā', p. 71. = Eng. Tr. in "The life and works of Jāhiz", p. 242.). Nutshell games used by thieves as one of their tricks. cf. Nishwār, i, p. 78.

Festivals and Festivities

Of the festivals observed under the Abbasids some were of religious origin, kept by Muslims alone, whilst others were confined to the Christians and Jews. On some occasions there were festivals celebrated by all, irrespective of religion. Some festivals, too, had a local and not a general importance.

(A). Muslim Religious Festivals.

i). The Month of Ramadān

The ninth month of the Muslim calendar is believed to have been the month of the revelation of the Qur'ān and hence special reverence and respect was shown to it.¹ This is the sacred month of fasting, which means abstention from eating, drinking and sexual intercourse during the hours between dawn and sunset.² In fact the beginning of the sacred month of Ramadān concerned profoundly, and still concerns, the life of every Muslim. As soon as its commencement was announced, people from all walks of life, even those who were inclined to neglect their daily prayers, thronged to the mosques for the tarāwīh, a special prayer

1. See, for example, the accounts given by Maqdisī about the Ramadān observed in various countries. (cf. pp. 100, 183, etc.); cf. also, Grunbaum, Muhammadan Festivals, p. 56; S.D. Goitein, Studies in Islamic History and Institutions, pp. 100-101; EI¹, s.v. Ramadan (M. Plessner).

2. Grunbaum, Festivals, p. 56; cf. also, EI¹, s.v.

offered in congregation during the month of Ramaḍān.¹ Tabarī notes that when Mutawakkil held the tarāwīh prayers in the Ja'fariyya mosque no one prayed in Samarra, that is, when prayers were held in the Mosque of Abū Dulaf there was no one who remained behind in the quarter of al-Hayr to pray in the Great Mosque which Mutawakkil had built there.²

Maqdisī notes that the Ramaḍān festivities of Makka were proverbial in the Muslim world.³ In the 10th century Maqdisī found the people of Aden most enthusiastic in observing the sacred month of Ramaḍān. Before two days of the commencement of the month, they decorated the roof-tops of their houses and beat drums (dabādib) there. When Ramaḍān started the youths gathered together in the ^{/morning and} small hours of the/ patrolled the city until dawn, reciting verses in praise of the month and the fast. The practice continued, it would seem, for the whole month. When the time of the 'Id al-Fitr' was imminent, they collected money from the people and made more elaborate preparations for the 'Id'.⁴ People in other areas (e.g. Baghdad) also made elaborate preparations to welcome the month of Ramaḍān.⁵

The thirty days (or 29 days)⁶ fasting of this month has always been regarded by the Muslims as a most important religious act and is performed with much pomp and gaiety. The last ten days of the month of Ramaḍān were devoted by the Muslims to special religious ceremonies. The pious Muslims

1. Tabarī, iii, p. 1452; Muq. pp. 100, 183; cf. also, Grunebaum, Festivals, p. 54.

2. Tab. iii, p. 1452.

3. Muq. p. 183.

4. Ibid, p. 100

5. Baghdādī, Bukhalā', pp. 90, 149.

6. Unlike the solar Christian calendar, the months of the Muslim lunar calendar are either of 29 or 30 days.

then retired to a mosque to perform the i'tikāf (a religious custom of high merit in which a Muslim is obliged to sit in the mosque for at least 24 hours devoting his time in prayers and other religious duties).¹ The thirty parts of the Qur'ān were generally recited in the tarāwīḥ prayers², and the last day of its recitation, towards the end of Ramadān, was a day of much celebration. According to Maqdisī the beauty of the celebration of the "khatm" in the Aqsā Mosque surpassed all other places.³ Though details of this celebration are not mentioned, it can be assumed that people, on this night, prepared some special types of food and spent the night in prayers and recitation of the Qur'ān.

It seems that the muhtasib, in order to facilitate fasting, made arrangements to announce the time of the "suhūr".⁴ The mosque had, in some places, public kitchens attached where food was served for the fasting people in the month of Ramadān.⁵ Presumably the money for the food was supplied by the caliphs or by some philānthropists. From Tanūkhī's Nishwār it is known that people often exchanged gifts (ḥadiya) in the month of Ramadān.⁶

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1. EI¹, s.v. I'tikāf (Th.W. Juynboll). It was in these last ten days of Ramadān that the lailat al-qadr (i.e., the Night of the Divine Decree) which is decreed by God as "better than 1,000 months", is supposed to occur. (cf. EI¹, s.vv. I'tikāf and Ramadān; also, Goitein, Studies, pp. 103-104).
 2. Muq. p. 100.
 3. Ibid, p. 183.
 4. cf. for the practice being done in Egypt, Kindī, Wulāt, 201. The suhūr is the meal taken before the sun-rise.
 5. Azdī, Ta'rīkh al-Mawsil, p. 248. It seems that the food shops were not opened during the days. The licentious people are found in the sources, disliking the month of Ramadān. Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī is said to have hated Ramadān, because, during it, he could not quench his thirst for wine. (cf. Irshād, v, p. 167).
 6. Nishwār, i, p. 99.

ii) 'Īd al-Fitr :---

The 'Īd al-Fitr, or the feast of the breaking of the fast, occurs on the 1st of the month of Shawwāl, the tenth month of the Muslim calendar.¹ It is also called 'Īd al-Saghīr, or the Lesser Feast.² Once the new moon of Shawwāl was announced, the news was carried far and wide with much excitement. Since the 'Īd al-Fitr marked the end of a period of exhausting devotion, it was celebrated with much greater enthusiasm than the 'Īd al-Adhā, known as the Great Festival.³ Sābī in his Rusūm dār al-khilāfa mentions the elaborate preparations made by the caliphs, wazirs and high ranking officials and gives a description of the processions held by these people early in the morning on the 'Īd day.⁴ It was the custom with the wazirs and the military commanders that they took out splendid processions at dawn with their relatives, friends, officials and servants. All these people dressed in gorgeous attire started their procession from the residence of the wazir or the military commander and paraded the city until the procession reached the muṣallā (the prayer place either the mosque or an open spacious courtyard). It is said about Nāzūk (at the beginning of the 10th century) that on one of the 'Īd mornings, he brought out a remarkable procession comprising of more than 500 torch bearers (farrāsh bi-shumū' al-mawkabiyya) and a large number of naphtha throwers (ashāb al-naft), and marched through the city of Baghdad until they all reached the muṣallā. The

1. Bīrūnī, Āthār, p. 333 = Eng. Tr. p. 331. For a detailed account of the origin of this festival see Qalqashandī, Subh, ii, p. 406; EI², s.vv. 'Īd and 'Īd al-Fitr (E. Mittwoch)

2. Grunebaum, Festivals, p. 63; EI², s.vv. 'Īd and 'Īd al-Fitr.

3. Ibid, Festivals, p. 63.

4. Sābī, Rusūm, pp. 9-11.

people in the street greeted the military commander and the traffic came to a halt until his procession marched through the street.¹ In the second half of the 10th century Maqdisī noted that the people of Mecca were very enthusiastic in celebrating the 'Īd festival. They erected several ceremonial gates in the night of 'Fitr', decorated the market between the Safa and the Marwa and welcomed the 'Īd by beating drums throughout the night.² Maqdisī also noted that the 'Īd celebration in Sicily was unparalleled in the Muslim world.³

Soon after sunrise on the day of the 'Īd al-Fitr people, dressed in new or in their best clothes⁴, assembled in the mosque, distributed the sadaqa al-fitr, alms marking the breaking of the fast, and performed two rak'as of prayer, led by the caliph or any person appointed by him.⁵ The caliph, clad in splendid attire probably wearing the burda of the Prophet, attended the mosque with a large procession, while people standing on both sides of the road saluted him.⁶

Having performed the prayer, everyone present in the mosque congratulated, embraced and kissed each other. On this day friends meeting in the street or in their private houses did the same --- indeed they often visited each other for this particular purpose.⁷

1. Sābī, Rusūm, p. 10

2. Muq. p. 100.

3. Ibid, p. 183.

4. Murūj, vii, p. 74. ; Bayhaqī, Mahāsin, p.211

5. EI², s.v. 'Īd and 'Īd al-Fitr (E. Mittwoch); Grunebaum, Festivals, pp. 63-64.

6. Nishwār, viii, pp. 12,91.; cf. also, Tabarī, iii, p. 1181.

7. Ibn al-Jawzī, Muntazam, v, pt. 2, p. 75; vi, p. 329; Sābī, Rusūm, pp. 10-11; Thimar, p. 187; Husri, Jam' al-Jawāhir, p. 106.

The pomp of the 'Īd al-Fitr was great. The royal palaces were brightly illuminated; the boats of the caliphs and of other men of high rank were displayed on the Tigris, beautifully decorated and lit with lamps. The city of Baghdad was adorned with variegated materials (e.g., silk) until it 'looked like a bride in all her beauty'.¹ The people feasted in their homes and the merchants in their shops --- the celebrations lasting usually for three days.² In Mecca, after the 'Īd prayer young girls wearing splendid decorated clothes and holding fans in their hands visited the houses of the people and collected, it would seem, 'Īd money from the elders.³

On the day of the feast two dining tables would be laid out in the royal palace --- one after the dawn prayer, the other after the feast prayer.⁴ On the first table only sweets were served, whereas the second table contained sumptuous dishes. From Sābī it is known that a considerable amount of money was set apart in the caliphal budget to entertain the guests visiting the palace on the 'Īd days.⁵ Similarly a portion of the budget was also reserved for the payment of the standard bearers who led the caliphal procession to the muṣallā and back to the palace.⁶

1. Muntazam, x, pp. 35, 58, 157; Kāmil, (Cairo, 1290), ix, p. 216; cf. also Badrī, 'Āmma, p. 193.

2. EI², s.v. 'Īd (E. Mittwoch).

3. Muq. p. 100.

4. Muntazam, vi, p. 3; Sābī, Rusūm, p. 24; Thimār, p. 187

5. Rusūm, p. 24

6. Ibid., p.p. 24-25. In the caliphal procession a large contingent of the caliph's private bodyguard and of other troops, attired in gorgeous pelisses, paraded on horseback in the streets of Baghdad. People standing on both sides of the road watched the march-past, while the caliphs and other dignitaries witnessed it from pavillions

iii) Al-Hajj :---

In view of the hardship involved in making the pilgrimage to Mecca in the traditional style, the discomfort and strain of caravan travel through an inhospitable countryside in a difficult climate and, above all, the constant threat of Beduin attacks¹ (sometimes bought off by the government)², the Muslims from the eastern lands of the Abbasid empire would gather together at Baghdad.³ From the beginning of the month of Shawwāl (i.e., two months before the actual time of the hajj), people from Iraq itself and from regions much more distant (e.g., Khurāsān) would reach Baghdad. Such people --- numbering several thousands --- found shelter in the tents pitched on the western side of Baghdad. Here the government supplied them with food and drinking water.⁴ The period extending from the first arrival of the pilgrims till their departure on the hajj was an exciting time for the inhabitants of Baghdad. Every day new groups of pilgrims would enter the city and the inhabitants of Baghdad, dressed in their best attire, gave them a warm welcome.⁵

(Continued from the last page) :-- erected for the purpose. To ensure an unimpeded march-past of the troops, roads were closed to public riders. (cf. Tabarī, iii, 1181; Muntazam, x, pp. 35, 38; Kāzrunī, Maqama fi dawā'id Baghdad fi'l-dawla al-'Abbāsiyya, ed. K. 'Awād and M. 'Awād, Baghdad, 1962, p. 26).

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1. Beduin attacks on the pilgrim caravan occurred frequently and many pilgrims lost their lives and property. At a later time the Qaramita also plundered the pilgrim caravans travelling to the hajj. (cf. Muntazam, v, pt. 2, pp. 56, 65, vi, pp. 2, 33; Tabarī, iii, 1941, 2027; 'Arīb, 54, 118-19).
2. The pilgrims were asked to pay a fixed toll for their safety. (cf. Bowen, Life and Times of 'Alī b. 'Isā, pp. 357-58). Apart from the Baghdad government, other princesses too, contributed towards the amount paid to the beduins. (cf. Mez, p. 313). On one occasion, 9,000 dinars were paid to them; members of the escort party among the beduins received at the rate of four dinars each. (cf. Mez, p. 313).
3. Muntazam, vii, p. 276.
4. Ibid., vii, p. 276.
5. Kāzrunī, op.cit., p. 24; cf. also, Badrī, 'Amma, pp. 195-96.

The departure of the caravan was marked by elaborate celebrations. A large procession, with high ranking officials at the front and with the populace behind them, accompanied the caravan to the outskirts of Baghdad and bade them farewell.¹ To protect the pilgrims from external attacks, contingent of troops also accompanied the hajj caravan.² The caravan then proceeded towards Mecca under the leadership of an Amīr al-Hajj i.e., a commander of the pilgrims.³ This amīr was appointed by the government in a ceremonial gathering attended by the caliph, the chief qādī and his deputies and also by other dignitaries.⁴ The amīr not only directed the journey, but supervised the conduct of the pilgrims and led his own contingent of the hajj during the ceremonies.⁵

Arriving at Mina the pilgrims sacrificed camels, sheep or other horned domestic animals --- one goat or one sheep for one man or one household, but as many as seven men might be partners in one cow or one camel. The flesh of the animal sacrificed was either eaten, stored or distributed among the poor; the skins were given to charity.⁶ The people of Hijāz, according to Maqdisī, took no other qadīd except that which was procured from the sacrificed animals of Mina.⁷

1. Muntazam, vii, p. 263; Kāzarūnī, op.cit, p.24

2. Tabarī, iii, p. 1383; Aghānī¹, ix, p. 64.

3. EI², s.v. Amīr al-Hadjdj (J. Jomier).

4. Tabarī, iii, pp. 1383-84; Kāzarūnī, op.cit, p. 24; cf. also, Badrī, 'Āmma, pp. 194-95.

5. Grunebaum, Festivals, p. 37; The Amīr al-Hajj was assisted by a special staff. In addition to his normal duties (e.g., the supervision of the pilgrim caravan) he also took measures designed to ward off the harassing attacks of the Arab tribes. (cf. EI², s.v. Amīr al-Hadjdj).

6. EI², s.v. Hadjdj ; Grunebaum, Festivals, pp.33-34.

7. Muq. p. 96.

The return of the pilgrims to Baghdad offered an occasion of festive celebration for the people in general. The caliph himself came out of the city to receive the pilgrims. In order to enter Baghdad the next day, rested and refreshed for the festivity, the pilgrims sometimes passed the previous night in the suburb of al-Yasīriyya.¹ The relatives of the pilgrims offered their thanks to God for the safe return of their relatives, congratulated the pilgrims and celebrated the occasion with great excitement.²

The procession of the caliphal caravan for the hajj was marked both by expense and by display. The hawdaj (litter) was profusely decorated with variegated silk and materials woven with gold. The caliph, escorted by his bodyguard, appeared before the caravan, wearing the burda³ (cloak) of the Prophet with the qadīb (staff) and the khātam (signet-ring) in his hands. A drum was beaten to inform the caravan that the moment of departure had come. The caliph, surrounded by members of his family, by important dignitaries and by troops with black standards, would now set out towards Mecca. On his way to Mecca the caliph showed his benevolence by distributing money and food to the people. This benevolence increased notably, when the caliph reached Mecca. There he would entertain the inhabitants with a lavish expenditure on food, iced drink and gifts.⁴ It is said that the Caliph Mahdī, in one of his famous hajj journeys, distributed 30,000,000 dirhams in cash amongst

1. Mez, p. 314.

2. Kāzarūnī, op.cit, p. 24 ; Husrī, Jam' al-Jawāhir, p.110.

3. On the burda see, Chapter Costume, p. 82

4. Aghānī¹, iii, p. 94; Balkhī, Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'rīkh, p. 96.; Muntazam, vii, p. 84.

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the people of Mecca and Medina . This sum was in addition to the various gifts and ice that was brought especially from Mawsil.¹ The pilgrimage journey made by Jamīla bint Nāṣir al-Dawla in the year 366/976-7 became proverbially famous in the history / ^{of the} pilgrimage. She is said to have provided all the people present at the Pilgrimage that year with sawīq² mixed with snow. In addition to many other things, she brought with her, loaded on camels, fresh green vegetables contained in earthenware crocks. She commissioned 500 mounts for those pilgrims who were limbless; bestowed 10,000 dinars on the Ka'ba, freed 300 slaves and 200 slave girls, gave handsome subsidies to those who had come to reside in Mecca, and provided 50,000 fine robes for the common population. It is also said that she had with her 400 litters each lined with satin, so that it was never known in which one she herself was.³

The social, cultural and economic effects of the pilgrimage in medieval Islam, were of great importance.⁴ In fact the hajj provided different people with different opportunities --- if a man were a merchant, he might utilize it as a business trip; if he were a scholar, he might impart or gather knowledge and ideas; if he were a traveller, he might gain knowledge of the people and the land. Pilgrimage was, therefore, one of the important factors making for 'cultural unity and social mobility in the Islamic world'.⁵

1. Balkhī, *op.cit*, p. 96.

2. On sawīq see, the chapter of Food, pp. 160-161.

3. Lata'if, pp. 82-83 (= Eng. Tr. p.32); Muntazam, vii, 84.

4. El2, s.v. Hadjdj, (B. Lewis).

5. Ibid. The Khatib al-Baghdādī gives exaggerated reports of hajj performed by students in order to learn Islamic sciences from the scholars attending the hajj. cf. iii, 436, xiii, 286 (40 times); xii, 111 (60 times); viii, 45 (70 times). The Caliph Mahdī is reported to have requested Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795-96) to teach his Muwatta to the students during the days of hajj. (*ibid*, ix, 83).

iv) 'Īd al-Adhā :---

At the time of the sacrifice of animals in Mina the whole Muslim world celebrated the great festival called 'Īd al-Akbar or the 'Sacrificial Feast', i.e., the 'Īd al-Adhā, a title which is derived from duḥā (the early part of the day) or from dahhā (he sacrificed an animal).¹ Like the 'Īd al-Fitr, this festival was celebrated with great pomp; new clothes were put on, people bestowed presents on one another, and two rak'as of congregational prayer were offered in the same manner as in the 'Īd al-Fitr.²

The sacrifice of animals which is a conspicuous feature of this festival took place after the prayer. The caliphs themselves showed much interest in it and a number of animals were slaughtered in the precincts of the royal palace. Sābī notes that a portion of the caliphal budget was set apart for the purchase of animals (adāhī).³ It was the duty of the wazir to provide the 'animals' at the Abbasid court for the members of the royal family, troops and various categories of the palace servants.⁴ The celebration of the 'Īd al-Adhā and the sacrifice of animals continued for three days, a period of time known as 'Ayyām al-Tashrīq.⁵ The meat of the sacrificed animals was sent to friends and relatives and especially to the poor people.⁶ Maqdisī noted that the celebrations of the 'Īd al-Adhā in Sicily and the day of 'Arafa (the 9th day of Dhūl-Ḥijja) in Shīrāz were unparalleled in the Muslim world in the 10th century.⁷

1. EI², s.v. 'Īd al-Adhā; Grunebaum, Festivals, p. 34.
 2. Ibid, cf. also, Muq. p. 183; Kāzarūnī, op.cit, p.26
 3. Rusūm, p. 24. The people of Basra fattened sheep for a year for the sacrificial fest and sold them at a price of 10 dinars each. (cf. Aghani¹, iii, p.62).
 4. Bowen, 'Alī b. 'Isā, p. 105 /viii, 141.
 5. EI², s.vv. 'Id and 'Īd al-Adhā; Grunebaum, 33-35; Muntazam,/
 6. Ibid; Jāhiz, 'Bukhala', p. 27.
 7. Muq. p. 183.

(v) Jum'a :---

Jum'a or Friday was the Muslim weekly holy day. It is 'essentially different from the Jewish Sabbath or the Christian Sunday' and is a day of obligatory public worship, held at noon.¹ The Friday ceremonial consists of an adhān, which is proclaimed inside the mosque, a khutba said in two sections by the preacher in a standing position. During the pause in the midst of the khutba, the khatīb is required to sit down. After the khutba a ṣalāt consisting of two rak'as is offered in congregation.²

In Baghdad, the Jum'a prayer was offered with great ceremony and pomp. Maqdisī writing in the 10th century notes that the Jum'a celebration in Baghdad was unprecedented in the Muslim world.³ He also noted that in the East especially in Nishapur there ^{was} held a special session in the morning where the Qur'ān readers recited verses from the Qur'ān.⁴ In summer iced water was also provided in these regions.⁵ The Khatīb al-Baghdādī narrating a story from the 3rd/9th century notes that the Friday Mosque in Baghdad could not accommodate people and therefore roads had to be closed for traffic and the adjacent area was used for prayer. The gate-keepers (bawwābūn) at the maqsūra did not allow a man to enter the maqsūra until he donned the 'black qabā' ⁶ - a distinctive robe of the wazirs and high ranking officials at this period. Baghdādī adds that this was the custom in all the maqsūra of the Jāmi' (Friday Mosque) in the early Abbasid period.⁷

1. S.D.Goitein, Studies., p.11. For a detailed discussion on the origin of the institution of Jum'a see, ibid, p.111ff; idem, MW 49(1959), pp.183-195; idem, EI², s.v. Jum'a.

2. EI², s.v. Jum'a (S.D.Goitein); cf. also, Goldziher, Muslim Studies, ii, pp.41-45 (= Eng. Tr. pp.49-52).

3. Muq. p. 183.

4. Ibid, p. 328.

5. Ibid, p. 327.

6. On the qabā' see, Chapter, Costume, p. 70

7. Ta'rīkh, i, p.48; cf. also, Manāqib Baghdād, p.22

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As the yawm al-Jum'a was a day of 'ibāda (worship), offices and schools were closed since the early Abbasid period.¹ A passage in Jahshiyārī's Wuzarā' clearly indicates that Friday was regarded as a holiday for the officials to enable them to prepare for the Jum'a prayer and other 'ibādāt.² In addition to Friday, the Caliph Mahdī fixed Thursday as a day of rest for all the government officials until the Caliph Mu'taṣim abolished the practice of two days rest and ordered that offices would be closed only on Fridays.³ This state of affairs remained unchanged until the Caliph Mu'tadid came to power in 279/892. Now again the custom of the days of the Caliph Mahdī was revived with the exception that Thursday was replaced by Tuesday.⁴ Friday was regarded as holiday because "it was the day of prayer and because Mu'tadid loved that day, as his tutor used to free him on Friday from lessons. Whereas on Tuesday the officials would have time, in the middle of the week, to rest and to look after their personal affairs".⁵ On Friday, however, he ordered the public mazālim (al-mazālim al-'amma) to be held for the benefit of the common people.⁶

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1. Some ashāb of the Imām Mālik b. Anas has disapproved of the practice of some Muslims who refrained from doing work on Friday in imitation of the Jewish and Christian weekly holidays. (cf. Tartūsī, K. al-Hawādith, Tunis, 1959, p. 133, cited by S.D. Göitein, in El, s.v. Djum'a). During the time of the Imām Abū Hanīfa (d. 150/767), Saturday was the holiday for the schools and judges. In the middle of the 3rd/9th century judges observed holidays either on Monday or Tuesday. But later on, presumably, from the time of the Caliph Mu'tadid, Tuesday was fixed as the day of rest for the judges because the government also observed a general holiday on Tuesday. (cf. Ibn Māza (d. 536/1141), Br. Mus. Ms. No. Or. 2407, fol. 18b). K. Sharh Adab al-Qādi.
 2. Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', p. 166; cf. also, Shābushtī, Diyārāt, p. 119; see also, M. 'Awād, al-'Uṭla al-usbū'iyya fi'l-dawlat al-'Abbāsiyya, in RAAD, 18(1939), p. 53.
 3. Ibid, Wuzarā', p. 166.
 4. Šabī, Wuzarā', p. 27; see also p. 344.
 5. Ibid, p. 27.
 6. Ibid, p. 27; cf. also, Ibn Māza, Sharh adab al-qādi, Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 2407, fol. 18b; also, M. 'Awād, op.cit., p. 54.

It was because of the public holiday on Friday that the poets and the people interested in poetry, assembled together for the weekly majlis al-shu'arā' (poets' gathering) taking place on Fridays in the Jāmi' al-Mansūr under the 'Qubbat al-Shu'arā' (i.e., the dome of the poets).¹ In Jāhiz's Bukhalā' a man is mentioned as passing his time in leisure on Fridays by visiting gardens with the packed lunch which he ate sitting by the side of a pool. After having his meal he had a siesta in the garden, took a bath and went to the Jāmi' for the Jum'a prayer.²

Though Friday was a holiday for the officials, markets and other places of business, at this period, were not closed except perhaps for a brief period of Jum'a prayer. We have reports showing that animals were mostly slaughtered on Fridays³ and people did their weekly shopping on this day.⁴ During the later Abbasid era, presumably under the influence of the Jewish community, Muslims closed their shops on Saturday, suspended their business and passed the day in pleasure and enjoyment. This prompted the government (in 488/1095) to interfere and take measures against the Jewish imitation.⁵ The muhtasib was ordered to ensure that shops are closed on Friday and opened on Saturday and to punish those who, violating this rule, opened shops on Fridays and closed on Saturdays. This was done to counteract the Jewish Sabbath institution.⁶

1. Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, viii, pp. 249-50; xii, pp. 95-6.

2. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 20

3. Ibid, p. 99; Uyūn, iii, p. 200

4. Ibid, Bukhalā', p. 110.

5. Muntazam, ix, p. 91; cf. also, M. 'Awād, op.cit, p. 58.

6. Ibid, ix, p. 91.

(B) Local Festivals :--i) Nawrūz :--

Though of Persian origin, the festival of Nawrūz,¹ i.e., of "New Year's Day" was officially recognized by the early Abbasids. It was a spring festival.² It began with the first day of the Persian solar year, corresponding to the vernal equinox and the entry of the sun into the sign of Aries, and continued until the 6th day of the month.³ The last day was known as the Great New Year's Day (al-Nīrūz al-Akbar).⁴ On the first day, people rose early in the morning, went to the wells, or streams drew water in a vase and poured it over themselves.⁵ They also sprinkled water over each other.⁶ Reports differ as to the explanation of this washing and water-sprinkling. Some say that these practices were a good omen and a means to ward off harm; others declare that they served the purpose of removing from the air the corruption which produces epidemic diseases; while still other reports state that these practices were carried out only to cleanse their bodies from the smoke which might have made their bodies dirty, when attending to fires during the preceding winter.⁷ All these explanations seem, however, to be improbable.

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1. In Arabic sources the word has been pronounced as Nīrūz (or Nairūz), which seems to be a misreading of the Persian word Nawrūz. (cf. Murūj, vii, p. 277; Tabarī, iii, pp. 1148, 2143; Nishwār, viii, p. 145; EI¹, s.v. Nawrūz, by R. Levy).
 2. Jackson, Persia, p. 99; Iqbal, Nawrūz, in Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, 1969, vol. 45, No. 3, pp. 133-38.
 3. Bīrūnī, Āthār, pp. 204, 216; EI¹, s.v. Nawrūz; Jackson, Persia, p. 99. Ibn Hawqal (1938 ed), p. 364.
 4. Āthār, p. 217; Qalqashandī, Subh, ii, p. 411.
 5. Subh, ii, p. 409; Grunebaum, Festivals, p. 54.
 6. Tabarī, iii, p. 2163; Muntazam, v, pt. 2, p. 171; Subh, ii, 409.
 7. Āthār, p. 218 (=Eng. Tr. p. 203); Subh, ii, p. 409; Grunebaum, Festivals, 54-55; Iqbal, op.cit., pp. 160-162, also, 141-42.

During the Abbasid period and especially in the time of the Caliph Mutawakkil, the Nawrūz was celebrated with great pomp and rejoicing.¹ The Caliph, on the occasion of Nawrūz, is said to have struck five million dirhams, painted in various colours, and showered them upon his officials. Masked actors (ashāb al-samāja) appeared before the Caliph, who flung coins at them and distributed roses fashioned from red amber.² Ibn Zubayr notes that, on one Nawrūz occasion, the play of samāja was arranged for the Caliph Mu'tadid which cost 13,000 dinars.³ On the Nawrūz days a variety of sweet dishes (e.g., sābūniyya, Lawzīnaj etc.⁴) were cooked, the people then distributed them to one another.⁵

The Nawrūz festival was marked by an exchange of gifts.⁶ According to Ya'qūbī, 'Umar II abolished the Nawrūz and Mihrijān⁶ gifts, which were re-introduced by Yazīd II.⁷ Under Mutawakkil --- as the poet Buhturī says --- 'the Nawrūz day has again become the same as instituted by Ardashīr'.⁸ Not unlike the Persian kings, the Abbasid caliphs used to appear in their chambers, clad in gorgeous attire, in order to receive the presents personally. It is reported that the Caliph Mutawakkil used to sit down in his chamber from morning to the time of the zuhr prayer, accepting the gifts

1. Nishwār, viii, pp. 145-46; Murūj, vii, p.277; Mez, p.426.

2. Diyārāt, pp. 39-40; cf. also, Mez, p.424; Grunēbaum, p.54.

3. Dhakhā'ir, p. 38.

4. On these sweet dishes see, Chapter Food, pp. 164, 165.

5. Umar Khayyām, Nawrūz Nāma, p. 13

6. On Mihrijān see, below, p. 350f.

7. Ya'qūbī, ii, p. 366

8. Tabarī, iii, p. 1448; Kāmil, vii, p.30. Hamza al-Isfahānī (d. 350/961) gives a table of nawrūz from the year of the hijra down to his own times. He also wrote a treatise on the poems dealing with the feast days of nawrūz and Mihrijān. (cf. Goldziher, Muslim Studies, i, pp.209-210 = Eng. Tr. by C.R.Barber and S.M.Stern, pp.192-93).

offered to him by the high officials and other dignitaries.¹ The caliphs, in fact, had the right to receive gifts from their subjects on this auspicious day.² Hence people of all ranks presented their gifts to the caliphs and also to the wazirs --- high ranking officials and well-to-do people offered perfumes, jewels and pearls; merchants presented their precious goods such as carpets, clothes, slave girls, etc; poets offered their poems and the common people brought gifts of flowers and fruits.³ To visit the caliphs at Nawrūz without a gift was held to be ignominious. The caliphs sometimes asked visitors about their gifts, these enquiries (as the sources reveal) often taking a particular form : "where is your gift of the day?".⁴

The presentation of numerous gifts to the caliphs made it useful to keep a record of all visitors who came to the palace with gifts.⁵ These visitors, however, were offered in return sumptuous presents from the caliphs.⁶

The common people, on this festive occasion, illuminated their houses with cotton pods (habb al-quṭn) and clay censers (al-majāmr al-tīn).⁷ The royal houses, at the same time, would be illuminated with pods made of costly material (e.g.,

1. Nishwār, viii, p. 145.

2. Nishwār, viii, p. 145; Tāj (attributed to Jāhiz), pp. 148-49

3. Ibid, viii, p. 145; Tāj, 148-49; Khālidīyyān, Tuhaf, 32-33, 36, 41, 153, 155, 156; Dhakha'ir, 20, 38, 60; Iqd, vi, 281, 289.

4. Nishwār, viii, p. 145; Tuhaf, p. 156.

5. al-Mahāsin wa'l-Addād, p. 197; Tāj, p. 149; cf. also, Munajjid, Bain al-Khulafā', p. 64.

6. At one Nawrūz day the Caliph Mutawakkil is said to have given Buhturī the sum of 1,000+500 'dinars. (cf. Sūlī, Akhbār al-Buhturī, p. 96).

7. Nishwār, i, p. 143.

zahrī cloth)¹ soaked in oil of balsam (dahn al-balsān) and other fragrant and expensive oils burned in censers of stone (al-majāmir al-birām).²

During the six days of the Nawrūz festival, the people gathered in the streets and lit fires. The enthusiasm of the people in celebrating the Nawrūz was such that the attempt of the Caliph Mu'tadid, in 284/897, to prevent the unrestrained rejoicing in the streets during the midsummer proved unsuccessful; after only two days he was obliged to let the public resume their customary practices.³ Ibn Hawqal notes that in the 10th century people in Jibal celebrated the Nawrūz festival for seven days consecutive with much enthusiasm and gaiety. They cooked a number of delicious dishes and donned pretentious costumes and spent a lot of money on the festivities. They also indulged in varieties of sports, organised singing parties and feasted even on the roofs of their buildings.⁴

Professor Tritton quotes a passage from an unpublished text of Sābī's Kitāb al-Hafawāt about the Nawrūz celebration of the dhimmīs in Baghdad in the 4th/10th century. Sābī notes that some of the dhimmīs hired a special cook to work during the night to have the dishes fresh in the morning, gave parties for relatives and friends, at which they served green melons, plums, peaches and dates if they were in season. Women made a point of buying perfumes for the day.

1. The zahrī cloth is described by Tanūkhī as "exceedingly light". (cf. Nishwār, i, p. 143).

2. Ibid, i, p. 143.

3. Tabarī, iii, p.2163; Muntazam, v, pt.2, p.171; EI¹, s.v. Nawrūz, (R. Levy).

4. Ibn Hawqal, (2nd ed. 1938), p. 364.

and tortoises to drive devils from the houses. Eggs were dyed in various colours. To sprinkle perfume on a man and tread seven times on him was a means of driving away the evil eye, laziness and fever. Antimony or rue was used to improve the sight during the coming year; it was a good day for taking medicine. Colleges were closed and the students played; if a professor came in, he was not treated with respect and might be thrown into the fountain unless he paid a ransom in cash which the students spent for food. Ṣābī also adds that Muslims shared in jollifications on the occasion and even drank wine in public and ate cleaned lentils like the dhimmīs and joined them in throwing water on folk. Respectable people hit each other with water-skins or threw water in their houses or gardens while common folk did this in the streets.¹

ii) Mihrjān :---

A few months after the Nawrūz, the Abbasids celebrated another festival, Persian in origin and known as Mihrjān. The name Mihrjān is connected with the Persian month 'Mihr-Māh', during which this festival was celebrated.² The sixteenth day of each month was also called mihr-rūz. The mihr-rūz of mihr-māh was the occasion of the festival called Mihrjān.³ The word Mihrjān means 'love of the spirit'.⁴

1. Tritton, Sketches of Life under the Caliphs, in MW, LXII (1972), p. 145 --quoting from an unpublished MS. of Ḥilāl al-Ṣābī entitled, Kitāb al-Hafawāt.

2. Āthār, p.222(= Eng. Tr.p.207); EI¹, s.v. Mihr; Jackson, Persia, p. 371; Pūrdāwūd, Mihr wa'l-Mihrjān, in Dirāsāt al-Adabiyā, Beirut, 1959, vols. 2-3, pp. 124-26.

3. Āthār, p.222; EI¹, s.v. Mihr; Pūrdāwūd, op.cit, pp. 124-26

4. Āthār, p. 222; EI¹, s.v. Mihr.

Bīrūnī reports that mihr is the name of the sun, which was believed to have appeared to the world for the first time on this particular day.¹ This festival was marked by the wearing of holiday attire, by the offering of congratulations and good wishes and also by much merry-making.

Unlike the Nawrūz, which denoted the beginning of the Spring, the Mihrijān indicated the beginning of winter --- a moment when people began to change their dress, to add extra coverings to their beds and to prepare themselves for the cold season.² The day was marked by great festivities, by singing and by sports.³ As in the Nawrūz, the important feature of the festival, over and above the illuminations and the beating of drums, was an exchange of gifts.⁴ On this day, too, the caliphs and wazirs used to sit in their chambers to receive the presents ---- amongst them, at times, gifts of great value, e.g., an elephant of gold and with diamonds for eyes.⁵

It is interesting to note that during this period, and perhaps for the first time in the Muslim world, people adopted the convention of sending cards of congratulation (al-mukātaba fī'l-tahānī) with the usual gifts offered on the days of Mihrijān and Nawrūz.⁶ A certain Ahmad b. Yūsuf is said to have introduced this practice during the reign of the Caliph Ma'mūn.⁷ It is possible that these cards were on sale in the market. The likelihood is, however, that the

1. Āthār, p. 222

2. Ibid, p. 223; Subh, ii, p. 412.

3. Murūj, viii, p. 340

4. Nishwār, viii, p. 145; Aghānī², v, pp. 217-18; Dhakhā'ir, pp. 5, 28-29; Khālidīyyān, Tuhaf, pp. 109-110, 180; Uyūn, iii, p. 37; Nuwayrī, i, pp. 186-7; Muhādarāt, (Cairo, 1287), i, p. 261; Ghazulī, Matalī', ii, p. 136.

5. Nishwār, viii, p. 145; Aghānī², v, pp. 217-18.

6. Abū Hilāl al-Askarī, Diwān al-Ma'ānī, (Egypt, 1352) i, 95.

7. Ibid, i, p. 95.

people made them at home and exchanged them amongst themselves after perfuming and sealing them. Sentences or verses of benediction and congratulation formed the subject matter of these cards.¹

iii) Sadaq :---

Sadaq (or sadhaq, sadaq), the "Yule" feast --- an old Persian festival observed at the time of the Abbasids with much enthusiasm.² Since it was celebrated in winter with large bonfires, the festival was known as lailat al-wuqūd, the "night of the fires".³ The Sadaq was held on the 5th or the 10th day of the Persian month Bahman. Ibn al-Athīr and Abū'l-Fidā' state that this festival coincided with Christmas.⁴ At this festival people of Baghdad flocked to the banks of the Tigris, lit fires on their boats and vied with each other in eating and drinking, in the brightness of their apparel, in music, in piping and in dancing. The barges of the caliphs, wazirs and high officials were decorated and illuminated. These high personages appeared in gorgeous attire and were drawn in the barges along the river --- a splendid procession of boats, filled with courtiers and the common people, following in their wake. Some of the people spent the whole night there, rejoicing and playing with bonfires.⁵

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- op.cit.
1. Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, i, p. 95; Khālidīyyān, Tuhaf, pp. 154-55.
 2. Tajārib, i, p. 310; Āthār, p. 226; cf. also Mez, p. 421.
 3. Tajārib, i, p. 310; For the different legendary reports regarding the origin of the festival see, Āthār, pp. 226-27; Subh, ii, p. 412.
 4. Kāmil, viii, p. 222; Mukhtasar fī akhbār al-bashar, iii, p. 130.
 5. Muntazam, ix, p. 57.

On this night it was the custom with those observing the feast to fumigate houses in order to ward off misfortune, and also to light fires, keeping them well ablaze and driving wild animals into them and sending birds in flight through the flames --- the people drinking and amusing themselves meanwhile around the fire.¹

The celebration of the Sadaq festival² which the Daylamite Mardāwīj --- governor of the Eastern provinces --- made in 323/935 with unusual splendour at great expense became legendary. The prince, so we are told, collected faggots, set up large candles and stationed a number of naphtha throwers (naffātīn) and fire-squirts (zarrāqāt) in the wādī of Zarīn Rūdh, near Isfahan. Near each of the elevated places in the town, a 'castle' made of tree trunks was built, the interior of the 'castle' being filled with fluff (mashāqqa) and naphtha. To provide a splendid illumination Mardāwīj caused wax-pillars and wax-figures to be erected in his own palace-hall. Fire was lighted at one and the same time on the hills, in the desert and in the 'castles'. Now a number of birds, to the beaks and feet of which nuts filled with fluff and naphtha fastened, were released into the darkness of the night, presenting a wonderful spectacle. Moreover, Mardāwīj arranged a great feast, for which 2,000 cattle are said to have been slaughtered, in addition to numerous birds and fowl.³

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1. Āthār, p. 226 (=Eng. Tr. p.22); cf. also, Mez, p.421. For these savage practices the celebration of this Persian feast is vehemently condemned by Hamadānī. (cf. Rasā'il, Beirut, 1890, p. 279).
 2. Mez has mistakeably identified this festival with Christmas. (see, p. 421).
 3. Tajārib, i, pp. 310ff. ; Kāmil, viii, pp. 222-223; cf. also, Mez, pp. 421-22.

(D) Other Festive Occasions

Among the occasions celebrated by the people, especially at Baghdad, irrespective of their religious allegiance, were the installation of a caliph or the birth of a child in the imperial house; also the time of circumcision, marriages, recuperation from illness and, in addition, the victories won by the Muslim armies over their foes.

The birth of a child in the imperial household was an event of importance, the ensuing festivities being made more elaborate for a son than for a daughter. The caliph and the members of his family now offered handsome gifts to rich and poor, to nobles and commoners alike. Poets and other dignitaries rushed to congratulate the caliph, receiving donatives and robes of honour in return. At Baghdad people illuminated their houses; merchants and craftsmen adorned their shops and buildings; and the common people marched through the streets with drums and trumpets. Sometimes ceremonial gates and arches were erected and the festivities continued for several days.¹ It is not known whether there were any spectacles or public entertainments in the caliphal palace on such occasions.

The circumcision of a royal prince was also marked by a great display of wealth and magnificence. The circumcision of Mu'tazz, the son of the Caliph Mutawakkil, took place with an unprecedented pomp and expenditure, so that it has been recorded in Arabic literature as one of the unforgettable

1. Muntazam, viii, p. 254; ix, pp. ix, pp. 14, 38; Azdī, Ta'rikh al-Mawsil, pp. 243, 307; cf. also, Badrī, 'Āmma, pp. 213-14.

extravaganzas of the age.¹ In the great feast which followed the circumcision the Caliph Mutawakkil showered upon the guests gold and silver coins, together with pieces of ambergris, amber and musk moulded into various shapes and figures. People present on this occasion seized coins in such numbers that they had to carry them several times to their slaves waiting outside the palace. When the entertainment came to an end, 1,000 robes of honour were distributed among the guests, with 1,000 mounts to depart on, each animal clad in gold and silver trappings. At the same time 1,000 slaves received their freedom.² The total expenditure on this occasion has been estimated at 86 million dirhams.³

It was the custom for the Abbasid caliphs, at the circumcision of their sons, to invite other boys of destitute families and orphans into the palace, there to be circumcised with the royal prince --- a practice which enabled the poor to share in the festivities. The caliphs, on such occasions, bestowed gifts on the parents of the boys and distributed alms (sadaqāt) among the poor. The Caliph Muqtadir is said to have had five of his sons circumcised at the same time and, with them, a group of orphans, whom he loaded with rich presents. The entire cost of this celebration is reported to have reached the large sum of 600,000 dinars.⁴

On such festive occasions the people decorated Baghdad, erecting several ceremonial gates covered with costly

1. See, for example, Latā'if, pp. 122-23 = Eng. Tr. by C.E. Bosworth, pp. 100-101; Diyārāt, pp. 150-53.

2. Ibid, Latā'if, pp. 122-23; Diyārāt, pp. 150-53; cf. also J. Zaydan, Tamaddun, v, p. 150.

3. Mez, p. 428. --- quoting from Shābushtī's Diyārāt.

4. Ibid, p. 428. --- quoting from Ibn al-Jawzī, fol. 12b.

material and visiting the caliphal palace in their best attire. The celebration of the circumcision lasted sometimes for a week.¹

An occasion of splendid ceremonies in the royal palace was the wedding of a caliph or other member of the Abbasid house.² The most famous wedding celebration during the period here under review, --- was that of the Caliph Ma'mūn with the eighteen year old Būrān, the daughter of his wazir Hasan b. Sahl, celebrated in 210/825 at "Fam al-Silḥ" in Wasit over a period of forty days. On the wedding night, When Ma'mūn and Būrān, for the first time, came face to face, a thousand pearls of unique size were showered from a gold tray upon the couple, who sat on a golden mat studded with pearls and sapphires. A candle of ambergris, weighing two hundred ratls, was lit in the bridal chamber and turned the night into day. Balls of musk, each containing the name of an estate, slave-girl, steed or other gift, fell on the crowd of guests, each recipient receiving the particular present which his ball of musk indicated. Robes of honour were conferred on all the guests ---- an event which brought to an end a festival unparalleled in its magnificence.³

An important festive occasion was the 'feast of the cupping' (fasad) when, as at the Nawrūz and the Mihrijān, presents were given out and a special meal was served.⁴ The 'feast of the cupping' became a regular feature at the Abbasid court. The courtiers came in colourful dress,

1. Muntazam, ix, p. 245.

2. cf., for example, Dhakhā'ir, pp. 98-101; Latā'if, pp. 120-22

3. Diyārāt, pp. 157-59; Latā'if, pp. 120-122 (= Eng. Tr. pp. 99-100); Thimār, s.v. Da'wat al-Islām; Tabarī, iii, pp. 1081-85; Dhakhā'ir, pp. 98-101.

4. Jāhiz, al-Mahāsīn wa'l-Addād, p. 184; Mez, p. 429; cf. also; Munajjid, Bain al-Khulafā', p. 62.

congratulated the caliph, wished him good health and presented him with gifts.¹ These presentations consisted of slave-girls, golden and silver utensils, perfumaries, flowers and candles.² On one occasion, at the 'feast of the cupping' the wazir Fath b. Khaqān gave to the Caliph Mutawakkil a slave-girl, exquisite in beauty and accomplishments, who carried in her hands a wine-jar made of crystal and a golden wine-cup, along with a congratulatory letter wishing the Caliph good health.³

The day of the bay'a of the caliphs was regarded as a day of festivity. People from all walks of life thronged to the royal palace (dār khilāfa) and offered their allegiance to the caliph in the form of congratulations.⁴ The caliph, on the other hand, arranged dinner parties for the high dignitaries and offered gifts and robes of honour to those who were high in his esteem. The dinner which the Caliph Maḥdī gave on the day of his accession to the khilāfat (158/775) was remarkable indeed. It is said that he spent so lavishly on food and gifts that it was feared the court treasury would be exhausted of its resources.⁵

1. al-Maḥāsin, p. 184; Aghānī¹, v, p. 66; Dhakhā'ir, pp. 18-19, 197; Khālidiyyān, Tuhaf, pp. 27, 28; Jahshiyārī, Wuzarā', p. 250; Munajjid, Bain al-Khulafā', p. 70

2. Ibid, Maḥāsin, p. 184; Dhakhā'ir, pp. 18-19

3. Ibn Abī 'Usaybi'a, 'Uyun al-Anbā', p. 181.

4. Azdī, Ta'rīkh al-Mawsil, p. 231; Aghānī¹, iii, p. 94.

5. Aghānī⁴, iii, p. 94; Muruḥ, vi, p. 233. The wazirs also received congratulations on their appointments and entertained those visiting them with gifts. It is said when Ibn al-Furāt became wazir, he offered all the visitors, who came to congratulate him, iced water and other drinks with ice. He also gave them candles and pieces of paper. (cf. 'Arīb, p. 61; Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 73). For a general discussion on the decoration of the caliphal palace and the appearance of the caliph on ceremonial occasions, see D. Sourdél, 'Questions de cérémonial 'Abbaside' in REI, 1960, pp. 121-148.

The day of appointment of an heir apparent (walī al-‘ahd) was also an occasion of enjoyment, both for the royal family and for the common people. After the ceremonial formalities, attended mainly by the officials and the élite, a colourful procession went out of the royal palace.¹ The procession which took place after Mu‘tazz, the son of Mutawakkil, was appointed heir apparent, is described by Aghānī as 'unprecedented'. This procession embraced a large contingent of Turkish troops, and also the high dignitaries with their servants, all attired in colourful dress. It paraded through the main streets of the city and crossed the river Tigris in decorated barges, until at last it reached the palace known as ‘Arūs (of the Bride).² Free access was given to all who wanted to see and congratulate the 'heir apparent'. Poets, to mark the occasion, now extolled the Caliph and the heir apparent and received rewards and robes of honour.³ It is said that on this occasion, Ibrāhīm b. al-‘Abbās al-Sūlī received 100,000 dirhams from the Caliph and a similar amount from the heir presumptive for the composition of his eulogy.⁴

The victorious return of the caliph or of a military commander from an expedition offered the populace a further occasion of rejoicing and pride. The whole of Baghdad was

1. Aghānī¹, ix, p. 32

2. Loc. cit. The populace watched the procession, standing on the both sides of the road, in a long row. On one occasion this row of people is said to have extended over a distance of four miles. (cf. J. Zaydān, Tamaddun, v, 147)

3. Aghānī¹, ix, p. 32.

4. Ibid. See for some other references on poets eulogy and receiving awards. Murūj, vii, p. 194; Tabarī, iii, 1467; Aghānī, xi, p. 2.

adorned with variegated materials. Beautiful pavilions (qibāb) would be erected for the caliph and his troops to march through.¹ At night there would be brilliant illuminations. The ovation which the populace of Baghdad gave to the Caliph Mu'tadid, on the occasion of his triumphal return from Takrīt in 283/896, was remarkable. The Caliph, on this occasion, bestowed robes of honour and munificent rewards on the military commanders.² In the year 269/882, when the news that Muwaffaq had killed the ring-leader of the Zanj reached the people of Baghdad, their joy knew no bounds. They celebrated the victory with great excitement by decorating the city and making processions.³ In 223/837 when Afshīn defeated Bābak, the people of Baghdad celebrated the day with much jollifications. The Caliph Mu'tasim bestowed on the commander robes of honour and offered one million dirhams and asked the poets to compose qasā'id in praise of Afshīn.⁴

Tahdhīq --- the ceremony held to mark the fact that the son of a caliph had become proficient in the reading of the Qur'ān --- was also a moment of rejoicing. The tahdhīq celebration given for Mu'tazz was marked with pomp and magnificence. It is reported that thousands of pearls of different sizes, and thousands of dinars also, were granted to the guests present there.⁵ In 167/783 the Caliph Maḥdī is said to have distributed one thousand dirhams and to have manumitted five hundred slaves, in order to honour the occasion of his son's tahdhīq.⁶

1. Murūj, viii, p. 198; Muntazam, v, pt. 2, p. 70

2. Murūj, viii, pp. 168-69.

3. Muntazam, v, pt. 2, p. 70.

4. Balkhī, Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'rīkh, p. 118.

5. Dhakha'ir, pp. 119-20.

6. Ibid, p. 112.

Chapter VII

Housing

Section I. Residential Houses.

(a) Housing position in Abbasid society.

The social structure of Abbasid society is reflected in the housing pattern of the urban centres of Abbasid Iraq. In Baghdad there were aristocratic quarters such as Zāhir, Shammāsiya, Ma'mūniya and Dār 'Awn. There were also poor quarters like Qātī'a al-Kilāb and Nahr al-Dajāj.¹ Whereas the caliphs, bureaucrats and rich men lived in palaces and palatial buildings, the poorer people lived in small huts and hovels. The houses of the rich generally included a private bath, a garden etcetera and were usually divided into three quarters surrounded by a wall --- the women's quarter, the servants' quarter and the reception rooms.²

There was another group of people who lived in rented houses.³ Since the rate of rent was high relative to the income of the people, it was not always feasible for the poor tenants to hire a house and consequently they had to be contented with an apartment or had to share the house with other tenants.⁴ There were some others who could neither afford to build huts nor to hire houses or apartments and

1. Azdī, Hikāyāt, pp. 23, 106; EI², s.v. Baghdād (A.A.K. Duri); cf. also, S.A. El-Ali, "The Foundation of Baghdad" in The Islamic City, ed. Hourani & Stern, Oxford, 1970, pp. 87-102; For Samarra, see, J.M. Rogers, "Sāmarrā: a Study in Medieval Town-Planning" in The Islamic City, pp. 119-156.

2. Aghānī¹, ii, 73; iii, 31; ix, 144; v, 38; xvii, 129; Sābī, Rusūm, p. 32; cf. also, EI², s.v. Baghdād.

3. Jāhiz, Bukhālā', 73ff; 'Uyūn, iii, 259; Bayhaqī, Maḥāsin, 642.

4. Shaybānī, Ḥiyāl, 68-72; Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, vi, 256; Ghazūlī, Matalī', i; p. 193; Bayhaqī, op.cit. p. 248.

were consequently forced to spend their nights in ruined houses, mosques etc.¹

The building of a house was the primary concern of those who had the means to do so. This is beautifully expressed in the proverbs which they used stressing such a need. They used to say "ولتكن الدور اول ما يشتري وآخر ما يباع" (houses should be the first thing to be bought and the last thing to be sold).²

A special feature of life in the important cities of the early Abbasid period was the vast number of mosques. Since these as well as the palaces of the caliphs have been vividly described by different scholars and are easily available, we do not consider it necessary to describe them here. However, it is to be noted that in the capital cities especially in Baghdad each quarter generally had a homogeneous group, ethnically (Persians, Arabs, Turks, Khawārizmians) or by vocation; where merchants and craftsmen lived on the one side of the city, and soldiers on the other, generally outside the wall.³ On account of the wonderful gardens of Baghdad, its splendid high palaces with sumptuous decorations on the gates and in the halls and their exquisite rich furniture and other beauties poets extolled Baghdad and called it a "Paradise on earth"⁴, while Samarra was designed by its founder "to please everyone who saw it" (= surra man ra'a).

1. Muntazam, x, 189; Khatīb, Ta'rikh, vi, 254; Tha'ālibī, Tamthīl, 199; cf. also, Badrī, 'Amma, pp. 166-167.

2. 'Uyūn, 1, p. 311; Tamthīl, p. 297. Another proverb compares owning a house with the paradise "جنة المرء داره". (cf. Tamthīl, p. 297).

3. EI², s.v. Baghdād.

4. Tabarī, iii, p. 873; cf. also EI², s.v. Baghdād.

(b) The Price of Houses.

With regard to the cost of land, building and prices of houses, Arab authors have furnished very little details and as such only isolated anecdotes can be cited as evidence of house prices.

In the late 8th century a man of Baghdad asked for a price of two thousand dirhams (?) for his house.¹ In the 9th century a wife of a faqīh sold a house for 30 dinars or about 400 dirhams.² At the beginning of the 10th century, a potter in Basra was asked about the price of the rental accomodation he had at the rate of five dirhams a month. The potter replied that such a house would cost only 500 dirhams.³ Thus five hundred dirhams were regarded almost a minimum for having a house of somewhat moderate standard built or purchased.

The huts (kūkh, pl. akwākh) of the poor people generally made of inexpensive materials (e.g., mud) did not cost much but were clearly beyond the means of the poor.⁴ Based on some evidence on house prices, E. Ashtor suggests that a village hut cost between six and eight dinars in

1. Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, iii, p. 268

2. Ibn Abī Ya'lā, p. 42; Ashtor, Prix, p. 56

3. Tanūkhī, Nishwār, i, p. 39.

4. Jāhiz, Bukhālā', p. 22; cf. also, Begg, Op.cit., Section "The cost of housing".

the 10th-11th century A.D., and possibly a bit less in the 9th century as things, at that time, were comparatively cheaper.¹

The houses of the well-to-do people would cost a lot of money and that too depended on site, area and condition of the houses. In 307/919, Ibrāhīm, the son of the Caliph Muqtadir purchased the house of Muḥammad Ishāq Kindāj for 30,000 dinars.² The building which belonged to the wazir Ḥamid b. 'Abbās at the Sarāt canal was bought from Nāzuk for 12,000 dinars.³ The extravagant wazir Ibn al-Furāt is said to have spent (about 300/912) three hundred thousand dinars for his palace. He further spent half a million dinars for building a garden-house where his womenfolk, nieces and his small children resided.⁴ The Caliph Hārūn al-Rāshīd is said reported to have offered 3,000 dinars to one of his courtiers to purchase a house.⁵ He is also said to have offered the Barmakid Fadl b. Yahyā 35,000,000 dirhams to build a mansion in Baghdad.⁶

A report from outside Baghdad would suggest a similar expense on house building. An acquaintance of Iṣṭakhrī (d. 346/957) built an excellent dwelling house at Sīrāf, the port town of the Persian Gulf, at a cost of 30,000 dinars.⁷ According to the fashions of Sīrāf, the building might have been a two or a multi-storied one.⁸

1. Ashtor, *R.S.O.*, 1961, pp. 58-59.

2. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntazam*, vi, p. 153.

3. Ibid, vi, pp. 183-84.

4. Sābī, *Wuzarā'*, p. 199; cf. also, Mez, p. 382.

5. *Ihyā'*, i, p. 23 --(cited by Ashtor, *Prix*, p. 57, n.2)

6. Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, p. 289.

7. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 127; cf. also, Mez, p. 512.

8. See Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 127f; also, the excavation reports of Sīrāf, published in *Iran*, 1968-71.

People in Abbasid Iraq would seem very particular about choice of neighbourhood. This consciousness was reflected in the saying " الجار ثم الدار " i.e., (the consideration of) the neighbour is the first and the house is the next.¹ Prices of houses, therefore, would go up because of a good neighbour. It is reported that the neighbour of the Muhaddith Abū Hamza al-Sukkarī (d. 167/783-84) wanted to sell his house. When asked about the price, he said : "Two thousand for the house and another two thousand for the neighbourhood of al-Sukkarī".²

Repairing and furnishing a house also called forth a huge expenditure. A young man, belonging to an official circle who inherited from his maternal side 40,000 dinars, spent 1000 dinars for repairing, decorating and restoring his ancestral home whereas he spent 7000 dinars for carpets, dresses, slave-girls etc.³ The famous singer Ishāq al-Mawsilī received a grant of 10,000 dinars for furnishing the house which was also a gift from the Caliph.⁴

The cost of land for building houses has also received very little attention by authors of Abbasid period and, therefore, they are insufficiently documented for an authoritative statement. The price of plots of land purchased by the Caliph Mu'tasim at Samarra has been recorded by

1. Tha'ālibī, al-Tamthīl wa'l-Muhādara, p. 297.; cf. also, Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 75; Bayhaqī, Mahāsīn, p.225.
2. Khatīb, Ta'rikh, iii, p. 268.
3. Tanūkhī, Faraj, ii, p.17; cf. also, Mez, p. 379. At the beginning of the 10th century the wage of a builder who built a wall in one day is reported 20 dirhams (cf. Imtā', i, p.28). In another report it is said that a man in Basra paid 20 dinars for wages of the labourers engaged in erecting a house. (cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, Zirāf, p.50).
4. EI,¹ s.v. Ishāq al-Mawsilī.

contemporary historians and geographers, but they do not mention precisely about the area of the land and general prices of land in the 9th century. According to the reports of Arab authors, Mu'tasim paid, among other prices, 5000 dirhams for a plot of land belonging to a Christian monastery and the same amount for the adjacent garden.¹ Ashtor citing a Jewish source states that a garden belonging to an Armenian person was valued, in the sixties of the 9th century as 27 dinars²— an isolated incident incapable of portraying any conclusive evidence. From a passage in the Kitāb al-Wuzarā' of Ṣābī, however, we get a more precise and conclusive evidence about the prices of land in early 4th/10th century Baghdad. Ṣābī notes that in 905 a dhirā' of land at an inferior site near the Tigris was normally sold at the price of one dinar each.³ Thus, in the absence of other corroborative evidence, 1 dinar per dhirā' (about 1 yard)⁴ might be regarded as a normal price in Baghdad in the 9th century A.D.

1. Tabarī, iii, p. 1180; Yāqūt, Buldān, iii, p. 16; cf. also Ashtor, Prix, p. 56.

2. Ashtor, p. 56, n. 6, quoting from T'shūbhōt ha-g'ōnīm mi-tōkh ha-genīzah, ed. Assaf (Jerusalem, 1929), p. 36f.

3. Ṣābī, Wuzarā', p. 312 ; cf. also, Ashtor, Prix, p. 56.

4. On Dhirā' see, EI² s.v. Dhirā' (Hinz).

(c) Rental Houses.

The rent of a house, it would seem, depended on its amenities and its location in the city. An anecdote relating to early 9th century Baghdad¹ and a report of the early 10th century connected with Basra,² would perhaps show that 5 dirhams a month per head was the usual rent. In the first half of the 9th century we also find that a shop was rented at the rate of 3 dirhams per month.³ A savant of Baghdad (d. 295/907) is reported to have lived a very hard life on the earnings of a shop (يستغل) amounting to 17 dirhams.⁴ The shop was perhaps let out or given on lease. A report of an unspecified period, recorded by Bayhaqī, shows that a man rented a house probably in Baghdad for two dinars or about 30 dirhams a month.⁵ This report, however, does not indicate whether the man was a bachelor or living with his family, whether occupying one room or more. Nevertheless, on the basis of other evidences at our disposal, it can be assumed that 2 dinars . for a single man ^{was} too much a rent and therefore the man must have been living with his family.

However, from a proverb⁶ current in 5th/11th century Baghdad and possibly much earlier,⁷ it can be gleaned that rents of houses were beyond the means of many people, and ordinary people could not even afford 5 dirhams a month (if, at all, 5 dirhams was the monthly rent for a single bachelor)

1. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 71

2. Nishwār, i, p. 39

3. Hilya, ix, p. 179; cf. also, Ashtor, Prix, p. 57

4. Muntazam, vi, p. 76; Ashtor, p. 57.

5. Bayhaqī, Mahāsin, p. 642.

6. "Heavier than the rent of a house" (أثقل من كراء الدار).

7. Taliqānī, Amthāl 'al-Baghdādiya, n. 77, p. 7.

to spend on housing.

From a passage in Jāhiz's Bukhalā', it appears that some people considered it to be against etiquette to invite guests at rental houses and allow them to stay overnight. According to this text of Jāhiz, not supported by corroborative evidence, if the guests were to stay for more than a few days (presumably after three days, a tenure recommended by Islam for hospitality), the tenants were obliged to pay rent on their behalf.¹ Ma'bad, the theologian (a contemporary of Jāhiz) was once a tenant at the house of one al-Kindī. Ma'bad kept his cousin and son in the house as guests. Kindī sent a note saying that he would not mind their stay there for a day or two, but would not tolerate a longer stay. Ma'bad informed him that the guests would stay only for a month. Now, Kindī wrote back demanding an extra ten dirhams rent for the guests saying : "the rent of your house is thirty dirhams; and since there are six of you, that comes to five dirhams a head. Now that there are two more of you, that will be another 10 dirhams; so from today your rent will be forty dirhams".²

The rent was paid after each month either in a lump sum or in instalments. It was seldom paid in advance.³ The landlord was supposed to repair any damage and look after the wear and tear of the house.⁴ According to Ibn al-Jawzī, cleaning of the house was one of the duties of the landlord.⁵ The landlord, according to Jāhiz, charged a nominal

1. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 71.

2. Ibid, p. 71; cf. the English translation of this passage in Ch. Pellat, Life and Works of Jāhiz, p. 241f.

3. Ibid, p. 74; Ibn al-Jawzī, Dhamm al-Hawā, p. 453.

4. Bukhalā', pp. 73, 75

5. Dhamm al-Hawā, pp. 453-54.

amount of about 10 dirhams a year for the recurring repairs of damages, sweeping and cleaning of the house.¹

The relationship between the lodger and the landlord was not always cordial. Bad tenants would delay the payments of rents and would not take care of the building properly. For these reasons, house-keeping and house purchasing for renting was not considered a very profitable business (the real way of making money was agriculture and stock-breeding).² It is also noted that at times of calamity and unstable condition, the landlord, in order to protect his estate and property, was obliged to exempt the tenants of their rent. In the year 330/941, thus we hear, that as a result of heavy rain, hailstorm and famine, the landlords of Baghdad offered their tenants extra money to protect their estate from burglars and thieves.³

Thus the amount of money spent on housing constituted, as Ashtor also points out,⁴ a significant amount of total family expenditure. The lower income groups probably paid more for housing as a proportion of their income than the higher income groups. The two major exceptions to this rule are of course the fugara' and the sūfīs on the one hand who were content to live in inns, mosques etc. and the moneyed group who paid exorbitant rents to keep their standard in society.

1. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 73.

2. Ibid, p. 76; cf. the English translation in Pellat's Life and works of Jāhiz, p. 245

3. Muntazam, vi, p. 335.

4. Ashtor, Prix, p. 61ff; idem, in AESC, 1968, p. 1029; in JAS, iv(1970), p. 9f. For a discussion on the earnings of various social groups see, Ashtor, Prix, p. 64f.

An interesting question that arises at this stage is the extent to which people tended to move over from the category of tenants to that of house-owners. It has been noted that houses were not considered a good investment,¹ a statement that would hold for perhaps any commercial (as against industrial) society. However, there seems to exist a number of important inducements for building houses for personal use. This follows from the fact that rents were quite high, but the cost of building houses was not prohibitive. Hence we witness a spate of building activity in Abbasid Iraq. The well-to-do section of the community was especially interested in constructing lavish dwellings for themselves.

1. See, Supra, p. 368

(d) Description of Houses

As it has already been observed some people in some areas possessed impressive multi-storied buildings with attractive gardens and elegant furniture; the common people, in general, lived in single storied houses and huts.¹ In the absence of information it is difficult to answer questions with regard to the area of the plots covered by a house, the space of the floors of a building and the number of persons per dwelling.

Very little archaeological and historical evidences are available on the dwelling houses of the common people in Baghdad; yet the excavation reports of Herzfeld and Creswell of the Samarran houses and more recent ones on the houses of Siraf by David Whitehouse, throws some light on the houses of the 9th century A.D. The Samarran art --- a departure from the Hellenistic influence of Persia --- was a development of a new phenomenon in the history of Muslim art and architecture which extended its influence to places like Egypt, Nīshāpūr and Bahrayn etc.²

The dwelling houses at Samarra and also that of other places were built after a definite plan. From Ya'qūbī, it would seem that before the reign of Wāthiq (227-32/842-7) people considered Samarra a camp town and 'built' their houses temporary and unstable. But when they realized that Surra-man-ra' was to be a regular town they improved their style of building and made it strong and good'.³ These

1. See, Supra, pp. 360-361.

2. EI², s.v. Architecture (Creswell).

3. Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 265. At the time of the construction of Samarra, the workers were temporarily sheltered in tents. (cf. Tabarī, iii, p. 1180; Azdī, Ta'rikh al-Mawsil, p. 422).

houses were often very large, sometimes comprising fifty rooms ---- all built to the same plan.¹ A covered passage led from the street or the lane into a rectangular court, the proportion being 2:3, which was surrounded by small living rooms and offices, and with a " T " shaped main room and also two corner rooms on the narrow side. This grouping of rooms is occasionally repeated in a second court which most probably represented 'serai' and the 'harim', but when they were repeated on opposite sides of the same court they indicated summer and winter dwellings. The rest of the court was surrounded by rooms of rectangular dwellings and store rooms. In most houses a number of small side courts with store rooms were to be found. Some houses had open pillared halls and underground living rooms (sardāb)² with ventilating arrangements. All the houses had baths, drainage and infrequently wells.³

Almost all big houses in Baghdad and other places had gardens attached to the building.⁴ The roofs were generally flat and were mostly made of timber.⁵ Such flat terraced roofs were used to sleep on at summer nights.⁶ In some regions, however, (e.g., Āmūl in the north) roofs of the houses were made sloping to suit the climatic conditions (i.e., the incessant rain) in that area.⁷ The doors were nearly always covered horizontally, only rarely with pointed

1. Yaqūbī, Buldān, p. 263; cf. also Ernest Kühnel, Islamic Art and Architecture, p. 54; Excavations at Samarra, i, 13f.

2. On Sirdāb see, later on in this chapter, pp. 385-87.

3. Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, ii, pp. 282-83 --- quoting from Herzfeld; see also E. Kühnel, Islamic Art, pp. 54-55; EI¹, s.v. Samarra; Excavations at Samarra, i, p. 9ff.

4. Murūj, viii, 269; Aghānī², xiv, p. 20; Qutub al-Surūr, 64.

5. Nishwār, viii, p. 31; cf. also, Bowen, Alī b. Isā, p. 22 --- who quotes from Herzfeld.

6. Khatīb, Ta'rikh, ii, 148; iv, 72; Muntazam, vi, 139, 156, ix, 157; Irshād, vi, 271; EI², s.v. Baghdād; Mez, p. 381

7. Istakhri, p. 211; cf. also, Mez, p. 381.

arches. Windows were filled with great coloured bulging disks of glass usually of 20-50 c.m. (8-19½ in.) diameter.¹

The houses at Baghdad had projections and bay-windows on the ground floor which opened on to the street and were found to be a potential source of danger for the indifferent donkey riders.² In the narrow streets of Shīrāz where two animals could not pass side by side, people were often found colliding with these projections.³ It was one of the duties of the muhtasib in the medieval period, to look after the problems of streets and high ways. On the basis of the medieval hisba text, Scanlon observes that newer cities and those undergoing reconstruction generally opted for at least two wide cross-streets, between 15 and 30 feet wide. Such highways were related to arrangements of city walls, to Friday mosques, to military needs, or as moves towards sounder administrative organization, particularly in capital cities. Otherwise the beast of burden or ridden animal was the gauge of width. The Muhtasib could fine merchants for not keeping the streets fronting their shops well-watered and free of dust, or could hold responsible for repairing and heightening the streets when ordered to do so.⁴

The excavation reports at Siraf show more or less a similar pattern of dwelling houses. For example, the houses excavated in 1967 and 1968 had rectangular buildings, approximately 27 m. long and 18 m. wide. The ground floor

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1. Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, ii, p. 283
 2. Yatīma, ii, 253; Jamh. al-Islām, Leiden, fol. 77a --cited by Mez, p. 385, n. 6.
 3. Muq. p. 429; cf. also, Mez, p. 385.
 4. G. T. Scanlon, Housing and Sanitation: Some Aspects of Medieval Public Service, in The Islamic City (Papers on Islamic History, I), ed. A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern, Oxford, 1970, p.183f. --quoting mainly from Ibn al-Ukhuwwa's Ma'alim al-Qurba. cf. also, Serjeant, "A Zaidi manual of hisba of the 3rd century H." in RSO, 28(1953), pp.18, 28-29.

of a house had a symmetrical plan with a courtyard, 12.7.m long and 9.5.m across, surrounded by rooms on all four sides--- numbering to 14. On the north side of the house there was a narrow yard with a well at the east and a group of structure: to the west. The main entrance of the house was in the north wall. Another house at Siraf having a symmetrical plan and a courtyard had 8 ground floor rooms on three sides only. Like other houses it had both front and rear entrances and also a well near the centre of the west side.¹

The flat-roofed houses of Baghdad, Samarra, Siraf and other places were protected against storm and rain damage by a series of drains of earthenware pipes which carried rain water into stone lined pits at the foot of the outer walls.² Wherever possible, the pits were dug in the alleys and rarely in the main street. In later Abbasid period it seems that people did not care much for these pits and even dug them in the streets causing considerable inconvenience to the passers-by. For this reason Imām Ghazālī is said to have issued a fatwa prohibiting the digging of pits and drains in the street especially where the road was narrow.³ There were several 'soak-aways' with corbelled tops which absorbed the water.⁴

In the middle of the 3rd/9th century, the Hīra style of architecture was adopted for larger buildings --- which represented three sided frontage with a door in the centre and in each of the two wings. The Caliph Mutawakkil built his palace with three huge gates "through which a rider could

1. David Whitehouse, Excavations at Siraf, Iran, vii(1969), p. 51f. ; viii(1970), p. 9ff.

2. Ibid, viii(1970), p. 14; Nishwār, i, p.38; Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 84; Ibn al-Jawzī, Humaqā, p. 53; Khatīb, Ta'rikh, viii, 241.

3. Ihyā', ii, p. 334.

4. David Whitehouse, op.cit.

pass with lance in hand".¹ According to Mas'ūdī the style found favour with the people who built their houses in this style.²

(e) Upper Floor.

As has been mentioned above the houses of the wealthy people in Baghdad, Samarra and some other places usually consisted of two stories. The people of Siraf made their homes multi-storied -- a fact which has been attested by the results of recent excavations at Siraf.³ At Fustat there were houses five, six, seven even eight-storey high and Nāsir Khusraw remarks, perhaps with exaggeration: "he, who sees the town from a distance, takes it for a mountain for some houses are fourteen storeys high".⁴

The upper rooms of the house were called 'āliya' or 'ghurfa'.⁵ It was the most desirable part of the establishment which was given to guests who were to be treated with honour. A scholar (d. 182/798) who was on a short visit to Baghdad stayed in the ghurfa of a local savant. The students visited him there and studied hadīth.⁶ It seems more likely that the ghurfa, or the rooms in the upper floor were used by people as bed-rooms especially in summer. Those who had one-storey buildings slept on the roof of the building.⁷

1. Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 266; cf. also, Mez, p. 381.

2. Murūj, vii, p. 192f. According to Ya'qūbī (Mushākalāt, Eng. tr. in JAOS, 1964, p. 343) the Caliph Mutawakkil occasioned the building of "prisons and buildings with heavy doors" and that the population imitated him, perhaps prompted by desire for security.

3. See, David Whitehouse, op.cit., Iran, 1968-72.

4. Istakhri, p. 49; Ibn Hawqal, p. 96; Muq. p. 198; Nāsir Khusraw, p. 50; cf. also, Mez, p. 412.

5. Aghānī, iii, p. 30; Khatīb, Ta'rikh, viii, 214-15; vi, 222 Bayhaqī, Mahāsin, p. 249.

6. Khatīb, Ta'rikh, vi, p. 222.

7. Sabī, Rusūm, p. 40; Muntazam, vi, pp. 139, 156; EI,² s.v. Baghdād. Mez, p. 381.

(f) Dihlīz

An important feature of the houses of this period was the dihlīz.¹ This was a veranda or corridor which stretched from the gate of the house to its interior court. Special attention was paid to the ostentatious decoration of this dihlīz as it was considered "the face of the house", "the alighting place of the guests", and the "waiting room" for the visitors.²

The men's quarter consisting of one or more rooms generally adjoined the dihlīz which led to the main gate.³ The corridor could be much spacious and it was possible to build a study or guest room there. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī (d. 285/898) is reported to have built a small apartment in the corridor (dihlīz) of his house 'to write and to study'.⁴ Teachers holding classes at their residence accommodated the students in the dihlīz if necessary.⁵ Students often waited for their teachers in the corridor of the teacher's house.⁶ A professional copyist of a teacher (332/943-44) had his seat in the corridor of the house.⁷

(g) Doors

In our sources we often come across the phrase
 " فجلس على باب داره " (i.e., he sat at the door of his house)⁸
 --- which suggests that people, in this period, frequently utilized the place adjacent to the doorways. It is evident

1. Qutub al-Surūr, pp. 1, 164, 292; Ghazūlī, Matāli', i, p. 35; Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, v, pp. 21, 281; xii, pp. 89-90; Ibn al-Jawzī, Humāqa, p. 52.

2. Matāli', i, 35; Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, v, 281; ix, 41; Husrī, Jam'al-Jawāhir fi mulah'wa'l-nawādir, p. 127.

3. Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, v, pp. 21, 281; xii, pp. 89-90.

4. Ibid. vi, p. 32.

5. Ibid. xii, pp. 89-90

(Continued..)

from some reports that people sat "at the side of the door" on mats, carpets and some raised platforms (dukkān) usually constructed just outside the doorways.¹ The dukkān was made, it would seem, mainly for sitting in hot summer evenings. People of sophisticated taste made their outdoor platforms ostentatious with verses inscribed on the top of the platform, in beautiful colours. Washshā' once found a secretary in Baghdad sitting in a hot summer evening on such a dukkān, made of teak-wood which was profusely decorated with verses written in lapis lazuli.²

The dukkān was also used as a classroom by the ulema and the teachers. A scholar (d.219/834) taught his three students there. The platform (dukkān) was small; therefore only two students sat with him on the platform, whereas the third student had his seat on the ground.³

People greeted their friends and seated them at the side of the door probably on the carpets or mats generally used in the houses. In a report we see that three savants used to sit in the evenings 'at the door of a fellow savant!'⁴ The famous scholar Ibrāhīm al-Harbī (d.285/898) was also in the habit of sitting at his door. His visitors had to sit there too.⁵ A man is reported to have sat at his door simply to enjoy and watch the movements of the passers-by.⁶

Houses in Baghdad, especially those nearer to the Tigris had balconies (rawshan).⁷ People retired and enjoyed sitting there.

(Continued from the last page):-- (6). Khatīb, Ta'rikh, v, 281.

(7) Ibid, v, p. 21.

(8) Ibid, vi, pp.29,31; xii, 55,354; Qutub al-Surūr, p. 163.

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1. Khatīb, Ta'rikh, xii, p. 354; vi, p. 29; Husnī, op.cit, 153.

2. Muwāshshā', p. 268.

3. Khatīb, Ta'rikh, xii, pp. 353-54.

4. Ibid, xii, p. 55

5. Ibid, vi, p.31. (6). Qutub al-Surūr, p.163.

7. Muntazam, viii, pp. 117,149; Nishwār, i, p. 39.

(h) Decoration of the Houses.

Under the Abbasids, stucco (because of its association with brick building) was the determining form of decoration.¹ Samarra, the crucible into which Hellenic, Syro-Coptic and Indo-Persian arts were fused ---- produced an individual Abbasid style of decoration signifying no less than a complete ornamental revolution. The stucco ornament was used profusely in the interior decoration of the palaces and houses of Samarra.² The decoration of the interior was an important feature. High carved panels and a decorative frieze always ornamented the public rooms and sometimes all the rooms in the house. The courtyards also were sometimes ornamented but the outer walls were not decorated. Elaborate panels ran all round the rooms at a height of three feet. Above them were ornamental alcoves, niches of various shapes. The door-frames and the embrasures of windows were ornamented, whereas the ceilings were adorned with cornices and friezes. The material of the dado decoration was fairly pure gypsum with a slight mixture of earth and the decoration was made in plaster finely designed and executed and sometimes set off with paintings.³

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1. Ernest Kühnel, Islamic Art and Architecture, p.54; Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, ii, pp. 234f; 258; cf. also EI¹, s.v. Samarra (H. Viollet); EI², s.v. Architecture, (K.A.C. Creswell); see also D. Whitehouse, Excavations at Siraf, (third interim report), in Iran, viii(1970), p.14.
 2. Abdul Aziz Hameed, The Stucco ornaments of Samarra, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, 1962, p.2ff.
 3. See for the Arabic sources, Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 35ff; Ya'qūbī, Buldān, s.vv. Baghdād and Samarra; for archaeological evidences, see Creswell, op.cit., ii, pp. 234-35; Herzfeld, Samarra, pp. 14, 73; Rogers, Samarra, in The Islamic City, p. 119ff.; Excavations at Samarra, (1936-39), i, p.9ff.

The designs were of various types: some were simple, with large veins somewhat coarse in workmanship, some others were finely chiselled in the flat without relief and some others, accentuating the relief, treated the principal motif in round bosses. Some of these decorations were carved out of the mass 'in situ', others were cast in a mould on a bed of matting and then fixed to the wall.¹

The forms of the designs were also varied. Some were very simple and severe, in slight lines without arabesques ---- a form regarded^{as} the prototype at Samarra. But others, probably inspired by the fauna and flora, were more elaborate and rich; conventionalised flowers occupied the centre of geometrical figures repeated again and again and connected by ribands, headings which come to a stop or interwine, taking the shape of a vase, a lyre or a cornucopia.²

From a passage of Tabarī, it would seem, that gold and silver were also sometimes applied in the decoration of the houses of the ostentatious and wealthy people.³ The Caliph Mahdī visiting a house of a wealthy man whose house was modestly built, became much impressed with his simplicity and admonished his own family members in the following words: "I did not expect his house built of materials . . . other than gold and silver; but (you are so ostentatious that) whenever you get some money you build houses of teak and gold".⁴

1. EI,¹ s.v. Sāmarrā, quoting from Creswell and Herzfeld.

2. Ibid, s.v. Sāmarrā (H. Viollet); see also, Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, ii, p. 282f.

3. Tabarī, iii, p. 537; cf. also, Muwashshā, p. 268.

4. Ibid, iii, p. 537.

(i) Building Material .

The building materials employed by the people in the early Abbasid period were varied; ranging from rammed earth to sun-baked and kiln-burnt bricks, wood, rubble and stone. The use of these materials depended, it would seem, on the availability or nonavailability of the resources and, to a great extent, 'on local traditions or foreign traditions brought by foreign builders'.¹

Bricks and wood formed the major part of the building materials employed in this period. There were two types of bricks -- kiln-burnt bricks (ājurr) and sun-baked bricks (libn). These bricks were made in two sizes each having a particular size and weight. Thus we hear that in the building of Baghdad the large size bricks were 1 cubit square and weighed 200 ratls, whereas the half brick which was $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits weighed 100 ratls.² According to the Khatīb Baghdādī a mud brick with red inscription indicating its weight as 117 ratls was found from the demolished wall adjacent to Bāb al-Muḥawwal. It was weighed and found to be correct.³ The bricks even contained the name of the

1. cf. EI², s.v. Binā' (G. Marçais).

2. Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 238; EI², s.v. Binā', cf. also, Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, ii, pp. 8-10, 363; Iraq Antiquity Department, Excavations at Samarra, (1936-39), i, p. 9. The kiln baked bricks laid in gypsum used in the construction of the palace of Huwaysilāt (perhaps the Qasr al-Jiss of the late 3rd/9th century; cf. Ibn Serapīḥ, p. 127; al-Ṣū, Hameed. A.A. The Stucco ornaments of Samarra, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, 1962, i, p. 26) at Samarra, were 25X25X7 centimetres; whereas the large kiln baked bricks were flat and generally square of 36X36 centimetres. (cf. Excavations at Samarra, i, pp. 6-7; cf. also Pl. 5).

3. Khatīb, Ta'rikh, i, p. 72; Tabarī, iii, p. 322; cf. also, Yāqūt, Buldān, i, p. 483.

contractor or the person for whom these were being moulded.¹ Bricks were generally cemented with clay,² and where burnt brick was used, a lime mortar was employed.³ Although burnt bricks were not so porous, when combined with quicklime (sārūj) their strength improved considerably. They were, therefore, mostly used in foundations, at the base of retaining walls, especially wherever good insulation was necessary, and in tunnel-vaults and domes.⁴ Reeds (qasab) were set in as a bond between each course.⁵ This method, as Creswell points out, was an ancient Babylonian practice which continued into Sassanian times.⁶ Bricks, as a rule, were covered with plaster, but they might remain visible and add an element of colour, either the pink or baked earth or that of some enamel applied to their edge.⁷

Wood --- the best being teak (sāj)--- was frequently used in roofs, windows, doors etc.⁸ The people of Sīrāf, Tabaristān, Bukhāra etc. built their dwelling houses mostly of wood.⁹ Sīrāf, situated on the Persian Gulf imported wood from East Africa,¹⁰ whereas Tabaristān and Bukhāra had forests

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1. cf., for example, Ja'farī bricks in Khatīb's Ta'rikh, i, p. 72, and Yāqūt's Buldān, i, p. 683.
 2. Ya'qubī, Buldān, p. 238; cf. also, EI², s.v. Binā'.
 3. Khatīb, p. 79; cf. also, J. Lassner, The Topography of Baghdad in the early Middle Ages, p. 238; also, Excavations at Samarra, i, p. 9.
 4. R.J. Forbes, Ancient Technology, i, pp. 72-74, quoted by Lassner, op.cit, p. 238, n. 17. According to Ya'qubī (p. 239) and Ibn Rustā (p. 108) the great arcades (tāqāt) of Baghdad were vaulted with ajurr (burnt brick) and jīss (gypsum).
 5. Yāqūt, Buldān, i, p. 681.
 6. Creswell, op.cit, ii, pp. 22-23.
 7. EI² s.v. Binā' (G. Marçais).
 8. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 72; Nishwār, viii, p. 31; Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, pp. 113, 122; EI², s.v. Binā'; M. Jawād & Others, Baghdād, p. 229; cf. also, Mez, p. 385.
 9. Ibn Hawqal, p. 271, 198, 335; cf. also, David Whitehouse, Excavations at Siraf, in Iran, vi (1968), pp. 51-52.
 10. Istākhrī, p. 127; Ibn Hawqal, p. 127.

producing^{an} abundant supply of wood.¹ Longitudinal beams were sometimes sunk in walls, whereas small beams formed ceilings and sometimes lintels.²

Apart from bricks and wood, stones (hijāra), clay (tīn), and gypsum (jiss) would seem to be in popular use in building houses in the East such as Isfahān, Jibāl, Ray, Nīshāpūr, Marv, Mawṣil etc.³ The use of mosaic (fusayfisā') and marble (marmar) was limited to the wealthy houses.⁴ In the Yemen the roof and the wall were built of marble and the houses

were always full of light. Indeed, where pure marble was used for the roofing 'the shadow of the flying birds was visible within'.⁵ Lime was used for white washing the interior of a house.⁶ Sometimes slabs of lime-stone set in gypsum mortar constituted the wall of a building while mud-bricks were hidden by thick coats of stucco.⁷

Tiles were also used as building materials. Damascus was the centre of an extensive mosaic and qāshānī tile industry. Qāshānī, a name derived from Qāshān in Media, was given to square or hexagonal glazed tiles, sometimes figured with conventional flowers and used in exterior and interior decoration of buildings. The predominant colours were indigo blue, turquoise blue, green and less frequently red and yellow.⁸ The glazed Qāshānī tiles were of such high quality that in 248/862 a consignment of them was dispatched from Baghdad to Qairawān for the decoration of its mosque, where the tiles can still be seen.⁹

1. Ibn Hawqal, p. 271.

2. EI², s.v. Bina' (G. Marçais). Nishwār, viii, p. 31.

3. Ibn Hawqal, pp. 144, 262, 264, 268, 269, 324; EI², s.v. Bina'; On jiss, see, EI², s.v. Djiss.

4. Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, p. 122; Māmadhānī, p. 196; For details on mosaic, see, EI², s.v. Fusayfisā', (G. Marçais).

5. Hamadhānī, p. 196; cf. also, Mez, p. 381

6. Aghānī², x, p. 283.

7. EI², s.v. Architecture (R.A.C. Creswell).

8. Yāqut, s.v. Qāshān; Ibn Baṭūta, i, 415; ii, 46, 130, 225, 297; iii,

9. EI², s.v. Architecture; Dūrī, op.cit, p. 111,

(j) Cooling Processes :---

Several devices were adopted by the Abbasids for making their homes cool in summer. The use of khaysh-canvas would seem a general practice of the Abbasids.¹ It was a device, designed for refreshing the air, in the form of a 'punka' which was kept wet; the evaporation produced a cool breeze.² A poet described the use of the khaysh-punka in the following verses :---³

"The khaysh was made wet inside the dome
which called forth winter and removed the heat of summer;
and the cord causes drops of water to fall,
from it on the ground as if pearls were being scattered.
If the khaysh is set into hell,
its coolness would certainly overcome the burning heat
of the fire".

As appears from these verses and also from the explanation of Sharīshī in his Sharh al-Maqāmāt al-Harīrī, khaysh was a piece of thick linen hung ('ulliga) from the ceiling of the room in the form of a ship's sail; a cord was attached to put it into action. It was made wet with water; rose water being also sprinkled from time to time

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1. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', pp. 90, 187; Hayawān, i, p. 14; Rasā'il, i, p. 398; Tabarī, iii, pp. 418, 536; Diyārāt, p. 133; Nishwār, i, pp. 174, 250; viii, p. 135; Miskawayh, Tahdhīb, p. 51; Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, iii, p. 183; Irshād, vi, p. 99; Bayhaqī, Mahāsīn, p. 394; Ibn Rusta, ʿAlāq, p. 198; cf. also, Mez, 380.
 2. C. Pellat, Livre des avarès, p. 316; cf. also, Mez, 380.
 3. Ibn al-Nadīm, Qutub al-Surūr, p. 359.

وبلّ لنا الخيش في قبة تميد الشتاء وتنفي الحرورا
وحيل تساقط قطر المياه منه الى الأرض دراً نثيراً
فلو أنها نصبت في الجحيم لغادرها بردها زمهريراً

for fragrance.¹ The 4th/10th century Muslim traveller, Maqdisī notes a slightly different method of wetting khaysh at Shīrāz. He says: "I have seen the buyūt al-khaysh where water flows constantly from pipes which surround the room."²

Sources declare Hajjāj b. Yūsuf to be the first man for whom the khaysh was suspended in the ceiling.³ If Tabarī is correct, the use of khaysh-canvas for cooling houses was wide-spread in Baghdad right from the early Abbasid period.⁴

The Caliph Mansūr is reported to have lined a dome-shaped pavillion with the cloth of coarse thick linen (khaysh) which was wetted constantly.⁵

A considerable amount of money was kept in the caliphal annual budget for the purchase and use of khaysh in the palace buildings.⁶ The apartments in the caliphal palace were provided with the khaysh punka (bayt mukhayyash) where visitors could also stay and have their siesta.⁷

In Jāhiz's Bukhalā' a miser is reported to have adopted an inexpensive method of cooling which, according to his claims, 'served the purpose of the khaysh-canvas'. He simply

1. Sharḥ Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī, ii, p. 318; Ghazūlī, Maṭāli', ii, p. 65; see also a long note given by Tāhā Hājirī on khaysh in Jāhiz's Bukhalā', pp. 322-23; cf. also, Pellat, Le livre des avarès, pp. 316-17. From a poem recorded in Tha'ālibī's Latā'if, (p. 182), it would seem that people fitted the khaysh-canvas on a frame-work and sold it in the markets as a ready made dome of khaysh (qubbat al-khaysh).

2. Muq. p. 449

3. Bayhaqī, Mahāsin, p. 394 ; see also Pellat, Avarès, p. 316.

4. Tabarī, iii, p. 418; cf. also, Tha'ālibī, Latā'if, p. 20

5. Ibid, iii, p. 418; Latā'if, p. 20.

6. Dhakḥā'ir, p. 219 . At the marriage of the Caliph Ma'mūn with Burān, when the supply of wood ran out, khaysh-canvas soaked in oil was used as fuel. (Nishwār, i, p. 147).

7. Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, iii, 183.

put sodden rugs on the floor and poured water over the floor of the house which he fetched from his own well. The hot wind entering the house thus touched the water on the floor and thereby produced a cool evaporation.¹

Khaysh was used by the soldiers in their camps and garrisons.² At the beginning of the 4th/10th century, a General considered the proceeds from a levy which he was allowed to collect in Baghdad inadequate for the sustenance of his army as his army was accustomed, among other luxuries, to wet khaysh.³ Ice and wet khaysh-felts were even taken in the pleasure boats on the Tigris; curtains of coloured gauze draping it.⁴

In addition to the above-mentioned means of avoiding heat in summer, the wealthy people of the Abbasid society had another method of bringing down the temperature of their rooms--- a method which gave more comfort but entailed a large expense. Here big ice-slabs were placed at the dome (qubba) of the central room of a house which was fanned by some porters; the wind coming from over the ice-slabs brought the temperature of the house to a very low degree.⁵

Sometimes khaysh-canvas was also used along with this cooling process. It is reported that a man came to see the physician Jibra'il b. Bakhtishū' at the midday of a burning summer. To his surprise he found the physician sitting in the room wearing winter apparel. Within a few moments, the

1. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 90

2. Ibn al-Jawzī, Muntazam, v, pt. 2, p. 134.

3. De Goeje, Carmatians, p. 218, citing from Misk. cf. also, Mez, pp. 380-81.

4. Bayhaqī, Mahāsin, p. 447; cf. also Jamhara of Shayzarī, Leiden, fol. 199a -- quoted by Mez, p. 381.

5. Ibn Abī 'Usaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-Anbā', i, p. 139; cf. also, Tabarī, pp. 418, 536; Lata'if, p. 19.

visitor showed signs of cold and began to shiver. Perceiving the signs of catching cold the physician offered him the warm clothes. On enquiry the physician revealed that he had nothing but some ice slabs fanned by his slaves at the corner of the dome.¹ Through this method one could cool other rooms as well without incurring any extra expense. The proximity of the central room and the cold wind passing through the doors and windows of this room to the adjoining rooms made them quite cool and comfortable.²

Following the methods of the Persian monarchs, the Abbasids also used double roof system and had the roof of their summer houses plastered over with clay each day. The wet floor thus easily absorbed the heat and kept the temperature down.³

The Caliph Mansūr reportedly adopted this method for the first time in Abbasid history.⁴ The idea of using ice-slabs is said to have come to the Abbasids from the Persians who took their siesta in a room with double walls, the intervening space being filled with ice.⁵

Apart from the bayt or qubbat al-khaysh (house or dome of khaysh) and the using of ice-slabs, sirdāb or sardāb, an underground apartment was another means of combating

1. 'Uyūn al-Anbā', i, p. 139.

2. Ibid, i, p. 139.

3. Tabarī, iii, pp. 417-18; Latā'if, pp. 19-20.

4. Ibid, iii, p. 753; Latā'if, p. 20.

5. Ibid, iii, p. 418; Latā'if, p. 19; cf. also Mez, p. 380.

In fact they used to have willow laths placed upright round the walls of the buildings, and then large lumps of snow would be placed in the interstices. (cf. Latā'if, 19. English translation by C.E. Bosworth, p. 48).

the heat. The writers of the 3rd and 4th century hijra give some references to sirdāb as a summer-house for rich people--- a fact which is also corroborated by the archaeological reports of Samarra and Baghdad.¹ In the later Abbasid period the use of sirdāb was wide-spread in Baghdad as is evident from the statement of Maqrīzī who declares that "in summer the people of Egypt need not, like the people of Baghdad, go into underground dwellings".²

The idea of building sirdāb for sheltering oneself from the intense heat of summer is said to have come from Central Asia.³ Thereafter, the neighbouring Muslim countries such as Zereng, capital of Afghanistan and the Persian town of Arragan adopted this cooling method quickly and built sirdābs with running water for their summer dwellings.⁴ The word sardāb, however, suggests the device to be of Persian origin, from sard = cold and āb = water i.e., a place cooled with running water.⁵ In course of time, the device spread to Baghdad and other Muslim lands. In the beginning the use of sardāb was limited. It was used extensively as a dungeon and prisoners, outlaws etcetera were confined in it.⁶ In the days of Mansūr, thus we hear, of a man imprisoned in a sirdāb, 'who could not distinguish the light of the day from the darkness of the night'.⁷

1. Aghānī², v, pp. 193-94; Ibn Hawqal, p.299; Excavations at Samarra, Iraq Antiquity Department,(1936-39)i, p.11, Pl.96.

Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, ii, pp. 82, 241-42, 282-83; M. Jawād & others, Baghdād, p. 229; EI², s.v. Dar (C.Marçais). These evidences refute the statement of Mez when he says that "in the Mesopotamian literature of the 4th/10th century we find no reference to summer underground dwellings". (cf. p. 380).

2. Khitat, i, p.28 -- cited by Mez, p. 380.

3. Mez, p. 380 -- quoting from JRAS, 1898, p. 819.

4. Ibn Hawqal, p. 299; cf. also, Mez, p. 380

5. Lane and Steingass, s.v. sardāb.

6. Muruj, vi, 200; see, for some other references of sirdāb

The number of sirdāb in Baghdad, even in the 5th/11th century was not large, and those who could afford it, built not more than one basement room for their use. The 5th/11th century Muslim traveller Nāṣir Khusraw, found it peculiar that in Arragan some houses had as many rooms below as above the earth.¹

The depth of these underground dwellings varied from house to house. Usually the sirdāb was constructed at a depth of ten steps from the ground floor.² The 'Little Sirdāb' of Mu'taṣim's palace in Samarra was a cavity cut into the rock, 21m. (69ft) high and about 8m. (24½ ft.) deep.³ A staircase (daraja) running from the ground floor to the basement made the entrance possible into the sirdāb.⁴ The sirdāb of the celebrated singer Ibrāhīm al-Mawsilī had also a water pool (birkat mā') which originated from a place nearby and ran upto the garden of the house.⁵ He used to drink there during the day and sleep at night.⁶ The entrance of the 'Little Sirdāb' of Samarra palace formed a square room, on the walls of which was a frieze of double-humped camels walking along, executed in painted stucco, with a circular fountain. The 'Great Sirdāb' of this palace had also a circular hollow basin of 70m. (230ft) diameter which was connected with a deep underground canal.⁷

(Continued from the last page):-- being used as a hiding place or a prison, Arīb, p.10; Muntazam, vi, p.206; x, p.20; cf. also Mez, p. 380, n.1.

7. Murūj, vi, p. 200

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1. Nāṣir Khusraw, Text, ed. Schefer, p.91 = tr. p.250; cf. also, Mez, p. 380.

2. Harīrī, Durrat al-Ghawās, p. 29

3. Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, ii, p. 241.

4. Aghānī², v, 193-94; cf. also M.Jawād & others, Baghdād, 229.

5. Ibid. v, pp. 193-94.

6. Ibid. (7) Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, ii, (1. 241)

(k) Heating.

Since the weather of Baghdad and the whole of Iraq was mostly dry and hot there was very little need of heating the homes except for a brief period in winter. The general process of heating the rooms was to use braziers (kānūn) with charcoal fire.¹ Braziers were mostly made of stone and iron, but the caliphs and some wealthy people are mentioned, in our sources, to have possessed braziers of gold and silver.² Since braziers were light in weight and portable, they were not fixed at a particular place to make a fire-place. From a passage in Mas'ūdī's Murūj, however, it would seem that kānūn or the brazier was, in some houses, fitted on two side posts in the form of a giraffe, the feet of which served as support and the two necks bent in the manner of a handle.³ This brazier stand was made artistically in the shape of two giraffe, the whole body of which was covered with red brocade (dībāj).⁴ Some people put their braziers at the side of the dome of the central room in the same fashion as ice-slabs were placed for cooling in summer.⁵ This is evident from a story narrated by Ibn Abī 'Uṣaybi'a in the 'Uyūn al-Anbā'. The person whom we have mentioned before visiting the physician Jibra'īl b. Bakhtīshū' in summer, came to see Ibn Bakhtīshū' in winter and found the physician clad in a light summer costume. On enquiry he was shown the fire-place in the dome and the methods the servants were using to spread the hot wind to the farthest corner of the room.⁶

1. Murūj, viii, p.268; Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p.34; Nishwār, i, pp. 60, 257; Tabarī, iii, 584; Qutub al-Surūr, p.60; Lata'if, p.182; Fākhri, p.259; 'Uyūn al-Anbā', i, p.139; see, for some verses on kanūn, Nishwār, i, p. 257.

2. 'Uyūn al-Anbā', i, 139-40; Šabī, Rusum, 16; Dhakhā'ir, 183, 217.

3. Murūj, viii, 268; see also the note given by C. Barbier de Meynard, on p. 428 (of the Murūj, viii).

4. Ibid, viii, p. 268.

5. 'Uyūn al-Anbā', i, p. 139.

6. Ibid, i, p. 139.

(1) Water Supply.

The people of Baghdad, Samarra and other cities brought their drinking water mainly from the rivers and canals. The river Tigris was the main source of water supply for the people of Baghdad and Samarra. It was either brought in skins directly from the rivers on camels, mules and donkeys or was taken to the houses of the well-to-do by water-carriers. Water-carriers using donkeys or their own backs are mentioned in medieval Arabic literature as moving to and fro fulfilling the needs of houses, shops, ateliers, baths, mosques and public fountains.

There were several water supplying canals in Baghdad which 'passed through the streets, side streets, and suburbs, flowing without any interruption in summer and winter'.¹ Among them were four major canals leading to the general vicinity of Baghdad. They were --- Nahr 'Īsā, Nahr al-Mālik, Nahr Sarsar and Nahr Sarāt.² These canals were mainly used for boat traffic in unloading food-stuffs from Egypt, Syria, Mosul and other distant lands.³ There were various conduits constructed of burnt brick and quick-lime in Baghdad which supplied drinking water to the city.⁴ According to Khatīb they were all above ground except for the conduit of Harbiyya which was made underground connecting with the canal of Dujayl.⁵ The Caliph Mansūr had conduits built of teak wood

1. Khatīb, Ta'riḫ, i, p. 79; Yāqūt, Buldān, s.v. Baghdād, cf. also, M. Jawād & Others, Baghdād, p. 23, also, p. 86f.

2. Maq. p. 124; cf. also, J. Lassner, The Topography of Baghdad, p. 279 n. 2.

3. Ya'qūbī, Buldān, pp. 250, 263; Istakhrī, 85; Ibn Hawqal, 165; Muq. p. 120.

4. Ya'qūbī, p. 250; Mez, p. 413; M. Jawād & Others, op.cit., p. 23; cf. also, Rogers, Samarra: a Study in Medieval Town-Planning and G.T. Scanlon, Housing and Sanitation: Some Aspects of Medieval Public Service, in "The Islamic City", Oxford, 1970.

5. Khatīb, Ta'riḫ, i, pp. 113-114.

which extended from the Khurasan Gate to his palace.¹

Besides drawing water from canals and rivers, wells were also dug, preferably within the house premises for household consumption of water.² In Samarra digging wells was not practicable as the water level was very low, and the water in them was salty and disagreeable to taste; moreover it was not abundant.³

The Abbasid caliphs had cisterns built in various parts of the empire where people drew water from for their usual consumption. One of such cisterns, built in 172/789 by the orders of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd at Ramla (in Palestine). has been excavated and vividly described by Creswell. This Abbasid monument, locally known as "Bi'r al-'Aniziya" consisted of 'a subterranean excavation, lined with strong retaining walls and divided into six aisles by five arcades of four arches each, running from east to west and resting on cruciform piers'.⁴

A staircase 1.02 m. in width starts in the north-east corner and runs down the north side to the bottom of the cistern. It rests on two segmental arches. Water was drawn by means of the staircase, and a series of holes averaging 55 cm. square, pierced in the vault of each bay, enabled

1. Khatīb, Ta'rikh, i, p. 78.

2. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 90; Ibn al-Jawzī, Humaqā, p.64; M. Jawād & Others, Baghdad, p.23; cf. also, Excavations at Siraf, in Iran, ix(1971), p. 14. Within the domestic complex, distinction would be made between water for cleaning and cooking and that for drinking. The former would simply be put into a straight hewing into the gabāl, bricked round and brought up to floor level; the latter into holds meticulously cut into the rock, smoothed, plastered and in some cases covered by vaulting. (cf. Scanlon, op.cit, 192).

3. Ya'qūbī, Buldān, p. 263.

4. Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, ii, pp. 161-62, 164.

twenty four people at the same time to draw water up by means of ropes and buckets.¹

It was an act of great merit to supply water to travellers and to make some permanent arrangements by making aqueducts where necessary. Thus we hear that Hārūn's wife Zubayda had constructed an underground aqueduct in Makka which was later on restored by the mother of the Caliph Mutawakkil.² Similarly, the wazir 'Alī b. 'Īsā purchased a great number of animals and endowed a sum of money for their upkeep. At the same time he had a large well dug which supplied sweet water.³ He also caused another abundant spring to be opened up and its channels widened.⁴

In the East, water circulated in an old moat of the fortress. It was carried to the middle of the market by a stone dam whence it was distributed further by means of lead pipes. The expenses incurred by such water-supply system were realized from the income of neighbouring lands. Non-Muslims were generally made supervisors and administrators, who were, in lieu of their services, exempted from Jizya.⁵

1. Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, ii, p. 163

2. Tabarī, iii, p.1440; cf. also, Ibrāhīm al-Mashhadānī, Mawārid al-miyāh fī'l-waṭan al-'Arabī, ('Ayn Zubayda) in Majalla al-Jāmi' al-Mustansiriyya, i(1970), pp. 535-445

3. Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 286; cf. also, Mez, p. 414.

4. Bowen, Life and Times of 'Alī b. 'Īsā, p. 128

5. Istakhrī, p. 216; Ibn Hawqal, p. 366; cf. also, Mez, 414.

Perhaps it was one of the duties of the muhtasib in the early Abbasid period (as it was in the Ayybid and Mamluk periods) to see that drinking water be available in those purlieux of the city lacking any public fountain and that all fountains be working and the water therein potable. (cf. Scanlon, op.cit., p.183).

(m) Toilets :---

Almost every house had a toilet (muṣṭarāḥ; kanīf in Kufan dialect, hushsh in Basran, madhhab in Syrian, bayt al-khalā' in Medinian and mirhād in the Yemeni dialect).¹ Although no specific information as to the forms of toilets is available, it is known from the information scattered in different sources that there were two forms of latrines --- "well-latrines" and "service latrines". In 'well-latrines', which would seem more common, pits were dug and slabs of stone were placed to sit on.² In this system when the privies were cramped and disagreeable, the well was filled in and put out of use.³ According to Tanūkhī, well-to-do people had their privies reserved for their exclusive use and would not let anyone else enter them.⁴

The existence of a group of people known as kannās, hashshāsh, kannāf (privy cleaners ?) indicate that "service latrines" were also in use.⁵ In this system, presumably the privy cleaner would come, at regular intervals, to collect the human offal and transport it to some place outside the city. The existence of service-latrine is also attested by the fact that in Basra there was a group of people who had undertaken the contract of cleaning privies of the people. They collected the human offal and dried it in the sun to sell in the markets as fuel.⁶

1. 'Iqd, vi, p. 394; see also p. 449.

2. Ibid, vi, p. 449; Nishwār, i, p. 18; Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, i, 359. (For the picture of a latrine stone see, ibid, i, p. 359).

3. Nishwār, i, p. 15

4. Ibid, i, p. 15.

5. Tawhīdī, Imtā', ii, p. 54; Aghānī², i, p. 415; 'Iqd, vi, p. Ibn 'Abdūn, Thalāth Rasā'il, p. 48.

6. 'Uyūn, i, p. 221; Yaqut, Buldān, s.v. Basra.

A hemistich of a poem of Ibn Mu'tazz says that "a privy is either cleaned or filled in and closed down".¹ It would perhaps support our assumption that toilets, in the Abbasid period, existed in two forms i.e., well-latrines and service-latrines.

Though the poor people and those especially living in the countryside used bushes and barren lands as their privies, the wealthy people built their lavatories on lavish expenses.² A merchant of Baghdad had his privy plastered in the top with gypsum and the bottom with mortar; the roof was made flat and the floor paved with marble. It had a door whose venetians were made alternately of teak and ivory.³

Toilets were built either at a corner of the house or at the extreme end of the house-garden.⁴ The 'cleaners' thus could approach the latrine from outside the building without causing any disturbance to the inmates of the building. Taking this opportunity, once Ibrāhīm al-Mawsilī hid himself near the latrine of Ibrāhīm al-Mahdī and picked up the tune which Ibrāhīm al-Mahdī was rehearsing there to sing in the caliphal assembly.⁵ Water was used to clean the private parts in latrine.⁶

1. Dīwān, p. 341.

فالحش قد يكس أو يطبق

2. Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, pp. 122-23; Aghānī², v, p. 216; Nishwār, i, pp. 39, 54, 204; Azdī, Hikāyat, 7, 8, 12; Qutub al-Surūr, 403

3. Maqāmāt, pp. 122-23

4. Ibid, pp. 122-23; Aghānī², v, p. 216

5. Aghānī², v, p. 216

6. Nishwār, i, p. 15. Fustat, a city of multi-storied buildings had, according to the findings of Professor Scanlon, a complex system of privies. The buildings had flues constructed within the walls. All of these flues gave on to deeply cut canals in the gabāl, which ran beneath walls, floors and courtyards; all covered, at times vaulted, running individually or en système to cess-pools which were cleaned from without the complex. These canals were constantly watered from within, and the cess-pools covered daily with sand. (cf. The Islamic City, p. 188).

(n) Furniture :---

Muslim medieval houses possessed very little large furniture (e.g., tables, chairs, cupboards, bedsteads and the like). The Muslims were accustomed to squatting on the floor and depending for their comfort entirely on cushions and pillows without frames and supports; the only solid furniture was chests to hold clothes and household linen.¹ Recesses in the wall, often as large as cupboards and closed by wooden doors, held the household utensils. People anxious to display some luxury pieces or other treasures, divided up a wall surface into ornamental niches, each containing a single object and sometimes even shaped to fit it.² The value of a room was assessed by the carpet of the floor, by the niches over a tiled dado in the wall, by the coffering or stalactite moulding in the ceiling etc.

During the early Abbasid period, a dīwān i.e., a sofa extending along three sides of the room was also to be seen in the houses of the wealthy people.³ A pictorial representation from the Maqāmāt al-Harīrī shows the use of bedsteads not unlike those of our days.⁴ It is however, not clear when such bedsteads were introduced in Abbasid society. Chairs and tables for food were common in the

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1. Nishwār, viii, pp.190-91; Miskāwayh, i, p.244; Sābī, Wuzarā', p. 172; Mez, p. 384; cf. also, E. Kühnel, Islamic Art, pp. 1-2;
 2. Tabarī, iii, p. 536; E. Kühnel, Islamic Arts, pp. 1-2.
 3. Aghānī¹, iii, p.145; Lane, s.v. dīwān; cf. also, Hitti, History of the Arabs, p. 335
 4. Arnold and Grohmann, The Islamic Book, A Scene from Maqāmā 19, MS. dated 734/1334, in the National Library, Vienna.

houses of the well-to-do people.¹ The dining tables were of course very low, designed to suit the need of the people habituated to sitting on floor cushions.

A great deal of attention was paid to the interior decoration of the house with carpets, cushions, mats, hangings, curtains etc. The carpet industry was therefore developed to meet the ever increasing need of the wealthy group in various Muslim lands. Carpets, being a symbol of luxury as well as a practical necessity, were woven in almost all the important Muslim cities.² Since they were made for different social classes and to satisfy varying standards and requirements, they could be divided into three general groups; (i) for court and caliphal use; (ii) for officials of high rank, wealthy merchants, and for export; (iii) for the simpler people in towns and villages and also for nomads. The variety, size and quality of the carpets determined the name of the carpets (e.g., bisāt and zūliya for large carpets; ṭinfisa, a knotted carpet; zarbiya, a striped, multicoloured carpet, namaṭ, a sur-carpet etc.)³.

Carpets of Armenia and Tabaristan are mentioned with great admiration by contemporary writers.⁴ The caliphs' palaces were adorned mainly with Armenian carpets which aroused general appreciation in the Islamic world and were

1. Murūj, p. 269; Dhakhā'ir, pp. 27, 179, 195, 261; Mez, p. 386.

2. See, for example, EI¹, Suppl. s.v. Kālī (R. Ettinghausen).

3. W.H. Worrel, "On Certain Arabic terms for "rug" ", Ars Islamica, i(1934), pp. 219-222; ii(1935), pp. 65-68; cf. also, EI¹ (Suppl.) s.v. Kālī.

4. See, for example, Aghānī², v, pp. 428-29; vi, p. 181; Jāhiz (?) Tabassur bi'l-Tijāra, pp. 21, 34; Murūj; vi, pp. 234, 433; Tabarī, iii, pp. 536, 602; Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 36; Maq. p. 374, 380; Ibn Hawqal, pp. 244, 246; Ya'qūbī, p. 277.

cited repeatedly from Umayyad times among very precious objects.¹ The high regard was due to their characteristic red colour, qirmiz and their fine wool.² The consort of Hārūn is said to have sat on an Armenian carpet, her women on Armenian cushions.³ A vassal is said to have presented the Caliph Muqtadir with seven Armenian carpets.⁴

The Persianwoollen carpets especially those of Isfahan matched the splendid Armenian carpets and were highly esteemed in this period.⁵ The so-called 'Art carpets' (al-busūt al-ṣanī'a) were sometimes woven with the technique of Susanjird --- a technique much prized in this period.⁶ Aghānī mentions in the hall of Fadl b. Rabī' a large glistering Susanjird carpet of satin which was embroidered with gold.⁷ The city of Āmūl in the province of Mazendaran was an important centre of carpet weaving which started in the 9th century and continued for centuries together.⁸ One of the famous varieties of carpet known as 'qālīqalā' does not seem to have been in use in the 9th century. Tha'ālibī, however, mentions it to be equal to Armenian carpets.⁹

1. Aghānī², vi, p. 181; Murūj, vi, pp. 234, 433; cf. also, EI¹, (Suppl). s.v. Kālī.

2. Jāhiz (?) Tabassur, p. 31; Ibn Hawqal, p. 244; Latā'if, pp. 183, 236.

3. 'Arīb, p. 48; cf. also, Mez, p. 464.

4. Elias Nisib, p. 202 -- cited by Mez, p. 464.

5. Ibn Rusta, p. 153; Istakhrī, p. 153; cf. also, Mez, 464-65.

6. Azdī, Hikāyāt, p. 36; Latā'if, p. 111; Mez, p. 464.

7. Aghānī², v, p. 371.

8. EI¹, (Suppl), s.v. Kālī, cf. also Serjeant, Islamic Textiles, Index.

9. Latā'if, pp. 183, 236; Thimār, p. 538. The word Kālī is derived from Qaliqala, Erzerum, where large carpets were made, but on account of this long name, they were referred to by the short nisba. cf. Yāqūt, Buldan, iv, p. 20. Serjeant suggests that it was introduced in Abbasid society by the Buwayhids. cf. Islamic Textiles, Chap. vi, p. 97.

Apart from the carpets of Persia, Tabaristan and Armenia, there were good carpets produced in Hīra and Nu'māniyya.¹ The Hīra carpets are described as having designs of elephants, horses, camels and birds; these designs were imitated in Nu'māniyya with the result that the local product itself came to be known as Hīra carpets.² Similarly the districts of Maysān and Dast Maysān were also celebrated for manufacturing good quality carpets and curtains.³ According to Jāhiz, Wāsit too produced tapestry woven carpets.⁴

Ibn Zubayr in his Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir wa'l-Tuhaf has mentioned the list of the articles left by the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd in the caliphal palace ---- a list, which shows extravagance and splendour of the Abbasid court. The number of the carpets, curtains and cushions mentioned in the list is as follows:-- 5

1,000	Armenian carpets (<u>bisāt</u>)
5 00	carpets (<u>bisāt</u>) of Tabaristan manufacture
15 00	knotted carpets (<u>ṭinfisa</u>) of <u>khazz</u> (beaver skin).
1,000	carpets (<u>bisāt</u>) of Dārābjird manufacture. ⁶
3 00	Maysānī large carpets (<u>bisāt</u>).
100	sur-carpets (<u>namāt</u>) of <u>khazz</u> .
4,000	curtains (<u>sutūr</u>) of unspecified material.
1,000	curtains of <u>khazz</u> silk.
300	curtains of brocade (<u>dībāj</u>).
5,000 + 1,000	cushions (<u>wisāda</u>)
5,000	pillows (<u>mikhadda</u>)

1. EI, Suppl. s.v. Kālī. Mez, 465; Serjeant, Islamic Textiles, Index. cf. also, Dūrī, Mesopotamia, p. 106

2. Ibn Rusta, p.186; Hira, p.83, quoted by Dūrī, Mesopotamia, p.106.

3. Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 253; cf. also, Dūrī, op.cit. p.106

4. Tabassur, p. 346, quoted by Dūrī, op.cit.

5. Dhakhā'ir, pp. 214-217.

6. Dārābjird was an important city noted for valuable kinds of costly robes, mats, carpets etc. (cf. Maq. 442-43).

- 1,000 cushions (wisāda) of brocade.
 1,000 cushions of khazz-silk.
 1,000 cushions of khazz raqam (perhaps with some
 inscriptions).
 1,000 pillows (mirfaqa).

After carpets, mats were the common farash which was spread on the ground. It could be spread on the floor with or without the carpets. Mats were made of rush (halfa), reeds, papyrus and palm tree leaves.¹ The most reputed mat which was commonly used in this period by the wealthy class, was that made in Abbādān, a small island at the mouth of the Shatt al-‘Arab.² Some of these Abbādānī mats were thin, neatly woven, very soft and could be folded like cloth.³ They were copied in Persia as well as in Egypt.⁴ Later on (probably in the 10th or 11th century) the reed-mats woven in Baghdad acquired wide popularity and became proverbial for their excellence.⁵ Maysān too, produced excellent mats.⁶

It will be perhaps of some interest to quote here a passage found in Abū'l-Qāsim of Baghdad, an author of early 4th/10th century, who satirizes the Isfahanis and boasts about the splendid furnishing of Baghdadi houses.

"By Allah ... nor do I see your houses with their public rooms furnished with carpets (zulliya) of the Maghrib, nor with Khurāsānī carpets (ṭinfisa), nor carpet-strips of Andalus (nakhākh) and Cordova, and Armenian carpets (mitrah) and Rūmī (Byzantine) velvets (qatīfa), and Tustari cushions (miq‘ad), nor Maghribi carpets (antā‘), nor gold embroidered

1. Mez, p. 465; cf. also, Ghanīma, in Majalla Ghurfa al-Tijāra, iv(1941), p. 580.

2. Muq. p. 118; Azdī, Hikāyat, p. 36; cf. also, Mez, p. 465

3. Azdī, op.cit, p. 36.

4. Muq. pp. 442, 203; Mez, p. 465.

5. Tha‘alibī, Thimar, p. 428.

6. Nuwayrī, p. 370; cf. also, Dūrī, Nesopotamia, p. 106

pillows (makhādd mudhahhaba) of Dabīq, nor square-carpets (tarrāhāt) of Cyprus, nor Susanjird, nor Abūqalmūn, and cushions (namāriq) ---- a house full of which looks like ground covered with flowers".

"Nor have you Sāmān or Abbadānī mats (husr) which fold in two as cloth does, lovelier than carpets (zurbiyya), and softer than Sus khazz-silk, of fine workmanship, perfect craftsmanship (qushayrī) picked out (mufasssal) with gold, and cushions (dusūt) of mamzūj (mixed) with Iraqi gold, and gold embroidered with pictures of elephant (mufayyal) and horse (mukhayyal), and carpets (mitrah) stuffed with feathers of the Indian bullfinch and Tustar brocade embroidered (muqassab) with gold".¹

The Abbasids, as a rule, did not sit, at times of distress, on the carpets; rather they sat, on such sad occasions, on floors or under-carpets.² This practice, according to Tha'ālibī goes back to the time of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. On the death of Ibrāhīm b. Sālih b. 'Alī, he went to Ibrāhīm's house for condolence and refused to sit down on any of the mattresses or cushions which were arranged on the under-carpet, but only supported himself by leaning on his sword. He ordered the mattresses and

1. Azdī, Hikāyāt, pp. 36-37 = English translation by Serjeant, Islamic Textiles, Appendix, i, Costume, p. 76.

2. Tha'ālibī, Lata'if, p. 21 = Eng. Tr. by C. E. Bosworth, p. 50.

cushions to be taken away and took his seat directly on the under-carpet commenting that 'it is not seemly that anyone should sit down on mattresses and cushions in the house of a dear friend and relative on such a day of misfortune'.¹

The best type of curtain for hanging on the windows and the walls was produced at Wasit.² Wāsītī curtains are mentioned by Khatīb among the furniture of Muqtadir's palace.³ Maysān, Mawsil and Amil also produced and exported excellent qualities of curtains.⁴ Curtains were frequently embroidered and sometimes woven with gold thread.⁵

1. Latā'if, p. 21 = Eng. Tr. p. 50

2. Maq. pp. 128-29.

3. Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 253; Tabassur bi'l-Tijāra, pp. 344, 347 (= 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ḥasanī edited, Cairo, 1354/1935, pp. 41-42) Latā'if, p. 183.

4. Muwashshā, p. 265; cf. also, Dūrī, Mesopotamia, p. 106-- quoting from Khatīl, p. 52.

Section II

Ḥammām

One of the most conspicuous features of the social life of the period we are studying is the abundance of ḥammām. The ritual use of the ḥammām in the performance of the purification of the believer, the fulfilment of the laws of hygiene, and the need for social recreation explain why it has always been considered one of the essential amenities of Muslim society. During the period of our study the ḥammām became a source of considerable revenue for the individuals or the authorities who established them¹, which furthermore explains the very large and sometimes perhaps exaggerated number of baths mentioned in our sources.²

1. It is said that Muslim b. Abī Bakra had a daily income of one thousand dirhams plus one kurr of wheat and barley (ta'ām) from his bath in Basra. (cf. Dhakhā'ir, p. 222)
2. Both Hilāl al-Sābī (d. 448/1056) and Khatīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1070) tried to do a demographical study of Baghdad by enumerating the number of baths that existed in the 3rd-5th century hijra. It is claimed that 60,000 baths existed during Muwaffaq's regency (870-891); 27,000 under Muqtadir (908-952); 5,000 under Adud al-Dawla (d. 983); 3,000 under Baha' al-Dawla (989-1012); 1,500 in the year 383/993; only 170 in 1029 and at the time of Sābī only a little over 150. (cf. Rusūm, p. 21; Nishwār, i, p. 65; Khatīb, Ta'riḫ, i, pp. 117-19; Manāqib Baghdād, attr. to Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 24; El², s.v. Baghdad (Duri); cf. also, Begg, op.cit s.v. Section, Ḥammām. The figures given for the reigns of Muwaffaq and Muqtadir would seem highly exaggerated which imply various complications in determining the population estimate of Baghdad. Ya'qūbī (d. 897) (Buldān, 254) however, makes the number 10,000 not long after the foundation of Baghdad, which, compared to the figures of the Buwayhid period, comes to double and treble. The fact that all sources show a fall in the number of baths to be found in Baghdad over the years indicate that as time passed the relative affluence of Baghdad declined perceptively. It is possible that in counting the baths of Baghdad authors in the different period, confused between the public and household baths and recorded the number sometimes taking account of both private and public baths together, and sometimes counted the public baths exclusively --- hence this gulf of difference between the numbers of baths.

Two Types of Baths :---

There were two types of baths --- (a) private baths¹ installed in the precincts of palaces or within large town houses and (b) public baths which were run on a commercial basis.² The majority of these public baths served both men and women. It appears that on certain days or at certain times they were reserved for men and at others for women.³ To indicate the turn of women most probably a curtain was stretched across in front of the entrance hall.⁴ When women were bathing the entire staff was replaced by women.⁵ In addition, the existence of some baths strictly reserved for women was not uncommon. References to "Hammām nisawī"⁶, "Abwāb hammāmāt al-nisā'",⁷ and "al-Hammāmāt al-nisawīyya al-millīya al-‘amma"⁸ in the sources at our disposal are a clear proof of the existence of such baths.

1. Ṣābī, Rusūm, p.21; Nishwār, i, pp. 193,195,205; cf. also Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, ii, p. 282.

2. Dhakhā'ir, p. 222; Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, p. 171.

3. EI², s.v. Hammām (J. Sourdél-Thomine)

4. Hitti (History of the Arabs, p. 338) notes this fact without quoting his source.

5. EI², s.v. Hammām (J. Sourdél-Thomine).

6. Muntazam, viii, p. 228; cf. also, Badrī, ‘Āmma, p. 180.

7. Shayzarī, Nihāyat al-Rutba, p. 109

8. Ghazālī, Ihyā', ii, p. 334.

Description of the bath and its apartments :--

Bath houses generally consisted of certain number of rooms with mosaic pavement and marble-lined inner walls clustering round a large central chamber.¹ The rooms might have, as in modern times, had different names in different countries but their functions practically remained identical everywhere. The first room was used for undressing and rest; the second one was the first heated room or warm room and the third one was the second heated room or the "tepidarium" (harāra).²

The first room was a cool chamber with stone benches covered with mattresses and carpets.³ Here the owner sat behind his counter to receive the clients. Here, again, the clients put off their upper garments and hung them on pegs.⁴ Then they were taken to the second room the atmosphere of which was warmed by its proximity to the 'tepidarium'.⁵ In the second chamber the clients were given loin-cloths composed of towels knotted together (mi'zar). As soon as they became sufficiently accustomed to the heat and humidity, they proceeded to the third room or the 'tepidarium'.⁶ The 'tepidarium' had a number of stone benches for the staff who attended the bathers and was provided with numerous maqṣūras (cubicles, alcoves) furnished with earthen-ware pipes bringing supplies of hot and cold water and also with

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1. Miskāwayh, Tajārib, i, p.314; Jāhiz, Rasā'il, i, p. 388-89; 'Iqd, iii, p. 492; Murūj, viii, pp. 4, 7-8; EI², s.v. Hammām.
 2. Shayzarī, Nihāyat al-Rutba, p. 86; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, Ma'ālim al-Qurba, p. 154; cf. also, EI², s.v. Hammām ; David, Whitehouse, Excavations at Siraf, Iran, x(1972), 78.
 3. Shayzarī, op.cit; p.86; cf. also, EI², s.v. Hammām.
 4. Dīmashqī, Tijara, p. 35; Muwashsha, 221; Badrī, 'Amma, 180.
 5. EI², s.v. Hammām.
 6. Ibid.

stone basins which served as little swimming pools.¹ In the centre of this chamber there was a big swimming pool where the bathers completed their purification.²

After sweating abundantly for which they sometimes used to drink hot water³, the clients entered into maqsūras for the scouring of the skin etc. These were sometimes done by the clients themselves or by especially trained staff-members who washed them clean with soapy lather, rubbed them vigorously, removed their body-hair, shaved them, and if the customer wished, massaged them.⁴ Having finished this vigorous treatment of the body, the bathers proceeded to the big swimming pool mentioned above, to give a final touch to their purification. After all these attentions which the bathers received, there came a brief period of relaxation in little rest rooms generally disposed around a pool with a fountain and provided with wooden benches covered with luxurious cushions.⁵

The 'tepidarium' was built with thick walls with steam proof linings of marble. Sometimes the lower portion of these walls was faced with bitumen which looked like black polished marble while their upper portion was plastered with white mortar.⁶ Inscriptions and drawings of animals, plants and human faces formed simple decorative motifs of 'tepidarium'.⁷ To safeguard the floor from any damage caused

1. Ghazālī, Ihyā', ii, p. 334; EI², s.v. Hammām; cf. also, Hitti, History of the Arabs, p. 338.

2. EI², s.v. Hammām.

3. Muwashsha, p. 222.

4. Ghazālī, Ihyā', ii, p. 334; Nishwār, i, pp. 193-95; EI², s.v. Hammām; A Zaidi manual of hisba of the 3rd century H. RSO, 28(1953), p. 27.

5. EI², s.v. Hammām.

6. Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, p. 228; cf. also, Creswell, ENA, i, 276.

7. Murūj, iii, p. 29; Ibn Sīna, Hifz al-Siha, -- quoting from Ghazālī, ii, p. 7; cf. also, Mēz, p. 387; M. Jawād and others, Baghdād, 183; To judge by those of the Umayyad baths, see,

by ^{the} continual use of water it was generally coated with bitumen brought from a well between Basra and Kufa. It oozed fluid like clay, scooped up and after congealing carried away for plastering purposes.¹ To carry off the water used by the bathers the 'tepidarium' was provided with several runnels. It had neither windows nor ventilation so that its heat and steam could be ensured. A conspicuous feature of the 'tepidarium' was its thick cupola or dome studded with small round apertures glazed with thick pieces of glass through which the light penetrated.²

The heat and the steam of the 'tepidarium' was supplied from a furnace room annexed to it.³ The latter was separated from the former by a thin partition pierced with numerous holes through which the steamy air passed rising from cauldrons of boiling water or a central jet of water in the middle of a basin. To maintain balance, cold water was also supplied to the bath proper by the system of ventilation from the stove. Earthen pipes were embedded in the walls or beneath the floor for the supply of water.⁴ The supply of water from outside to the ḥammām was obtained either from wells worked by a draught-animal or from canals through pipes.⁵ The waste water of the ḥammām was carried off to nearby ditches dug especially for this purpose and was never allowed to flow in the canals and rivers which supplied the drinking water.⁶

1. Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, p. 228; cf. also, Mez, p. 387; Muq. 146.

2. Tajārib, i, p. 314; EI², s.v. Ḥammām; D. Whitehouse, op.cit., 78

3. Ibn al-Jawzī, Dhamm al-Hawā, p. 474; Jāhiz, Rasā'il, i, p. 388; EI², s.v. _____

4. EI², s.v. Ḥammām.

5. Dimashqī, Tijāra, p. 35; cf. also, EI², s.v. Ḥammām.

6. Muntazam, ix, p. 129.

Personnel :--

The number of regular employees of the bath varied generally from five to six. Ṣābī, quoting from a third century writer Ibn Mihmandār, gives six names of bath attendants viz : (a) the qayyim, (ra'īs al-ḥammām, ṣāhib al-ḥammām) lesse of the bath whose duty was to welcome the clients at the time of their entrance and to receive payments at the time of exit; (b) ṣāhib al-sundūq, the superintendent of the changing or dressing room; (c) waqqād the stoker who was in charge of the supply of fuel for the furnace; (d) zabbāl, the sweeper who was in charge of cleaning the ḥammām; (e) muzayyin (or ḥallāq), the hair-dresser who in addition to his usual duties removed the body-hair; and (f) ḥajjām, the cupper or blood-letting.¹

Khatīb's account differs from that of Ṣābī both in the number of workers and in the designation of the employees. According to his account every bath had five workers viz : ḥammāmī, qayyim, zabbāl, waqqād, saqqā.² In smaller towns we even find a lesser number of attendants in the baths. For example, it is known from the Maqāmāt of Ḥamadānī that in Ḥulwān there were only three members in the staff of the bath.³ The staff of the bath was generally assisted by a number of servants such as cubicle-stewards and the dallāk (masseur) etc.⁴

1. Ṣābī, Rusūm, p. 19; Ibn Mihmandār, Fadā'il Baghdād, p. 17; cf. also, Nishwār, i, p. 193; Jāhiz, Rasā'il, i, pp. 388-89; Bukhalā', p. 37; EI², s.v. Ḥammām; Mez, p. 387.

2. Khatīb, Ta'rīkh, i, p. 117.

3. Maqāmāt, p. 171.

4. EI², s.v. Ḥammām.

Among the most important objects used by the bathers in the ḥammām for cleanliness of their body was (a) nūra, a depilatory agent which, according to the beliefs of the people, was an aphrodisiac.¹ (b) tīn Khurāsānī, a kind of clay brought from Khurāsān and applied for cleaning hair. The more fastidious people perfumed it with rose water, essence of rose geranium or orange-flower water²; (c) miḥakka, curry-comb for scouring legs³; (d) khirqā, tatters used by the common people and mindīl (towel) used by the men of elegant taste for rubbing their bodies⁴; (e) khitmī marsh mallow, and leaves of lotus trees for washing bodies.⁵ The use of soap was not unknown to these people,⁶ though sejved ushnān (saltwort) was commonly used.⁷

Maintenance and Supervision of the bath.

In view of the importance of the ḥammām as a hygienic centre of social life of the people, the government paid assiduous attention to its cleanliness and to the observance of the rules of hygiene by the staff of the ḥammām as well as by the clients. One of the duties of the muhtasib, for example, was to look after the ḥammām; to issue orders for sweeping and washing the ḥammām properly with clean water before closing it; to issue orders preventing washing of utensils, or clothes in the pool of the 'tepidarium'; to keep an eye to the waste water so that its flow into the

1. Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 37; Makki, Qūt al-Qulūb, iv, p. 180; Serjeant, A Zaidi manual of Hisba., RSO, 28(1953), p. 27.

2. Hamadānī, Maqāmāt, p. 171; cf. also, EI², s.v. Ḥammām.

3. Saqatī, Fī adab al-hisba, p. 67.

4. Muwashsha, p. 221.

5. Shayzarī, Nihaya, p. 78.

6. Khatīb, Ta'rikh, i, p. 118; Jāhiz, Bukhalā', p. 56; Manāqib Baghdād, p. 24; Muntazam, vi, p. 5.

7. Muwashsha, p. 221.

canal or the river might not pollute their water. The owner of the bath (gayyim) on the other hand, cautiously maintained the rules of hygiene inasmuch as he cleaned the tank of water at least once in a month; fumigated the hammām twice a day; soaked the curry-comb into saline water; and washed the loin-cloth (supplied to the bathers) everyday.¹ The muhtasib was also responsible to see whether the bathers are entering the hammām in proper dress. The bath-owner should not allow anybody in the bath without a mi'zar (loin-cloth).² The common people, it would seem, did not observe this restriction properly.³ Maqdisī writing in the last quarter of the 10th century notes that he found the people of Shīrāz, Khuzistan, Fars and the Maghrib infringing this regulation who entered the hammām without a mi'zar.⁴

The popularity of hammām in this society was due to its manifold benefits. It was a place of ritual purification, of salutary effects, of social recreation, and above all, it was a silent doctor. Its warm atmosphere producing abundant perspiration and the hygienic care and caution taken by its staff helped to cure ailments like cough and cold, all kinds of fever and especially various forms of rheumatism.⁵

Hammāms which according to the local beliefs and superstitions of the people were the favourite haunt of jinns during the night, remained open from dawn to sunset throughout the year.⁶

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1. Ghazālī, Ihyā', ii, pp. 87, 334; Saqatī, Fī Adab al-Hisba, p. 67; Shayzari, Nihaya, p. 68; cf. also, El2, s.v. Hammam.
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