

Renaud Soler

Université de Strasbourg, France
r.soler@unistra.fr

Food and Poetry. Kebab Imagery in Persian and Turkish Poetry¹

Abstract

This article traces the history of kebab imagery in Persian and Turkish poetry, from its earliest attestations in Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*, to its demise in the early twentieth century. Until now, this metaphor has been little studied by literary historians. Its importance deserves a close study. It is possible to historicise this set of poetic images and follow its development and evolution step by step in Persian- and Turkish-language poetry. The imagery of the kebab is underpinned by Eurasian meat-eating practices and the epic figure of the hunter-king. We also need to consider the context in which Turco-Persian poetry was produced: on the one hand, palaces and their feasts; on the other, cities and their cohorts of roasters and street cooks. These experiences provide the poets with material for their variations on the kebab theme, which could express worldly feelings of fear or love for an enemy or a protector, as well as being used to describe the powerful effects of a spiritual experience or the love of God.

Keywords: Persian, Ottoman and Turkish poetry, food, kebab, multilingualism, poetic tradition.

Arab, Turkish, and Persian poets used to collect or have their poems gathered in collections called *diwān* (divan). The poems could be organised by type or by rhyme. As the consonant *b* is the second letter in the alphabets used by Arabs, Persians, and Turks, anyone reading a collection of oriental poetry in a linear fashion is bound to come across the word *kabāb*, which refers to roasted or grilled meat: surprisingly for the contemporary reader, the kebab was a word used by almost every Persian and Turkish poet between the eleventh and the early twentieth century, to rhyme their poems in *b*. This article deals with the history of this poetic imagery.

Among specialists in Turkish-Persian literature, only Annemarie Schimmel devotes a few lines to the kebab in her masterly work on Persian poetry, followed by Riccardo Zipoli. She stresses the importance of the association of wine (*sharāb*) and roast (*kabāb*) and adds that the imagery of the kebab 'offers poets a set of images not always very tasteful to a modern Western reader.'² We must therefore step back from our own cul-

1 I would like to extend my warmest thanks to Philip Bockholt and Hülya Çelik for hosting my contribution to the Gotha conference 'Multilingualism, Translation, Transfer: Persian in the Ottoman Empire' in April 2023, and then allowing me to publish this article in this "Diyâr" issue. This study would not have been possible without the help of Claudia Römer, Edith Gülçin Ambros and Nicolas Vatin, all of whom carefully re-read the translations of the verses quoted. Any remaining errors are my responsibility.

2 Schimmel 1992, 268; Zipoli 2009, 214.

tural and poetic tradition, which does not use culinary metaphors in erotic poetry. I will seek to historicise and describe the evolution of kebab imagery by reference to the everyday experience of poets, who lived in a world where, as Johan Huizinga put it, to describe the atmosphere of the late Middle Ages in Western Europe, ‘so intense and colourful was life that it could stand the mingling of the smell of blood and roses.’³

I will begin by recalling the two dimensions that underlie the imagery of the kebab over the long term: culinary traditions and conceptions of royalty in the Eurasian space. I will then show how the imagery of the kebab appeared and evolved in Persian poetry, and how it was adopted and transformed in Turkish poetry. Finally, I will discuss the plausible reasons for the disappearance of this kebab imagery in modern Persian and Turkish poetry, which began to take shape in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁴

1. The Anthropological *longue durée*: Techniques for Cooking Meat

Nowadays, kebab brings to mind *döner kebab*, which refers to a method of cooking on a vertical spit that dates back only to the nineteenth century, and which has conquered the West since the 1970s and 1980s. To understand what Persian and Turkish poets had in mind when they wrote their verses about kebab, we need to forget this familiar image for a while.

Three techniques for cooking meat have been known since ancient times in Eurasia.⁵ In everyday life, meat was usually simmered in broths, soups, stews (*khoresb* in Persian, *yahni* in Turkish), or rice pilafs (*polow*, *pilav*). Less frequently, the meat was fried. The third technique involved roasting the meat in an oven or grilling it over an open fire. The pre-Islamic poet Imru’ al-Qays (d. 544) mentions the two main methods of cooking by simmering and grilling:⁶ ‘Busy then were the cooks, some roasting upon a fire the grilled slices, some stirring the hasty stew.’ Arabic poetry of later centuries contains many references to food, but the roast never became a *topos* as it did in the Turco-Persian tradition.⁷

3 Huizinga 1996, 24.

4 My corpus includes 90 Persian-speaking poets and 65 Turkish-speaking poets, authors of around 1,500 poems containing the word kebab. The quotations in this article (from 19 Persian-speaking and 12 Turkish-speaking poets) are just a small part of the whole; they have been selected because they are representative of trends observed throughout the whole corpus. For Persian poetry, I used the Ganjoor database (<https://ganjoor.net>), always checked with actual editions of the poets’ works, and for Turkish poetry, I used the digital editions of the General Directorate of Libraries and Publications of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (*Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kütüphaneler ve Yayımlar Genel Müdürlüğü*).

5 On the history of cooking in Islam, see Fagner 1984; Heine 1988; Işın 2018; Roden 2001; Rodinson 1950; Westrip 1997.

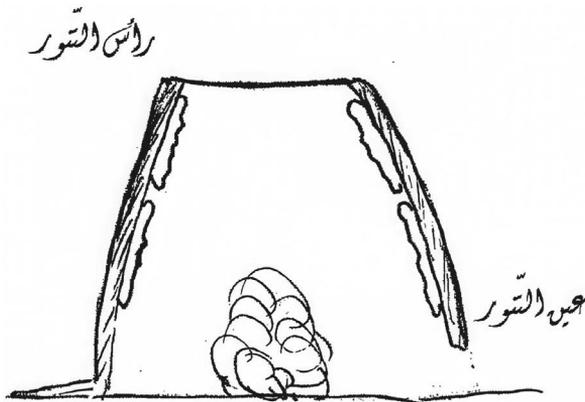
6 al-Zawzani 2009, 51, v. 65; Arberry 1957, 65: فَظَلَّ مَعْجَلِ طَهَاءَ اللَّحْمِ مِنْ بَيْنِ مَنْضِجٍ صَفِيْفٍ شَوَاءٍ لَوْ قَدِ بَرَّ.

7 Van Gelder 2000, 114.

The hierarchy of meats differed from the one we know today: mutton was the most valued meat. Beef, on the other hand, was a coarse meat:⁸ less expensive than mutton, the poorer classes of Abbasid society could afford it from time to time.⁹ Poultry was expensive and took its place on the tables of the urban middle classes and elites. According to the Qurʾān (56:21), poultry meat (*lahm al-ṭayr*) will be the dish served in Paradise. Although game was of limited quantitative importance, even in the diet of the elite, it played an eminent symbolic role. Oriental medicine and dietetics consistently valued mutton, poultry, and game.¹⁰ Doctors recommended kebab after a bloodletting because, as Ibn Buṭlān (d. 455/1066) wrote in the eleventh century, ‘its juice quickly transforms into blood and increases animal strength.’¹¹ Fish was cheap in river or sea regions: it could be grilled or roasted; poets never failed to make use of these images.¹²

There were two main ways of roasting and grilling meat. The first, and more common, was to cook it in a raw earth or brick oven, called a *tannūr* in Arabic, a *tanūr* in Persian, a *tennūr*, or a *tandır* in Turkish. Perhaps the poets had in mind the Qurʾān (11:40; 23:27): God warned Noah that it was time to board the Ark (*fulk*) by ‘boiling the oven’ (*fāra al-tannūr*). One of the cornerstones of kebab imagery therefore consisted of comparing the breast (*sīne* in Persian and Turkish) to an oven: as the kebab roasts in the oven, the heart or liver roasts in the breast, the former as a result of the heat of the fire, the latter under the influence of fear, and later love.

Figure 1. Tannūr oven, used especially for roasting meats¹³



8 Laurioux 2002, 33.

9 Ashtor 1968, 1017–53.

10 Pitchon 2018, 282–5.

11 Elkhadem 1990, 194–5.

12 Perry 2001, 477–86.

13 Nasrallah 2007, 574.

The second cooking technique involves a brazier or a fireplace. The meat, cut into smaller pieces, is skewered or put on a grill, and cooked in direct contact with the fire. The brazier is called a *mijmara* in Arabic, a *manqal* and a *royine* in Persian, and a *manğal* in Turkish; *kānūn*, *ātash-dān*, *ocağ* refers to the hearth, *sikh* or *şiş* to the skewers. These skewers belong to poetic language, but the brazier was almost always overshadowed by the oven (*tannūr*), whose analogy with the chest was so suggestive. An examination of inheritance inventories written in Damascus between 1689 and 1717 shows that Damascenes did little cooking at home: they sent their dishes, in their own pans or earthenware pots, to the roaster.¹⁴ The same was true of the people of Cairo, both in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods,¹⁵ and of the Turkish-speaking inhabitants of the Empire. According to the registers of pious foundations in Istanbul in the seventeenth century, it is estimated that less than 5% of dwellings had a separate kitchen; a place to cook is mentioned for the poorest 20% of households, consisting of a single room, and half of households with four rooms or more.¹⁶ The figures were even lower in Ankara and Kayseri.¹⁷ According to Bruno Laurioux, the same was true of the medieval West.¹⁸ In short, the two main techniques for cooking meat were not equivalent: grilling or roasting were as opposed to stewing as the masculine to the feminine, the extraordinary to the everyday.

2. The Opening Scene: The Kebab and the King Hunter of the Epic

The imagery of the kebab originated in the royal hunt and banquet tradition. Its poetical birthplace is the epic. Since ancient times, the kings and nobles of Eurasia had hunted to protect and feed their subjects, or to train for war. Royal Eurasian ideology was inseparable from the practice of hunting.¹⁹ The kings of Mesopotamia used to hunt lions that threatened their farmers and their crops. The *Book of Kings* (*Shāhnāma*) by Firdawsī (329–410 or 416/940–1019 or 1025) features the *bazm-o razm*, banquet and war, which forms the starting point for the poetic imagery of the kebab. Most of the illustration projects carried out between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, whether in Iran, India, or the Ottoman Empire, have one remarkable thing in common: they all present a scene that closely associates royal power and kebab.

History goes that the Iranian king Goshtāsp is afraid of being dethroned by his son Esfandiyyār. According to a prophecy that reaches his ears, Esfandiyyār must be killed by Rostam. Goshtāsp therefore decides to send his son in search of Rostam, under

14 Establet and Pascual 2003, 185–98.

15 Hanna 1991; Lewicka 2011, 88–9.

16 Tanyeli 2003, 275–300; Yérasimos 2003, 301–17.

17 Faroqhi 1987, 98.

18 Laurioux 2002, 257.

19 Allsen 2006.

Figure 2. Shāhnāma of Shāh Tāhmāsb, ca. 1530, attributed to Āqā Mirak, assisted by Qāsim Ālī, ca.1530. Feuille 451r sold at Christie's, 31 March 2022 (£ 11,970). URL: <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-6361861>.

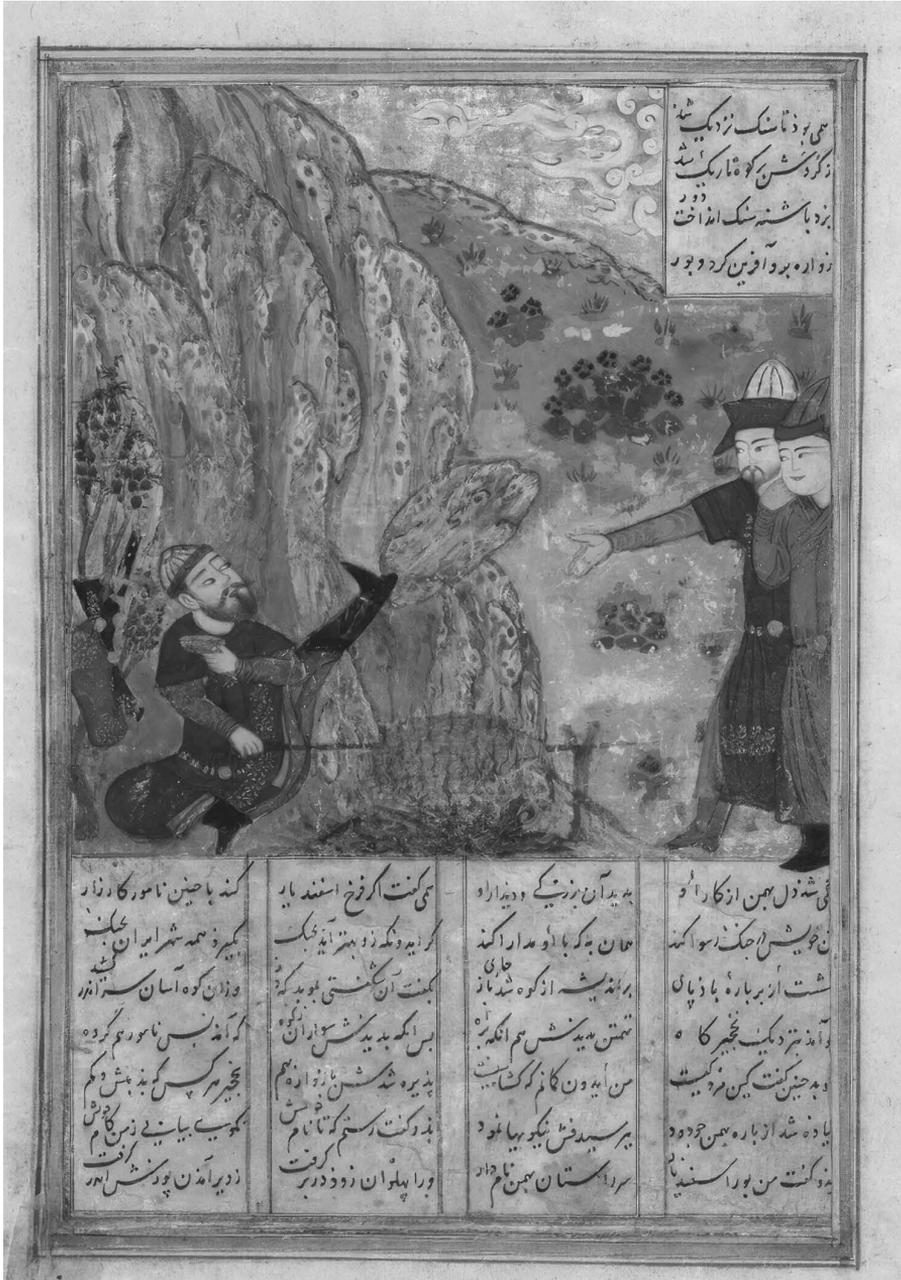


Figure 3. Turkish version of the Shāhnāma by Şerif Amidî, ca. 1500, copied and illustrated between 1616 and 1620. New York Public Library, Spencer Coll. Turk. MS. 1. URL: <https://digitalcollections.nysl.org/items/510d47e3-75f7-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>



the false pretext of having him renew his allegiance. Esfandiyār, in turn, sends his own son Bahmān to capture Rostam. The young Bahmān catches Rostam cooking an evening primrose on a spit during a hunting trip. He decides to kill him by throwing a rock at him, but Rostam, warned by a companion, pushes the rock away with a blow from his heel.²⁰

An examination of eight paintings of the scene, among which fig. 2 and fig. 3, produced between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries in the three Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Empires, reveals that the scene of Rostam and Bahmān increasingly looked like a royal hunting party, when the weary sovereign, accompanied by his close friends, interrupted the run to rest and prepare a grill: the painters of the illustrated *Shāhnāma* imagined the scene of Rostam and Bahmān as a princely hunt.²¹ Throughout the long Islamic Middle Ages, in the two overlapping Persian-speaking and Turkish-speaking linguistic spaces,²² the text and illustrations of the *Shāhnāma* contributed to reenacting the association between the king and the kebab, between the courage of the hunter and the fear of the prey.

3. From Hunting to Court: The Panegyrists and Love

At the Ghaznavid courts of Ghazna and Lahore, in the Seljuk palaces of Baghdad, Khurasan, and Transoxiana, princes fed their guests with grilled meat. This elite cuisine is described in several preserved cookery books.²³ A few braziers used at these banquets have come down to us: the oldest one belonged to the Rasulid sultan of Yemen, al-Malik al-Muzaffar Shams al-Dīn Yūsuf b. ‘Umar (r. 647–694/1250–1295).²⁴ The dragon-head-shaped brackets were used to attach a grill or to slide in skewers.

From the thirteenth century onwards, when the production of illustrated manuscripts increased, frontispieces frequently depicted the patron drinking and feasting, or receiving a book from the author’s hand. A manuscript of the *Book of the Antidote* (*Kitāb al-Diryāq*) by the Pseudo-Galen, produced in Mosul in the first half of the thirteenth century,²⁵ contains (to the best of my knowledge) the first depiction of

20 Ferdowsi 2023, 921.

21 In addition to the two paintings featured here, see the list of the six others after the Bibliography.

22 Fragner 1999 coined the term Persophonie. Some authors prefer to speak of the Persi-anate. Cf. Green 2019.

23 The earliest example dates from tenth century: Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq 1987 (Nasrallah 2007). On the origins of caliphal cuisine, see Waynes 1989. From the thirteenth century onwards, cookery books proliferated. Cf. Marín and Waines 1993 (translated by Nasrallah 2018).

24 Brazier of Rasulid Sultan al-Malik al-Muzaffar Shams al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn ‘Umar, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891, Accession Number: 91.1.540. Object dimensions: height 35.2 cm; width 39.4 cm; depth 41.6 cm. [H. 13 7/8 in.; W. 15 1/2 in.; Max D. 16 3/8 in.]

25 Pseudo-Galen, *Kitāb al-diryāq*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. A. F. 10, f. 1v.

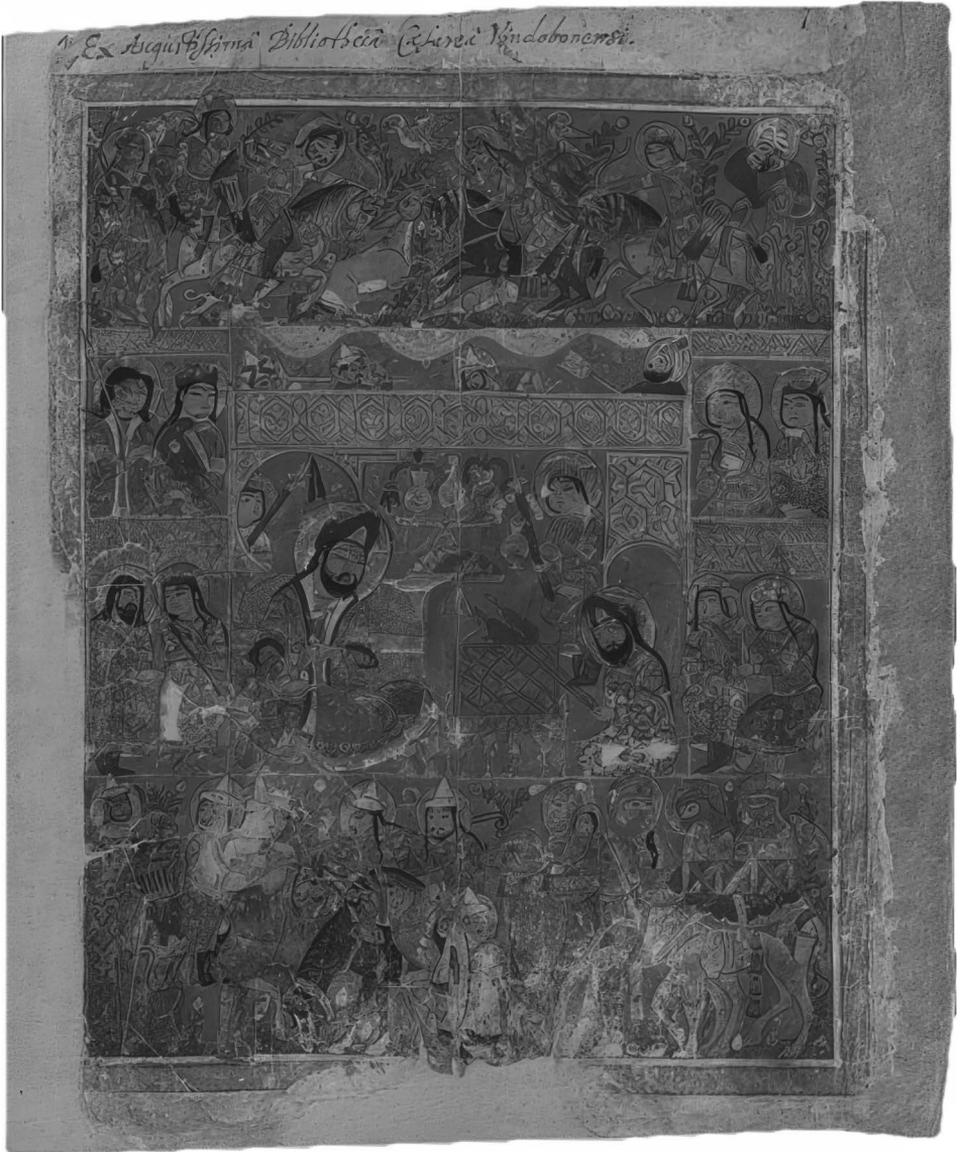
Figure 4. Rasulid brazier (first half of the thirteenth century)



a princely feast featuring brazier and kebab. In the central part, the prince sits on the left. A kneeling servant faces him on the right. We see behind them a tray and bottles of drink; this servant holds two skewers above a rectangular brazier, similar to the Rasulid one (Fig. 2). This frontispiece, first analysed by Richard Ettinghausen in the 1960s,²⁶ marks the transition between the hieratic iconography inherited from the Sassanid Empire to a more vivid realism. The ‘essential element’ of this painting, according to the art historian, is none other than the servant busy roasting kebab.

26 Ettinghausen 1977, 92.

Figure 5. Frontispiece of the Pseudo-Galen Book of the Antidote, Mosul, first half of the thirteenth century



A second noteworthy frontispiece (Fig. 6) opens the personal copy of the *Divān* of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bayqarā, the Timurid ruler of Herat who reigned between 875 and 912 (1469–1505).²⁷ The first part of the frontispiece depicts an assembly in a garden, where the participants, gathered around the sultan, are drinking and reading. In the second frontispiece, the sultan is conversing in the background with a beardless young man, while, in the foreground, a cook is supervising the grilling of a poultry kebab.

Panegyrists began to describe royal banquets as early as the eleventh century. We can quote here a famous verse of Manūchehri (d. after 432/1041) who, together with ‘Onṣorī (d. after 422/1031) and Farrokhi, who probably died during the reign of sultan Mas‘ūd I (421–432/1030–1041), is considered one of the leading poets of the early Ghaznavid period:²⁸

در مجلس احرار سه چیزست و فزون نه
وان هر سه شرابست و ربابست و کبابست

Dar majles-e ahrār se chizast-o fozūn ne
Vān her se sharābast-o rabābast-o kabābast

In the pleasures of well-born men, there are three things and no more,
and those three things are the roast, the rebec, and the wine.

As on the frontispiece of the Pseudo-Galen, Manūchehri’s ideal banquet comprises three elements: the roast (*kabāb*), the wine (*sharāb*) and the rebec (*rabāb*). Julie Meisami points out that the Arabic-speaking Abbasid poets, followed by their Persian-speaking counterparts, systematically developed the analogy between the ethics of the court and the ethics of love.²⁹ The discourse on love both expresses the relationship between the patron and the poet, and indirectly offers a model of ideal behaviour. The evolution of kebab imagery illustrates this dialectic of love and court, leading to a synthesis of Firdawsī’s epic imagery and depictions of courtly elite pleasures. Initially, associations between water (*āb*) and kebab were frequent: the beloved patron makes his panegyric lover weep, consumed with grief. However, the word *āb* means water, tears, but also meat juice: the poets of the eleventh century thus combined meat juice and tears. A quatrain by ‘Onṣorī, the panegyrist of the Ghaznavid sultan Maḥmūd, makes this clear:³⁰

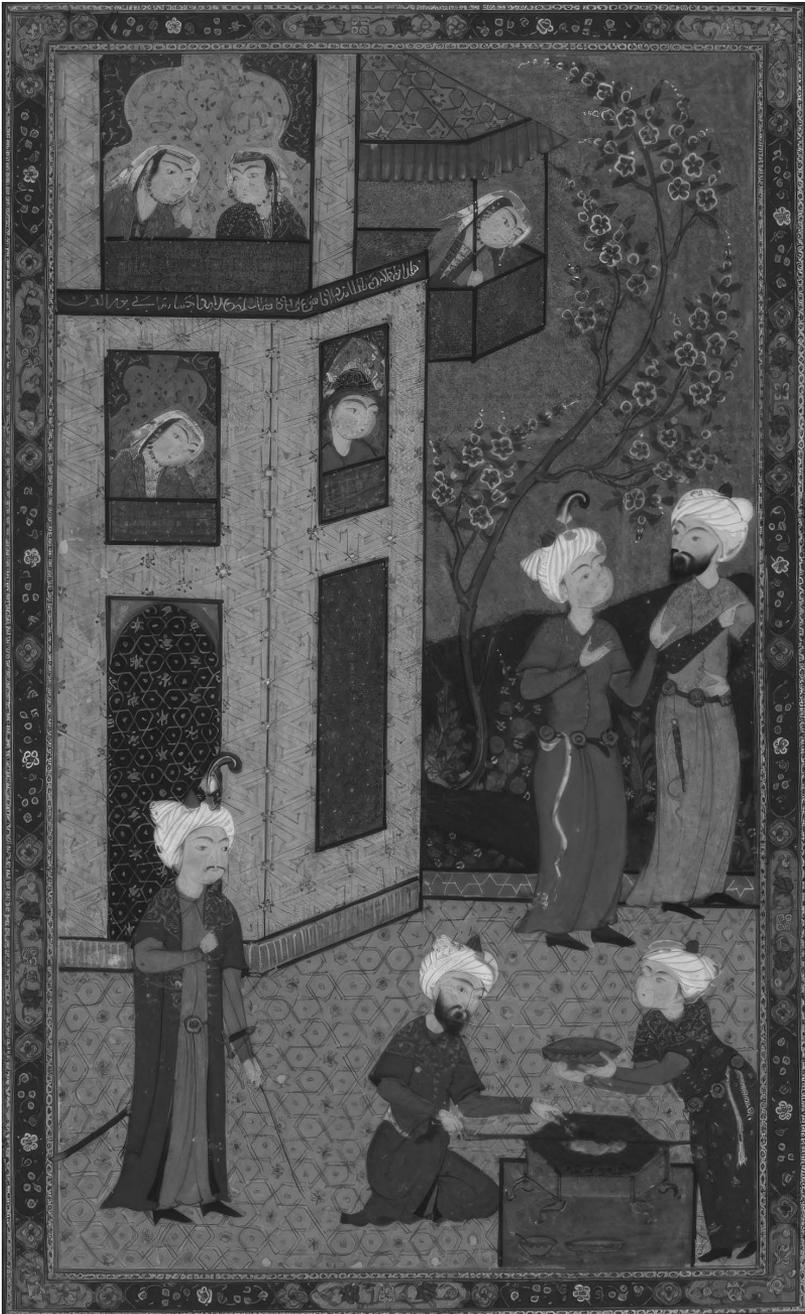
27 Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bayqarā, *Divān*, BNF Suppl. turc 993, 3r. The copy is dated 890/1485.

28 Kazimirski 1866, 14–5/166. On this poet, Clinton 1972. See also Yarhsater 1960.

29 Meisami 1987, 27.

30 ‘Onṣorī 1363/1984, 311.

Figure 6. Frontispiece of the *Divān* of *Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bayqarā*, Timurid ruler of Herat (copied in 890/1485)



گل بر رخ تست و چشم من غرقه بآب
 من تافته وزلف تو پیچیده به تاب
 زلف تو بر آتش است و من گشته کباب
 بی خواب من و نرگس تو مایه خواب

*Gol bar rokh-e tost-o chashm-e man gharqe be-āb.
 Man tāfte-o zolf-e to pīchide be-tāb.
 Zolf-e to bar ātash ast-o man gasthe kabāb
 Bī-kh^v āb man-o nargis-e to māye-ye kb^v āb*

A rose is on your face, my eye is drowned in water. I'm burning [or : I'm bent over in pain], your hair is curled by the heat.
 Your hair is on the fire; I've become a kebab [or : I rotate like the kebab].
 I am restless, and your narcissi [i.d. eyes] are the essence of rest.

The poet uses the diverse meaning of the verb *tāftan*, which means both to burn, to heat, and to twist, to bend, hence, to make sad or suffer. In the second line, the hair becomes a metaphor for the grill on the brazier: the worried poet compares himself to the kebab on that hearth.

In the second half of the eleventh century, references to kebab increased in number and sophistication: from two or three occurrences by the early Ghaznavid panegyrists, to around 10 in the panegyrists of the Ghaznavids of India, Sanjar the Seljuk and the courts of Azerbaijan. Mas'ūd-e Sa'd (ca. 438–515/1046–1122), the first great poet of Ghaznavid India, who spent many years in captivity, forged the two images of the kebab roasting on the fire of separation (*ādash-e hejrān, firāq*), and of the kebab salted by the mouth of the beloved. *Namak* means not only salt but also wit, charm. The conversation with the beloved is full of salt; his mouth, likened to a saltshaker, sprinkles salt on the lover's roasted heart and makes it tasty and easy to digest.³¹

برفت از بر من هوش من برفت و نمآند
 حدیث چون نمک او بر این دل چو کباب

*Beraft az bar man hūsh-e man beraft-o namānd
 Hadīth chūn namak-e u bar in del chū kabāb*

I'm losing my mind; he's [or it's] gone and did not stay! Our conversation is like salt that he would pour on this roasted heart of mine.

In Seljuk Iran, Mo'ezzi (ca. 440–519 or 521/1048–1125 or 1127), for his part, imposed the central theme of the banquet, which relegated the hunting theme to the background. He took over from Manūchehri the triad of kebab, wine, and music, which he used in various forms:³²

31 Mas'ūd-e Sa'd 1986, 57.

32 Mo'ezzi 1362/1983, 61.

به جان تو که درو هیچگه نیود مرا
 فراغتی ز شراب و کباب و چنگ و رباب
 رباب ناله من بود و چنگ قامت من
 سرشک من چو شراب و دم به سان کباب

*Be jān-e to ke darū hichgeh nabūd marā
 Farāghatī ze sharāb-o kabāb-o chang-o rabāb
 Rabāb nāle-ye man būd-o chang qāmat-e man
 Sereshk-e man chū sharāb-o delam be sān-e kabāb*

In your soul, where I had no place, entertainment was provided by wine,
 kebabs, harps, and rebecs.
 The rebec was my sobbing and the lute my stature; my
 tears were like wine and my heart like a kebab.

The great panegyrists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, from Azerbaijan to India, laid the foundations for the imagery of the kebab. They took it from the epics and transposed it to the refined setting of the court. The central location is the banquet, where people eat kebab while drinking wine and listening to music. The poets reflect on the distance that court life creates between them and their patron: while they offer the wine of their tears, the kebab of their hearts and the music of their sobs, the princes neglect them. And that is why they burn in the fire of separation.

4. Butchers and Roasters in the Cities of the Orient: Sacred Love, Profane Love

Grilled meat was a familiar food in the cities of the East. The *ḥisba* manuals of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr al-Shayzarī, written in the Fatimid and then Ayyubid Syria, and Ibn al-Ukhuwwa (648–729/1258–1328), written in Mamluk Egypt, describe the butchers, roasters (*sharwā*), sheep’s head sellers, fried fish sellers, and street cooks (*tabbākh*).³³ Roasters would cook their own meat and that brought to them by people without ovens at home.³⁴ The *Sessions* (*Maqāmāt*) of Hamadhānī (358–395/969–1007) and Ḥarīrī (446–516/1054–1122) provide striking evidence of the importance of roasted meat in the diet and social habits of the well-off urban classes.³⁵ One of the oldest illustrated manuscript of Ḥarīrī’s *Sessions* contains a painting of a banquet scene.³⁶

Sufi poets played a major role in the spectacular enrichment of kebab imagery: Sanāyī (d. 525/1130–1131) in Ghazna and Merv, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī (471–561/1078–1166) in Baghdad, Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār (ca. 537–617/1142–1220) in Nishapur, Rūmī (604–672/1207–1273) in Konya, all of whom made extensive use of the kebab to describe their spiritual journey – the Sufi’s love for God warms up his body; the heat cooks his heart and liver. The transition from profane to sacred love was made

33 al-Shayzarī 1999, 52–59; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa 1938, 30–5.

34 Nasrallah 2007, 40.

35 Lewicka 2011, 124.

36 Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, BNF Arabe 5847, 47v, session n°18.

Figure 7. A banquet in Baghdad in the thirteenth century



possible by the medieval muslims' analogical worldview, as noted by Julie Meisami³⁷ and theorised by Philippe Descola:³⁸ a Persian or Turkish poem can often (but not always) be read either as a Sufi poem or as an erotic poem. Profane love is not opposed to sacred love: on the contrary, it can lead to it. Sacred love, on the other hand, does not necessarily presuppose a profane love relationship, but it has to be expressed in the language of the concrete world, the only world available to the poet. It should also be

37 Meisami 1987, 38–39.

38 Descola 2005.

recalled that digestion (*ḥaḍm*) was conceived, in Greco-Arabic medicine, as a cooking of food in the stomach. Thus the poet Sanāyī writes:³⁹

هست سنایی ز عشق بر سر آتش مدام
گشته دل او کباب جانش پر از جوش بین

Hast Sanāyī ze ‘eshq bar sar-e ātash modām
Gashte del-e u kabāb jānash por az jūsh bin

Sanāyī is continually on the fire of passion:
his heart has become kebab, see his soul boiling!

The romances of Niẓāmī of Ganja (ca. 483–554/1090–1159) and Amīr Khusraw of Delhi (651–725/1253–1325) contain few original variations.⁴⁰ While most of Niẓāmī’s images of kebab are inspired by Firdawsī, less common are those adapted from the panegyrics and ghazals of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. A century and a half later, Amīr Khusraw of Delhi crafted his pentalogy after Niẓāmī’s, while incorporating more epic and erotic metaphors. His ghazals, which contain some 40 references to kebab, are much more original. Some verses are very close to traditional themes:⁴¹

هر دم جگر در سوز و تاب از دیده ریزم خون ناب
اینک می و اینک کباب آن میهمان من کجا

Har dam jegar dar sūz-o tāb az dīde rīzam khūn-nāb
Īnak mey-o ĩnak kabāb ān mīhmān-e man kojā

Every moment my liver is consumed, my eyes shed tears of blood.
Here’s the wine, here’s the kebab! Where’s this guest of mine?

Khusraw and the Sufi poets prove to be very interested in cooking and seasoning: *kabāb-āb* gives way to the *kabāb-sharāb*, which are related to blood (*khūn*, *khūnāb*) and meat juice (another meaning of *āb*). The bittersweet ubiquity of the beloved leads the poet to multiply references to salt, which Mas‘ūd-e Sa‘d Salmān had associated with kebab.⁴²

در دل خویشتن خیال لب
نمکی بر کباب مبینم

Dar del-e kb^vīstan khayāl-e labat
Namaki bar kabāb mibīnam

The shadow of your lips on my heart seems to [sprinkle] salt on the kebab.

39 Sanāyī 1375/1996, 477. On this poet, see, Feuillebois-Pierunek 2021.

40 On ghazal and romances, see Lewis 2005, 121–40; Meisami 1987, 237–98; 76–236 respectively; Meisami 2005, 327–42.

41 Khusraw 1361/1983, ghazal no 15, 8.

42 *ibid.*, ghazal no. 1346, 447.

Khusraw uses common themes, but also introduces more or less original variations. There is often a blurred line between a faithful variation and a new image. That is why some of Khusraw's images seem to us sharper than others. Here is one example:⁴³

بس باشک آلوده شخصم گوئیا
سیخی از آب کباب آلوده اند

Bas bāshk-ālūde shakhṣam gūyā
Sikhī az āb-e kabāb ālūde and

I'm someone completely drenched in tears:
I look like a skewer soaked in kebab juice.

Khusraw means that passion has left him emaciated and bloodless. This comparison shows how deep poetic invention is rooted in a certain worldview, which underpins here the theory of humours, and in a poetical tradition.

In the second half of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth centuries, poets continued to play with kebab, with the remarkable exception of Sa'dī (d. 691/1292) and Ḥāfiẓ (d. 792/1390). Readers familiar with kebab imagery will now appreciate it on their own and distinguish between the conventional variations, which are essential for passing on the tradition in the background, and the more daring variations, which rejuvenate it.⁴⁴ Here are a few examples:

بتاب سینه چراغ فلک برافروزند
ز آب دیده نمک بر دل کباب زنند

Be-tāb-e sīne cherāgh-e falak bar afrūzand
Ze āb-e dīde namak bar del-e kabāb zanand

They light the torch of the celestial spheres with the ardour of their breasts; they salt the roasted heart with the tears of their eyes.⁴⁵

خیالش از دل و چشمم نمیرود بیرون
کجا رود که شراب و کباب میبندند

Khayālsh az del-o chashmam namīravād birūn
Kojā ravād ke sharāb-o kabāb mībinad

His image never leaves my heart and eyes: where
would he go to find wine and kebab?⁴⁶

43 *ibid.*, respectively ghazal no. 739, 247.

44 Subtelny's 1986 article gives an insight into the poetic style of this period of refinement (*takalluf*), sometimes deemed excessive by *tazkira* authors such as Jāmi and 'Alī Shir Navā'ī. Cf. Algar 2013; d'Hubert and Papas 2018; Toutant 2016.

45 Khvājū-ye Kermāni 1374/1995–1996, ghazal no. 140 (*Safariyyāt*), 422.

46 Salmān Sāvajī 1376/1997–1998, ghazal no. 199, 311.

دل سوخت در سماع و نمی ایستد ز چرخ
رقصی ست گرم بر سرآتش کباب را

*Del sūkht dar samā^c-o namī istad ze charkh
Raq̄sīst garm bar sar-ādash kabābrā*

The heart roasts in the *samā^c* and doesn't stop spinning: it is an impetuous dance for the kebab over the fire.⁴⁷

شرار سینه مجنون ز آتش لیلی
کباب ساخته همه آهوان صحرا را

*Sharār-e sīne-ye Majnūn ze ādash-e Leylā
Kabāb sākhte hame āhuvān-e ṣahrārā*

The spark from Majnūn's chest, sprung from Laylā's fire, roasted all the gazelles in the desert.⁴⁸

When they wrote their poems, poets were not only thinking about the princely banquets of the panegyrics, but also about the roasters and butchers of their towns. With the rise of Sufi poetry and the ghazal, in the course of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, the imagery of the kebab expanded with new images, suggesting the thrilling urban life and the depth of the *adab*, the literate culture of the cities.

5. The Adoption of Kebab Imagery by Turkish-speaking Anatolian Poets (Fourteenth to Fifteenth Centuries)

The first references to kebab in Turkish poetry date from the fourteenth century.⁴⁹ Şeyyād Ḥamza (d. after 749/1348–1349), an itinerant poet and Sufi who lived in Anatolia during the first half of the fourteenth century, refers only to the literal meaning of the word 'kebab': in his edifying verses, kebab symbolises the delicious food of Paradise,⁵⁰ perhaps in reference to a prophetic saying notoriously reported by Abū Ḥanīfa: 'The noblest food of the people of this world and of Paradise is meat.'⁵¹ His contemporary Yūnus Emre (d. 720/1320) is more clearly in line with the dual heritage of Sufi poetry and Persian ghazal. Four poems refer to kebab and six to roast (*biryān*, *pūryān*):⁵²

*Āşıkam diyen cānlaruñ bağıri kebābdur anlaruñ
Gözlerinüñ ağan yaşı cigerinüñdür kanları*

The breast of the souls who say 'I'm in love,' is kebab; the tears of their eyes are the blood of their liver.

47 Kamāl-e Khojandi 1975, 30.

48 Jāmi 1378/1999–2000, ghazal no. 26 (*Fātiḥat al-Shabāb*), 200.

49 See a list of the main literary works of this period in Mecdut Mansuroğlu 1954, 250–64.

50 Şeyyād Ḥamza 2017, 80, v. 935.

51 Abū Ḥanīfa 1960, vol. II, 107.

52 Yūnus Emre 2008, *gazel* no. 47; 400; 406; 415 (respectively, pp. 38; 326; 331 339).

In the first half of the fourteenth century, the verses of Hoca Dehhānī (which should be dated to this period, according to Günay Kut, and contrary to earlier hypotheses by Fuat Köprülü and Alessio Bombaci)⁵³ are in line with Yünus Emre, even if they demonstrate a greater integration of Persian imagery.⁵⁴ A quantitative and qualitative leap occurred with the *qāḍī* Burhāneddīn (r. 783–800/1381–1398), whose *divān* is preserved in a British Museum *unicum* from 976/1393. Burhāneddīn, who had received an excellent education in Arabic and Persian, was judge of Kayseri under the Eretnids. Between 1381 and his death, he administered the region, on his behalf, from the city of Sivas. He played an important role in the development of Turkish-language lyric poetry, and was an avid user of the kebab imagery, which appears 30 times in his poems. Whereas the poems of Yünus Emre and Hoca Dehhānī often give a hint that divine love is meant, those of Burhāneddīn nearly always exhibit an obvious worldliness. The *qāḍī* depicts with fondness the meal taken with the beloved, and more rarely the torments suffered by the lover, roasted in the fire of separation.⁵⁵

*Ciger kebāb u gözüñ sākī vü yaruñ meydür
Tutağunı dabı bu dem şeker-fürüş idelüm*

[My] liver is the kebab, your eyes the cupbearer, your saliva
the wine. This time, let's make your lips a sugar seller!

The kebab imagery of Burhāneddīn is almost entirely based on the pairing of kebab and wine. The Persian locution *kabāb kardan* is translated as *kebāb eylemek*. The fire of love or separation becomes *firākuñ odı* and *ıřkuñ odı*, rather than *āteş-i firāk/ıřk*, which would come to the fore in the fifteenth century. Without bringing any major innovations, his kebab images are varied, and his intimate banquet scenes have a realistic and pleasing tone.

The evolution of kebab imagery in Turkish poetry becomes easier to follow from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Aḥmedī (ca. 735–815/1334–1413), originally from eastern Anatolia, studied in Mamluk Cairo, then moved to the principality of Aydın, the main intellectual centre of western Anatolia in the second half of the fourteenth century, and finally to the Ottoman realms. Aḥmed-i Dā'ī (d. 824/1421) began his career at the Germiyanid court, before emigrating to the Ottoman beylik. Şeyḫī (d. 832/1429) was born in Kütahya, which belonged to the lands of the Germiyanids, and then studied in Persia, from where he returned as an ophthalmic physician. He practised his art in the service of the Germiyanids and then the Ottomans. These three poets resorted to kebab imagery about 10 times, or about one poem in 20. The images of Aḥmedī and the poet-doctor Şeyḫī, who also studied with Aḥmedī for some time in his youth, show a strong proximity to those of their predecessor, the *qāḍī* Burhāneddīn. They are confronted with the fire of separation (*ayrulıguñ odı*), the fire of love, and the tears of blood.

53 Ersoy and Ay 2015.

54 Hoca Dehhānī 2017, *ğazel* no. 59; 65; 86; 91 (respectively, pp. 104; 108; 120; 123).

55 Kadı Burhaneddin 1980, *ğazel* no. 920, 357.

*‘Işk odı yüregümde dutışub yanar müdām
Anuñçün oldı gözlerüm ucdan uca kebāb*

The fire of love ignites and burns relentlessly in my heart:
that’s why my eyes are completely fried.⁵⁶

*Yanar iken şecer-i aḫḫar içre gül nāra
‘Aceb mi lāle gibi dil ciğer kıılursa kebāb*

Since the rose burns on the green tree, is it any wonder that it [the
rose] turns the heart and liver into kebab like a tulip?⁵⁷

Aḫmed-i Dā’ī’s poems offer an interesting counterpoint, because he employs kebab imagery in panegyric and erotic poems that are more realistic in tone than those of his two contemporaries. In a panegyric *ğazel* written for Murād II (r. 824–848/1421–1444 and 850–855/1446–1451), the poet describes a country picnic. He calls on the cup-bearer: ‘Load up a hundred skins of wine (*sücciden yüz tuluḫ*) and a hundred sheep to roast!’⁵⁸ He goes on to describe warriors whose only capital is the sword and the horse, and who, under the beneficent reign of the sultan, can spend their time feasting.

Kebab imagery had taken root in Anatolia during the period of the Sultanate of Rūm, *via* Persian-language poetry. However, we should not forget that Rūmī spent his life in Konya, where he died in 672/1273. Turkish-speaking Sufi poets were the first to adopt this imagery to depict the delights of Paradise to their followers, and then to express their spiritual experiences, such as Yūnus Emre and Ḥoca Dehhānī. The *qāḏī* Burhāneddin made great use of it, contributing to give kebab imagery a more worldly and concrete patina than in the Persian world. This could explain why we do not find kebab imagery in the major works of religious literature of the fifteenth century, like Süleymān Çelebi’s (d. 825/1422) *Mevlid* or Yazıcıoğlu Meḫmed’s (d. 855/1451) *Muḫammediyye*. The major poets of the late fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century clearly followed the path borrowed by the *qāḏī* of Sivas.

6. Circulation of Poetic Variations in Safavid-Mughal Persian (Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)

Kebab-eating habits did not change during the early modern period. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Jean de Thévenot (1633–1667) wrote that Turks ate ‘pilau’ (*pilav*) and meat ‘either roast or boiled’⁵⁹ every day. Persian habits were similar:⁶⁰ Thévenot and Jean Chardin (1643–1713) describe the unchanged techniques for cooking meat.⁶¹ The

56 Aḫmedī n.d., *ğazel* no. 54, 244.

57 Şeyḫī 2018, *kaşide* no. 13, 49.

58 Ertaylan 1952, ‘*yüklet sücciden yüz tuluḫ söğülme için yüz bere.*’

59 Thévenot 1664–1674, vol. 1, 61–2.

60 See Taillard 1991.

61 Chardin 2018, 519; Thévenot 1664–1674, vol. 1, 180.

Figure 8. Parade of craftsmen in Istanbul (May–July 1582)



high esteem in which kebab was held at the Safavid court is evident from a recipe book composed in 1594 by Nūrallāh, the cook of Shāh ‘Abbās (r. 995–1038/1587–1629), as it is from the travel account of Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689).⁶² Beyond the refinements of the royal courts, one always encountered, in the cities of the three Empires and as far as Central Asia, the unavoidable butchers and roasters.

Ottoman sources illustrate this continuity. On the festivities (*sūr*, *sünnet*) given for the births, marriages, and circumcisions of young princes, the sultans paraded the trade guilds and offered lavish banquets. A register describing the purchases for the circumcision feast, in 1539, of Prince Bāyezid, son of Süleymān the Magnificent (r. 926–974/1520–1566), mentions 10 kinds of kebab presented to guests, according to their social rank.⁶³ Levni’s illustrated *Sürnāme*, composed after the 1720 festivities, given for the circumcision of the four sons of Aḥmed III (r. 1115–1143/1703–1730),

62 Tavernier 1676, vol. 1, 642–3.

63 Tezcan 1998. Another concordant example is given by Emecen 2003, 89–126.

mentions the purchase of several thousand birds.⁶⁴ The illustrated account of the circumcision of Prince Mehmed, in 1582, depicts a roaster's shop on wheels.⁶⁵ A stove replaces the *tannūr*, which was certainly difficult to transport on a parade float.

As these examples show, the image of the king as hunter and nurturer was still maintained. The monumental kitchens of the Topkapı Palace, with their impressive row of chimneys, were a reminder that the sultan kept a watchful eye on the satiety of his subjects.⁶⁶

The *sūrnāme* makes frequent use of the imagery of the kebab.⁶⁷ The anonymous *Sūrnāme-i Hümāyūn* from Vienna, dedicated to the festivities of 990/1582, describes the banquets and procession of artisans in Istanbul. As the vendors of *boza*, a drink made from fermented grain, passed by, 'one of them was grilling kebabs in a *tannūr* and spinning them, and the spectators rushed towards him.'⁶⁸ In the seventeenth century, Evliyā Çelebi counted 1,500 *kebābcı* and *köfteci* in Istanbul, running 400 shops, and 200 *biryāncı*, in 155 shops.⁶⁹ Along with street cooks (*aşçı*), roasters formed one of the two main food trades in the capital.

Given this significant presence, it comes as no surprise that the roaster features prominently in the *shahrāshūb* (in Persian) or *şehrengiz* (in Turkish), that is, collections of poems dedicated to a city's young craftsmen, which were very popular from the Timurid period onwards.⁷⁰ One of the best poets of the genre was Lisānī of Shiraz (d. 940/1533). He dedicates a ghazal to a roaster from Tabriz:⁷¹

دایم ز نظاره ای کبابی
 دارد دل زارم این خرابی
 یار از دل زار پر حسابست
 اوراق کباب ازین کتابست
 اشکم به شب سیاه هجران
 چون اشک کباب دارد افغان
 تا کی گردد دل ستم کش
 از غم چو کباب تر در آتش
 دارد خلیش از جدایی او
 چون سیخ کباب بر تنم مو
 هر لاله که در بساط راغست
 از رشک شدن سنگ داغست

64 Atıl 2000, 48. See İşkorkutan 2021.

65 Bağcı, Çağman, Renda, Tanındı 2006, 143.

66 On official meals at the Palace, Reindl-Kiel 2003, 59–88.

67 See Arslan 2008–2013.

68 Procházka-Eisl 1995, 137 (f. 47v): 've biri daḥi tannūrda gird-ā-gird dōne dōne kebāb bişirüb seyr edenleri serā-pā başına üşürmekde.'

69 Dankoff, Kahraman and Dağlı 1996, vol. 1, 270.

70 On this genre, see Golçin-e Ma'āni 1346/1967–1968. For a summary of the history of this literary genre, Ambros 1986, 11–7; Çalış-Kural 2014; Sunil 2016, 141–51.

71 Bricteux 1932.

Dāyim ze nezāre-ye kabābi
Dārad del-e zāram in kharābi
Yār az del-e zār por hesābast
Evrāq-e kabāb azin ketābast
Ashkam be shab-e siyāh-e hejrān
Chūn ashk-e kabāb dārad efgān
Tā key gardad del-e setam-kash
Az gham chū kabāb-e tar dar ātash
Dārad khalesh az jodāyi-ye ū
Chūn sikh-e kabāb bar tanam mū
Har lāle ke dar bisāt-e rāghast
Az rashk shodan-e sang-e dāghast

Every time I see that roaster, my poor heart turns to rubble.
 This friend has many scores to settle because of the poor heart: the *avrāq* of the kebab come from this book.⁷²

My tears, in the dark night of separation, sob like kebab tears.
 How long will the oppressed heart turn from grief to fire, like a juicy kebab?
 It hurts to be separated from him, as if the kebab skewer is a hair on my body.
 Every tulip on the prairie carpet is marked by the jealousy of the stone.

The ghazal opens with the famous comparison between the heart and ruins. Here, the poet is literally ruined: he cannot pay the roaster and has to borrow from him. Lisānī then compares his weeping with the sound of the fat of the meat dipping with a hiss into the water-filled container that was usually placed under the roast, so that the precious juice is not lost. The heart is oppressed by grief, which makes the kebab turn on the fire (double meaning of the verb *gashtan*: to turn and to become). The next verse compares the kebab to hair; and the last verse refers to the mineralogical theory according to which rubies are produced by the effects of solar radiation on stones. An Ottoman contemporary of Lisānī, Kerimī wrote a *shbrengiz* for the city of Edirne, in which he depicts a roaster named Muşli (Muşliḥüddin) Bāli.⁷³ It should be mentioned that food poetry developed at the same time: Būshāq-e Aṭ‘imma devoted his poetry to writing ‘imitation’ (*nazīre*) to classical poets, using food vocabulary. Kebab is mentioned a couple of times, but it is not a central motif for him.⁷⁴

In the Persian and Turkish poetry of this period, the imagery of the kebab broadened in an unprecedented way. Iranian and Western critics and literary historians of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries spoke of the ‘Indian style’ (*sabk-e hindī*); in recent decades, several works have highlighted the limitations of this neo-classical and nationalist approach, which assigned geographical limits to an international style and overlooked the plurality of styles.⁷⁵ The study of the imagery of the kebab confirms

72 *Avrāq* can mean coins, leaflets, bloodstains, and pigeons (*kabūter*).

73 Göre 2015, 26–7, v. 59–61.

74 Būshāq-e Aṭ‘imma 1382/2003.

75 Ahmad 1976; Dudney 2016; Faruqi 2004; Heinz 1973; Pellò 2012; Yarshater 1974.

the theories proposed by Paul Losensky in his work on Bābā Fighānī (d. 925/1519):⁷⁶ the ‘new style’ [*tāze-gūyī*] arose from the conscious play with the classical poetic tradition, collected and systematised in the Timurid period, by several poets of the first half of the fifteenth century. The verses of Bābā Fighānī and Ahli of Shiraz (858–942/1454–1535), which contain around 10 and 50 mentions of kebab respectively, show how this play could take place:

از لخت کباب دل ما زود شدی سیر
حق نمک صحبت دیرینه کجا شد

Az lakht-e kabāb-e del-e mā zūd shodī sīr
Haqq-e namak-e ṣoḥbat-e dīrīne kojā shod

You were soon satisfied with the grilled pieces of my liver; where is the consideration [lit. ‘the right of salt’] for the bonds of the old hospitality?⁷⁷

دل کباب ز خوناب دیده بد نام است
بسوختیم و هنوز از تو کار ما خام است

Del-e kabāb ze khūnāb-e dīde bad-nām ast
Besūkhtīm-o hanūz az to kār-e mā khām ast

The roasted heart is infamous because of the blood spilt by the eyes; we’ve burnt, but our love affair is still in its infancy [lit. ‘is still raw’].⁷⁸

These two verses show how Fighānī and Ahli maintained a dialogue with their predecessors, mediated by their own experience of the world: instead of the whole roasted animals of the *Shābnāma* and classical panegyrics, they wrote about small pieces of liver and still-raw kebab, reminiscent of the kebab sellers and the street cooks. From this point of view, the imagery of the kebab could not become abstract and dry, because it was transmitted as well as being kept alive.

The successors of Fighānī and Ahli, especially those who flourished in India, like ‘Orfi (963–999/1555–1591) or Kalim (990 or 994–1061/1651), increasingly took liberties with tradition. But Ṣā‘eb-e Tabrizī (ca. 1000–1087/1592–1676) surpassed them all by far: he proposed no fewer than 330 variations on the kebab. As demonstrated by Losensky,⁷⁹ he recapitulated the earlier tradition and enriched it with impressive new images. First, these poets favoured the bird kebab to the mutton kebab, because it allowed a greater use of skewers and even spades.

دل از صوت تذروان بهشتی نگشود
گوش بر ناله مرغان کباب اندازیم

Delam az ṣowt-e tadbarvān-e beheshtī nagoshūd
Gūsh bar nāle-ye morghān-e kabāb andāzīm

76 Losensky 1998.

77 Fighānī 1340/1962, ghazal no. 304, 265.

78 Ahli 1344/1965, ghazal no. 198, 61.

79 Losensky 1998, 212–30.

My heart was not touched by the song of the celestial pheasants: let's listen to the complaint of the grilled birds.⁸⁰

در زلف دل سوخته ام بهر چه بندی
این مرغ کباب آگهی از دام ندارد

Dar zolf del sokhte am be-har che bandī
Īn morgh-e kabāb āgāhi az dām nadārad

By everything you have bound in [your] locks my heart is burned, that roasted bird doesn't realise it's walking into a trap.⁸¹

باشد کباب آتش هر جا سمندری است
من آن سمندرم که کباب من آتش است

Bāshad kabāb ātash har jā samandarī ast
Man ān samandaram ke kabāb-e man ātash ast

The kebab takes fire, wherever there's a salamander: I'm that salamander whose kebab is the fire.⁸²

It is not only the heart or liver that is roasted in the chest: Šā'eb dreams of grandiose burnt sacrifices, pushing to the limits an evolution that had begun in the fifteenth century.

ز شوق آن لب میگون اگر گردی کباب اینجا
ز خامی در قیامت طعمه آتش نسازندت

Ze shorq-e ān lab-e mey-gūn agar gardī kabāb injā
Ze khāmī dar qiyāmat to' me-ye ātash nasāzandat

If, with your fervour for these wine-coloured lips, you become a kebab here [i.e. in this life], you will not fall prey to fire on Judgment Day for being raw.⁸³

As a counterpoint to this cosmic show, poets write paradoxical verses, based either on attributing unusual qualities to an object, or on parallels between abstract meanings and concrete images. Even more than their predecessors of the sixteenth century, Šā'ed and similar poets excelled at subverting classical images:

در گلشنی که چهره بر افروخت شمع ما
مستان نمی خورند به غیر از کباب گل

Dar golshani ke chahre bar afrukht sham-e mā
Mastān namikhorand be ghayr az kabāb-e gol

80 'Urfi 1377/1999, ghazal no. 767, 768.

81 Kalim 1369/1990, ghazal no. 298, 390.

82 Šā'eb-e Tabrizi 1365/1985, ghazal no. 1905, vol. II, 937.

83 *ibid.*, ghazal no. 312, vol. I, 161.

In the rose garden, where [his] face lights our candle,
the drunkards eat nothing but rose kebabs.⁸⁴

زنهار خنده بر دل مجروح ما مکن
خونابه می کند نمکت را کباب ما

Zenhār khande bar del-e majrūḥ-e mā makon
Khūnābe mikonad namakatrā kabāb-e mā

Don't laugh at our wounded hearts: our kebab sprays
your salt [i.e. your lips] with blood.⁸⁵

After the death of Ṣā'eb and up to the middle of the eighteenth century, Persian-speaking poets continued to use the imagery of the kebab, but no one devoted as many verses to it as him. The number of instances declined to a dozen for each poet, with Ṣā'eb remaining an essential inspiration. Fayyāz-e Lahijī, a disciple of Molla Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1641) and a friend of Ṣā'eb, even described the process of imitation through a kebab image: 'Fayyāz can spin the kebab of Ṣā'eb's verse; the wounded prey, attracted by the smell of the kebab, falls into his mind.'⁸⁶ Persian-speaking poets in India and Central Asia continued to use this kebab imagery until the nineteenth century, as can be seen in the poetry of Bidil (ca. 1054–1133/1644–1720)⁸⁷ or the Bukharan poet Sayyidā-ye Nasafī (d. between 1707 and 1711). By contrast, the poets of Iran, from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards moved away from it and rehabilitated the older imagery of classical panegyrics and epics. Before examining these final avatars of the kebab, we need to have a look at the appropriation of kebab imagery by the Ottoman contemporaries of the Safavid and Mughal poets.

7. Ottoman Poets of the Classical Age and the Imagery of the Kebab (Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries)

The popularity of kebab imagery between the mid-sixteenth and early twentieth centuries can be traced in two series of documents: the *Divān* of the Ottoman sultans and the *tezkiye*, collections of poets' biographies.⁸⁸ Their examination leads to the same conclusion: unlike the Persian-speaking poets of the Safavid-Mughal area, the Ottomans were relatively quick to neglect the imagery of the kebab, which reached an early peak at the end of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth centuries, before declining rapidly. The three sultans who made the greatest use of the kebab were Selīm I, Süleymān the Magnificent, and Murād III: three sultans of the sixteenth century. With

84 Salim-e Tehrānī 1349/1970–1971, 324.

85 Ṣā'eb-e Tabrizī 1985/1365, ghazal no. 366 ,752.

86 Fayyāz-e Lahijī 1373/1994–1995, ghazal no. 472, 247: 'که از بوی کباب افتد به فکر زخم نخچیرش / کباب'.
'مصرع صائب توان فیاض گردیدن'.

87 Keshavmurthy 2016.

88 Listed in Stewart-Robinson 1965.

one exception, the four *tezkire* that mention the kebab more than 10 times are from the mid to late sixteenth century. The use of kebab imagery therefore peaked when Turkish poetry was starting to distinguish itself from Persian poetry, and diminished as it became more autonomous.⁸⁹

Why is it that the Ottoman poets, who were familiar with the Persian New Style, did not take greater advantage of this great emancipation of the poetic imagination?⁹⁰ It may be a problem of primitive accumulation of poetic capital: it seems that no poet of the early classical period uses the kebab imagery on a big enough scale, which could have been a starting point for further variations. At the turn of the sixteenth century, Aḥmed Paşa (d. 902/1496), Necāti Bey (d. 914/1509), his disciple Mihri Ḥātun (d. after 917/1512), and Mesihî (d. 918/1512) used the kebab about 10 times, a far cry from the dozens of instances among Persian poets. Fuẕülü (d. 963/1556) and Bâkî (d. 1008/1600) are quantitatively and qualitatively at the same level:

*Ƙan yaş tøküb yanında gezer âteşün kebâb
Ma'sûka beñzer âteş ü 'âşık kebâb añâ*

The kebab sheds tears of blood as it goes around the fire: the fire
looks like the beloved and the kebab-like lover to it [the fire].⁹¹

*Kesildüm sîh-i miñnetden çekildüm cām-ı 'işretten
Kebâbum dil şarâbum eşk-i çeşmüm künc-i 'uzletde*

I have been separated from the skewer of affliction, I have renounced the banquet
cup; my kebab is the heart, my wine is the tears in my eyes, in solitary retreat.⁹²

In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the use of the kebab imagery shrank further. Turkish-speaking poets associated with the 'new style' remained aloof from the Persian-speaking lust for kebab imagery. Şeyḫülislâm Yaḥyâ (969–1053/1552–1644), Bâkî's successor at the head of the official religious hierarchy (*'ilmîyye*) and the leading poet of his time, mentions the kebab only twice, with one occurrence being visibly inspired by his predecessor. In the spiritual poetry of Nâbî (1052–1124/1642–1712), kebab features so little that, in most of his rhymed poems in *-âb* where wine (*şarâb*) is mentioned, kebab is not even associated with it. Nedim (1092–1143/1681–1730), whose poetry is inextricably linked to the Istanbul of the Tulip Age (*lâle devri*), as Ahmed Refik Altınay put it, offered just four verses featuring kebab; even the Mevlevîs, whose initiation took place in a convent kitchen, hardly used kebab, perhaps put off by its overly worldly connotations.

Having said that, Ottoman poetry was not devoid of interesting qualitative variations. A poet from the second half of the eighteenth century could still write: 'In

89 For an overview of this period, see Kuru 2013.

90 On the New Style in the Ottoman Empire, see Aynur, Çakır and Koncu 2006; Feldman 2018; Glünz 2016; İnan 2017.

91 Fuẕülü 2021, *gazel* no. 9, 368.

92 Bâkî n.d., *gazel* no. 432, 265.

ğazels, kebab and wine take many meanings.⁹³ First, several poets relied on a proverb, *ne şiş yansın ne de kebab* (lit. ‘provided that neither the skewer nor the kebab burns’; i.e. ‘without displeasing anyone’). For example, Sehi Beg (d. 954/1548) writes:⁹⁴

*Tîr-i ğamzeñ deldi bağrum cev̄r ile hey pür-belâ
Odi şöyle eyle kim ne sîh yansun ne kebâb*

O great calamity! The arrows of your eyes have cruelly pierced my breast.
‘Prepare the fire so that neither the skewer nor the kebab will burn.’

Ottoman poets also frequently associate kebab with astrology. They imagine conjunctions between the sun, located in the fourth sphere of Ptolemy’s cosmology, and the zodiac signs of Aries, Taurus, Capricorn or Pisces: their beloved or patron becomes a glowing star that roasts the stars or, conversely, their burning fervour rises up to the sky.

*Çıkar eflâke âb-i âteşinüm
Kebâb olmışdur anuñla ğamel sev̄r*

My fervent sighs go up to the spheres: the ram (Aries)
and the bull (Taurus) were roasted by them.⁹⁵

Lastly, Ottoman poets, like their Persian-speaking counterparts, had a striking predilection for images of skewers.

*Sîh-i te’sîri ider tâ’ir-i Cibrîli kebâb
Âteşin demle yanub maḡbah-ı mey-ġâne-i ney*

The skewer of his effects [of the reed flute] roasts Gabriel’s bird [the Holy Spirit]: the kitchen in the tavern of the flute burns under his fervent breath.⁹⁶

Ottoman poets were not as tireless versifiers of the kebab imagery as their Persian-speaking contemporaries, especially from the end of the sixteenth century onwards. This was perhaps because the most popular poets did not use it extensively, although they did build on the classical tradition through their variations and succeeded in forging some original images by taking advantage of a proverb, astrology or skewers, a tool familiar to every customer of a street restaurant.

8. Three Reasons for the Slow Disappearance of Kebab Imagery (Mid-eighteenth to Early Twentieth Centuries)

Three factors contributed to the gradual disappearance, at different speeds, of the imagery of the kebab. The first was changes in the poetic idiom. In the case of Iran, a

93 Müvakkîtzâde Mehmed Pertev 2017, *ğazel* no. 24, 51: ‘*Ğazelde bir nice maẓmûn alur kebâb şarâb.*’

94 Sehi Beg 2020, 55.

95 Muhyî 2020, *ğazel* no. 247, 270.

96 Şeyh Ğâlib (1171–1213/1757–1799), *ğazel* no. 304, 396.

change began in Isfahan after the fall of the Safavids, in 1722, when a group of poets began to draw on the ‘classical’ poetry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This modest literary movement was considered by Iranian literary critics of the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries to be the starting point of the return (*bāz-gasht*) to classical poetry.⁹⁷ The increasing hegemony of Iranian neoclassical poets and literary critics in the Qadjar era threw the dazzling variations of the ‘new style’ into oblivion; that is why the trinity of *kabāb*, *sharāb* and *rabāb* again dominated Iranian literature until the Constitutional Revolution.

The second factor was the change in eating habits. Kebab did not disappear from the table, but it was no longer regarded as a proper poetical matter. In the new recipe books printed in Istanbul from 1844 onwards, which were no longer aimed at the court elite but at modern households,⁹⁸ new kinds of kebab, such as ‘kebab macaroni’ (*kebablı makaronya*) or ‘kebab with cabbage’ (*savoy kebabı*), appeared.⁹⁹ Publications of this type first emerged in Iran during the 1920s.¹⁰⁰ Their effect was probably to dissociate the kebab from the banquet, and to turn it into an everyday thing. The simultaneous weakening of trade guilds, from 1850 onwards in the Ottoman Empire and then in Iran, led to the development of European-style restaurants with a varied menu. A few years later, in 1271/1855, an Ottoman law ordered the removal of slaughterhouses from city centres. The elites, as in Europe at the same time, no longer wanted to see ‘the blood of animals,’¹⁰¹ associated with the working classes, who were thought to be cruel to animals, half-wild and dangerous. These developments undoubtedly contributed to stripping kebab and blood of their poetic connotations.

The transformation of the conceptions of power was the third factor in the de-politisation of the kebab. The second half of the nineteenth century saw the rise of constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Qadjar Iran. For a growing number of Ottomans and Iranians, the ideal prince was no longer the hunter and nurturing warrior of the *Shāhnāma*, but the constitutional monarch, respectful of the constitution and attentive to national economy. These new intellectuals were prone to criticising the relationship of domination implicit in all classical poetry, which features a sovereign and a panegyrist, a lover and a beloved, or God and his servant.

At the time of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, in 1908, there was a reversal of traditional poetic imagery to criticise power. Edward Browne quotes a poem by Ashraf of Gilān, a mullah who supported the constitution.¹⁰² The poet makes a conservative mullah speak, intimating to Ashraf: ‘I am a reactionary, a reactionary, a reactionary! Stop preaching the Constitution for good!’ And Ashraf parodies the imagery of the kebab to ridicule the conservative mullah:

97 Schwartz 2020, 35–80.

98 See Kâmil 1997.

99 Quoted in Samancı 2015, 252.

100 Fagner 1984, 332–3.

101 See Agulhon 1981.

102 Browne 1914, 188–90. The poem was published in *Nasīm al-Shimāl* on 31 March 1908.

مطربا خيز بزنج و رود
 ساقيقا باده بده زود زود
 ميخورم از خون رعيت شراب
 ميکنم از گوشت رعيت کباب

Muṭribā khīz bezan chang-o rūd
Sāqiyā bade bedeh zūd zūd
Mikhoram az khūn-e ra'iyat sharāb
Mikonam az gusht-e ra'iyat kabāb

Singer, get up and play your harp and lute! Cupbearer, pour some wine!
 I drink the blood of the people as wine; I make kebab with the flesh of the people!

According to the conventions of classical poetry, the poet had to offer his blood and his heart to the beloved. Ashraf undermines these conventions: the conservative clergy, servile supporters of Qadjar absolutism, cannibalises the people instead of providing them with food. Ashraf heralded the end of the language of the classical panegyric, which was restored during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to express the relationship between the prince and his subjects. The disappearance of the imagery of the kebab thus reflects, in its own way, the need for a new poetic language, in which it no longer had a place.

It was the combination of these three factors – changes in eating habits and table manners, poetic language, and political ideas – that led to the decline and fall into disuse of kebab imagery. It now survives only indirectly, in a few everyday expressions, such as *pokhte shodan*, in Persian, or *pişmiş olmak*, in Turkish (meaning to be experienced or mature). Thus ends the story of an image that inspired Persian and Turkish poets for almost 1,000 years.

Bibliography

Unpublished Primary Sources

al-Ḥarīrī, Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn 'Alī. *Maqāmāt*, Paris: BNF arabe 5847.
 Ḥusayn Bayqarā. *Divān*. Paris: BNF, suppl. turc 993.
 Pseudo-Galen. *Kitāb al-diryāq*. Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. A. F. 10.

Published Primary Sources

Arberry, Arthur John. 1957. *The Seven Odes: The First Chapter in Arabic Literature*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
 Abū Ḥanifa. 1960. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*. Vol. II. Cairo: Dār al-ma'ārif.
 Ahli. *Divān*. 1344/1965. Ḥāmid Rabbāni (ed.). Tehran: Kitābkhāna-ye Sanā'ī.
 Aḥmedī. n.d. *Divan*. Yaşar Akdoğan (ed.). Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kütüphaneler ve Yayımlar Genel Müdürlüğü.

- Anonymous. 1993. *Kanz al-Fawā'id fī Tanwī' al-Marwā'id* (Medieval Arab/Islamic Culinary Art. Manuel Marín et David Waines (eds.). Beyrouth and Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. (Transl. Nawal Nasrallah. 2018. *Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table: A Fourteenth-Century Egyptian Cookbook*. Leiden and Boston: Brill).
- Bāki. n.d. *Divān*. Sabahettin Küçük (ed.). Ankara: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Bricteux, Auguste. 1932. 'Pasquinade sur la ville de Tabriz par maître Lisani de Chiraz'. Liège: *Mélanges de philologie orientale, publiés à l'occasion du x^e anniversaire de la création de l'Institut Supérieur d'Histoire et de Littératures Orientales de l'Université de Liège*.
- Būshāq-e Aṭ'immā. 1382/2003. *Kolliyyāt-e Bushāq-e Aṭ'immā-ye Shirāzi*. Ed. Manšūr Rastigār Fasāyi. Tehran: Mirāth-e maktūb/Bonyād-e Fārs-shināsi.
- Chardin, Jean. 2018. *Voyages de Monsieur le chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*. Philip Stewart (ed.). URL : <http://www.achemenet.com/fr/> (accessed 6 August 2024).
- Clinton, Jerome. 1972. *The Divan of Manūchihri Dāmghāni. A Critical Study*. Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica.
- Elkhadem, Hosam. 1990. *Le Taqwīm al-Šiḥḥa (Tacuini Sanitatis) d'Ibn Buṭlān : un traité médical du x^e siècle. Histoire du texte, édition critique, traduction, commentaire*. Louvain: Peets.
- Fayyāz-e Lāhiji. 1373/1994–1995. *Divān*. Jalil Mesgarnejād (ed.). Tehran: Enteshārāt-e dānishgāh-e 'allāme Ṭabāṭabāyi.
- Ferdowsi. 2023. *Le Livre des rois*. Pierre Lecoq (transl.). Paris: Les Belles Lettres/Geuthner.
- Figḥāni. 1340/1962. *Divān*. Aḥmad Suhayl Kh^vānsāri (ed.). Tehran: Sherkat-e nesbi-ye Ḥājj Muḥammad Ḥusayn Iqbāl.
- Fuzūli. 2021. *Divān*. Abdūlhakim Kılınç (ed.). Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı.
- Göre, Zehra. 2015. 'Kerīmi'nin Edirne Şehrengizi'. *Osmanlı Mirası Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 2.3. 17–41.
- Hoca Dehhāni. 2017. *Divan*. Ersen Ersoy and Ümran Ay (eds.). Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi.
- Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq. 1987. *Kitāb al-tabikh*. Kaj Öhrnberg et Sahban Mroueh (eds.). Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society. (Transl. Nawal Nasrallah. 2007. *Annals of the Caliph's Kitchen. Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq's Tenth-Century Baghdad Cookbook*. Leiden/Boston: Brill).
- Ibn al-Ukhuwwa. 1938. *Ma'ālim al-qurba fī ahkām al-ḥisba*. Reuben Levy (ed. and transl.). London: Luzac & Co.
- Jami. 1378/1999–2000. *Divān*. A'lākhān Efšahzād (ed.). Vol. 1. Tehran: Markaz-e moṭāla'āt-e Irān.
- Kadı Burhaneddin. 1980. *Divan*. Muharrem Ergin (ed.). Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları.
- Kalīm. 1369/1990. *Divān*. Muḥammad Qahremān (ed.). Mashhad: Mo'assase-ye chāb va enteshārāt-e āstān-e qodsi-ye razavi.
- Kamāl-e Khojandi. 1975. *Divān*. K. Sidfar (ed.). Moscow: Scientific Publications Department.
- Kāmil, Mehmet. 1997. *Melceūt't-Tabbābīn (Aşçıların Sığnağı)*. Cüneyt Kut (ed.). Istanbul: Ali Pasiner.
- Kazimirski, Albert de Biberstein. 1866. *Menoutchebri, poète persan du 11^{ème} siècle de notre ère (du 5^{ème} siècle de l'hégire)*. Texte, traduction, notes et introduction historique. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Khājū-ye Kirmāni. 1374/1994–1995. *Divān*. Sa'īd Qāni'ī (ed.). Tehran: Enteshārāt Bahzād.
- Khusraw-e Dihlawī. 1361/1983. *Divān*. Sa'īd Nafisi (ed.). Tehran: Sāzmān-e enteshārāt-e jāvidān.

- Mas'ūd-e Sa'd. 1365/1986. *Divān*. Mahdi Nūriyān (ed.). Tehran: Intishārāt-e Kemāl.
- Mo'ezzi. 1362/1983. *Divān*. Nāşir Hayyeri (ed.). Tehran: Nashr-e Marzbān.
- Muhyi. 2020. *Divān*. Mustafa Arslan (ed.). Ankara: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Muvaqqit-zāde Mehmed Pertev. 2017. *Divan*. Ekrem Bektaş (ed.). Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kütüphaneler ve Yayımlar Genel Müdürlüğü.
- Nasrallah, Nawal. 2007. *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens. Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq's Tenth-Century Baghdadi Cookbook*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- ʿOnşori. 1363/1984–1985. *Divān*. Sayyid Muḥammad Dabir Siyāqī (ed.). Isfahan: Kitābkhāna-ye Senāni.
- ʿOrfi. 1377/1999. *Kulliyāt*. Moḥammad Wali-al-Ḥaqq Anşāri (ed.). Tehran: Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān.
- Procházka-Eisl, Gisela. 1995. *Das Sūrnāme-i Hūmāyūn. Die Wiener Handschrift in Transkription, mit Kommentar und Indices versehen*. Istanbul: Isis Verlag.
- Şā'eb-e Tabrizi. 1365/1985. *Divān*. Moḥammad Qahramān (ed.). Tehran: Sherkat-e enteshārāt-e ʿilmi va farhangī, vols 1 and 2.
- Salim-e Tehrāni. 1349/1970–1971. *Divān*. Raḥim Rezā (ed.). Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Ibn Sinā.
- Salmān-e Sāvaji. 1376/1997–1998. *Kolliyāt*. ʿAbbās-ʿAli Vafāʿi (ed.). Tehran : Anjuman-e Enteshārāt-e āthār va mafākhir-e farhangī.
- Sanāʿi. 1375/1996. *Divān*. Parviz Babāʿi (ed.). Tehran: Niğāh, 1375/1996.
- Sehī Beg. 2020. *Divān*. HakanYekbaş (ed.). Ankara: Ankara: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- al-Shayzari, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Naşr. 1999. *The Book of the Islamic Inspector Market. Nibāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba (The Utmost Authority in the Pursuit of Hisba)*. R. P. Buckley (transl.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Şeyḫi. 2018. *Divan*. Halit Biltekin (ed.). Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kütüphaneler ve Yayımlar Genel Müdürlüğü.
- Şeyḫ Gālip. n.d. *Divān*. Naci Okçu (ed.). Ankara: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Şeyyād Ḥamza. 2017. *Yusuf ve Züleyha*. İbrahim Taş (ed.). Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kütüphaneler ve Yayımlar Genel Müdürlüğü.
- Tavernier, Jean Baptiste. 1676. *Les Six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*. Vol. I. Paris: Gervais Clouzier et Claude Barbib.
- Thévenot, Jean (de). 1664–1674. *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*. Vol. I. Paris: Louis Bilaine.
- Yūnus Emre. 2008. *Divan*. Mustafa Tatçı (ed.). Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kütüphaneler ve Yayımlar Genel Müdürlüğü.

Secondary Sources

- Agulhon, Maurice. 1981. 'Le sang des bêtes. Le problème de la protection des animaux en France au XIX^e siècle'. *Romantisme* 31. 81–110.
- Algar, Hamid. 2013. *Jami*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Allsen, Thomas. 2006. *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ambros, Edith Gülçin. 1986. 'Turkish delights'. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 76. 11–17.
- Arslan, Mehmet. 2008–2013. *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri*. 8 vols. Istanbul: Sarayburnu.

- Ashtor, Elie. 1968. 'Essai sur l'alimentation des diverses classes sociales dans l'Orient Médiéval'. *Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations* 23.5. 1017–1053.
- Atıl, Esin. 2000. *Levni and the Surname. The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival*. Istanbul: Koçbank.
- Aynur, Hatice, Çakır, Müjgân and Koncu, Hanife (eds.). 2006. *Sebk-i Hindî*. Istanbul: Turkuaz.
- Aziz, Ahmad. 1976. 'Şafawid Poets and India'. *Iran* 14. 117–132.
- Bağcı, Serpil, Çağman, Filiz, Renda, Günsel and Tanındı, Zeren. 2006. *Ottoman Painting/ Osmanlı Resim Sanatı*. Istanbul: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Browne, Edward. 1914. *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Çalış-Kural, Deniz. 2014. *Şebrengiz, Urban Rituals and Deviant Sufi Mysticism in Ottoman Istanbul*. London: Routledge.
- Dankoff, Robert, Kahraman, Seyit Ali and Dağlı, Yücel (eds.). 1996. *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahat-nâmesi*. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Descola, Philippe. 2005. *Par-delà nature et culture*. Paris: Folio.
- D'Hubert, Thibaut and Papas, Alexandre. 2019. *Jâmi in Regional Contexts. The Reception of 'Abd al-Rahmân Jâmi's Works in the Islamic World, ca. 9th/15th–14th/20th Century*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Dudney, Arthur. 2016. 'Sabk-e Hendi and the crisis of authority in eighteenth-century Indo-Persian poetics'. *Journal of Persianate Studies* 9.1. 60–82.
- Emecen, Feridun. 2003. 'The Şehzade's Kitchen and Its Expenditures. An Account Book From Şehzade Mehmed's Palace in Manisa, 1594–1595'. In Faroqhi, Suraiya and Neumann, Christoph (eds.). *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House*. Istanbul/ Würzburg: Orient-Institut/ Ergon. 89–126.
- Erdoğan İşkorkutan, Sinem. 2021. *The 1720 Imperial Circumcision Celebrations in Istanbul*. Leiden: Brill.
- Ersoy, Ersen and Ay, Ümran. 2015. 'Hoca Dehhânî Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler'. *Divan Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Dergisi* 15. 1–26.
- Ertaylan, İsmail Hikmet. 1952. *Ahmed-i Dâ'î: Hayatı ve Eserleri*. Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları.
- Establet, Colette and Pascual, Jean-Paul. 2003. 'Cups, Plates and Kitchenware in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-century Damascus'. In Faroqhi, Suraiya and Neumann, Christoph (eds.). *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House*. Istanbul/ Würzburg: Orient-Institut/Ergon. 185–198.
- Ettinghausen, Richard. 1977. *La Peinture arabe*. Genève: Skira.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya. 1987. *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth Century Ankara and Kayseri*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Faruqi, Shamsur Rahman. 2004. 'A stranger in the city: The poetics of Sabk-i Hindi'. *Annual of Urdu Studies* 19. 1–93.
- Feldman, Walter. 2018. 'The Indian style and the Ottoman literary canon'. *International Journal of Persian Literature* 3. 3–38.
- Feuillebois-Pierunek, Ève. 2021. *De l'ascèse au libertinage. Les champs de la poésie mystique persane. Sanâ'î (1087 ?–1130 ?) et 'Attâr (ca 1145–ca 1221)*. Paris : Les éditions du Cerf.
- Fragner, Bert. 1984. 'Zur Erforschung der kulinarischen Kultur Irans'. *Die Welt des Islams* 23–24. 321–360.
- Fragner, Bert. 1999. *Die Persophonie. Regionalität, Identität und Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens*. Berlin: Das arabische Buch.

- Glünz, Michael. 2016. 'Beobachtungen zum "Indischen Stil" in der osmanischen Dichtung'. In Neuwirth, Angelika, Hess, Michael, Pfeiffer, Judith and Sagaster, Börte (eds.). *Ghazal as World Literature II*. Beyrouth/Würzburg: Orient-Institut Beirut/Ergon Verlag. 175–184.
- Golçin-e Ma'āni, Aḥmad. 1346/1967–68. *Shabr-āshūb dar shi'r-i fārsi*. Teheran: Amīr Kabīr.
- Green, Nile (ed.). 2019. *The Persianate World. The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Hanna, Nelly. 1991. *Habiter au Caire. La maison moyenne et ses habitants aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*. Cairo: IFAO.
- Heine, Peter. 1988. *Kulinarische Studien. Untersuchungen zur Kochkunst im arabisch-islamischen Mittelalter*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz.
- Heinz, Wilhelm. 1973. *Der indische Stil in der persischen Literatur*. Wiesbaden: Frank Steiner.
- Huizinga, Johan. 1996. *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- İnan, Murat Umut. 2017. 'Rethinking the Ottoman imitation of Persian poetry'. *Iranian Studies* 50.5. 671–689.
- İşin, Priscilla Mary. 2018. *Bountiful Empire. A History of Ottoman Cuisine*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Keshavmurthy, Prashant. 2016. *Persian Authorship and Canonicity in Late Mughal Delhi. Building an Ark*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Kuru, Selim. 2013. 'The Literature of Rum: The Making of a Literary Tradition (1450–1600)'. In Faroqhi, Suraiya and Fleet, Kate (eds.). *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Vol. 2: The Ottoman Empire as World Power, 1453–1603*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 548–592.
- Laurieux, Brun. 2002. *Manger au Moyen Âge. Pratiques et discours alimentaires en Europe aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*. Paris: Hachette.
- Lewicka, Paulina. 2011. *Food and Foodways of Medieval Cairenes. Aspects of Life in an Islamic Metropolis of the Eastern Mediterranean*. Leiden: Brill.
- Lewis, Franklin. 2005. 'The Transformation of the Persian ghazal: From Amatory Mood to Fixed Form'. In Neuwirth, Angelika, Hess, Michael, Pfeiffer, Judith and Sagaster, Börte (eds.). *Ghazal as World Literature II*. Beyrouth/Würzburg: Orient-Institut Beirut/Ergon Verlag. 121–140.
- Losensky, Paul. 1998. *Welcoming Fighānī. Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal*. Costa Mesa CA: Mazda Publishers.
- Mansuroğlu, Mecdut. 1954. 'The Rise and Development of Written Turkish in Anatolia'. *Oriens* 7.2. 250–264.
- Meisami, Julie. 1987. *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 2005. 'The Persian Ghazal Between Love Song and Panegyric'. In Bauer, Thomas and Neuwirth, Angelika (eds.). *Ghazal as World Literature I. Transformations of a Literary Genre*. Beyrouth/Würzburg: Orient-Institut Beirut/Ergon Verlag. 327–342.
- Pellò, Stefan. 2012. *Ṭūṭiyān-i Hind. Specchi identitari e proiezioni cosmopolite indo-persiane (1680–1856)*. Florence: Società Editrice Fiorentina.
- Perry, Charles. 2001. 'Medieval Arab Fish: Fresh, Dried and Dyed'. In Rodinson, Maxime et al. (eds.). *Medieval Arab Cookery*. London: Prospect Books. 477–486.
- Pitchon, Véronique. 2018. *La Gastronomie arabe médiévale. Entre diététique et plaisir*. Paris: Érick Bonnier.
- Reindl-Kiel, Hedda. 2003. 'The Chickens of Paradise. Official Meals in the Mid-Seventeenth Century Ottoman Palace'. In Faroqhi, Suraiya and Neumann, Christoph (eds.). *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House*. Istanbul/Würzburg: Orient-Institut/Ergon. 59–88.
- Roden, Claudia (ed.). 2001. *Medieval Arab Cookery*. London: Prospect Books.

- Rodinson, Maxime. 1950. *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Samancı, Özge. 2015. *La Cuisine d'Istanbul au XIX^e siècle*. Rennes and Tours: Presses Universitaires de Rennes and Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais de Tours.
- Schwartz, Kevin. 2020. *Remapping Persian Literary History, 1700–1900*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Schimmel, Annemarie. 1992. *A Two-Colored Brocade. The Imagery of Persian Poetry*. Chapter Hill/London: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Sharma, Sunil. 2016. 'Generic Innovation in Sayfi Buḥārā'ī's *Shahrāshūb ghazals*'. In Neuwirth, Angelika, Hess, Michael, Pfeiffer, Judith and Sagaster, Börte (eds.). *Ghazal as World Literature II*. Beyrouth/Würzburg: Orient-Institut Beirut/Ergon. 141–151.
- Stewart-Robinson, John. 1965. 'The Ottoman Biographies of Poets'. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24.1/2. 57–74.
- Subtelny, Maria Eva. 1986. 'A taste for the intricate: The Persian poetry of the late Timurid period'. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 136.1. 56–79.
- Taillard, Sabine. 1991. 'Aspects de l'art culinaire sous les Safavides'. MA Dissertation, Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris III, Paris.
- Tanyeli, Uğur. 2002. 'Norms of Domestic Comfort and Luxury in Ottoman Metropolises Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries'. In Faroqhi, Suraiya and Neumann, Christoph (eds.). *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House*. Istanbul/Würzburg: Orient-Institut/Ergon Verlag. 275–300.
- Tezcan, Semih. 1998. *Bir Ziyafet Defteri*. Istanbul: Simurg.
- Toutant, Marc. 2016. *Un Empire de mots. Pouvoir, culture et soufisme à l'époque des derniers Timourides au miroir de la Khamsa de Mir 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī*. Paris, Louvain and Bristol: Peeters.
- Van Gelder, Geert Jan. 2000. *God's Banquet. Food in Classical Arabic Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Waynes, David. 1989. *In a Caliph's Kitchen. Mediaeval Arabic Cooking for the Modern Gourmet*. London: Riad el-Rayyes.
- Westrip, Joyce. 1997. *Moghul Cooking: India's Courtly Cuisine*. New York: Serif.
- Yarshater, Ehsan. 1960. 'The theme of wine-drinking and the concept of the beloved in early Persian poetry'. *Studia Islamica* 13. 43–53.
- Yarshater, Ehsan. 1974. 'Safavid literature: Progress or decline'. *Iranian Studies* 7.1/2. 217–270.
- Yérasimos, Stéphane. 2002. 'Dwellings in Sixteenth-Century Istanbul'. In Faroqhi, Suraiya and Neumann, Christoph (eds.). *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House*. Istanbul/Würzburg: Orient-Institut/Ergon Verlag. 301–317.
- Zipoli, Riccardo. 2009. 'Poetic Imagery'. In de Bruijn, J.T.P. (ed.). *General Introduction to Persian Literature*. London: I.B. Tauris. 171–232.

Illustrations of the Shāhnāma

- Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ouseley Add. 176, f. 272v (*Shāhnāma* of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, son of Shāhrukh, produced in Shiraz ca. 1430).
- Folio sold at Christie's in 2022, from a *Shāhnāma* produced in Shiraz ca. 1440–1450. URL: <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-6361844> (accessed 6 August 2024).
- British Library, Add MSS 18188, f. 281r (Timurid *Shāhnāma*, completed in 891/1486).
- Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts de l'Islam, MAO 2279v (Safavid *Shāhnāma*, produced in Shiraz ca. 1560–1580).

Aga Khan Museum de Toronto, Accession number AKM412 (Safavid *Sbāhnāma*, produced in Shiraz *ca.* 1560–1580).
British Library, Add MS 5600, f. 320v (Timurid *Sbāhnāma*, illustrated in Moghol India, *ca.* 1610).