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Meat Dishes and Recipes in the Islamic Maghreb: From the Beginning of the Almoravid State to the End of the Marinid Era

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Abstract

From the beginning of the Almoravid period to the decline of the Marinid state, Maghrebi cuisine reflected the Maghrebis' marked interest in cooking as a feature of refined social life. Their customs and traditions contributed to the diversity of foods and dishes, especially meat. Meat occupied an important place in daily nutrition and appeared in many dishes and recipes. The types of meat used included mutton, beef, rabbit, poultry, and fish, as well as locusts, whose trade was widespread. Maghrebis also used earthenware pots to preserve these foods and maintain kitchen cleanliness, and they allocated pots for this purpose according to the days of the year. During the periods considered here, some meat preparations were made on skewers and preserved as qadid (dried meat) for use throughout the year. Other preparations included tafaya, introduced into al-Andalus by the musician Ziryab, as well as al-ahrash, al-Sanhaji al-muluki, al-isfiriya, soup, and hasa' al-futat (crumb soup). Other meat-based dishes that held an important place on the Maghrebi table throughout the year included al-narjisiyya, al-tabahjiyya of eastern origin, al-marwaziyya, and al-ibrahimiyya. Other preparations included marqaz, al-amkhakh, and recipes for various kinds of fish.

Keywords: Almoravids; Almohads; Marinids; foods; meat.

Introduction

This study examines the Islamic Maghreb from the beginning of the second half of the fifth century AH to the beginning of the second half of the ninth century AH (11th-16th centuries CE). This medieval period witnessed the rise of the veiled Almoravid emirate, followed by the Almohad Empire, which emerged after the Almoravid state. The Almohad state came to an end in 667 AH/1269 CE. It was followed in the Far Maghreb by the Marinid state (610-869 AH/1213-1465 CE). The origins of the Almoravid state go back to the Lamtuna, one of the Sanhaja Berber tribes spread across the Sahara between the Maghreb and the Sudan. They came under the authority of Abd Allah ibn Yasin al-Jazuli¹ (d. 450 AH/1058 CE). This development marked the formation of the Almoravid state, which lasted until 541 AH/1146 CE. In that year, the capital Marrakesh fell to the Almohads under Abd al-Mu'min ibn Ali al-Kumi.

¹ Abu Ubayd al-Bakri, *The Book of Routes and Kingdoms*, ed. Adrian van Leeuwen and Andre Ferre (al-Dar al-Arabiyya li-l-Kitab, 1992), p. 858.

Historical sources agree that the Almohad state arose on a distinctly reformist basis under Muhammad ibn Tumart², who established its first principles and foundations³. He succeeded in undermining Almoravid rule, especially during its final phase. That phase ended with the fall of Marrakesh in 541 AH/1146 CE⁴.

The Almohad state experienced long periods of economic prosperity and considerable political stability. Its territory extended eastward toward the Islamic East, while al-Andalus and the lands of the western Sudan also came under its authority. By the end of the sixth century AH/twelfth century CE and the beginning of the seventh century AH/thirteenth century CE, however, its power began to decline. This became especially clear after the famous Battle of al-Iqab in 609 AH/1212 CE, which marked the beginning of the end of the state. Almohad power was broken there by the Christians of al-Andalus, and the state never fully recovered⁵. Its rule finally ended in 667 AH/1249 CE⁶.

During the final period of Almohad weakness, Marinid influence grew steadily. The Marinids defeated Almohad armies, seized most regions of the Maghreb, and continued their advances until they eliminated the last caliph, Abu Dabbus, in 667 AH/1249 CE. They then entered Marrakesh, thereby announcing the end of the Almohad era in the Far Maghreb⁷.

The Marinids belonged to the second stratum of the Zanata tribal group. Their homeland extended from the Zab of Ifriqiya to Sijilmasa. They entered the Maghreb after the Battle of al-Iqab in 609 AH/1212 CE, a battle that led to the devastation of al-Andalus⁸ and became a major factor in the Christian encroachment that eventually brought much of the region under their control⁹.

Amir Abd al-Haqq ibn Mahyu al-Marini oversaw the Marinid advance into the Far Maghreb¹⁰. From 615 AH/1215 CE onward, the Almohad order began to disintegrate. Signs of governmental weakness multiplied, state influence became concentrated mainly in the cities, authority in the countryside diminished, and the population increasingly refused to pay taxes¹¹.

The Marinid state lasted from 610 AH/1212 CE to 869 AH/1213-1465 CE. During this period it passed through decisive phases, some of which accelerated its decline. After the assassination of Sultan Abu Inan al-Marini on 20 Dhu al-Hijja 759 AH/1358 CE¹², the political system underwent a major transformation. Effective power passed increasingly into the hands of

² Ibn Tumart was Abu Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Abd Allah ibn Tumart, known as al-Mahdi al-Harghi. For his biography, see Ahmad Ibn Khallikan, *Deaths of Eminent Men and Accounts of the Sons of the Age*, vol. 5, ed. Ihsan Abbas (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1st ed., 1994), p. 45.

³ Abd al-Wahid al-Marrakushi, *The Admirable Summary of the History of the Maghreb*, ed. Salah al-Din al-Hawari (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Asriyya, 1st ed., 2006), p. 136.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁵ Izz al-Din Umar Musa, *The Almohads in the Islamic West: Their Organization and Systems* (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami), p. 56.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁷ Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun, *The Book of Lessons*, vol. 6, ed. Khalil Shahada, rev. Suhayl Zakkar (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 2000), p. 37; Ibn Abi Zar al-Fasi, *The Entertaining Companion in the Garden of Pages* (Rabat: al-Mansur Press, 1972), p. 284; Izz al-Din Umar Musa, *The Almohads in the Islamic West*, pp. 57-58.

⁸ Ibn al-Abbar al-Qudai al-Balansi (d. 658 AH), *The Supplement to the Book of al-Sila*, vol. 1, ed. Abd al-Salam al-Harras (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1995), p. 90.

⁹ Ibn Abi Zar al-Fasi, *The Splendid Treasury on the History of the Marinid State* (Rabat, 1972), p. 24.

¹⁰ Ibn Abi Zar al-Fasi, *The Entertaining Companion*, pp. 281-287; *The Splendid Treasury*, p. 30; Muhammad Isa al-Hariri, *The History of the Islamic Maghreb and al-Andalus in the Marinid Era* (Kuwait: Dar al-Qalam, 2nd ed., 1987), p. 8; Izz al-Din Umar Musa, *The Almohads in the Islamic West*, p. 57.

¹¹ Ibn Abi Zar al-Fasi, *The Splendid Treasury*, p. 35; Muhammad al-Manuni, *Papers on Marinid Civilization* (Rabat: Publications of the Faculty of Letters and Humanities; Casablanca: al-Najah al-Jadida Press, 2000), p. 11; Nidal Muayyad Mal Allah Aziz al-Araji, *The Marinid State under Sultan Yusuf ibn Yaqub al-Marini, 685-706 AH/1286-1306 CE*, master's thesis, University of Mosul, 2004, p. 5.

¹² Ismail Ibn al-Ahmar, *The Rose Garden on the Marinid State* (Rabat: Royal Press, 1962), p. 27; al-Nasiri, *al-Istiqsa*, vol. 3, p. 204; al-Hariri, *The History of the Islamic Maghreb and al-Andalus in the Marinid Era*, p. 130.

ministers. This phase became known as the period of ministerial influence and the fall of the state. Political fragmentation deepened until the state finally collapsed in 869 AH/1465 CE¹³.

Cooking in the Islamic Maghreb: Development and Characteristics up to the End of the Marinid Period (869 AH/1465 CE)

In the writings of both Maghrebi and eastern Muslim authors during the earlier Islamic centuries, cooking was not understood merely as the mixing and heating of foods. It was treated as a distinct field of knowledge: "The science of cooking foods, drinks, and pastes is the science through which one learns how to compose delicious and beneficial foods according to different temperaments, and how to prepare medicinal compounds in terms of weight, timing, order, and sequence. It is a branch of medicine distinct from ordinary food preparation."¹⁴

Cooking occupied an important place in Muslim life. It provides evidence of the prosperity of communities and offers a clear indication of their ways of living. It was closely connected to many aspects of everyday social life.

Some historical sources also show the concern of eastern Muslim societies with cooking and related practices. Ibn al-Athir, for example, reports that Nasr al-Dawla Ahmad ibn Marwan al-Kurdi, ruler of Diyar Bakr¹⁵, "sent cooks to Egypt and spent a considerable sum on sending them, until they learned cooking there."¹⁶

Maghrebi dishes became remarkably diverse, reflecting a high degree of sophistication in food preparation. Cooks developed a wide range of methods and dishes. This variety was strengthened by the early transfer of culinary preparations from the eastern Islamic lands to the Maghreb and al-Andalus, together with the movement of poets and other creative figures¹⁷, including the celebrated musician Ziryab¹⁸.

This diversity continued to expand while older culinary traditions were retained. It grew during the Aghlabid period, and later under the Fatimids and Hammadids. Travel between these regions, the Maghreb, al-Andalus, and the eastern Islamic world played an important role in the transmission of recipes, the introduction of new elements, and the exchange of culinary experience. These influences continued through the Almoravid, Almohad, Zayyanid, Hafsid, and Marinid periods. The result was an increasing variety of dishes and a clear Maghrebi interest in culinary innovation. This development was especially visible under the Umayyads in al-Andalus and during the Zirid and Hammadid periods, when the features of the cuisine of the Central and Eastern Maghreb became more distinct. Even so, the surviving evidence remains too limited to provide a fully detailed picture¹⁹.

It should also be noted that these changes in Maghrebi cuisine, which continued to preserve many of its earlier foundations, initially drew on Persian and Greek traditions. These traditions entered Islamic civilization during the Umayyad and Abbasid

¹³ Al-Hariri, *The History of the Islamic Maghreb and al-Andalus in the Marinid Era*, p. 157.

¹⁴ Haji Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunun an Asami al-Kutub wa-l-Funun*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dar Ihya al-Turath al-Arabi), p. 1095.

¹⁵ Ahmad ibn Marwan al-Kurdi (d. 453 AH/1060 CE), ruler of Diyar Bakr, was known by the title al-Qadir bi-Allah Nasr al-Dawla. He died at more than eighty years of age after a reign of fifty-two years. See Izz al-Din Abu al-Hasan Ibn al-Athir, *The Complete History*, vol. 8, ed. Umar Abd al-Salam Tadmuri (Lebanon: Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, 1st ed., 1997), pp. 174-175.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹⁷ Huriyya Sharid, *The Development of Moroccan Cuisine and Its Equipment from the Almoravid Period to the End of the Ottoman Era*, PhD dissertation, University of Algiers, 2011, p. 47.

¹⁸ Ziryab (d. ca. 230 AH/845 CE) was Ali ibn Nafi Abu al-Hasan, a client of the Abbasid caliph al-Mahdi. He was a leading musician of his time, a poet, and a man knowledgeable in several arts, courtly traditions, and the lives of rulers and scholars. He studied music in Baghdad with Ishaq al-Mawsili and others, travelled to Syria, and later moved to al-Andalus, where his reputation preceded him. Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Hakam personally went out to receive him. He settled and died in Cordoba. He is also credited with introducing an eagle-quill plectrum for the oud in place of the wooden plectrum. See Abu al-Abbas al-Maqqari, *The Fragrant Breeze*, vol. 3, ed. Ihsan Abbas (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1st ed., 1997), p. 122; Khayr al-Din al-Zirikli, *Al-Alam*, vol. 5 (Beirut: Dar al-Ilm li-l-Malayin, 15th ed., 2002), p. 28; Husayn Munis, *Landmarks in the History of the Maghreb and al-Andalus* (Cairo: Dar al-Rashad, 5th ed., 2000), pp. 332-334.

¹⁹ Abd al-Halim Uways, *The Hammadid State: Its History and Civilization* (Algeria: Office of University Publications, 1977), pp. 161-162; Huriyya Sharid, *The Development of Moroccan Cuisine and Its Equipment*, p. 47.

periods. They later reached the Islamic Maghreb and al-Andalus through conquerors and through the Umayyad and Abbasid political presence in these regions²⁰.

Another sign of this sustained interest is that Maghrebis did not leave cooking solely to professional cooks. At a time when new food customs were becoming increasingly influential, they also regarded it as a symbol of the distinctiveness of the Maghrebi individual. They therefore composed books and treatises on cooking²¹.

Historical works provide several clear examples. Abu Marwan ibn Zuhr²², who lived through the Almoravid and Almohad periods, wrote the *Treatise on Foods*. Another work, *The Book of Cookery in the Maghreb and al-Andalus*, was written by an anonymous Andalusian author who lived during the Almohad period in the seventh century AH/thirteenth century CE. It recorded the various foods, dishes, and delicacies in which the Maghrebis distinguished themselves and excelled²³. A later *Treatise on Foods* was written by Abu Bakr ibn Abd al-Aziz al-Arbuli in the ninth century AH/fifteenth century CE, during the Nasrid period in al-Andalus²⁴.

Maghrebi cooking also underwent important qualitative changes as a result of new arrivals. Ziriyab, mentioned above, introduced new practices in the presentation of food that were previously unfamiliar in the region. He also introduced asparagus, as a vegetable, into Maghrebi cuisine; the Andalusians had not known it before him²⁵.

Eastern spice culture also became highly influential in Maghrebi cuisine. Cooks adopted spices so extensively that they became one of the defining features of local flavor. Maghrebis also used ingredients and preparations that had come from the eastern Islamic lands, including sugarcane and other food combinations that enriched the cuisine in both taste and variety²⁶.

Pilgrimage and journeys undertaken in pursuit of knowledge brought Maghrebis into direct contact with many eastern dishes. Some were carried back from Egypt and Syria, mastered locally, and made part of the Maghrebi culinary repertoire. The exchange was not one-way. Maghrebis also transmitted their own food customs eastward. Couscous, for example, became known among eastern Muslims as a food associated with the Maghreb²⁷.

Food during the Almohad period was marked by considerable variety because of the size and geographical breadth of the state. Many food preparations spread widely among the population²⁸. At the same time, the food of Sufi communities in Fez was characterized by austerity and could consist simply of aysh with honey, or bread with milk²⁹.

²⁰ Ibn al-Adim (d. 660 AH), *The Path to the Beloved in Descriptions of Fine Foods and Perfumes*, vol. 1, ed. Salimi Mahjub and Durriyya al-Khatib (Aleppo: Institute for the History of Arabic Science, 1986), p. 181; Huriyya Sharid, *The Development of Moroccan Cuisine and Its Equipment*, p. 47.

²¹ Huriyya Sharid, *The Development of Moroccan Cuisine and Its Equipment*, p. 47.

²² Abu Marwan ibn Zuhr (d. 557 AH/1161 CE) was Abu Marwan Abd al-Malik ibn Zuhr al-Ishbili, physician to Abd al-Mu'min ibn Ali and the author of several works. See al-Hijrani al-Shafii, *Qiladat al-Nahr fi Wafayat Ayan al-Dahr*, vol. 4, ed. Bujuma Makri and Khalid Zawari (Jeddah: Dar al-Minhaj, 1st ed., 2008), p. 196, biography no. 2439; Ibn Abi Usaybia, *The Sources of Information on the Classes of Physicians*, ed. Nizar Rida (Beirut: Maktabat Dar al-Hayat), pp. 517-519.

²³ Muhammad Bashir al-Amiri, *Civilizational Studies in Andalusian History* (Dar Ida, n.d.), p. 280. The work was edited by the Spanish Arabist Ambrosio Huici Miranda and published in the *Bulletin of the Egyptian Institute of Islamic Studies in Madrid*, vols. 9-10 (1961-1962), pp. 15-256.

²⁴ Huriyya Sharid, *The Development of Moroccan Cuisine and Its Equipment*, pp. 47-48.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁶ Huriyya Sharid, *The Development of Moroccan Cuisine and Its Equipment*, p. 55.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

²⁸ Ambrosio Huici Miranda, 'The Book of Cookery in the Maghreb and al-Andalus,' *Bulletin of the Egyptian Institute of Islamic Studies in Madrid*, vols. 9-10 (1961-1962), pp. 15-16.

²⁹ Jamal Ahmad Taha, *The City of Fez in the Almoravid and Almohad Periods: A Political and Civilizational Study* (Alexandria: Dar al-Wafa li-Dunya al-Tibaa, 2001), p. 177.

Prosperity was not the only feature of social and political life in the Maghreb. The region also experienced unrest and conflict that led to repeated famines, rising prices, and shortages of provisions, especially during the Almoravid and Almohad periods³⁰. Ibn Quzman recorded such conditions in his zajal poetry. He described high prices and material hardship and complained about famine, epidemics, and widespread death³¹.

These disturbances and the famines they produced did not eliminate established Maghrebi culinary customs. On the contrary, those customs continued to diversify over time, especially after periods of hardship had passed³². During the Marinid period in particular, al-Hasan al-Wazzan observed that people ate fresh meat and fruit according to their prosperity and social standing³³.

Meat Dishes and Recipes under the Almoravids and Almohads (450-667 AH/1058-1249 CE)

Historical sources and chronicles indicate that, from the early Almoravid period, many Maghrebi food practices relied heavily on sheep meat and milk. Their subsistence was described as being "from meat and milk"³⁴. This was especially true of the Lamtuna, Massufa, and other Sanhaja groups that had come from the southern Sahara³⁵.

Some historical sources report that the Almoravid ruler Yusuf ibn Tashfin retained the traditions in which he had been raised in the Sahara throughout his life. He regarded meat as a basic source of nourishment, while his diet included, in particular, barley, camel meat, and camel milk. He maintained these habits even after Lamtuna and Massufa groups moved into the Far Maghreb, mixed with local populations, and began eating the foods of those regions³⁶. They were also known for eating locusts³⁷.

In this context, the anonymous author of *The Book of Cookery* recorded several foods and meat dishes that were widely known in Marrakesh, including the following:

Tahsahsat. A form of fried tafaya made from meat mixed with spices and dried coriander³⁸.

Asmas. Some Almohad sources state that al-Mahdi Ibn Tumart and Abd al-Mu'min ibn Ali al-Kumi prepared for their followers a meat dish called Asmas. It was served on festive occasions, and meat was its principal ingredient³⁹.

Al-Sanhaji al-Muluki. Its name refers to the Sanhaja Berber group from which the Almoravid dynasty emerged before extending its rule from the Maghreb to al-Andalus. The dish was associated with elites. It was made mainly from beef, mutton, poultry, and turtledove, topped with split almonds, and baked in an oven⁴⁰.

³⁰ Ismat Abd al-Latif Dandash, *Al-Andalus at the End of the Almoravid Period and the Beginning of the Almohad Period* (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1st ed., 1988), p. 213.

³¹ Ibn Quzman al-Qurtubi (d. 555 AH), *Diwan Ibn Quzman: Isabat al-Aghrad fi Dhikr al-Arad*, ed. Federico Corriente, foreword by Mahmud Ali Makki (Supreme Council of Culture), zajal nos. 35, p. 124; 63, p. 197; 67, p. 206; 68, p. 210; 105, p. 331. See also Huriyya Sharid, *The Development of Moroccan Cuisine and Its Equipment*, p. 58.

³² Huriyya Sharid, *The Development of Moroccan Cuisine and Its Equipment*, p. 59.

³³ Al-Hasan al-Wazzan, *Description of Africa*, vol. 1, trans. Muhammad Hajji and Muhammad al-Akhdar (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 2nd ed., 1983), pp. 252-253.

³⁴ Al-Bakri, *The Book of Routes and Kingdoms*, p. 857.

³⁵ Ali Hasan Hasan, *Islamic Civilization in the Maghreb and al-Andalus during the Almoravid and Almohad Era* (Egypt: Maktabat al-Khanji, 1st ed., 1980), pp. 432-433.

³⁶ Ibn al-Khatib, *The Deeds of the Notables*, ed. Ahmad Mukhtar al-Abbadi and Muhammad Ibrahim al-Kattani (Casablanca: Dar al-Kitab, 1964), p. 234; Muhammad ibn Abi al-Qasim al-Ruayni Ibn Abi Dinar, *The Companion on the History of Ifriqiya and Tunis* (Tunis: Tunisian State Press, 1st ed., 1286 AH/1869 CE), p. 104; Ibn Abi Zar, *The Entertaining Companion*, p. 136; Ibn al-Muwaqqit al-Marrakushi, *Eternal Happiness in Identifying the Famous Figures of Marrakesh*, rev. Ahmad Muta-fakkir (Marrakesh, 3rd ed., 2011), p. 173; Ali Hasan Hasan, *Islamic Civilization in the Maghreb and al-Andalus*, p. 434.

³⁷ Al-Sharif al-Idrisi, *The Delight of One Who Wishes to Traverse the Regions*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqafa al-Diniyya), p. 235.

³⁸ Anonymous Andalusian author, *The Book of Cookery*, p. 87.

³⁹ Ali Hasan Hasan, *Islamic Civilization in the Maghreb and al-Andalus*, p. 434.

⁴⁰ Anonymous Andalusian author, *The Book of Cookery*, p. 24 and pp. 163-164; Ali Hasan Hasan, *Islamic Civilization in the Maghreb and al-Andalus*, p. 434; Jamal Ahmad Taha, *The City of Fez*, p. 177; David Waines, *The Culinary Arts in al-*

Al-Amkhakh. This dish was associated with kings and leading figures, who were said to favor it as a major part of their diet. It consisted mainly of the brains of slaughtered animals and birds⁴¹.

Al-Ahrash. This dish was prepared especially for Abu al-Hasan, grandson of Abd al-Mu'min ibn Ali al-Kumi and governor of the Marrakesh region in 582 AH/1186 CE. It was made from tender meat cleaned of sinew, pounded and worked with oil, pepper, cinnamon, and dried coriander. It was then fried in oil and served with a sauce of vinegar, oil, and garlic⁴².

Isfiriya. This was a form of al-Ahrash known in Marrakesh as Isfiriya. It was usually prepared from mutton marinated with vinegar, oil, garlic, and spices, with a small amount of egg⁴³.

Al-Thumiyya. This dish was likewise prepared especially for Abu al-Hasan, governor of Marrakesh and grandson of the Almohad ruler Abd al-Mu'min ibn Ali al-Kumi. A fat chicken was cleaned and emptied. Crushed garlic was mixed with the removed contents, fried in oil, and then combined again with the chicken⁴⁴.

Complete tharid. A dish associated with caliphs, princes, and ministers. It combined several kinds of meat and chicken with abundant spices, sausage, meatballs, eggs, and olives, all presented together in a large serving dish⁴⁵.

Roasted calf. This dish was prepared for Abu al-Ala Idris Ahmad, governor of Ceuta and one of the brothers of Caliph Abd al-Mu'min ibn Ali. A calf was roasted in an elaborate manner using calf meat, mutton, goose, chicken, young poultry, starlings, and sparrows. The meats were nested inside one another, from the calf on the outside to the sparrow at the center, then roasted and served⁴⁶. This method reflected the high level of luxury enjoyed by officials of the Mu'minid (Almohad) state⁴⁷.

Some meat dishes were named after particular religious or cultural groups, such as Jewish chicken⁴⁸ and Jewish partridge⁴⁹. Others were associated with the Abbasids, including Abbasid chicken⁵⁰, al-Barmakiyya⁵¹, and al-Buraniyya, named after Buran bint al-Hasan ibn Sahl. Other dishes were attributed to the people of al-Andalus, such as the large-fish dish⁵², while others were linked to Ifriqiya, including the Tunisian qarsa and similar preparations⁵³.

It is also important to note that the preparation of some meat dishes varied according to the season. In summer, for example, chicken with gourd and sikbaj were prepared. In autumn, processed meats were cooked in pots. In winter, fatty meats were combined with additional ingredients⁵⁴.

The Maghrebi table during the Almoravid and Almohad periods was therefore rich in meat dishes that varied by place, time, and even by the individuals for whom they were prepared. These dishes reflected, in one form or another, the prosperity and

Andalus,' in *Arab-Islamic Civilization in al-Andalus*, vol. 2, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Center for Arab Unity Studies, 2nd ed., 1999), p. 1030.

⁴¹ Anonymous Andalusian author, *The Book of Cookery*, pp. 35-36; Jamal Ahmad Taha, *The City of Fez*, p. 177.

⁴² Anonymous Andalusian author, *The Book of Cookery*, p. 22; Ali Hasan Hasan, *Islamic Civilization in the Maghreb and al-Andalus*, p. 434.

⁴³ Anonymous Andalusian author, *The Book of Cookery*, pp. 22 and 55.

⁴⁴ Anonymous Andalusian author, *The Book of Cookery*, p. 46; Ali Hasan Hasan, *Islamic Civilization in the Maghreb and al-Andalus*, p. 434.

⁴⁵ Anonymous Andalusian author, *The Book of Cookery*, p. 179; David Waines, 'The Culinary Arts in al-Andalus,' p. 1021; Jamal Ahmad Taha, *The City of Fez*, p. 177.

⁴⁶ Anonymous Andalusian author, *The Book of Cookery*, pp. 32-33.

⁴⁷ Ali Hasan Hasan, *Islamic Civilization in the Maghreb and al-Andalus*, p. 434.

⁴⁸ Anonymous Andalusian author, *The Book of Cookery*, pp. 68 and 71. The term *furuj* denotes a young chicken. See Rajab Abd al-Jawad, 'Food and Drink Vocabulary in Andalusian Arabic: A Study of al-Maqqari's *Nafh al-Tib*,' *Ulm al-Lugha* 1, no. 3 (1998), p. 162.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 67 and 70.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

⁵³ Ali Hasan Hasan, *Islamic Civilization in the Maghreb and al-Andalus*, pp. 434-435.

⁵⁴ Anonymous Andalusian author, *The Book of Cookery*, pp. 110-112.

refinement attained in the two states. That environment also encouraged culinary creativity and the development of new dishes that further enriched Maghrebi cuisine.

Meat Recipes under the Marinids (610-869 AH/1213-1465 CE)

During the Marinid period, meat recipes multiplied to a degree that reflected the sophistication and refinement of social life. The diversity of meat dishes can therefore be treated as one indicator of the level of material and social prosperity reached by Maghrebi communities under Marinid rule.

Ibn Razin al-Tujibi provides important evidence in his work *Fadalat al-Khiwan fi Tayyibat al-Taam wa-l-Alwan*, which offers a detailed view of culinary art and food in the Marinid period. He describes a wide range of meat dishes prepared from beef, mutton, poultry, sparrows, pigeons, turtledoves, and even game meat⁵⁵.

The most important meat dishes and recipes recorded for the Marinid period include the following:

Beef Recipes

Historical sources and cookbooks record several preparations. Ibn Razin counted ten recipes, including al-Jamali⁵⁶, al-Bar-raniyya⁵⁷, al-Muthallath, a type of dish known among Andalusians⁵⁸, and al-Marwaziyya⁵⁹.

Other preparations included a dish made from an ox eye and onions⁶⁰, one called al-Arnabi⁶¹, and another called al-Rahibi⁶². There was also a fried dish prepared with murri⁶³ and garlic⁶⁴, a dish made specifically from lean thigh meat⁶⁵, and a preparation consisting entirely of bovine offal, including boiled tripe, stomach parts, and thick intestines⁶⁶.

Mutton Recipes

Tafaya. A well-known Andalusian preparation said to have been taught by the musician Ziryab⁶⁷. It had many methods of preparation. Fish and chicken could be used, although mutton was the most common and characteristic meat⁶⁸. Two varieties are mentioned: white tafaya and green tafaya⁶⁹.

Al-Kurnubiyya. Prepared from the meat of a young, fat ram, together with winter or summer cabbage according to the season, as well as oil, salt, and spices⁷⁰.

Al-Liftiyya. Prepared from the meat of a young, fat ram and turnips, with oil, salt, and spices⁷¹.

Al-Qunbitiyya. Prepared from the meat of a young, fat ram and fresh cauliflower, with oil, salt, and spices⁷².

⁵⁵ For these recipes, see Ibn Razin al-Tujibi, *Delicacies of the Table in Fine Foods and Dishes*, ed. Muhammad ibn Shaqrun, supervised by Ihsan Abbas (Tunis: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami), p. 135.

⁵⁶ For the method of preparation, see Ibn Razin al-Tujibi, *Delicacies of the Table*, pp. 95-96.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98; Rajab Abd al-Jawad, 'Food and Drink Vocabulary in Andalusian Arabic,' p. 154.

⁵⁹ Ibn Razin al-Tujibi, *Delicacies of the Table*, pp. 98-99.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁶³ Murri was a food or condiment known among both Maghrebis and eastern Muslims, although methods of preparation varied from one region to another. See Rajab Abd al-Jawad, 'Food and Drink Vocabulary in Andalusian Arabic,' p. 155.

⁶⁴ Ibn Razin al-Tujibi, *Delicacies of the Table*, p. 101.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁶⁷ Rajab Abd al-Jawad, 'Food and Drink Vocabulary in Andalusian Arabic,' p. 148.

⁶⁸ Ibn Razin al-Tujibi, *Delicacies of the Table*, p. 103; David Waines, 'The Culinary Arts in al-Andalus,' p. 1031.

⁶⁹ Ibn Razin al-Tujibi, *Delicacies of the Table*, pp. 103-104.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁷¹ Ibn Razin al-Tujibi, *Delicacies of the Table*, p. 106.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 107.

Al-Salqiyya. Prepared from the meat of a young, fat ram and fresh chard, with oil, salt, and spices⁷³.

Al-Basbasiyya. Prepared from the meat of a young, fat ram and fresh basbas, with oil, salt, and spices⁷⁴.

Al-Nanaiyya. Prepared from the meat of a young, fat ram and fresh mint, with oil, salt, and spices⁷⁵.

Many other mutton dishes were also recorded, including al-Tabahjiyya⁷⁶. Ibn Razin counted forty-six varieties in total⁷⁷.

Recipes Using Young Sheep

Ibn Razin recorded sixteen dishes in this category. Examples include the following:

Al-Badii. Prepared mainly from the breast, sides, and tail of the sheep⁷⁸.

Al-Muallaq. Prepared from an entire fat suckling lamb, excluding the head and entrails⁷⁹.

Al-Madira. A mutton dish of eastern origin prepared from the head, breast, and tail of a fat sheep, together with al-sinsin and al-qasrayn⁸⁰.

Other dishes were prepared from kid meat⁸¹ and from game meat⁸².

Recipes from the Meat of Quadrupeds

Al-Isfiriya. Prepared from pounded meat placed in a serving dish, sprinkled with salt, and mixed with spices and egg white⁸³.

Marqaz (or marqas in Andalusian usage). According to al-Tujibi, this preparation differed from laqaniq, to which murri was added. Marqas instead used crushed onion and fresh coriander⁸⁴. It was made from thigh meat that was finely pounded, then mixed with fat in a proportion of about one-third of the meat. Salt and special spices were added, and the mixture was stuffed into sheep or goat intestine⁸⁵.

Alongside these meat dishes were many recipes based on birds. The author of Fadalat al-Khiwan recorded two dishes made from goose⁸⁶ and forty-nine dishes made from chicken⁸⁷.

He also recorded five preparations using partridge⁸⁸, ten dishes and food preparations using young pigeon⁸⁹, eight using turtledove⁹⁰, one using starling⁹¹, and four using sparrow meat⁹².

⁷³ Ibid., p. 107.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 108.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 108.

⁷⁶ Anonymous Andalusian author, *The Book of Cookery*, pp. 133-134 and 149-150; Ibn Razin al-Tujibi, *Delicacies of the Table*, p. 119; al-Baghdadi Ibn al-Karim al-Katib (d. 637 AH), *The Book of Cookery* (Mosul: Umm al-Rabiayn Press, 1934), p. 14.

⁷⁷ Ibn Razin al-Tujibi, *Delicacies of the Table*, pp. 103-128.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 129.

⁷⁹ Ibn Razin al-Tujibi, *Delicacies of the Table*, p. 130.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 134-135.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 137.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 138-142.

⁸³ Anonymous Andalusian author, *The Book of Cookery*, p. 137; Ibn Razin al-Tujibi, *Delicacies of the Table*, p. 144; David Waines, 'The Culinary Arts in al-Andalus,' p. 1033.

⁸⁴ Ibn Razin al-Tujibi, *Delicacies of the Table*, p. 146.

⁸⁵ Ibn Razin al-Tujibi, *Delicacies of the Table*, p. 144; David Waines, 'The Culinary Arts in al-Andalus,' p. 1033.

⁸⁶ Ibn Razin al-Tujibi, *Delicacies of the Table*, pp. 151-152.

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 154-179.

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 180-182.

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 183-186.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 187-189.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 190.

⁹² Ibid., pp. 191-192.

The evidence therefore shows that Marinid cuisine represented a distinctive phase in Maghrebi cooking, especially in relation to varieties and dishes of meat. Cooks who lived under Marinid rule developed numerous recipes using carefully measured quantities. This made the superiority attained by Maghrebi cooking during those periods an evident reality. The works devoted to foods and drinks from the period attest to this, especially the anonymous Andalusian Book of Cookery and Ibn Razin al-Tujibi's *Fadalat al-Khiwan*.

Conclusion

Medieval Maghrebi cuisine was not merely a matter of preparing food. Important touches were introduced that gave it a prominent position in this field.

During the Almoravid and Almohad periods, the Maghrebi table was rich in meat dishes. These varied according to place, time, and even the people for whom they were prepared. In one way or another, they reflected the level of advancement and prosperity reached by the populations of the two states. This encouraged creativity and the invention of new dishes that influenced Maghrebi cuisine during those periods.

During the Marinid period, Maghrebi cuisine underwent major qualitative developments and became a distinctive phase in the history of cooking, especially in relation to varieties and dishes of meat. Cooks living in the Marinid period developed numerous recipes using carefully measured quantities. This made the superiority attained by Maghrebi cooking during those periods an evident reality, as confirmed by the works devoted to foods and drinks from that era.

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