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Qaliyya: The Connections, Exclusions, and Silences of an Indian Ocean Stew

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ABSTRACT

This article traces an understudied stew known as *qaliyya* through the Indian Ocean littoral to show how foodways influenced each other over the centuries. It proposes an innovative focus on dishes, food names (“gastronyms”), and recipes as tools to reconstruct forgotten culinary connections. From the tenth century onwards, *qaliyya* recipes show up in Middle Eastern cookbooks. We encounter two basic preparations: meat or vegetables boiled and fried in its fat after the liquid has evaporated or fried and then simmered until tender. From early modern times, the dish circulated throughout the Indian Subcontinent, parts of Southeast Asia, coastal Africa, and along the reaches of the Volga and the Danube. In many regions, culinary politics have confined the once prestigious dish to a modest existence on the margins. Such exclusions and silences have broader implications to our understanding of food history and dishes that “didn’t make it.”

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Introduction

The regions encircling the Indian Ocean have greatly influenced each other in terms of trade, religion, technology, culture, and foodways. Along with traveling people and products, this part of the world has seen, from medieval to modern times, a considerable number of traveling food practices.¹ The Muslim courts of the Middle East, and later the Mughals in South Asia, were particularly influential in this domain. While the transmission of food items across the ocean has long captured academic interest, most scholars have prioritized sustenance crops and luxury spices, describing the ways these influenced economic structures, modes of self-differentiation, and cultural practices.² Less attention has been paid to food items as the building blocks of a shared palatal memory across this interconnected space.³ Such insights reveal intimate cultural links. This article aims to demonstrate that actual dishes, rather than “useful” products, are key to illuminate such sensorial connections across the Indian Ocean and beyond. They offer an underexplored avenue to reconstruct its culinary past, shaped by localization as much as diffusion.

There is value in studying the dispersal of culinary items and words together. While introduced foodways tend to quickly adjust to local circumstances, forgotten connections often show up in the names of specific dishes (“gastronyms”).⁴ Across the Indian Ocean, several food names derive from Arabic (*harīsa*, *halwā*, *kabāb*, *sharbat*) and especially Persian (*sambūsa*, *biryānī*, *shorbā*, *achār*, *fālūda*, *yakhnī*, *kofta*).⁵ The Arab and Persian culinary traditions have in fact co-evolved for centuries, along with those of Turkic peoples. Influence from the Indian subcontinent, too, spread in multiple directions. The diverse cooking practices somewhat reductively labeled as “curry” immediately come to mind, and to even summarize the relevant literature requires more than an article. Other examples include the rice-and-meat dish *pulāo* and the rice-and-lentil dish *khichrī*, descendants of which can be found from Egypt to Southeast Asia.

This article traces an unexpectedly mobile dish, or rather a family of dishes, across the Indian Ocean. Originally known as *qaliyya* (plural: *qalāyā*), numerous varieties of this stew, consisting of meat, vegetables, fish, or a combination thereof, featured in medieval Arabic, Persian, and Turkish cookbooks. Though Middle Eastern in its name, the presence of imported spices in the earliest *qaliyya* recipes, together with its vast geographical spread, makes it an Indian Ocean dish par excellence. Wherever it is found, *qaliyya* tells stories of localization. Its descendants can be found from southeastern Europe and the Indian subcontinent to Southeast Asia and coastal Africa. With some exceptions, these have subsequently waned in prominence in many of these regions. Contemporary descriptions and recipes are scattered and hard to come by. Their absence in cookbooks and other texts reveals ongoing processes of marginalization. As many scholars have shown, the creation of cuisines is a process of deliberate inclusion and exclusion.⁶ The dish examined here is an example of one that generally “didn’t make it.” This is also reflected by a spotty academic coverage. Understandably, most food histories prioritize dishes, condiments, and ingredients that have remained popular to this date, yet the fate of less popular ones offers equally relevant lessons about the canonization of national and regional cuisines. This is another topic of study *qaliyya* can contribute to.

To trace this understudied stew, let us first approach it from a linguistic perspective. Its Arabic etymology is relatively straightforward; *qaliyya* reflects the trilateral root q-l-y, which generally points to frying. Other common derivations include *qalā* (to fry), *maqlī* (fried), *qallāya* (a frier), and *miqlā* (a frying pan). This root has given rise to a number of culinary products. The invaluable tenth-century Baghdadi cookbook *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* (Book of Dishes), for example, describes *maqlawīyya*, a “dish of ground meat cooked in a round-bottomed soap stone pan, similar to a wok. The meat is cooked by frying, stirring, crumbling, and tossing it with spices.”⁷ The derivation *taqliyya* (frying) has lent its name to two distinct Egyptian dishes: “sliced fried meat, with spices and herbs and some vegetables” and “chopped onion fried in oil.”⁸ The latter is still popular today. In Saudi Arabia, *qalāyat lōbiā* refers to a stir-fried bean dish with tomato sauce.⁹ In the Levant and Jordan, *qalāyat bandōra* is a popular version with tomatoes.

In its broadest sense, the word *qaliyya* refers to any fried dish. Early lexicographic sources inform us about its historical meanings. The *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium*, a 1680 dictionary of early modern Turkish, glosses the word as “roasted meat fried in a pan.”¹⁰ In Yemen, *qaliyyah* historically denoted “parched Indian corn,” “fried toasted grain” (Tihāmah), or “meat full of fat” (Ṣan‘ā’), whereas the variant *qaliyyih* referred to a “small batch of roasted peanuts.”¹¹ In Oman, *qaliya* can refer to dish of lamb, mutton,

or goat meat, cooked long enough for the liquid to almost disappear. Some speakers, however, refer to this dish as *maqlī* and use *qaliya* for animal fat used as a frying agent.¹² In Morocco, *qəlyā* (or *galyā*) encompasses fried dishes in general, but, depending on the region, also specifically refers to fried broad beans, grilled chickpeas, a fricassee of sheep intestines, or offal with oil and red pepper.¹³ The Maltese cognate *qalja* designates no specific dish, but a generic fry-up, typically involving meat and eaten with bread.¹⁴ In Sicilian and a number of other southern Italian varieties, the Arabic loanword *càlia* designates roasted chickpeas and the verb *caliari* roasting or toasting.¹⁵

These divergent glosses illustrate that examining the history of dishes involves more than crude word comparisons. When a term is borrowed, its semantics are prone to change. Culinary loanwords, hence, might designate heavily localized dishes whose relation with their etymological ancestors is rather subtle. Pizzas, sorbets, and cheesecake are common examples in this category. In an Asian context, one might recall the minced-meat dish *qīma* (ultimately from Turkish *kıyma*) and the meat stew *qorma* (ultimately from Turkish *kavurma*); due to processes of transformation and relabeling, most dishes so named are primarily connected on a lexical rather than culinary level.¹⁶ We also see the opposite: one dish can be known under different gastronyms. In the nineteenth-century novel *al-Sāq' alā l-Sāq* (*Leg over Leg*) by the Lebanese writer Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, for example, the word *qaliyya* was said to be a synonym of *hamīsa*, both denoting a “broth made of camel meat.”¹⁷ Incidentally, the latter remains the more common word in the Gulf region. Such regional adaptations are arguably the most interesting aspect of culinary cross-pollination. Yet continuities and commonalities provide the other side of the coin. As demonstrated below, some of the essential characteristics, ingredients, and preparation methods of *qaliyya* remained surprisingly similar across pockets of the Indian Ocean world.

At this point, some reflection on the usage of sources is due. Culinary history invites us to understand, interpret, and at times recreate the recipes found in archaic cookbooks and other sources, such as dictionary glosses and observations by insiders or outsiders. This has not always been common practice and comes with its challenges. As has been observed for Middle Eastern cookbooks and their historical study, “[i]n general, these Western scholars showed a traditional academic attitude toward cookery manuscripts – they might have been interested in them as texts, but they disdained recipes as such.”¹⁸ While this may no longer be the case today, many culinary texts also come with issues of representation. Premodern manuscripts typically emanated from courtly milieus rather than the broad masses, so that their recipes must be treated with caution; if at all they provide an accurate portrayal of what people ate, they were mostly plagiarized – to use an anachronism – from older ones passed down orally.¹⁹ Indeed, most cooks knew what they cooked by heart, as remains the case today. The act of writing a cookbook is often an ideological act, most informative for its prescriptions – realistic or otherwise – of what and how people *should* eat. Rather than taking their recipes at face value, such primary sources can be used as indirect commentaries on economy, class, gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and the worldview of their author.²⁰

A trans-regional approach, as attempted here, further complicates the use of cookbooks as historical documents. Aside from the linguistic skills required to read them, one faces an imbalance of available material. The vast majority of premodern culinary texts come from Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East. For Southeast Asia and Africa,

conversely, little detailed information exists in the written realm. This dovetails with another problem: the issue of chronology. The further one moves away from the great centers of Arab culture, the scarcer datable evidence becomes. As a result, the antiquity of *qaliyya* can be determined with some accuracy in the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent, but not beyond. There is little unambiguous evidence for the premodern spread of *qaliyya* to Africa or Southeast Asia. Rather, it seems likely that *qaliyya* was introduced there by mobile people, in particular nineteenth-century migrants from the Indian subcontinent. Better documented periods of history reveal that migrants and transnational urban centers were crucial for foodways to become mobile.²¹ While these agents rarely left behind written sources, an exploration of scattered contemporary accounts provides some missing puzzle pieces about the dishes they historically introduced. This study's *longue durée* approach, then, is deliberate and serves to enhance our general picture of culinary diffusion across the Indian Ocean.

In three sections, this article traces *qaliyya* across, respectively, the Middle East, South Asia, and the wider Indian Ocean, paying attention to the interconnections and parallel developments between these regions. This conservative areal division is partly informed by the aforementioned discrepancy in available sources and resultant differences in approach. The Middle East has the world's oldest tradition of writing about food, starting from a collection of seventeenth-century BCE Mesopotamian recipes.²² This long but hiatal record encompasses various medieval Arabic, Persian, and Turkish cookbooks, which offer unique insights into the region's culinary history, including, among many things, several *qaliyya* varieties.²³ In South Asia, where the dish was introduced by Muslim rulers of Central and West Asian parentage, it developed distinct local variations, recipes, and origin stories wherever it gained popularity, many of which are still known by food experts from the region.²⁴ The available sources, however, are of much more recent vintage than their Middle Eastern counterparts. In parts of Southeast Asia and Africa, where *qaliyya*-descended dishes have survived on a local level but feature only marginally in the available literature, culinary connections with the past have become less obvious. As the ingredients used tend to be local, the most obvious link these dishes have with the outside world are their names, although this is not always realized by the communities that cook them.

The Repast of Aristocrats

The Arabs were among the world's first writers of full-fledged cookbooks, which from the start included *qaliyya* recipes. This valuable tradition started after they had become familiar with and influenced by the Persian cuisine, from the eighth century onwards.²⁵ The extravagance of Persian cooking was already commented upon by the ancient Greeks, even though such culinary stereotypes are often socially constructed.²⁶ It cannot be denied, however, that the emergence of Arabic cookbooks in Baghdad directly resulted from the rise of an opulent aristocracy. These medieval cookbooks are indispensable sources on cooking practices and specific dishes. Yet we also find information in other genres. To give just one example, the *Faḍā'il al-Awqāt* (Meritorious Times), a collection of ḥadīths written by the eleventh-century scholar Imām al-Bayhaqī, recounts that meat *qaliyya* and filled biscuits (*lahm al-qaliyya wa l-khushkanānaj*) were prepared for the pupils of Prophet Muḥammad.²⁷

The *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, compiled in the tenth century by Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, offers a vista into the elite cuisine of Abbasid-era Baghdad, then the center of the Islamic world. Consisting of no less than 132 chapters and 615 recipes, it is the oldest Arabic cookbook preserved to us. The text contains thirteen different *qaliyya* recipes,²⁸ leaving little doubt that the dish was known, well-established, and popular in medieval Baghdad and beyond. Next to local *qaliyya* recipes, the book contains one version from al-Madā'in in central Iraq and one from the Levant. Most recipes involve cutting fatty lamb and sheep's tail fat (*alya*) into bite-sized pieces and simmering them in a pot with some olive oil, onions, salt, spices, and liquid fermented sauce (*murrī*).²⁹ The pot is generally stirred until the moisture evaporates, the mixture fries in its own fat, and the meat turns brown, after which vinegar may be added. The recipes contain a variety of additional ingredients, including chickpeas, carrots, ground walnuts, eggplants, gourds, eggs, and truffles. Some include spices that reached the Arab lands through Indian Ocean trade networks: galangal (*khūlanj*), cassia, and cloves. This underlines the elite nature of Baghdadi cuisine, given that only the prosperous could afford such commodities. The predominance of saffron and the absence of turmeric, the poor man's equivalent, also reflect the book's aristocratic origins.³⁰ Chicken entrails only feature as something to be discarded, leaving one to speculate about the extent to which offal was enjoyed by poor and/or rural communities in medieval Iraq.

The stew and its associated cooking method remained popular for some time to come. A thirteenth-century cookbook also titled *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, written by Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī, contains thirty *qaliyya* recipes, including those labeled as "simple and sweet dishes."³¹ The *Kitāb Wasf al-Aṭ'ima al-Mu'tāda* (Description of Familiar Foods), which was partly based on the latter, has forty.³² The dish quickly spread beyond Iraq and the Levant. The cuisine of Andalusia, situated at the other end of the Islamic world, developed under influence of Baghdad. Ziryāb, a famous polymath from the latter city, had retreated to Granada in the ninth century and introduced a number of innovations to his new hometown.³³ Among these cosmopolitan novelties, we encounter *qaliyya* in various Andalusī Arabic sources.³⁴ The *Fadālat al-Khiwān fī Ṭayyibāt al-Ṭā'am wa l-Alwān* (Best of Delectable Foods and Dishes), a thirteenth-century cookbook compiled by Razīn al-Tujībī, contains a localized version with various entrails cut into pieces and boiled, which were then cooked in a tajine with olive oil, salt, onions, and spices. Vinegar was added at the end.³⁵ The anonymous *Anwā' al-Ṣaydala fī Alwān al-Aṭ'ima* (Pharmaceuticals in Food Recipes), also from the thirteenth century, contains a version with mutton and chestnuts (*qastal*) and a second one with a ram's windpipe with the organs attached to it (*gharnūq*).³⁶ In the *Vocabulista Arauigo en Letra Castellana* (Arabic Vocabulary in Spanish Letters), an early sixteenth-century Latin-Arabic dictionary, *calīa* was glossed as a casserole of rabbit.³⁷

In medieval Cairo, another center of Islamic culture, there were two basic orders to prepare *qaliyya*: to boil the meat and spices, adding fat after most of the water had evaporated – as also seen in most Baghdadi recipes – or to fry the meat until brown and simmer it afterward.³⁸ In the latter case, one is reminded of a fricassee. The *Kanz al-Fawā'id fī Tanwī' al-Mawā'id* (Treasure Trove of Benefits and Variety at the Table), an anonymously compiled Cairene cookbook from the fourteenth-century, contains a variety of *qaliyya* recipes.³⁹ They generally consist of finely pound meat boiled in sumac juice, which was drained and flavored with salt, spices, and aromatics. Using

sheep-tail fat and a frying pan (*miqlā*), the meat was then browned, covered with eggs, and sprinkled with rosewater.⁴⁰ The fifteenth-century *Zahr al-Ḥadīqa fī l-Aṭ'ima al-Anīqa* (Flowery Garden of Elegant Food), written in Cairo by Ibn Mubārak Shāh, contains a simple meat-and-carrot *qaliyya* and a more complicated version in which the meat is boiled, fried, enriched with onions, mixed with water and lemon juice, boiled again, and then seasoned.⁴¹

The earliest Persian cookbooks date from the Safavid period. The oldest known text is the *Kārnāma dar Bāb-e Ṭabbākhi wa Ṣaṅ'at-e Ān* (Manual on Cooking and its Craft), compiled in 1521 by Moḥammad 'Alī Bāwarchī Baghdādī and intended for an aristocratic readership. It contains a chapter about *qaliya*, among many other recipes still known in Iran.⁴² Among the “foreign” versions this dish, the book contains what might be interpreted as Ethiopian (*qaliya-ye Ḥabashī*) and Swahili recipes (*qaliya-ye Zangī*), although it is unclear how common these purported East African versions would have been. In general, the Persian gastronym *qaliya* or *qalya* seems to have designated “a stew where the meat is cooked with a little amount of liquid (often acidic such as verjuice, lemon juice, vinegar, etc.); the dish is drier than other meat stews, similar to braised meats or pot roasts, however, the meat is not necessarily seared first.”⁴³ It has alternatively been described as “a variety of dishes; one kind is a stew containing fried pieces of meat, tiny meatballs, split peas, broad beans, *lūbiā* beans, pounded walnut kernels, minced beetroot, pomegranate juice, and spices.”⁴⁴

Another Safavid cookbook, *Māddat al-Ḥayāt, Resāla dar 'Elm-e Ṭabbākhi* (Substance of Life, a Treatise on the Art of Cooking), compiled in the late sixteenth-century by Nūr-Allāh, contains three chapters on this dish. Recipes for tart *qalya* incorporate various vegetables or fruits in combination with chicken or lamb, whereas plain *qalya* requires cooking meat with onions, chickpeas, and spices, and *būrānī* refers to sautéing the meat together with eggplants. Several recipes add vinegar at the end.⁴⁵ A version known as the “dry stew” (*qalya-ye khoskh*) – consisting of lamb meat “cut into small pieces, sautéed slightly and browned in fat with a great deal of onion rings, and ground spices [...] sprinkled on it and [...] dished out on thin flat bread”⁴⁶ – is interesting because it was reportedly also known under the name *qāvormā*. This Turkish loanword, which eventually spread to South Asia as *qorma*, originally denoted a generic fried dish and in some regions specifically “meat boiled down and fried in its own fat.”⁴⁷ This semantic development thus resembles that of *qaliyya*.

The *qalya* of traditional Persian cooking has survived on a regional level. The Gilan province is known for its *āš qaliya*, transliterated in a more vernacular way as *ash-e-ghalyeh*. This is a spring vegetable soup “made of a mixture of chickpeas, dry beans, carrots, beets, garden herbs, and meat, all chopped and boiled together, to which sour grape juice and rice flour are added; at the end of the cooking time, a little sugar, mint, raisins, and browned apricots are added to the bouillon.”⁴⁸ In South Iran, especially near the Persian Gulf, we encounter *ghalyeh meygo* (shrimp stew) and *ghalyeh mahee* (fish stew). The latter has become a famous regional dish, in which the fish of choice is rubbed with turmeric, fried, and added to a pot with spices, fresh herbs, and tamarind pulp, giving the dish its characteristic sour-and-spicy taste. Vegetable-based equivalents include *ghalyeh kadoo* (pumpkin stew) and *ghalyeh esfenaj* (spinach stew).

From the kitchens of medieval Arab and Persian aristocrats, *qaliyya* found its way into the Turkish cuisine. The Rum Seljuk Sultanate (1077–1308), with its Persianized and

Abbasid-influenced culture, adopted many perennial favorites such as *çorba* (soup), *kelle-paça* (sheep's head-and-trotters), *herise* (a wheat-and-meat porridge), *ciğer* (liver), *yahni* (rich meat stew), *kebab* (roasted meat), *boranî* (fried eggplant), *pilav* (rice), and *kalye*.⁴⁹ The latter is an obvious borrowing from Persian *qalya*. It shows up in the thirteenth-century *Dānişmendnāme* (Book of Melik Danişmend), where it apparently denoted “a kind of zucchini or eggplant dish cooked with plain oil.”⁵⁰ In Ottoman banquets, *kalye* incarnated as an assortment of fried meat and/or vegetable dishes.⁵¹ Various recipes have been preserved in culinary texts. The long-time favorite and in fact first Turkish cookbook was a reworking of al-Baghdādī's *Kitāb al-Ṭabikh*, translated and enlarged in 1438 by Muhammed bin Mahmud Şirvani.⁵² This text contains no less than thirty different *kalye* dishes containing meat, vegetables, or both, based on their Abbasid prototypes.⁵³

The vegetarian versions of *kalye* have survived until this day. They display another parallel development to *kavurma*, which in northern and western Turkey also switched to fresh or pickled vegetables as its main ingredient.⁵⁴ A 1950s publication highlights the following regional varieties: *galle* “a dish from beetroot and rice” (Bolu), *galle* “a cabbage dish” (Kayseri), *galle* “pumpkin cooked in milk” (Konya?), *galle* “vegetables braised in butter without meat” (Kütahya, Kayseri, Isparta, Bilecik, Tokat, Trabzon; also *kalye* in Kütahya and Kayseri), *galye* “a dish from beetroot and rice” (Kastamonu), *kalle* “a dish made from fruits” (Amasya), and *kalye* or *kalya* “vegetables fried in oil without meat, mostly pumpkin” (Istanbul).⁵⁵ From Anatolia, the dish also spread to south-eastern Europe, along with many other culinary traditions.⁵⁶ In the Bulgarian dialect of Haskovo, home to a sizable Turkish community, *kallè* became a dish with fresh cabbage.⁵⁷ In the former Yugoslavian states, *kalja* denotes a stew with meat, potatoes and/or vegetables. The Bosnian variety with cabbage (*kalja od kupusa*) remains popular to this day. The Romanian word *câlâie*, currently a kind of stuffed pastry, has likewise been identified as a borrowing from Turkish *kalye*,⁵⁸ although the involved semantic shift eludes me.

The dish was also enjoyed by Turkic communities farther east, although we rely on dictionaries rather than cookbooks to chart its trajectories. The Uzbek scholar Şeyh Süleyman Efendi documented it in Chagatai, the now extinct literary language of the Turkic people of Central Asia. His 1882 *Lügat-i Çağatay ve Türki-i Osmani* (Dictionary of Chagatai and Ottoman Turkish) glosses *kaliye* as “a vegetable type prepared with fat.”⁵⁹ More recent dictionaries attest to its distribution even further afield. The word features in Bashkir as *kal'ja* (a piece of boiled meat) and in Kirghiz as *kalža* (food for women in labor, fresh meat or broth).⁶⁰ In Kazan Tatar, *kalža* can denote a fat piece of meat, colostrum curds, or nutritious food for the sick and women in labor. This gastronym also found its way to the Volga region. The Viryal dialect of Chuvash exhibits *xulja* (boiled peas) and the Mari language *ol'a* (meat). As both words designate nutritious food items, they have been identified as Tatar loans.⁶¹ The obsolete Russian dish *kalja*, “a kind of soup made from cucumber, beetroot and meat, also from caviar and fish,” presumably goes back to the same word.⁶²

Versatile Localizations

Having established itself in the kitchens of the Abbasids, Seljuks, Safavids, and Ottomans, it is not surprising to also encounter *qaliyya* in the Indian Subcontinent. Here, the

mutton stew became intimately connected with the food culture of geographically mobile Muslim elites. In fusing their Central Asian meat diet with Persian finesse, they revolutionized the region's culinary history.⁶³ Now an important part of the Mughlai repertoire, South Asia's *qaliya* has been characterized as a "highly spiced meat with a thick gravy," "a meat dish cooked with a vegetable, in which the gravy is thick and saucelike," or, in the case of the modern Pakistani version (*kalia*), "a hot preparation with a sauce made with a paste of ground ginger and onion."⁶⁴ In the late fifteenth-century *Ni'matnāma* (Book of Delights), a heavily Persianized Urdu compilation of recipes belonging to Sultan Ghiyath Shahi of Māṇḍu, we find a meat-and-rice recipe (*qaliya birinj*). The meat is first fried with ghee, garlic, asafetida, and potherbs and then cooked in one pot with water, cow's milk, and rice.⁶⁵ It also features in the sixteenth-century *Ā'in-i Akbarī* (Administration of Akbar), a detailed Persian description of Mughal court culture. According to this text, *qaliya* contains meat, ghee, onions, pepper, cloves, and cardamoms; "the meat is minced and the gravy rather thick, in opposition to the *mutanjana*. Here in Hind they prepare it in various ways."⁶⁶

The pairing in this Perso-Indian source of *qaliya* with *mutanjana* has broader relevance. Arabic cookbooks likewise distinguished between *qaliyya* and the closely related fried dish *muṭajjan*. Etymologically, the former was connected to a frying pan called *miqlā* and the latter to the tajine (*tājin*), although in actual practice they often required different vessels than their gastronyms would suggest.⁶⁷ According to al-Warrāq's *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, a *muṭajjan* was a boiled-then-fried dish, but in the *Kitāb Wasf* this method could be used for *qaliyya* as well.⁶⁸ The *Kanz al-Fawā'id* contains *muṭajjan* recipes made of sparrows and chickens, as well as a still existing dish of hard-boiled, fried eggs (*bayḍ muṭajjan*).⁶⁹ In the *Māddat al-Ḥayāt*, *muṭanjana* is said to be "a dish made of raisins, walnuts, dried apricots, pomegranate paste, and duck."⁷⁰ To make a long story short, the exact differences between *qaliyya* and *muṭajjan* or *muṭanjana* dishes depended on time and place. This culinary overlap thus resembles the one between *qaliyya* and *qorma*, as will be further discussed below.

Reminiscent of the illustrious Ziryāb of Andalusia, the culinary landscapes of Islamized South Asia were susceptible to the influence of powerful individuals. A well-known example is the Mughal emperor Humāyūn, who was forced in the mid-sixteenth century to retreat to the Safavid Empire and eventually established himself in Delhi with an entourage of Persian cooks.⁷¹ Even earlier, Muḥammad bin Tughluq, Delhi's Turkish sultan ruling from 1325 to 1351, likewise left his imprint on the region's cuisines. He is credited for propagating *qaliya* southward when he shifted his capital to Daulatabad in Maharashtra in 1327. In nearby Aurangabad, the then humble mutton curry – suitable to feed the sizable Tughluq army – developed into *nān-qaliya*.⁷² This felicitous combination of curry and buttery bread, capable of feeding large groups of people, also spread further south. For the Naqshbandī Sufis of Hyderabad in particular, the dish holds an important cultural function and "a symbolic culinary link with the past."⁷³ The Deccan became home to a number of localized versions. *Māhī khaliyah* is a watery mutton curry containing roasted peanuts, sesame, and dried coconut. *Bhindī ka khaliyah* is a vegetarian rendition containing onion paste and okra.⁷⁴

Other vegetable-based varieties emerged elsewhere. In the Awadhi tradition, *qaliya* became a meat preparation with turmeric and raw onion paste, which could be enriched with beetroot, bitter melon, turnips, cabbage, bottle gourd, carrots, potatoes, or various

greens, beans, and peas. It resembled but differed from *qorma*, which was more labor intensive to prepare and only eaten on special occasions. The latter incorporated fried onion paste, yogurt, and coriander leaves, but did not contain turmeric or tomatoes.⁷⁵ Some *qaliya* varieties likewise elevated into prestigious dishes. A highly sophisticated incarnation, known for its medicinal properties, arose in Awadh under the name *kundan qaliya* on account of its golden color acquired by turmeric, saffron, yellow chili powder, and edible gold leaves.⁷⁶

Yet other localized *qaliya* dishes emerged elsewhere in northern India. In an account of the old Muslim cuisine of Rampur, an important Mughal stronghold from the late eighteenth century, the following impressive repertoire is mentioned:

The *qaliyas* were of various types, namely *kundan* [golden] *qaliya*, *rattan* [jewel] *qaliya*, *qaliya* with almonds, *pasandey* [flattened meat] *ka qaliya*, *koftey* [meatballs] *ka qaliya*, chicken *qaliya*. There was one special *qaliya* with white chicken in which milk, yoghurt and green chillies are used as the main ingredients. Another was *qaliya taar* [string] the favourite dish of Rampur, which is made of the finest beef and its fat, cooked in so much *ghee*, that when it is eaten, the *ghee* drips through your fingers in strands. *Shab degh* is a Mughal dish, a *qaliya* which takes hours to cook overnight; it is very rich because the gravy has the stock of mutton chops; the *koftas* [meatballs] are prepared separately and added to it; also added are whole turnips pierced and filled with *gur*, or raw sugar, lightly fried with turmeric. Both the *koftas* and turnips are then added to the curry and the whole is cooked on a slow fire with a dash of saffron and *kewra* [pandanus oil]. This is a different variety to the famous Kashmiri *shab degh*.⁷⁷

The heterogeneity of *qaliya* dishes runs along regional lines, but also religious and even caste-specific ones. The North Indian Kāyasthas, for example, developed a mutton-centric cuisine over time. While they are considered upper-caste Hindus, their historical proximity to the ruling Muslim elites made them expert manufacturers of *pasandā* (flattened meat), *kofta* (meatballs), *shāmī kabāb* (minced meat patties), *qīma* (pounded meat), and *pulāo* (rice and meat cooked in a broth). Their *kaliya* has been described as follows:

Kaliya, a basic meat curry, cooked by the bhuna [slow roasting] method, was an everyday sort of dish. Yet, the Kayasth kaliya, browned properly and with some oil floating on top, is quite a revered dish. I have come across quite a few recipients of Kayasth hospitality who talk about this dish with great nostalgia. Every home tweaked the spices according to their own family recipe. But mostly these were just the simple turmeric, chilli and coriander powder of home cooking, used judiciously, with an aromatic like cardamom powder added at the end. The trick to a good kaliya was just in the bhunoing, the slow roasting of the meat and onions to concentrate the flavour. It required patience – and “good hands.”⁷⁸

We find a different situation in Kashmir, famous for its lamb curry with yogurt and turmeric (*syun kaliya*) and its yellow paneer version (*chaman kaliya*). This region has been under Muslim influence from the eighth century CE, although it is less certain when *qaliya* first entered its kitchens. The local Paṇḍit community, while meat-eaters, carefully shielded their cuisine against Muslim influences. Various red-colored ingredients, for example, were rejected by the Kashmiri Paṇḍit caste, whereas Hindus in general frowned upon garlic, onion, and the excessive use of spices. Lacking such food taboos, Kashmiri Muslims became keen patrons of sumptuous Persian and Central Asian dishes, although they were averse to *asafetida*.⁷⁹ In effect, these food taboos and other modes of culinary

self-styling gave rise to Hindu and Muslim variants of the same dish, in the same way that certain Baghdadi favorites display Muslim, Christian, and Jewish versions.⁸⁰

In Bengal, another region known for its non-vegetarian dishes, *kāliyā* evolved into “a rich and spicy preparation of fish or meat or vegetable by using a lot of oil and ghi, whose gravy consists of grounded ginger, cumin, onion paste and ground garam maślā.”⁸¹ Its eastward introduction has been attributed to Wājid ‘Alī Shāh, the last king of Awadh. In 1856, this renowned patron of the arts and literature was exiled to Metiabruz, then a suburb of Calcutta, where his Lucknow court chefs reportedly introduced several cooking techniques to the region.⁸² At present, the dish can be cooked with chicken (*murgir kāliyā*), crab (*kākrār kāliyā*), or jackfruit (*enchorer kāliyā*), but the most popular Bengali version comes with river fish (*mācher kāliyā*). Two species of freshwater carp, the *kātlā* and *rui*, are the preferred fish of choice. This variety contains turmeric but no garlic; the fish is lightly fried, briefly added to a gravy, and eaten with rice.⁸³ In Bangladesh, *kāliyā* is a common meat-and-potato dish typically containing either beef or mutton and served with rice or flatbread (*parotā*).⁸⁴

In Sri Lanka, the dish is known as *kaliyā* or *kāliyā* in Sinhala and *kaliyā* in Tamil, yet it is primarily associated with the island’s Muslim minority. While Sri Lanka has been in regular contact with West Asian Muslims from the ninth century CE, it is not known when and in what form the dish first established itself on the island. At present, the Moors and the Malays constitute the largest Muslim communities. The former are speakers of Tamil, of partly Arabic ancestry, whereas the latter are descended from the different Indonesian groups historically enslaved, exiled, employed, and/or convicted by the Dutch and later British colonial authorities. The dish now contains turmeric, coconut milk, liver, eggplants, and a type of cooking banana known as ash plantain (*alu kesel*), which is unique to Sri Lanka. In addition, the Moors also cook a “green” version (*pacca kaliyā*), in which all ingredients are cooked in coconut milk.⁸⁵ It is of interest to recall that the addition of liver was already attested in sixteenth-century Persia; the *Māddat al-Hayāt* contains a variant with lamb liver (*qalya-ye pūti*), which was minced and flavored with onions, cinnamon, lemon juice, and sugar.⁸⁶ The other ingredients used in Sri Lanka, however, reflect local innovations.

The stew has also found its way to the Maldives, a group of islands southwest of India and Sri Lanka. This Indian Ocean archipelago was Islamized from the twelfth century CE. Not much is known about the food items and culinary practices introduced in this early period, but in contemporary Maldivian cuisine, *kaliyaa* is “a sweet dry curry of chicken entrails.”⁸⁷ A more popular dish is *kaliyaa birinjii*; “rice cooked in ghee, coconut oil, coconut milk, cumin, and onion.”⁸⁸ This name reminds us of *qaliya birinj* mentioned in the *Niʿmatnāma*; the gastronym *birinjī* has itself traveled widely across the Indian Ocean and reveals Persian origins.⁸⁹

A Dish in Camouflage

Along with sojourners and settlers from South Asia, *qaliya* varieties eventually spread across the rest of the Indian Ocean. We see the dish predominantly in towns and on islands with historical links to these communities. In South Africa, home to a sizable Indian population of diverse regional origins, it transformed into *murghi kalya* (chicken *kalya*) and *kalya-e-khaas* (special *kalya*). Yet these tender chicken curries with yogurt,

herbs, and whole spices never became widely known except locally. Similarly, chicken *kalyo* was introduced into Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda by Kutchi and Gujarati families, but not generally adopted by others.⁹⁰ Another version, with chicken, yogurt, potatoes, and various spices, can be found in Mauritius (*kalia poule*).⁹¹

In the Malaysian city of Penang, the dish is associated with the local descendants of Indian Muslims. At their wedding banquets, “ghee rice, goat *kurma*, chicken curry, lentil stew (*dalca*), and *kalia*” are served.⁹² Here, *kurma* is a meat dish braised in its own broth or optionally with yogurt and/or coconut milk. *Kalia*, by contrast, typically has a vegetable as its main ingredient. One cookbook of Penang’s Indian-descended Muslim community contains a recipe with green beans as its basis (*kalia kacang buncis*). In this version, onions and whole spices are sautéed, adding water, chicken liver, gizzard, green beans, and eventually coconut milk.⁹³ Another Penang cookbook features a beef liver version (*kaliah hati lembu*), containing a variety of spices, onions, and Indian-style curds (*tairu*), to which carrots, potatoes, and boiled liver are added.⁹⁴ In a compilation of Malay village recipes, we find a variety with cabbage (*kalia kubis*) consisting of chicken liver and gizzard, onions, turmeric, and other spices.⁹⁵ Ultimately, however, *kalia* is not commonly known in Malaysia. Even the eminent *Jangka Rampaian* (Miscellaneous Measurements), a two-volume cookbook compiled by Haji Abu Bakar bin Haji Hasan, published in 1934, and filled with Malay, Indian, Arabic, Persian, and Central Asian dishes, does not contain a single recipe.

In Indonesia, *kelia* is often associated with the island Sumatra. Some late-colonial cookbooks categorize it as a generic Sumatran dish.⁹⁶ According to a modern compilation of recipes, it belongs to the province of Jambi and consists of chicken liver and potatoes, which are flavored with a variety of local spices and aromatics – including galangal, candlenuts (*kemiri*), shrimp paste, lemon grass, and kaffir lime leaves (*daun jeruk purut*) – and cooked in coconut milk.⁹⁷ This geographical compartmentalization is not gratuitous. Indonesia’s culinary discourse resembles that of other postcolonial societies in that it “does not seek to hide its regional or ethnic roots.”⁹⁸ Yet a national cuisine can only exist as a culmination of regional traditions, so that dishes previously found in a broad geographical area – including outside the nation’s borders – may end up forced into neat provincial slots. Colonial-era cookbooks were less concerned with precise origins. The first *kelia* recipe known to me is from a generic Indies cookbook published in 1854 in Java, which instructs us to roast a chicken and pour tamarind water over it, pan-fry the required spice mixture, onions, and shrimp paste, add coconut milk and sugar, and finally cut the chicken into pieces.⁹⁹ Versions of this dish have survived in pockets. In Karawang, western Java, another version with chicken (*kalia ayam*) has become a festive dish prepared during the *Sidekah Bumi* ritual.¹⁰⁰ This dish is common among ethnic Sundanese families across western Java (Figure 1).

Despite its attestation in other parts of Indonesia, the uncontested epicenter of *kalia* variety is the province of West Sumatra. Pronounced as *kalio* by the region’s Minangkabau community, it is closely related to two other curry-like dishes: *gulai* and *randang* (better known as *rendang* in Malay).¹⁰¹ Rather than constituting separate dishes, the gastronyms represent successive stages of a lengthy cooking technique. The exact ingredients depend on what is being cooked: chicken, duck, mackerel tuna (*tongkol*), Spanish mackerel (*tenggiri*), squid, shrimps, young jackfruit, edible ferns (*paku*), or many others.¹⁰² Most popularly, the dish is made with beef or buffalo. In that case, it is



Figure 1. Sundanese *kalio ayam* (photo and dish courtesy of Ratna Ayu Hapsari and Taufiq Hanafi).

designated as *gulai daging* when the coconut curry is still liquid, as *kalio daging* when it has reduced and darkened, and as *rendang daging* – or simply *rendang* – after the oil has separated, enabling the spice-coated meat to fry in its own fat and turn almost black.¹⁰³ This dry version, which can be conserved for months, is considered authentic *rendang* by Minangkabau chefs. A typical recipe contains onions, garlic, chilies, ginger, galangal, cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves, cardamom, turmeric leaves, kaffir lime leaves, lemon grass, and more. As we have seen elsewhere, some cooks also add potatoes, which can soak up excess gravy.

Across Indonesia and Malaysia, we also find wet dishes named *rendang*. Indeed, what is often served as *rendang* elsewhere corresponds to *kalio* in the Minangkabau tradition, in the same way that “goulash” corresponds to *pörkölt* in the Hungarian tradition. In the words of one food critic, serving *kalio* under the name *rendang* is “like promising strained yoghurt and giving buttermilk.”¹⁰⁴ And yet, one might speculate that the popular Minangkabau version, in its current form, is an innovation of an earlier, more widespread, less specialized tradition. Confronted with a variety of curry-like dishes, the borrowed gastronym *kalio* may have filled a vacant semantic niche: an intermediate stage of an increasingly sophisticated cooking technique. The preexisting word *rendang*, then, shifted to the end result of this method: a dry (yet not crispy!) dish with a dark brown color. In this new sense, *kalio* traveled across Sumatra, along with Minangkabau sojourners. Aceh is famous for its version with cow leg (*kalio kikel*), whereas the Kerinci region exhibits *gule kalio* (a compound of *gulai* and *kalio*).¹⁰⁵ In Malaysia, one can find versions with chicken (*ayam kelio*), shrimps (*udang kelio*), cuttlefish (*sotong kelio*), and others.

The dish also found its way to the southern Philippines, from where local Muslims introduced it elsewhere in the archipelago. In a description of the restaurant scene in Quiapo, a district of Manila, we read that the Tausug people sell “*kaliya* (chicken cooked

in coconut milk with chili pepper, turmeric and jackfruit) and *kare sapi* (beef curry).”¹⁰⁶ Their cuisine has incorporated various dishes from the broader Muslim world. Among these we find another far-flung descendant of *qorma*. The Tausug beef variant (*kurma sapi*) consists of spiced cubes of beef and liver roasted on barbecue sticks, whereas the chicken variant (*kurma manuk*) is a thick curry with spices and coconut milk.¹⁰⁷ As in Penang, such cosmopolitan dishes are typically served during weddings, which in a Tausug context constitute an amalgamation of local, Malay, and wider Islamic practices. In a 1973 ethnography, we read:

Recipes served during the wedding feast are either Indonesian, Indian, or Arabian dishes which have been adopted as Tausug food. To name a few, they are *kari-kari*, *kulma*, *sati*, *sambal-guring*, *mutabbak*, *piyasak* or in Arabian parlance *kebab*. The cakes served during the wedding are mostly Malaysian or Indonesian in origin.¹⁰⁸

With the exception of *piyasak*, all these delicacies have Malay equivalents: *kari* (curry), *kurma*, *satai* (skewered meat), *sambal goreng* (spicy sauté), and *murtabak* (meat-filled flatbread). The latter dish, also known as *mutabbaq*, exhibits a comparable pan-Indian Ocean distribution to *qaliyya*.¹⁰⁹ Meanwhile, *kaliya* is absent from the above description of Tausug cuisine, as well as other studies known to me. In a southern Philippine context, it is primarily associated with the Yakan community of Basilan Island. A version with chicken (*kaliya' manuk*) is cooked in coconut milk, grated cassava, turmeric, and other spices and aromatics. The authoritative dictionary on Philippine food glosses it as “native chicken boiled with powdered rice and spices. A *sumbali* (ritual prayer before slaughtering) is done before preparing this dish.”¹¹⁰ Another version contains papaya (*kaliya' kapaya*).

As a minority within their region, albeit one with deep historical connections to the broader Islamic world, Yakan culinary history has not received much academic attention. Such omissions in the wider literature raise the intriguing question how many more localized incarnations of *qaliyya* have survived, under the radar, on a village level. My provisional answer would be: numerous more. My inability to find many publications mentioning *qaliyya* dishes in several parts of Southeast Asia and especially Africa should certainly not be seen as evidence of absence.

Conclusion

The story of *qaliyya* reveals a number of valuable insights. Like many food items, it has seen countless preparations, recipes, and combinations of ingredients. Yet, intriguing connections show up between these seemingly localized practices, revealing how Indian Ocean societies were willing to adopt elements from each other beyond the realm of economic necessity. Its canonical translation as “fried dish” is correct, but there is a great deal more to this mobile stew. Most recipes involve patiently cooking a spice-laden broth until the liquid evaporates, after which the entire dish can be fried in its own fat. Alternatively, the meat and/or vegetables are fried beforehand and added to the simmering broth to make them tender. The color ranges from yellow to yellowish brown. Throughout the Indian Ocean, versions of *qaliyya* are associated with mobile Muslim communities, in particular the court cooks of the ruling classes. And, despite its origins in the meat-rich cuisines of Islamic aristocracy, the dish proved versatile enough to appeal

to aficionados of fish – from the Persian Gulf to Bengal and West Sumatra – and to vegetarians. In the latter case, the fact that its preparation resembles that of a savory meat dish may have added to its popularity.

The *qaliyya* recipes examined in this article contain clues about wealth, as seen from the presence or absence of expensive ingredients, as well as regional variety in taste. Almost no version is complete without onions and a multitude of spices. The use of lamb and especially chicken is also widely attested. This includes chicken entrails in the Maldives, Penang, and Sumatra, whereas the use of liver is attested in Persian, Sri Lankan, and Southeast Asian recipes. True to its Muslim origins, *qaliyya* with pork appears to be a global contradiction in terms. Versions with eggplant are seen in Baghdad, Persia, Turkey, and Sri Lanka, with cabbage in Turkey, southeastern Europe, Awadh, and Malaysia, with beetroot in Persia, Awadh, Turkey, and Russia, with carrots in Baghdad, Cairo, Persia, Awadh, and Penang, and with jackfruit in Bengal, West Sumatra, and the Philippines. Some recipes incorporate New World products, such as pumpkin in Persia and Turkey, potatoes in Awadh, Bengal, Mauritius, Penang, and Sumatra, and chilies across the Indian Ocean. The use of sumac, vinegar, and chickpeas, conversely, did not spread greatly beyond Arab and Persian kitchens. Similarly, the addition of shrimp paste is restricted to Indonesian recipes. The saffron of courtly elites generally made way for turmeric in South and Southeast Asia, and presumably also in the Middle East among less affluent cooks. Yogurt enriches the broth in the Indian subcontinent, Penang, Mauritius, and South Africa, whereas coconut milk is used in Sri Lanka, the Maldives, and Southeast Asia.

It is worth noticing that *qaliyya* has lost much of its erstwhile fame. Nevertheless, it should probably not be approached as a forgotten dish, as such verbiage fails to do justice to its remarkably complex history. In several instances it simply lacked urban middle-class patronization. In India, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines, the stew is associated with specific regions, often inhabited by marginalized Muslim communities, and therefore not automatically part of the dominant culture. Elsewhere, too, it is seen as provincial and not quite popular enough to make into the official canon. To my knowledge, vying bands of nationalists have never battled over the origins of *qaliyya*. Not being claimed as anyone's national cuisine, it gradually dropped from high to low prestige, not helped by the fact that stews tend to be heavy, labor intensive, and therefore impractical fare for restaurants (as opposed to the palatial kitchens of yore). If anything, we now encounter the descendants of *qaliyya* in the domestic sphere, or during weddings and other religious ceremonies. Prepared by uncelebrated chefs, often belonging to minorities within peripheral regions, they feature among those humble traditions "losing in the struggle for a place in the cultural repertoire of the new national (and international) middle classes."¹¹¹ With some exceptions, they survive as memorized family recipes rather than chapters of authoritative cookbooks. The observed overlap with *hamisa*, *būrānī*, *mutajjan*, *qorma*, *gulai*, *rendang*, and other lookalikes may have further contributed to the decline of *qaliyya*.

The connections highlighted in this article between *qaliyya* dishes from Southeast Asia to Europe are far from obvious to the modern cooks behind their preparation. Their historical relatedness is primarily a scholarly curiosity. As such, some remarks are in order about sources and methods. The mounting record of translated medieval and early modern cookbooks will continue to augment the field of Middle Eastern culinary history.

In this region, one can reconstruct in detail how specific recipes of *qaliyya* and many other dishes traveled between Baghdad, Persia, Turkey, and beyond. The culinary trajectories of South Asia, too, are increasingly well understood, although the picture remains somewhat imbalanced from one community to another. In Africa and Southeast Asia, many of the culinary traditions away from the national centers have received little attention, including in local scholarship. In most instances, the observed ingredients and preparation methods reflect local cooking traditions, although Perso-Arabic or South Asian influence remains visible on a linguistic level.

This study on *qaliyya* has also illustrated some of the problems of using recipes to trace historical food connections. We have already called attention to the absence in many parts of the world of premodern cookbooks. On top of that, the use of certain dishes may have been exaggerated by authors that regarded them as items of prestige and excluded by those who saw them as alien intrusions. Unlike China and Europe, the cuisine of villagers has mostly been ignored in an Indian Ocean context, with the exception of some recent publications of a nostalgic bent. Yet despite these shortcomings, cookbooks are often the only detailed sources we have on the mobility of foodways. They have long proven their value in linking the introduction of novel ingredients to specific time periods.¹¹² At the same time, as this study has shown, cookbooks are the archives of sensorial idiosyncrasies. When they are examined comparatively, the recipes they contain substantiate in detail how local ecosystems, available products, and homegrown tastes conspire to domesticate foreign novelties and preserve them for future generations.

Tracing an enigmatic Indian Ocean stew has also been an exercise in recognizing and grappling with meaningful absences. The scarcity of written accounts on marginalized dishes, in the Indian Ocean and elsewhere, reflects hierarchies on a regional as well as national level. Many dictionaries and other lexicographic studies have a tendency to neglect culinary vocabulary to begin with. And yet, increasing numbers of relevant publications from around the world, from a range of centuries and in a variety of languages, have become at least partly available in digital form through such online portals as Google Books and the Internet Archive. It is through these infrastructures that the present study could have been written despite the above challenges and the author's ongoing lack of fieldwork opportunities.

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Notes

1. These have been described in greatest detail by Chaudhuri, *Asia Before Europe*, 151–81.
2. See, for example, Pearson, *Spices*; Alpers, *The Indian Ocean*; Sheriff and Ho, *The Indian Ocean*; and Rangan, Alpers, Kull, and Carney, “Food Traditions.”
3. A welcome exception is Ray, “Culinary Spaces,” which examines the notion of a connected Indian Ocean cuisine.
4. I adopt this term from Bogni, “La gastronomie camerounaise”; Morărașu, “Linguistic Adaptation”; and Tambor, “Foreign Cuisine.”
5. Their dispersal across the Indian Ocean is described panoramically by Hoogervorst, “Sailors, Tailors,” 528–34, yet much remains to be done in this area.
6. See Pilcher, “Cultural Histories”; Albala, “Cookbooks,” Appadurai, “How to Make a Cuisine”; Zubaida, “The Idea of ‘Indian Food.’”
7. Nasrallah, *Caliphs' Kitchens*, 611.
8. Nasrallah, *Treasure Trove*, 500–1.
9. I owe this information to Abdossalam Madkhali.
10. Meniński, *Thesaurus Linguarum*, 3756
11. Piamenta, *Dictionary of*, 412.
12. I owe this information to Ra'īd al-Jamali. See Al Taie, *Al-Azaf*, 113, for a *qaliya* recipe from Oman's interior.
13. de Premare, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, 419.
14. I owe this information to Daniel DeBrincat.
15. Rohlf, *Lexicon Graecanicum*, 198; Pellegrini, *Gli Arabismi*, 202.
16. Perry, “*Korma, Kavurma, Ghormeh*.”
17. Davies, *Leg over Leg*, 261, 327.
18. Perry, “Middle Eastern Food History,” 114.
19. Albala “Cookbooks,” 228. See also Appadurai, “How to Make a Cuisine,” 3–4.
20. See Albala, “Cookbooks,” and Pilcher, “Cultural Histories,” on these points and on the methodological challenges of using cookbooks as historical documents more generally.
21. See Zanon, “Migrant Marketplaces,” for an insightful model to globalize histories of migrant foodways.
22. Bottéro “The Most Ancient.”
23. Nasrallah, *Caliphs' Kitchens*, 22–29; Perry, “Middle Eastern Food History,” 111–12; Newman, *The Sultan's Feast*, xiii–xli.
24. Pandit “The tale of”; Safvi, “Qissa Qorma.”
25. Perry, “Middle Eastern Food History,” 110.
26. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, “Persian Food.”
27. al-Samī & Maḥmūd, *Kitāb Faḍā'il*, 73. See Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*, 165, n. 141, on the sweet dish *khushkanānj*.
28. Nasrallah, *Caliphs' Kitchens*, 343–49.
29. This spicy, salty condiment contained barley infected with a mold. It was made in the same way as soy sauce and we know from reconstructive cooking that the two ingredients tasted similarly. See Perry, “Middle Eastern Food History,” 114.
30. Ghanoonparvar, *Dining at the Safavid Court*, xii, makes a similar point about the Persian cookbook *Māddat al-Hayāt*.
31. Arberry, “A Baghdad Cookery-Book,” 189–98.
32. Perry, “The Description of Familiar Foods,” 343–62.
33. As described by Hillenbrand, “The Ornament of the World,” 117: “[h]e revolutionised the local cuisine, not merely by bringing in unfamiliar fruit and vegetables (such as asparagus)

but by insisting, for example, that meals should be served in separate courses, including soup and desserts, and that crystal was a more appropriate container for choice beverages than heavy goblets of precious metal.”

34. Corriente, *A Dictionary of Andalusī Arabic*, 441.
35. Nasrallah, *Best of Delectable Foods*, 258–59.
36. I owe this information to Nawal Nasrallah.
37. Corriente, *El Léxico*, 171.
38. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*, 193–95.
39. Nasrallah, *Treasure Trove*, 97–104.
40. *Ibid.*, 97.
41. Newman, *The Sultan’s Feast*, 104, 107–8.
42. Hassibi and Sayadadbi, *A Persian Cookbook*, 119–33.
43. *Ibid.*, 119, fn. 1.
44. Hūšang, “Beet.”
45. Ghanoonparvar, *Dining at the Safavid Court*, 35–40.
46. *Ibid.*, 39.
47. Perry, “*Korma, Kavurma, Ghormeh*,” 254.
48. Bazin et al., “Gilān Province.”
49. Uzunağaç, *Selçuklu Anadolu*, 95–120.
50. Alternatively glossed as “vegetable dish; moussaka; braised meat” by Demir, *Dānišmend-Nāme*, 170. Note that the Turkish *musakka* consists of fried eggplant in a meat sauce with onions.
51. Işın, *Bountiful Empire*, 18–20.
52. Perry, “Middle Eastern Food History,” 113.
53. Argunşah and Çakır, *Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mutfağı*, 75–88.
54. Perry, “*Korma, Kavurma, Ghormeh*,” 255.
55. Tietze, “Direkte arabische Entlehnungen,” 304.
56. See Kahl, “Zum Schicksal”; Jianu and Barbu, *Earthly Delights*, on Ottoman culinary influences in Danubian Europe from the sixteenth to nineteenth century.
57. Georgiev, *Български етимологичен речник*, 172.
58. de Cihac, *Dictionnaire d’Étymologie*, 555.
59. Kúnos, *Sejx Sulejman*, 116.
60. Räsänen, “Die tschuwassischen Lehnwörter,” 161.
61. Culver, “Notes on Mari,” 64.
62. Vasmer, *Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 512. The relationship with a number of alcohol-related word in Finnic languages, if any, remains obscure, although cf. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen*, 226; Blažek, “Indo-European Conference,” 225.
63. Zubaida, “The Idea of ‘Indian Food,’” 192–93.
64. Sen, *Feasts and Fasts*, 185; Philip, “Moghul India,” 250; Sen, “Pakistan,” 195.
65. Titley, *The Ni’matnāma Manuscript*, 12, 501–2.
66. Blochmann, *The Ā’in-i Akbarī*, 63–64.
67. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways*, 193–94.
68. Perry, “The Description of Familiar Foods,” 281.
69. Nasrallah, *Treasure Trove*, 157, 180.
70. Ghanoonparvar, *Dining at the Safavid Court*, 145.
71. Zubaida, “The Idea of ‘Indian Food,’” 193.
72. Pandit, “The Tale of Travelling Kaliya.”
73. Green, *Indian Sufism*, 145.
74. Pandit, “The Tale of Travelling Kaliya.”
75. Safvi, “Qissa Qorma,” 13.
76. Pandit, “The Tale of Travelling Kaliya.”
77. Habibullah, *Remembrance of Days Past*, 90.
78. Vishal, *Mrs LC’s Table*.
79. Wani, *Islam in Kashmir*, 291.

80. Zubaida, “National, Communal and Global,” 38.
81. Saha, *A Handbook*, 431.
82. Pandit, “The Tale of Travelling Kaliya.”
83. Ibid.
84. Kabir, *Bangladeshi Curry Cookbook*, 26.
85. Hussein, *Sarandib*, 274. See Sri Lanka Malay Association, *Resipi Makanan Melayu*, 19, for a Sri Lankan Malay recipe.
86. Ghanoonparvar, *Dining at the Safavid Court*, 37.
87. Reynolds, *A Maldivian Dictionary*, 68.
88. Abdulla and O’Shea, *English-Dhivehi*, 114.
89. Hoogervorst, “Sailors, Tailors,” 546 n. 57.
90. See Nimji and Anderson, *A Spicy Touch*, 142–43, for a recipe, which does not closely resemble the aforementioned *qaliya-ye Zangī* described in the *Kārnāma*.
91. Althaus, *La Case Kreol*, 59.
92. Merican, “Keluarga Merican,” 34.
93. Fadhillah, *Variasi Masakan Mami*, 62–63.
94. Zaine, *Kompilasi Masakan Penang*, 26.
95. *Kompilasi Hidangan Kampung*, 22.
96. Rahman, *Jejak Rasa*, 183.
97. Ganie, *Periuk Nusantara*, 40.
98. Appadurai, “How to Make a Cuisine,” 5. See also Zubaida, “National, Communal and Global,” 36–37, on the role of cookbooks in the construction of national cuisines.
99. *Kitab Masak Masakan*, 56.
100. Mulyono Machmur, “Budaya Padi dan Beras.”
101. The similarity between the dishes in question has not gone lost on Indonesian scholars. In one publication, the *qaliyya* enjoyed by the pupils of Prophet Muḥammad is translated as *gulai*. See ‘Abd al-Fattāh, *Para Ulama Jomblo*, 79.
102. I owe this information to Suryadi.
103. Owen, *Indonesian Food*, 178–79.
104. van Dam, “Eerlijk Indonesisch.”
105. In the Kerinci grammar, the word *kalio* behaves like a non-integrated loanword, indicating a relatively recent acquisition. I thank Ernanda for this information.
106. Zialcita, *Quiapo*, 323.
107. Abdulla, *The Food & Culture*, 202–3.
108. Bruno, *The Social World*, 125.
109. Hoogervorst, “Sailors, Tailors,” 530–32.
110. Polistico, *Philippine Food*, 390.
111. Appadurai, “How to Make a Cuisine,” 18.
112. See Albala, “Cookbooks,” 230.

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