

# What Should You Expect from a Medieval Islamic Perfumery Monograph?

## Bir Ortaçağ İslami İtriyaat İnceleme Yazısından Ne Beklemelisiniz?

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### ABSTRACT

Perfumery and using aromatic substances have been widespread in the Islamic lands and there were significant books about it in medieval Islam. The available monographs on perfumery are as follows: *Jawāhir al-Ṭīb* by Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh (778-857 AD), *Kīmiyā al-ʿİṭr wa al-Taşʿīdāt* by al-Kindī (801-871 AD), *Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-ʿİṭr* by Ibn al-Jazzār (897-979 AD), *Ṭīb al-ʿArūs wa Rayḥān al-Nufūs* by al-Tamīmī (d 1000 AD), and *Kitāb al-Ṭīb* by al-Khāzin (alive in 1030 AD). There are few indications to perfumery in the Islamic books on the classification of knowledge; so, studying the structure and content of the monographs can be helpful to find out the view of the Islamic scholars about perfumery and its place in the classification of knowledge. The perfumery monographs customarily contain three subjects: Simple Aromatic Substances, Compound Perfumes, and Adulterated Aromatics. The simple aromatics categorize in two sorts: Al-Uşūl and Al-Afāwīh. The compounds, in order to their method of preparation and usage can be categorized as incenses, unguents, powders, liquids, cleansers, Clothing Fragrances, breath fresheners, and Compound ingredients. Every one of these contains many different recipes. The recipes for adulterated aromatics have usually been mentioned among compound aromatics but, they can be distinguished with regard to the ingredients. Considering the importance of the recipes in the monographs, placing the perfumery as a similar art to alchemy in al-Ḥudūd is corroborated; though mentioning the medicinal properties of aromatics, is corroborating Bīrūnī's position on the place of perfumery as a subdivision of medicine.

**Keywords:** Perfumery in medieval islam, aromatics in medieval islam, perfumery monographs

### Öz

İtriyaat ve hoş kokulu maddeler İslam dünyasında yaygın bir şekilde kullanılmaktadır ve bu konuda Ortaçağ İslam Dünyasından yazılmış önemli kitaplar mevcuttur. İtriyaat üzerine yazılmış mevcut inceleme yazıları şu şekildedir: Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh (M.S. 778-857) tarafından yazılan *Jawāhir al-Ṭīb*, al-Kindī (M.S. 801-871) tarafından yazılan *Kīmiyā al-ʿİṭr wa al-Taşʿīdāt*, Ibn al-Jazzār (M.S. 897-979) tarafından yazılan *Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-ʿİṭr*, al-Tamīmī (d M.S. 1000) tarafından yazılan *Ṭīb al-ʿArūs wa Rayḥān al-Nufūs* ve al-Khāzin (M.S. 1030) tarafından yazılan *Kitāb al-Ṭīb*.

Bilginin sınıflandırılması üzerine İslami kitaplarındaki İtriyaat hakkında az sayıda bulgu mevcuttur bundan dolayı inceleme yazılarının yapı ve içeriğinin çalışılması İslam âlimlerinin İtriyaat ve bilginin sınıflandırılması konusundaki fikirlerini öğrenmek için faydalı olacaktır. İtriyaat ile ilgili inceleme yazıları geleneksel olarak üç konu içermektedir. Basit hoş kokulu maddeler, terkip kokular, katkı kokular. Basit hoş kokular iki şekilde sınıflandırılmaktadır: Al-Uşūl and Al-Afāwīh. Terkipler, hazırlama ve kullanım yöntemlerine göre, tütsüler, merhemler, tozlar, sıvı kokular, sabunlar, elbise kokuları, nefes tazeleyiciler ve terkip bileşenleri olarak sınıflandırılabilir. Her birisi farklı reçetelere sahip olabilir. Katkı kokular için kullanılan reçeteler genellikle terkip kokular arasında bahsedilmektedir fakat içeriklerine bakıldığına ayırt edilebilirler. İnceleme yazılarındaki reçetelerin bu önemi göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, İtriyaatın bir tür simya sanatı olarak görülmüş olduğu fikri al-Ḥudūd isimli eserde doğrulanmış olmasına rağmen hoş kokulu maddelerin tıbbi içeriklerine atıfla, İtriyaatı, tıbbın bir alt kolu olarak gören Bīrūnī' nin bu konudaki görüşü güçlenmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Ortaçağ İslam dünyasında İtriyaat, ortaçağ İslam dünyasında hoş kokular, İtriyaat inceleme yazıları

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## Introduction

Perfumery and using aromatic substances have been widespread in the Islamic lands; there were significant books on different issues dealing with the aromatics, in the medieval Islamic era. Based on their approaches and subjects, these books are from different categories, like medical books, pharmacopoeias, dictionaries, literary books, bureaucratic handbooks, jewelry books, cookbooks, geographical books, and Hisbat handbooks; Furthermore, there are significant monographs written by Islamic scholars on perfumery in the medieval era; nevertheless, no mention is made of perfumery in most of the Islamic books about the classification of knowledge. However, we know through the al-Fihrist (Ibn al-Nadīm, 1430, vol. 3:184) that al-Kindī wrote two books on the classification of knowledge<sup>1</sup>, and it is acceptable that he, as an author of some monographs on perfumery, has taken notice to perfumery as a branch of knowledge, but his books on the subject are not extant (Sezgin, 1967, pp. 383–384), so his position on the place of perfumery in the classification of knowledge is not known.

One of the rare allusions to perfumery in the extant books on the classification of knowledge is in al-Ḥudūd attributed to Jābir ibn Ḥayyān who divided knowledge as religious and secular, the secular divided into the noble (Sharīf) knowledge (al-Ṣan‘a: the Ars = alchemy) and the ignoble (Waḍī‘) ones (al-Ṣanā‘i‘: the Artium). The ignobles are of two sorts; the arts needed for the alchemy and the arts that are useful for the alchemy because of their integration and agreement (al-Kifāya wa al-‘Ittifāq) with it. The art of oils, perfumes, and dyes belong to the last category because of their contributions to the alchemy (Kraus, 1935, p. 100).

There is also an indication to Perfumery as a subdivision of medicine in al-Bīrūnī’s catalogue of al-Rāzī’s books (Kraus, 1936); however it cannot be considered as a book on the classification of knowledge, but it is mentioned as the book of al-Rāzī on perfumes (Kitābihi al-Kabīr Fi al-‘Itr wa al-Anbijat wa al-Adkhān) among his books about medicine while in this work a group of books has also been presented under the title of Kīmīyā’ (alchemy). So, it may be suggested that Biruni has given a different place to perfumery with Jabir’s view.

Studying the structure and content of the perfumery monographs can be helpful to find out the view of Islamic scholars about perfumery and aromatic substances; so it may shed light on the right place of perfumery in the medieval Islamic classification of knowledge, or at least finds out different views on this area.

### 1. Perfumery Monographs

Some of the medieval Islamic monographs on perfumes are known just by quotations or mentioned in the old bibliographies (For example see Ibn al-Nadīm, 1430, vol. 3, p. 352); for a thorough account about the lost perfumery books, see the introduction of the editor to *Ṭīb al-‘Arūs wa Rayhān al-Nufūs* (Tamīmī, 2014). The extant monographs about perfumery are the following.

#### 1.1. Jawāhir al-Ṭīb al-Mufrada bi Asmā’ihā wa Ṣifātiha wa Ma‘ādinihā

It is the oldest extant Arabic treatise about aromatics written by Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh (778-857 AD). It has been published based on just one of its manuscripts (Sbath, 1936), while there are at least four other copies which survived. The published *Jawāhir al-Ṭīb* contains only simple aromatics, but more than 50 recipes for compound aromatics can be seen in the manuscripts besides quoting recipes from Ibn Māsawayh in other perfumery monographs. Accordingly, it seems that the available text of the *Jawāhir al-Ṭīb* needs reconsideration.

This book contains 29 simple aromatics divided into two sorts: *al-Uṣūl* (principals) and *al-Afāwīth* (spices / secondary aromatics). The principals are musk, ambergris, aloeswood, camphor, and saffron; and the spices are (The renditions

1 “The Nature of Knowledge and its Categories” and “Divisions of the Human Knowledge”  
«ماهية (في الأصل: مائية) العلم وأصنافه» و «أقسام العلم الإنسي»

quoted from King, 2017, p. 273) *Sunbul* (spikenard), *Qaranful* (cloves), *Şandal* (sandalwood), *Jawzbuwwā wa al-Basbās* (nutmeg and mace), *Ward* (rose), *Falanja*, *Zarnab* (yew), *Qirfa* (cassia or cinnamon bark), *Harnuwa*, *Qāqulla* (greater cardamom), *Kabāba* (cubeb), *Hālbūwwā* (lesser cardamom), *Habb al-Mīsum*, *Fāghira* (fagara), *Maḥlab* (mahlab), *Wars*, *Quṣṭ* (custus), *Azḫār* (onycha), *Bunk*, *Ḍirw* (lentisk), *Lādhan* (labdanum), *May'a* (storax), and *Qinbīl* (kamala).

## 1.2. Kīmiyā al-‘Iṭr wa al-Taṣ‘īdāt

It is an Arabic book written by Ya‘qūb ibn ‘Ishāq al-Kindī (801-871 AD), published twice with different titles; the first one has the title mentioned, with a German translation and annotations (al-Kindī, 1948), the second was published under the title *Makḥḥūṭ Kitāb al-taraffuq fī al-‘Iṭr* (al-Kindī, 2010); both titles - *Kīmiyā al-‘Iṭr wa al-Taṣ‘īdāt* and *al-taraffuq fī al-‘Iṭr* - appear in the manuscripts. Although considering *al-Fihrist*'s mention (Ibn al-Nadīm, 1430, vols. 3: 193, 352), the first one seems to be more known.

This book contains 109 recipes<sup>2</sup> for compound aromatics in 10 chapters:

1- أبواب صنعة المسك. 2- أبواب صنعة العنبر. 3- أبواب صنعة الزعفران. 4- أبواب صنعة الورد. 5- أبواب صنعة الغوالي. 6- باب آخر. 7- أبواب الأدهان. 8- أبواب عمل الكافور. 9- أبواب صنعة السك والرامك. 10- أبواب عمل التصعيدات.

1- Chapters of musk fabrication. 2- Chapters of ambergris fabrication. 3- Chapters of saffron fabrication. 4- Chapters of wars fabrication. 5- Chapters of *Ghawālī* (pl. *Ghāliya*) fabrication. 6- Another chapter. 7- Chapters of oils. 8- Chapters of the camphor production. 9- Chapters of *al-Sukk* and *al-Rāmik* fabrication. 10- Chapters of the distillations production.

Considering the cheaper and more available ingredients, and according to the final sentence in many of the recipes, referring to the original perfume and that it can be sold instead of the original so that no one rejects its authenticity, it can be declared that most of the recipes are about preparing adulterated (*Maghshūsh*) aromatics.

It is worth mentioning that besides the *Kīmiyā al-‘Iṭr* there is also a lost book about aromatics entitled “*Kitāb al-‘Iṭr*” (Ibn al-Nadīm, 1430, vols. 3: 193, 352) or “*al-Risāla fī al-‘Iṭr wa ‘Anwa ‘ihī*” (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, 1882, vol. 1: 213; Ibn al-Qifṭī, 1903, p. 375) attributed to al-Kindī in the medieval Islamic bibliographies.

## 1.3. Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-‘Iṭr

It is an Arabic book written by Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm, known as Ibn al-Jazzār (897-979 AD) (Ibn al-Jazzār, 2007). This book contains an introduction about simple aromatics, 9 chapters containing 148 recipes for compound aromatics and an epilogue indicating that the author has examined every recipe which has been mentioned in the book himself.

The introduction deals with the nature of smell and how it is felt, and then frames simple aromatic substances as two sorts: *al-Uṣūl* and *al-Afāwīh*. Based on the humoral theory the principals have been divided into hot principals (musk, ambergris, aloeswood, and saffron) and cold principals (camphor, sandalwood, rose, and *Ushna*: lichen); and the spices are spikenard, *Salīkha*, cloves, mahlab, nutmeg, *Falanja*, custus, *Qirfa* (cassia; types: *al-Ṭīb* and *al-Sādḥaj*), *Qāqulla* (cardamom; types: *al-Kabīra*: the greater and *al-Ṣaghīra*: the lesser), cubeb, mace, *Harnuwa*, *fagara*, *Wars*, *Qaṣab al-Dharīra*, *Su‘d*, *Sukk*, *Azḫār al-Ṭīb* (onycha), *Kundur / Lubbān* (frankincense), *Maṣṭakī* (mastic), *Lubnī / Aṣṭarak* (Storax; types: *May‘at al-Ruhbān*, *May‘at al-Yābisa*, and *May‘at al-Sāila*), lentisk, labdanum, *Habb al-Mīsum*.

The number of types of *Afāwīh* in this book amounts to 24, which in addition to the kinds mentioned for some of them; it comes to a total of 28.

2 The last number of the first published edition is 107, but actually the numbers 37 and 100 each have contained two recipes.

The chapters are as follows:

- 1- باب ذكر العبير والذرائر. 2- باب ذكر الغوالي وما شاكلها. 3- باب الأدهان (في الأصل: الدهان). 4- باب ذكر البخورات. 5- باب ذكر اللخالخ.  
6- باب الخلوقات. 7- باب ذكر طيب الثياب. 8- باب ذكر أشنان. 9- باب ذكر المسوح.

1- The chapter of introducing *al-‘Abīr* and *al-Dharā‘ir* (pl. *Dharīra*: scented powder). 2- The chapter of introducing *al-Ghawālī* and their ingredients. 3- The chapter of oils. 4- The chapter of introducing incenses. 5- The chapter of introducing *Lakhālikh* (pl. *Lakhlakha*). 6- The chapter of *Khalūqāt* (pl. *Khalūq*). 7- The chapter of introducing clothing’s perfumes. 8- The chapter of introducing *Ushnān*. 9- The chapter of introducing *Masūh*.

#### 1.4. *Ṭīb al-‘Arūs wa Rayḥān al-Nufūs*

It is an Arabic book written by Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd al-Tamīmī (d 1000 AD), published recently with an informative introduction by the editor (Tamīmī, 2014). The *Ṭīb al-‘Arūs* had been written in three volumes, while just some parts of the third volume are available in the unique surviving manuscript; there is also a summarized version of it being quoted in the *Nihāyat al-‘Arab* by al-Nuwayrī (Nuwayrī, 1424, vols. 3, p. 3–83).

The quoted chapters of *Ṭīb al-‘Arūs* in the *Nihāyat al-Arab* are as follows:

- 1- في المسك وأنواعه. 2- في العنبر وأنواعه ومعادنه. 3- في العود وأنواعه ومعادنه وأصنافه. 4- في الصندل وأصنافه ومعادنه. 5- في السنبل الهندي وأصنافه والقرنفل وجوهره. 6- في القسط وأصنافه. 7- في عمل الغوالي والندود. 8- في عمل الرامك والسك من الرامك والأدهان. 9- في عمل النضوحات والمياه المستقطرة وغير المستقطرة مثل ماء الجورين وماء الصندل وماء الخلق وماء الميسوسن (في الأصل: ميسوسن) وماء التفاح وماء العنب وتصعيد المياه.

1- On musk and its types. 2- On ambergris and its types, and provenance. 3- On aloeswood and its types, provenance, and divisions. 4- On sandalwood, its divisions, and provenance. 5- On Indian spikenard and its divisions along with cloves and its essence. 6- On custus and its divisions. 7- On the production of *al-Ghawālī* and *al-Nudūd* (pl. *al-Nadd*). 8- On the production of *Rāmik* and *Sukk* from it along with the oils. 9- On the production of *al-Naḍūḥāt* (pl. *al-Naḍūḥ*) and distilled and undistilled waters like *Jūrīn* water, sandalwood water, *Khalūq* water, *Maysūsan* water, apple water, and grape water along with distillation of waters’ [method].

And the remaining chapters in the manuscript are:

- 1- عمل الأدهان. 2- النضوحات والميسوسن وماء التفاح المطيب وماء العنب المطيب. 3- تصعيد ماء الورد وماء الأفواه وماء الرياحين. 4- صنعة اللخالخ المجالسية. 5- الغسلات المصطنعة لشعور النساء. 6- أصباغ الثياب المطيبة والمكببة والمذهبة والمرشوشة بالعنبر والذهب. 7- غسولات الغمرية وألوان المحلب وأبواب الأشنان الحمدوني.

1- Production of the oils. 2- *Naḍūḥāt*, *Maysūsan*, scented apple water, and scented grape water. 3- Distillation of rosewater, the spices water, and the flowers water. 4- Fabrication of *Lakhālikh* for ceremonies. 5- Selective *al-Ghasilāt* (pl. *Ghasil*) for women’s hair. 6- Scented, solid, gilding or dotted by ambergris and gold, clothing dyes. 7- Immersing *Ghasulāt* and mahlab dyes and sections for *Ushnān al-Ḥamdūnī*

Excluding the similar chapters<sup>3</sup>, it is safe to say that the original text of *Ṭīb al-‘Arūs* contained at least 13 chapters dealing with eight simple aromatic substances and more than 290<sup>4</sup> recipes for compound aromatics. Regarding al-Nuwayrī’s reference to various types for camphor, in another chapter of his book under the gum (*al-Ṣumūgh*) quoted from *Ṭīb al-‘Arūs* (Nuwayrī, 1424, vol. 11: 196), in addition to what appears in the quoted chapters mentioned above, the simple substances dealt with in the book were as follows: musk, ambergris, aloeswood, sandalwood, spikenard, cloves, custus, and camphor.

3 The chapters 8 and 9 of the first order seem to be similar to the chapter 1- 3 in the second order.

4 It is the number of extant recipes in the manuscript.

## 1.5. Kitāb al-Ṭīb

It is an Arabic treatise written by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm al-Khāzin (living in 1030 AD), published recently (al-Khāzin, 2015) based on the oldest existing copy<sup>5</sup> irrespective of the transposition of the folios and with the same confusion in the arrangement of the manuscript; also there are other copies that have been ignored by the publisher.

The treatise has a short introduction and five chapters. The first four chapters deal with Simple Aromatic Substances (musk, ambergris, aloeswood, camphor). In these chapters, in addition to describing each aromatic substance, the ways of recognizing impurity in it and the places from where it is obtained are also mentioned and the chapter five, types of amalgams (*Ma'jūnāt*), deals with 23 recipes for making compound aromatics.

There are some parallel texts for the *Kitāb al-Ṭīb*; *Risāla fī Uṣūl al-Ṭīb wa al-Murakkabāt al-Ṭībiyya* attributed to Ibn Mandawayh (Dānishpajhūh, 1347), *Mukhtaṣar fī al-Ṭīb* attributed to Ibn Kaysān (Sbath, 1944), and a Persian translation named *Ṭīrnāma yi 'Alā'ī* (Dānishpajhūh, 1347). These texts have equal content with minor differences; it has discussed the authenticity of the work in another article (Karamati & Qosi, 1394); given the result of the article, the *Kitāb al-Ṭīb* is considered as the original text.

## 2. Common Content of The Monographs

The perfumery monographs customarily contain three subjects: simple aromatic substances, compound aromatics, and adulterated aromatics. The recipes for adulterated aromatics in perfumery books usually appear between the compound perfumes and are not separated as a distinct group.

**Table 1:** Aromatics classification based on the content of perfumery monographs

	<i>Simple</i>	<i>Compound</i>	<i>Adulterated</i>
<b>Jawāhir al-Ṭīb</b>	✓	✓	✓
<b>Kīmiyā al-Ṭīr wa al-Taṣ'īdāt</b>	-	✓	✓
<b>Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-Ṭīr</b>	✓	✓	-
<b>Ṭīb al-'Arūs wa Rayhān al-Nufūs</b>	✓	✓	-
<b>Kitāb al-Ṭīb</b>	✓	✓	-

The only monograph in which there is no mention of simple aromatic substances is *Kīmiyā al-Ṭīr wa al-Taṣ'īdāt*; probably because it had been dealt with the simple aromatics in al-Kindī's other mentioned book about aromatics. Consequently, it is safe to say that all authors of the perfumery monographs have dealt with the simple and compound aromatics while there are merely two monographs dealing with the adulterated aromatics.

### 2.1. Simple aromatics

Among the four extant monographs dealing with simple aromatics, there are two books dividing them as principals and spices: *Jawāhir al-Ṭīb* and *Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-Ṭīr*; while the *Kitāb al-Ṭīb* just mentioned to the principles; and based on the quoted chapters of the *Ṭīb al-'Arūs wa Rayhān al-Nufūs* it is not clear if the mentioned simple aromatics have been divided in a similar way or not, although considering their few numbers and comparing to the principals mentioned in the other books, it seems safe to consider them as principals too.

5 MS. No. 174B, Garrett collection of Islamic manuscripts in Princeton University Library

	<i>principals</i>	<i>spices</i>
<b>Jawāhir al-Ṭīb</b>	5	23
<b>Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-ʿİṭr</b>	8	28
<b>Ṭīb al-ʿArūs wa Rayhān al-Nufūs</b>	8?	-
<b>Kitāb al-Ṭīb</b>	4	-

### 2.1.1. Principals

The common principals in the monographs are musk, ambergris, aloeswood, and camphor; while some monographs have mentioned other substances along with them.

	<i>J.T</i>	<i>F.T</i>	<i>T.A</i>	<i>K.T</i>
<b>Musk</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Ambergris</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Aloeswood</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Camphor</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Saffron</b>	✓	✓	-	-
<b>Sandalwood</b>	-	✓	✓	-
<b>Rose</b>	-	✓	-	-
<b>Lichen</b>	-	✓	-	-
<b>Spikenard</b>	-	-	✓	-
<b>Cloves</b>	-	-	✓	-
<b>Custus</b>	-	-	✓	-

*J.T:* *Jawāhir al-Ṭīb*, *F.T:* *Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-ʿİṭr*, *T.A:* *Ṭīb al-ʿArūs wa Rayhān al-Nufūs*, *K.T:* *Kitāb al-Ṭīb*

The monographs have discussed various specifications to describe the principals; Common specifications mentioned in the monographs in describing the principals are: the origins, types and ranking the types by their preference. There are also other specifications that might show the authors' expertise, as the properties, humor, and substitute in the books written by physicians.

	<i>J.T</i>	<i>F.T</i>	<i>T.A</i>	<i>K.T</i>
<b>Origin</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Types</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Rank</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Properties</b>	✓	✓	✓	-
<b>Humor</b>	✓	✓	-	-
<b>Substitute</b>	✓	-	-	-
<b>Testing Impurity</b>	-	-	-	✓
<b>Price</b>	-	-	-	✓

*J.T:* *Jawāhir al-Ṭīb*, *F.T:* *Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-ʿİṭr*, *T.A:* *Ṭīb al-ʿArūs wa Rayhān al-Nufūs*, *K.T:* *Kitāb al-Ṭīb*



## 2.1.2. Spices

Among the monographs, only *Jawāhir al-Ṭīb* and *Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-ʿİtr* have treated the spices. Most of the spices mentioned are the same but there are also some differences; see the footnotes of Table 5. The descriptions given for the spices are shorter; the same specifications describing the principals are also mentioned concerning the spices, but only some of them. Interestingly, in describing some of the spices, a reference is made to female perfumes, yet there is no mention of male ones.

**Table 5:** Comparing the spices in the monographs

	<i>J.T</i>	<i>K.T</i>
Onycha	✓	✓
Mace	✓	✓
Bunk	✓	-
Lentisk	✓	✓
Fagara	✓	✓
Falanja	✓	✓
Ḥabb al-Misum	✓	✓
Lesser Cardamom <sup>6</sup>	✓	✓
Harnuwa	✓	✓
Nutmeg	✓	✓
Cubeb	✓	✓
Frankincense	-	✓
Labdanum	✓	✓
Mahlab	✓	✓
Mastic	-	✓
Storax <sup>7</sup>	✓	✓
Greater Cardamom	✓	✓
Cloves	✓	✓
Qaşab al-Dharīra	-	✓
Kamala	✓	-
Cassia <sup>8</sup>	✓	✓
Custus	✓	✓
Salıkha	-	✓
Sandalwood <sup>9</sup>	✓	-
Su'd	-	✓
Sukk	-	✓
Spikenard	✓	✓
Rose <sup>10</sup>	✓	-
Wars	✓	✓
Yew	✓	-

*J.T:* *Jawāhir al-Ṭīb*, *F.T:* *Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-ʿİtr*

6 In *Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-ʿİtr* there are two types for Qāqulla; Kabīra (also called Hālbūwwā and khayrbūwwā) and Ṣaghīra (also called haylbūwwā).

7 In *Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-ʿİtr*, *May'a* is also called *Lubnī* and *Aşṭarak* and three types are mentioned for it.

8 For cassia (Qirfa) two types are mentioned in the *Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-ʿİtr*.

9 It mentioned as a principal in *Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-ʿİtr*, rather than a spice; while in the *Jawāhir al-Ṭīb* it appears as one of the spices.

10 It mentioned as a principal in *Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-ʿİtr*, rather than a spice; while in the *Jawāhir al-Ṭīb* it appears as one of the spices.

## 2.2. Compounds

There is no categorization for the compounds in the perfumery monographs; but they have been categorized in a recent study as incenses (*Dukhna*, *Bakhūr*, *Nadd*, *al-‘ūd al-Muṭarrā*), unguents (*Ghāliya*, *Lakhlakha*, *Masūḥ*, *Shamāma*, *Khalūq*), scented powders (*Dharīra*, ‘*Abīr*), and oils and waters (*Naḍūḥ*, *Taş‘idāt*, *Maysūsan*, and scented oils) (King, 2017, pp. 277–283). It is considerable that this categorization has ignored some of the recipes in the monographs.

The remaining recipes could be categorized as cleansers (*Ghasil*\ *Ghāsūl*, *Ushnan*, *Mahlab*), breath fresheners (*Ḥab*\ *Ḥabba*), clothing fragrances (*Ṭīb al-thiyāb*, *Ṣibgh al-thiyāb*, *Taktīb al-thiyāb*), and the compound ingredients for perfumes’ recipes (*Sukk* and *Rāmik*). Furthermore, there are some considerable issues about the compounds that make the categorization more accurate:

- There are different kinds mentioned for some types of the major compounds; like the *Awwal*, *Muthalatha*, and *Mukhammas* for the *Nadd*; or *Sāhiriya* \ *Shāhiriya* for the *Ghāliya*.
- Some of the words mentioned for the Compounds are just a description or ascription, not a special type; for example, the word *Barmakī* \ *Barmakiya* is given for four different types of compounds (*Bakhūr*, *Ghisla*, *Duhn*, *Ṣibgha*); it is indeed an attribution of these recipes to the Barmakī House.
- There are some different names indicating a unique compound; for example, the *Ṭīb al-‘Arūs* has emphasized that *Naḍūḥ*, *Ṣayyāḥ*, and *Ghisla* are equal (Tamīmī, 2014, pp. 143, 214), or what is mentioned in the manuscripts of *Jawāhir al-Ṭīb* as ‘*Usāra*, is the same combination discussed in other books as *Naḍūḥ*.

Considering the above-mentioned points, Table 6 tries to present a more comprehensive categorization for the compounds given in the medieval Islamic perfumery monographs.

Category	Type	source				
		J.T	K.I	K.F	T.A	K.T
Incenses	Dukhna	-	-	✓	-	-
	Bakhūr	-	-	✓	✓	-
	Nadd	✓	-	✓	✓	✓
	‘ūd Muṭarrā	-	-	-	-	✓
Unguents	Ghāliya	-	-	✓	✓	✓
	Lakhlakha	-	-	✓	✓	✓
	Shamāma	-	-	-	✓	-
	Masūḥ	-	-	-	✓	-
	Khalūq	-	-	✓	✓	-
Powders	Dharīra	-	-	✓	✓	✓
	‘Abīr	-	-	✓	-	✓
Liquids	Naḍūḥ	-	-	-	✓	-
	Duhn	-	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Maysūsan	-	-	-	✓	-
	Taş‘id	✓	✓	-	✓	-
Cleansers	Ghasil	-	-	✓	✓	-
	Ushnān	-	-	✓	✓	-
	Maḥlab	-	-	-	✓	-



Clothing Fragrances	Ṭīb al-Thiyāb	-	-	✓	✓	-
	Şibgh al-Thiyāb	-	-	✓	✓	-
	Taktīb al-Thiyāb	-	-	-	✓	-
Breath Freshener	Ḥabba	-	-	-	✓	-
Compound Ingredients	Sukk	-	-	-	✓	✓
	Rāmik	-	✓	-	✓	✓

*J.T: Jawāhir al-Ṭīb, K.I: Kīmiyā al-ʿIṭr wa al-Taşʿidāt, F.T: Kitāb fī Funūn al-Ṭīb wa al-ʿIṭr, T.A: Ṭīb al-ʿArūs wa Rayḥān al-Nuḫūs, K.T: Kitāb al-Ṭīb*

### 2.3. Adulterated

Among the monographs, only the *Jawāhir al-Ṭīb* and the *Kīmiyā al-ʿIṭr wa al-Taşʿidāt* have dealt with the adulterated aromatics; the recipes for these have usually been mentioned among compound aromatics but, they can be distinguished with regard to the ingredients; indeed the adulterated compounds try to imitate an aromatic substance or make it heavier by resembling the ingredients. There is also another indication: the final sentence in many of these recipes recommends selling them instead of the original with no controversy. For example, the phrases “sell it as you wish” and “there is no controversy in it” appear at the end of the recipes for making adulterated aromatics in the *Kīmiyā al-ʿIṭr*, and the phrase “it is similar to amber” appears at the end of some recipes for making adulterated amber in the *Jawāhir al-Ṭīb*.

There are three kinds of adulterated compounds’ recipes in the books; adulteration of simple aromatics (musk, ambergris, Zabād: civet, etc.), adulteration of compound aromatics (*Ghāliya*, *ʿAbīr*, etc.), and also a few recipes for non-aromatic substances (*Ḥinā*: henna, *Nīl*: indigo, *Zayt*: olive oil) adulteration.

**Table 7:** The adulterated aromatics recipes given in the monographs

Category	Type	source	
		J.T	K.I
Simples	Ambergris	✓	✓
	Aloeswood	✓	✓
	Camphor	✓	✓
	Musk	✓	✓
	Musk pods	✓	-
	Saffron	✓	✓
	Wars	-	✓
	Civet	✓	-
Compounds	ʿAbīr	-	✓
	Ghāliya	✓	✓
	Mahlab	-	✓
	Sukk	✓	✓
	Oils	✓	✓
Non-aromatics	Henna	✓	-
	Indigo	✓	-
	Olive Oil	✓	-

*J.T: Jawāhir al-Ṭīb, K.I: Kīmiyā al-ʿIṭr wa al-Taşʿidāt*

Given that only two monographs have recipes for adulterated compounds, it seems safe to say that this was not a prevalent or acceptable issue to be discussed in the perfumery books. Additionally, it is worth mentioning that the *Ḥisbat*

books have usually considered the methods of identifying the adulterated aromatics and strictly prohibited from making them; insofar as some *Hisbat* books have recommended the *Kīmiyā al- 'Itr* should be torn apart and burned, because of containing such adulterations (See for example al-Shīzarī, 1946, p. 47).

## Conclusion

To sum up, there are three main subjects in the medieval Islamic perfumery monographs:

- 1- Simple aromatic substances.
- 2- Compound aromatics.
- 3- Adulterated aromatics.

Among the five extant monographs, all of them have dealt with the compound aromatics, four of which have dealt with the simple substances and only two of them are about the adulterated aromatics; the last subject does not have a separate chapter in the books and it is mentioned along with the compound recipes. Therefore, it seems the main purpose of writing a perfumery monograph was presenting the recipes; and the reason for dealing with the simple aromatic substances might be introducing the ingredients of the following recipes; notably with regards to the ranking of various types of the simple aromatics mentioned in the description of each that helps to know the quality of the ingredients.

Accordingly, considering the importance of the recipes in the monographs, placing the perfumery as a similar art to alchemy in *al-Hudūd* is corroborated; though mentioning the medicinal properties of aromatics, is corroborating Bīrūnī's position on the place of perfumery as a subdivision of medicine.

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