

T H E A L M O H A D E C O O K B O O K
Colin Manuscrit.

According to Rudolf Grewe Cella
Barcelona 1990
Work in progress

THE ALMOHADE COOKBOOK

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- [A.111] A turda made with meat and with turnips (lift) and carrots(jazar).
- [A.112] A turda made with lamb and chickpeas (hummus).
- [A.113] A turda made with boiled heads of chard (salq).
- [A.114] A similar dish made with sparrows (as Tafr).
- [A.115] Another dish called the crowned one (mukallala) .
- [A.116] Another dish called the gilded one .
- [A.117] An amazing faludaj .
- [A.118] Making an elegant isfanj (kind of sponge cake) .
- [A.119] Making a qursa
- [A.120] An elegant qursa
- [A.121] Kak(qanant).
- [A.122] Making jarda .
- [A.123] kak stuffed with sugar .
- [A.124] white(?) kak made with sugar .
- [A.125] Designs hollowed out from sugar .
- [A.126] Fruits made of sugar .
- [A.127] Making with sugar a sweet known as fustuqya .
- [A.128] Making the kaskab (a drink).
- [A.129] Making a drink with (zabb).
- [A.130] Making stuffed isfanj (fritters) .
- [A.131] Mujabbana made with ruqaq (kind of cheese cake)
- [A.132] A pie (mukabbaza) made with young birds (fark) or starlings(zarazr)
- [A.133] A pie(mukabbaza)made with fish(hut),either from the sea or river.
- [A.134] Leafy (?) (muwarraqa) loaf.
- [A.135] A loaf kneaded with butter .
- [A.136] A sweet made of honey thickened with darmak flour.
- [A.137] Making an asda. [qataif]
- [A.138] A candy (sukkarya) recorded by Abu Al al-Bagdad
- [A.139] Another candy (sukkarya) recorded by him .
- [A.140] A kabsa recorded by him.
- [A.141] Another kabsa made with pomegranates.
- [A.142] A fourth(?) kabsa.
- [A.143] A dish made with kabsa.
- [A.144] A dish made with eggplants .
- [A.145] Making stuffed eggs .
- [A.146] A dish beneficial in the spring for people who are corpulent and have hot blood.
- [A.147] A sakbaj (an escabèche) dish, commendable for its nourishment .

Recipes without order

Recipes for the sick

26/42 How(?) to extract meat juice for a sick person

- 26/43 A dish that opens the appetite(?) and strenghtens the stomach
- 26/44 A dish made with meat juice
- 26/45 A dish made with meat juice, wholesome for the medication on a day of fiever, shortly(?) after having taken the medication
- 26/46 Making a summery dish with verjuice and calabash, praised for its nourishment
- 26/47 Another summery dish like it, which cools the body
- 26/48 Another dish, which strenghtens a stomach weakened? by hot weather
- 26/49 Making a dish with apples (tuffahya)
- 26/50 A dish made with quinces (safarjalya), good for the stomach
- 26/51 A sakbaj made with veal prepared in the summer for young people
- 26/52 A dish, which is wholesome in the fall
- 26/53 A dish made in the winter for people having cold diseases
- 26/54 A dish made with young birds (squabs?) wholesome for old people and for those having moistnesses

Utensils

Index of meat cuts

Breads

Lost footnotes

THE ALMOHADE COOKBOOK
Colin Manuscrit 7009.

PREFACE

1. Cooking for the sick.

Hippocrates says: is necessary to choose from the foods for the sick those that they find more tasty. Galen says in his Commentary that the meaning of Hippocrates words "those that they find more tasty" is: those foods which the sick man desires and whose mind is inclined to, even if they should be of lesser quality and should, by their nature, generate a bad mixture. For if a man eats them with a great desire and craves for them, his stomach accepts them, his mind approves of them, his constitution absorbs them, and his stomach cooks them completely and digests them perfectly, generating a praiseworthy nourishment and transforming its harmful effect into something beneficial. One often sees sick people benefiting from harmful foods, if they crave greatly for them.

2. Foods that should be eaten alone and should not be mixed with other nourishment

This subject is of great utility to preserve ones health and to protect oneself from indigestion, from decomposition of foods in the stomach and from changes in bowel movement. Since a food that is slow to digest, when eaten together with a food that descends smoothly through the alimentary tract and is easily digested, one will spoil the other. This is the reason for the occurrence of indigestions, diarrheas, sour belches and for the production of a corrupt chyme (n). Indeed, every food, that is coarse, slow to descend through the alimentary tract, dissimilarly digested, heavy on the stomach, and of prolonged digestion, would do well if it is eaten alone and not mixed with anything else, and when served, let it be eaten only when one is extremely hungry and has a strong craving for it. Examples of such foods are the harissa (cf. VI.23 &), heads of animals, fat meat of beef, rice with milk, mujabbana (cf. 7.8.), fat stuffed foods, and the like. These heavy foods, that are slow to digest and to descend through the alimentary tract, should be eaten alone and not be mixed with anything else, otherwise they spoil and become harmful. This is so, because if they reach the stomach alone, the stomach accepts and wraps them well, applies to them the natural heat and ^acooks them, and thus is able to digest them. Then the mixture obtained from them is excellent. But when they reach the stomach with other foods, the lighter foods are burnt and scorched, and thus spoil the coarser ones.

3. Customs followed by peoples in different countries

Many people crave and long for dishes that are disliked by others. Thus people from Yemen cook with dates ... (n), while others are averse to it; people from Persia cook rice with sumac (n) and enjoy it, while others dislike it; people from Syria enjoy and prefer to eat in their weddings the mulabban, while others dislike it; so also people from Tanis (Tinn) in Egypt prefer to cook fresh fish as they cook meat, preparing it like MADIRA, LA HADRAMIYA and MURUZIYA (cf. 3.5); people from Egypt prefer cooking in the maruya style, while people from Iraq detest it, likening it to medicine because it contains prunes (n), jujube and olive oil. So also bread baked in ashes (mall₂), is preferred by nomads, being their main food, and it is detested by city dwellers and sedentary people. Many people eat and add to their bread samn (n), while others cannot even stand its smell, much less eat it.

One should not criticize a person for preferring some foods and dishes above others and some flavors above others, that all other persons will detest, since people have different natures, strengths, temperaments,

constitutions, customs and appetites. What Zaid hates, detests and abhors, Amer may be disposed to choose, to love and to prefer. It is necessary to mention something together with its opposites and differences, since every person has his own desires, and for everything there is someone who searches for it and desires it.

4.Origins of cooking and baking

When once Allah inspired men to roast meat on a fire, He also inspired them to cook it in a pot and to prepare it in such a way that food was improved, increasing its power of nourishment and enhancing its qualities, so that it brought different benefits according to the different temperaments of men, namely the sanguine, the phlegmatic, the choleric and the melancholic. Thus people cooked it only with water and salt, while others improved on it. Some cooked it with vinegar or with milk, while others with sumac or with murso on.

People have multiplied and diversified the dishes, changing their taste, flavor, strength and usefulness. Indeed, what happened with cooking, happened also with improving the preparation of bread. Since many human beings had to feed themselves with bread and thus to prepare it in the shortest time -such as nomads, shepherds, messengers, soldiers and travellers-, people made bread baked in ashes (malla), and others fried it or prepared it in a tagine then they improved upon it, and invented ovens and tannurs, and baked in them different kinds of bread, giving a name to each kind by which it was known. Examples are: Isphahan bread, fla loave (ruqa), labiq, musattab, murayyas marduf, kubz al-ma or water bread, tabun, magnum, musawwak and matu (n).

Nowadays, the kings of the East have a beautiful and outstanding custom, according to which they order their bakers to make them many different kinds of bread, placing them on a large and wide plate (tabaq), called by the bakers the display plate, and thus called because they display on it the variety of breads made for their master. Seeing these breads, the king chooses and eats those that arouse his appetite and his heart's desires.

5.Medicine as a guide to proper cooking.

The composition of substances, which is useful in the practice of medicine, applies also to the composition of cooked foods in all their kinds and in all their differences of flavors. Because according to their composition they may promote either heat or coldness or temperateness, and similarly is the situation as for their coarseness or fineness, and the length or speed of their digestion. I intend to describe what makes them tasty, what improves their composition, and also their preparation. I will divide the subject matter by kinds, according to the arrangement used by the foremost authorities.

6.The first requirement for the practice of cooking

Let me state that the first thing that is necessary when one starts the practice of cooking is to protect food, when handling it, from filth and rottenness, and to clean the utensils used to prepare it as well as the cleanliness in cooking it. Many people say that the best food is the one unseen by the eye how it was handled and cooked, but this is not so. Rather, the best food is the one grasped by the senses, seen by the eye, and trusted by the mind, feeling confidence in it, and knowing the correctness of its preparation. It happens often that a cooking practitioner, after completing preparing the food and be finished with it, does not think or pay attention how it came out, because he thinks

that all what is expected of him is to be expedite in finishing it and to leave. But he is wrong. Cooks have many faults, such as lack of care to protect food from filth and rottenness, poor handling of it, and other things I do not care to mention. How can one inspect these faults and see them? These faults induced many caliphs and kings to order that cooking be done in front of them, and obliged others to cook with their own hands the food they ate, thus becoming proficient in it, so much so that they wrote many books on this subject. Among them are mad ben al-Mutas, Tim Ibrahim ben al-Mahd, ahyaben alid, al-Mutamid and Abd Allah ben alha (n), and after them other scholars, judges, scribes, viziers and upper class people.

7.A second requirement for the practice of cooking

It is necessary that one should concern oneself to know the substances that bring to perfection the practice of cooking, and that enhance with different tastes and flavors the cooking of the dishes. Examples of such substances are: kinds of vinegars, robs (rubb) (n), murris, olive oils, apple juices, pomegranate juices, raisin juices, mustards, seasonings, and spices (aqaq) (n). One should be able to distinguish between those that are of bad quality from those of good quality. Since if they are of bad quality, they will spoil the food one prepares with them, and the dishes will lack the required worthy and enjoyable tastes, that cheer the spirit with their goodness and deliciousne

You should be aware that the knowledge of the use of seasonings in preparing the dishes is extremely essential for cooking, since it is the foundation of it and on which it is build. Some seasonings are proper to masculine foods, -those are the vinegar dishes-; some are proper to feminine ones, -as the tafaya (cf. I.1 &) and its varieties, the baqya (cf. 4.8 & 4.10), and the like-; some mollify (n) food, making it tasty and flavorful; and some bring about health benefits to foods and diminish their harm.

Coriander seeds. They are used in every dish. They are typical for the tafaya (cf. I.1 &) and for the muh (cf. 3.20, 4.26 & , and V.10). They have a particular quality, namely, they keep the food in the stomach, and do not let it descend easily into the intestines, thus enabling the food to be completely digested.

Cumin. It is used in vinegar dishes, or in sauces made for dishes of fried fowl or other meat that contain vinegar (n). Cumin, since it dissolves winds and absorbs them, is beneficial in foods made with vinegar or murri.

Caraway It is used in the kurunbya (cf. 4.4), in al-baqya al-mukarrara (cf. 4.8), and when cabbage or spinach are present in a dish. A tar (cf. VI.1 &) cannot be without it. It improves their taste, making them delicious, and expells the wind of the vegetables.

In the tafaya and its varieties, and in the muh, one does not use cumin nor caraway, rather coriander and pepper, and the seasonings to ones liking, such as spikenard (n) and cinnamon. This will be discussed in its proper place, inshaallah

Saffron It is used in the muk (cf. I.21, I.23), jimlya (cf. I.20), mutallat (cf. 4.1) in muh and in chicken dishes that use vinegar and mur. Some people dissolve saffron with water, and then add it to the pot at the end of cooking. However saffron should be added to the pot at the

beginning, at the same time as meat, to cook together with pepper and other appropriate seasonings. Doing so heightens its flavor and coloring. Others also add vinegar or mur at the end, when the cooking is completed, and by doing so the taste of the vinegar remains raw in the sauce and none of its flavour penetrates the meat. They claim that, if it were added at the beginning, its acidity would disappear and its flavour would be reduced. But the matter is not as they think. On the contrary, cooking increases its acidity and its flavour, because cooking evaporates the water content of the vinegar, and thus strengthens its acidity, and removes at the same time any offensive or rotten taste it may have, and also its taste can penetrate into the pieces of meat and the other things that are cooked with it, the same as saffron does, if added at the beginning.

Some people grind salt, and then put it in the pot, as if it would not dissolve unless it is ground, an extra effort that does not hurt nor help. But if grinding is inescapable, let it be done in a mortar of stone or of wood, as we shall (n) show (cf. Preface 9).

Some people sprinkle ground pepper on the food in the bowl (qas) at the time it is going to be eaten, a custom of Christians and Berbers. Indeed one may sprinkle cinnamon and spikenard on the food in the bowl (qas) at the time to eat it, though only on specific foods and not on every dish.

Chickpeas. Their kernels have no significance in cooking. Indeed they are food for peasants and for people with voracious appetite. Those who use them to increase their strength, take only their broth, and add it to meat and cook with it other dishes or tard. I have seen in the Chronicle of al-Zahra, one of the chronicles of Cordoba, that in the days of Abd ar-Rahman al-Nair lid Allah and in those of his son al-Hakam (n), they cooked every day outside of the gate of the palace the qaf (n) of chickpeas, of which they kept their broth to be used for cooking, and the kernels were discarded and picked up by the sick and the poor. Likewise I have seen in the above mentioned Chronicle that thirty loaves of bread were crumbled every day to fatten the fish in the palace pond.

Samn. It should not be used at all in cooked dishes. It should be used, rather, in some kinds of raf (cf. 7.18.), in some tard (cf. VI.1.), and in dishes similar to those eaten by women.

Olive oil is needed when the dryness in a dish may be excessive, and for those dishes that are sharply seasoned with vinegar, in order to break their acuteness, to mollify them, to restore their harmlessness and to promote mildness in them.

The basic principle in cooking every dish is that its sauce should contain, without exception, abundant grease (dasam) (n), be the meat lean or fat. Indeed, olive oil should be used freely, since olive oil greases foods, and improves them, and makes them tasty and wholesome.

Murri. One should use only macerated murri since it is flavourful and beneficial. Next, one may use the murri made of grape juice mixed with flavourings, but without adding burnt bread. On the other hand, the murri byemad the common folk from burnt honey, burnt bread and the like, should not be used at all, since, besides generating melancholy, it is devoid of beneficial properties, and lacks flavour.

Vinegar Vinegar is good for cooking and also for apothecary matters, such as oxymel (sakanjab) (n), sea onion vinegar (n), and the white vinegar, made from extremely sweet, white grapes, that is pure and unadulterated

with water. Vinegar should be added to food, when it causes nausea and upset stomach, since vinegar fortifies it and renders food tasty, and also when food needs to be made more delicate and sharper, but without making it hot. Whenever the vinegar in the sakba has a strong acidity, and is very concentrated, it can be moderated by appropriate sweets (Talawal) and by a lot of grease (dasam).

Mustard seeds. It is desirable to avoid the carnelion red (n) seeds, because when they get stale they turn bitter, for this reason they should be washed first with hot water, and then the mustard be made. Fresh seeds need not be washed, since they are very pungent without being bitter.

How mustard is made. Take fresh mustard seeds and pound them a little in a stone or wooden mortar until they are crushed. Then wash them with hot water to remove their bitterness, and then drain them. Put them back in the mortar and pound them thoroughly, and soak them little by little with strong vinegar. Then squeeze them through a coarse rag (kirqa) or through a rough woolen cloth (mand). Pound them again until they are completely mashed, and squeeze them to extract their pulp, that should be as thin as gruel (talbna) (n). Next, pound thoroughly sweet, peeled almonds until they turn like dough, and squeeze these pounded almonds through a cloth into the above gruel until the mixture is properly diluted and has the right consistency.

Adding almonds is done to moderate the pungency of the mustard sauce, to whiten and to thicken it, and to increase its sweetness, since almonds have a moderate moisture and a flavourful sweetness, and these beneficial properties of the almonds improve the quality of the mustard. After having prepared it in this manner serve it with roasts and similar heavy and greasy (dasam) foods, insaallah.

8.What a cook should avoid

Anu sirwan (n) said already in his cookbook that it is necessary for a person who wants to stay in good health not to eat food that has been kept overnight in a copper container (aniya), even if the food is of excellent nourishment. Because, if it is kept overnight in a copper container (aniya) or if is cooked in it, the food will acquire a bad quality and become reprehensible. He also pointed out that fish, if it is fried and placed in a copper container (aniyal), or if is cooked in one and left in it to cool off, it turns into poison. This is so because this food acquires the properties of copper and its taste, and, moreover, because of the speed by which fish, -or milk-, is decomposed.

Likewise it is with food that is kept uncovered overnight. Since poisonous worms creep during the night searching for salt and settle around it. Many insects and worms seek salt, wherever it may be, in order to feed on it, and sometimes they may drop their mucus on it, or rub themselves on it, or shed off their skins in it. This causes great harm, and therefore one should not put salt in food, unless the food can be washed, or kept covered and protected.

What should be avoided also is to cook constantly in the same pot, especially if it is unglazed and it has not been cleaned. Many servants do not wash the pot, when they have finished cooking, but turn it over on the floor, while it is still warm. On this spot there may be, by chance, something rotten, whose steam will rise into the pot, leaving poison on it. Then, whatever is cooked in this pot will turn out to be harmful.

Some people ordered that pots be made for them according to the number of the days of the year, so that every day the food was cooked for them in a new pot. Once a pot was used, a new one was taken. However one, who could

not afford this, should order his servant to clean the pot every night with hot water and bran. Doing so arouses the spirit to strive for food, while the contrary produces aversion.

Food may acquire a bad mixture, as a result of being kept for too long, of becoming rotten, of the way it is composed, or as a result of being prepared contrary to the way one should. It is necessary to take into consideration these matters carefully and not to take them lightly, thus one may protect himself from their harm as much as possible.

9. Utensils needed to be at hand by anyone who is concerned with cooking or with the apothecary's trade:

A mortar (mihras) of stone, made of white marble, or one of wood, made of a hard wood, such as: oak, terebinth, olive tree, elm, boxwood, or jujube. This mortar is to be used for pounding substances, that should never be pounded in a copper mortar, such as salt, garlic, fresh coriander, onions, mustard seeds, mint, lemon balm (*Melissa officinalis*), and other herbs or vegetables; also for pounding fruits, such as apples, quinces or pomegranates; and also for pounding meat, fat (sah) (n), almonds, stuffings for kal (cf. 7.26) or baked goods, and other substances that are moist or oily (dasam). Especially, since, if they are left to stay in a copper mortar, they produce verdi-gris and are altered, acquiring a harmful property.

From this hard wood, mentioned above, should also be made laddles (migrafa), spoons (milkaqa), the butcher's log (lud) on which the meat is cut, and the board (lauh) where the kak and other baked goods are rolled out, which should be very smooth and extremely polished.

Likewise, the instrument, with which sausages (mirka) (cf. I.8) are made, should be of clear glass or of glazed clay or of hard wood, because, if it is made of copper, the inside of the tube (unbuba), where the pounded meat goes through at the time of stuffing the casings, would produce verdi-gris, which would mix with the meat, and thus be altered, as has been pointed out before.

10. How one should arrange the service of dishes in a meal, and what should be served at the beginning and what should be served later on.

The first dishes that should be served are the feminine ones, such as the al-baqya al-mukarrara (cf. 4.8) and the varieties of tafaya (cf. I.1.). Next the dishes: al-jamal (cf. I.19), then the mutallat (cf. 4.1), then the mur dish (cf. I.19), then the mukallal (cf. I.21), then the muassal (cf. 7.41.), then the fartun (cf. I.22), and then the muassal a second time. This shows the seven dishes, and the order of eating them.

Indeed, many great people and their followers prescribed long ago that on every table one should place in front of a person one dish at a time, and serve one dish after another in sequence. This is, indeed, better than placing on the table many bowls at once. This is more graceful, refined and exquisite, and is the custom of the people of al-Andalus and of the West, their leaders, their upper classes and their distinguished people, from the days of Umar ben Abd al- zizand the Banu Umayya (n) to the present.

NOTES TO THE PREFACE

(x) The beginning section of the Preface to the present cookbook is missing. Any similar book of that period would have started with a praise

of Allah and of His blessings upon mankind, especially in relation to food. How much has been lost we do not know, but probably the loss is not extensive.

It is worth noting that this Preface matches well the contents of the cookbook, both in its general outlook and in the detail of its instructions. The pervading theme is a medical one, medicine as conceived in that period, i.e. in the Hippocratic-Galenic tradition. Cooking, i.e. the preparation of food for human consumption, should be based on medical principles, and food should be used according to one's constitution.

Advise along these lines dot the whole cookbook.

But also the detailed advise given in this Preface is followed throughout the cookbook. Thus (i) chickpeas are banned, considered too lowly a fare, -and no recipes using chickpeas are present, except 4.18, a traditional dish-; (ii) only the top quality should be used, -a practice consistently followed-; (3) coriander seeds, believed to be a digestive, are recommended, -and they appear in almost every recipe-; and (4) ground pepper is almost never sprinkled on a finished dish, a practice considered barbarian, cinnamon and spikenard are sprinkled instead. These instructions are peculiar to this cookbook, and were not always kept in Hispano-Arabic cuisine, as the recipes grouped in the Part II make clear. We have added some titles, included in angular brackets, to ease the lecture of this Preface, and we have numbered them for reference purposes. Of course, we do not claim them to be part of the original text.

(x) The quote seems to be Hippocrates aphorism II.38 Food or drink which, though slightly inferior, is more palatable, is preferable to that which is superior but less palatable AF (cf. Loeb Classical Library. Hippocrates v.4 p.117).

(x) The semifluid, homogeneous, creamy or gruel-like mass into which food is converted by gastric digestion, and which passes from the stomach into the small intestine. The term stems from the Greek and was adapted in Arabic as.....

(x) A small wormhole, the lenght of an average word, makes the text illegible at this spot.

(x) The pulverized hardy seeds of this tree have a pronounced acid taste, and are still used nowadays in Persian cuisine. A dish flavored with it, called....appears in al-Baghda Cookbook (cf. Chelebi p. 18, Arberrys transl. p.39). This seasoning is not used in our text.

(x) According to Dozy, a kind of pastry, the one of Bablabakk being specially famous; also a kind of brick, made of pressed dried figs; also a pastry made of starch, sugar and orange flower water (pronounced also....). According to Freytag, a kind of sweet, made of fruit syrup, dried prunes, walnuts and almonds, shapped into lozenges or sausages.

The recipe does not appear in our text. It is not clear which of these alternatives are meant.

(x) A dish prepared with sour milk. A recipe is extant in al-Baghda Cookbook (cf.Chelebi p. 23, Arberrys transl. p.41).

(x) A dish prepared with verjus, i.e. sour grapes juice. A recipe is extant in al-Baghda Cookbook (cf. Chelebi p.16, Arberrys transl. p.37).

(x) Ar.... is an ambiguous term, it may mean prunes, or pears. It is clear, though, that prunes are meant here. Cf. recipe 3.5 for..., where the Hispano-Arabic name for prunes is used. Cf. also recipe 3.26, where the title of the recipe has..., but prunes al-baqar, are used in the body of the recipe. For this ambiguity see Dozy.

(x) Arabic distinguishes between butter (zubda and clarified butter) both of which can be made not only from cows, but also from sheep or goats milk. In present day Morocco, ..., pronounced ...in Morocco, is left to age, acquiring a heightened taste, that is much appreciated. (See Guinaudeau, Z. Fes vue par sa cuisine. Rabat, 1966. pp 78, also Wolfert, Paula. Couscous and other good food from Morocco. New York, 1973. pp. 36). One may guess that this practice is old, and that the lBI samn lBI 00 used in some recipes of our text may have had a more pungent flavor than freshly clarified butter does. In some recipes, though, fresh is required. (Cf. for instance VI.5, VI.9, VI.11, VI.29 etc.). Since clarified butter does not have the nuances that ... has, we have left this term untranslated.

(x) A dark, liquid seasoning with a salty, meat-like flavor, made by fermenting either fish or bread. It was often used instead of salt. Our author uses mainly macerated ..., considered the best, and obtained by fermenting bread in a salty solution over several months. A detailed recipe for its elaboration appears in ibn Raz cookbook (cf. section X, chap. 8, p. 175 &). Comparing this recipe with recipes for making soy sauce, it is clear that both procedures are very similar (cf. Steinkraus, Keith H. (ed). Handbook of Indigenous Fermented Foods. New York and Basel, 1983. Section 4). This seasoning has been used since very ancient times. It appears in Ancient Mesopotamia as ... (cf. Gewu ze in Reallexikon der Assyriologie, Band 4 (1957-1971) p. 340), in Ancient Rome as muria, muries or garum and in Ancient Greece as almurs. Its usage seems to have disappeared in Christian Europe during the Middle Ages, but it continued to be used in the Near East.

(x) A round, shallow earthenware cooking container, similar to a casserole or a Spanish cazuela. We have left the term untranslated. The word stems from the Greek ... (also ganon), frying-pan, saucepan.

(x) An oven in the shape of a truncated cone and made of clay. The top circular opening is covered with a removable lid. A charcoal fire is lighted at its floor. A small door at its base is used to remove the ashes and to control air circulation. Food to be baked or cooked is introduced through the top circular opening: doughs are usually attached to its slanting sides, roasts are usually left hanging. Very ancient specimens of tannur or ... have been found in archaeological excavations in the Near East, probably its ancestral home. The Indian tandoor is related to it.

The Roman beehive shaped oven or furnus, common in Europe, has a different shape and cooking methods, since doughs and dishes are placed on its level, flat floor. In medieval Muslim Spain this was probably the most commonly used oven, and it is the most commonly mentioned in our text. Its arabized name furn has been translated as oven.

(x) Except for the ruqa, a flat loaf of bread often mentioned in our text, none of the breads in this list appear in our cookbook, and most of them are poorly documented. Almost none of their names appear in the

medical literature that discusses the dietetic properties of different kinds of bread, and almost none of their names are registered in the large Arabic dictionaries.

This list seems to be derived from an oriental source. Some comments follow.

A kind of ruqa, more refined and smaller than the usual. (Cf. Al-Warra pp.35-36, where it is discussed).

Probably a bread, whose loaf before baking was slashed with a sharp knife.

Probably a bread, whose loaf before baking was pricked with a feather. This term *murayyas* appears in al-Warra(pp. 35, 36) in the process of bread making, and this seems to be the intended meaning, *ubz al-ma* or water bread. Al-Warra(pp.33-34) gives a detailed recipe for making this bread. One may say, briefly, that this bread is made from fermented dough. The loaves before baking are smeared with sesame oil, then baked in a *tannu*. When almost done, water is added to the *tannu* to steam them. Once baked, they are moistened again, piled up, and wrapped in a cloth.

....is a bread baked in a *Tabuna lBI 00*. This is a small jar-shaped oven, sunk in the ground, open on top, and used for this purpose. The loaves are baked by attaching them to its sides. (Cf. Dozy).

Maybe a bread baked in a sealed pot.

Maybe a bread made of saw, a wheat of outstanding quality, from which delicious bread was made (cf. Dozy).

... is a bread cooked on a flat surface or slab. It is considered to be lighter than the one baked in a *tannu*, especially if the dough has been fermented (Cf. Dozy II p.56). According to Dozy the term is used also in Syriac (cf. Dozy II p.25; Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* p.1505).

CHAPTER I

Simple Foods

Let me begin now to discuss the simple foods. I will begin by describing, first, the various kinds of tafaya, since this a most nutritious dish, it has a most balanced chimus, and it is the most appropriate for every temperament, especially for those who are melancholic or phlegmatic.

(1)

The first section describes simple foods. The author does not make explicit, in the extant text, what he means by this. We will try to do so. Cooking, at its simplest level, seems to be conceived by the author as a procedure of blending to a main ingredient -meat, grains, etc.- additional desirable properties provided by the condiments, these understood in a large sense, which would include also oil, vinegar, garlic, onions, etc. and even eggs, if used for thickening. The result is a dish with a certain degree of uniformity, and hence of clear-cut dietetic properties, which is the important point for the author. ^Complex^ foods imply variety: meat with vegetables, grains with meat, pastry dishes, etc. which have a more complicated dietetic profile. The dishes grouped in this section, even though at first sight are very disparate, seem to conform with the characterization given above. The second section deals also with simple foods. There, roasting is the main culinary procedure, instead of cooking in a liquid medium -water, oil- as it is in the present section.

1.1 The plain tafaya called isfidbaja in the East.

This dish is a balanced food, is beneficial for those people with a weak stomach, generates desirable blood, is wholesome for healthy and for convalescent people, and it is the foundation and basis for all kinds of cooking.

Its recipe: Take meat of a young, fat sheep, and cut it up in small pieces. Place them in a clean pot with salt, pepper, coriander seeds, a little juice of a pounded onion, a spoonful of fine olive oil, and water as nedeed. Place the pot on a moderate fire, taking care to stir it from time to time. Add some meatballs and some peeled and split almonds. When the meat is soft and the cooking is completed, bring the pot down to the radaf until the heat has subsided.

If one wants the tafaya to be green, one can do so by adding fresh coriander juice, either alone or mixed with a little mint juice.

tafaya. From the several recipes given in our text this dish seems to be a kind of stew, coriander being the main flavoring agent, the dried seeds being used in the white tafaya and the fresh leaves in the green one. Vinegar or saffron should be absent, according to the Introduction. It can be prepared with meat or fish (Cf. the fish section). The word does not seem to have a Semitic root, nor a Latin etymology, and was not used in the East (cf. next note), suggesting that it may be of Berber or Iberian origin. It is registered in Dozy, but not in ... This dish is still alive today in Morocco. Cf. Z. GUINAUDEAU. Fes vu par sa cuisine. Rabat, 1966. p.112 Tajine tfaia. The author says of this dish est venu dit-on d'Andalousie.

The exceptional position of this dish, or recipe, as the first one of the book, shows the predilection of its author for coriander and for slow simmered dishes, that is apparent throughout the text.

(2) isfdbaja. A Persian word, composed probably of isfd white, and ba stew(?), that refers to a dish for which recipes are still extant. Cf. for instance al-Bagdad ..., Arberry's translation, ... (my numbering: #40). There are similarities among the two recipes.

1.2 Recipe for a white tafaya of another kind

Take meat of a young, fat sheep or goat, and cut it up in small pieces. Place them in a pot with salt, coriander seeds, pepper, a little onion juice, and an adequate amount of olive oil. Place the pot on a moderate fire. Let the meat cook a little in the oil and seasonings, and then add a sufficient amount of water.

After this, take the rectum or the large intestine, and turn it inside out. Tie the bottom with a string, and place in it a peeled hard boiled egg, then add pounded meat, seasoned as for meatballs, another egg, more meat, and continue to do so until the intestine is filled, but finishing with the meat. Tie up the mouth of the intestine and place it in the pot. Finish cooking the tafaya . When the meat is soft, remove the sausage from the pot and fry it in a pan with fine olive oil until it browns. Then empty the tafaya either thickened with beaten eggs or just plain, on a serving dish. Cut the sausage with a sharp knife, and place the slices in a starlike manner on the tafaya. Do not forget to add meatballs and split almonds. Then sprinkle with cinnamon and spikenard, and serve. If wanted, color it green with coriander juice alone, or mixed with a little mint juice.

1.3 Recipe for a White tafaya with almonds

With the meat of fat sheep or goat prepare a white tafaya according to what was described before. When the meat is cooked, take peeled and pounded almonds, mix them thoroughly with rose water, and sprinkle <this mixture> over the cooked tafaya thus increasing the whiteness of the dish. Meatballs are a must in this dish. It is a royal dish.

1.4 Recipe for a fried tafaya known in Marrakesh as tahashasa

Take a piece of fat and tender meat, and cut it up small. Fry it in a clean pot with salt, pepper, coriander seeds, a little onion, a spoonful of olive oil and a little water. Keep stirring it until the water has dried up, and let it fry in its oil until it is cooked and browned. This tafaya is close to the one we described before.

1.5 Another kind of tafaya from the East

Take the stomach, the tripe, the ***, and meat from the breast, the tail, and other fat places, and cut them up in a pot. Add salt, onions, pepper, coriander, olive oil, and rue (sadab). Put the pot on the fire, but only after having cut some pieces of the stomach as well as some of meat, and having made small, nice(?) bundles with these elements, and having added them to other ingredients in the pot. Cook it, and when it is completely done, you may color it green, if you wish.

This dish can be made with vinegar, and it is also very good, but it is another type of dish.

1.6 Recipe of a pot roast, beneficial to old people, and to those with moist body or a moist stomach.

Take the fat meat of a young animal and cut it small. Put it in a clean pot with a little salt, pepper, thyme, some macerated murri, two cloves of garlic, and olive oil as needed. Put the pot over a moderate fire, and keep stirring it until it is cooked. Then serve.

1.7 Recipe for meatballs, which are used in dishes like the tafaya the jamaش, an the like

You may prepare with the meatballs a dish, that we will describe later, God willing.

Meatballs are an excellent, nourishing food, easy to digest by convalescent people, by the old and by those with a weak stomach. Take meat from the shoulder (sin) or from the thigh of a sheep or goat, free of tendons or veins, and pound it thoroughly. Add a little olive oil, pepper, cinnamon or spikenard, a little onion juice, a little salt, a small amount of eggs, and some darmak flour ...

(1) The Arabic term bunduq, meatball, is a loanword stemming from nux) pontica, i.e. nut from the Pontus or hazelnut. It is a reminder that the meatballs used at that time were of small size, and, as our text makes obvious, made of pounded lean meat and not of ground fat meat. To remind the reader of these facts the word meatball is enclosed in double quotes in our text. The Castilian albnidiga, meatball, stems from the Arabic. Although our recipe lacks its ending, fortunately the listing of ingredients seems complete. The ending seems easier to gue Cf. for parallels ...

(2) darmak. A first quality wheat flour. Listed in the Vocabulista as one of the translations of Lat. farina. The root is not semitic. This word requires further analysis in conjunction with other Arabic terms for other types of flour. Check Awwam.

1.8 Recipe for making sausages (mirka)

They are as nutritious as the meatballs, and easy to digest, since the pounding in part cooks them, and thus shortens their digestion. They are nourishing.

Take sheep's meat from the thigh or shoulder (sin), and pound it as for meatballs. Knead it in a bowl with a little olive oil, some macerated murri, pepper, coriander seeds, spikenard and cinnamon. Add fat (sah), in the amount of three quarters of the meat, but do not pound it, since it would melt while cooking, but cut it with a knife or hack it on a board (lauh). Knead all these together until well mixed. With this mixture stuff the washed intestines, with a running thread attached (2), using the instrument made for this purpose, and making the sausages small or large as wanted. Then fry them in a pan with fine olive oil. When they are cooked and browned, prepare for them a sauce made of olive oil and vinegar, and serve them hot.

Some people make the sauce with fresh coriander leaves and mint, and a little pounded onion. Others cook them in a pot with olive oil and vinegar. Others prepare them in the rahab style, with onions and plenty of olive oil, until they are fried and browned. They are good and tasty in whatever way prepared.

(1) mirka sausage. They were very popular at the author's time, and were sold in the suq to passers-by as the treatise of ibn Abdun makes clear. Cf. E. Levi-Provencal. They are still known nowadays in the Maghreb. The term does not have a Semitic root, and may be of Iberian origin, related to Castilian morcilla, a diminutive(?), and to medieval Catalan murcies, registered in the Sent-Sovi Cf. J. Coromines DCELC, cf. also G.S. Colin et E. Levi-Provencal. Un manuel hispanique de hisba. pp.33-34 for a different view.

(2) In the confection of sausages a thread is used, which runs parallel to the stuffed intestine, and which is circled around it tightly at intervals to divide it into links or sausages. This seems to be the meaning of this condensed expression.

1.9 Recipe for making patties

They are as nutritious as sausages (mirka) and meatballs. Take meat, that is tender and free of tendons, and pound it as was described for making sausages (mirka). Knead it with a little macerated murri, olive oil, pepper, cinnamon and coriander seeds. The secret in preparing it is to add a little darmak flour, since this is what will bind the meat together to become a loaf (rag). Put a pan with olive oil over a moderate fire. Shape the prepared meat like meatballs, and arrange them on the pan one attached to the other. Let the loaf cook on one side, then turn it over so that it is browned on both sides. Prepare a sauce of vinegar, olive oil, garlic and a little macerated murri. If wanted one may make this sauce with mustard.

(1) ahras? Not in Dozy

1.10 Another kind of patties ()

It was eaten by the sayyid Abu al-Hasan and other people in Marrakesh, and it was called isfrya. Take red meat of sheep or goat, and pound it thoroughly. Knead it with macerated murri, vinegar, olive oil, mashed garlic, pepper, saffron, cummin, coriander, spikenard, cinnamon, ginger and cloves. Add also hacked fat (sah); peeled, pounded and split almonds(!?); and some eggs, enough to bind the mixture. Make from it round flat loaves (qursa), the size of the palm of the hand or a little smaller, and fry them in a pan with a lot of olive oil until they are browned. Prepare for them a sauce with vinegar, olive oil and garlic, and leave a portion of them without sauce. It is remarkably good.

1.11 A dish of meatballs

This dish is tasty, nutritious, similar to the one described previously. Take red and tender meat, free of tendons, and pound it as was prescribed in preparing meatballs. Place it in a bowl (Ahfa), and add a small amount of pounded onion juice, a little olive oil, macerated murri, pepper, coriander seeds, cummin and saffron. Add also the amount of eggs, that will bind everything together. Knead it until everything is mixed. Make from this mixture meatballs, as large as bite-size pieces of meat, and leave them aside.

Then take a clean pot, and pour in it olive oil, vinegar, a Little murri, garlic and an adequate amount of spices. Put the pot on the fire. When it boils, cook the meatballs in it for a while. When the cooking is completed, lower the pot to the radaf, and thicken the dish with eggs, beaten with saffron and pepper. Let it stand in the radaf until the beaten eggs have set.

One may color this dish like the tafaya and its varieties, or in any way one wants.

1.12 Recipe for making isfryas

Take red meat and pound it as described before. Pour in it some water. Add fermented dough mixed with eggs, -the amount that the meat will absorb-, then add salt, pepper, saffron, cummin and coriander seeds. Mix it all together. Put a pan with fine olive oil on the fire, and when the oil boils, laddle a spoonful of the isfrya and pour it carefully on the pan so that thin loaves (ragf) will be shaped in it. Make a sauce for them.

(1) isfrya.

1.13 The plain isfiriya

Break in a bowl eggs, as many as desired. Add the same amount of diluted(?), fermented dough as the eggs, and add also pepper, coriander, saffron, cummin and cinnamon. Mix it all together. Place a pan with olive oil over a moderate fire, and make some loaves similar to the above.

1.14 Imitated (muzawwara) isfryas made from chickpeas

Pound chickpeas with their hulls, and then peel them. Then grind the kernels and make flour. Place the flour on a bowl (Ahfa) with some fermented dough and a small amount of eggs. Stir it, with its seasonings, until everything is mixed. Fry thin loaves similar to the above, and make a sauce for them.

1.15 Recipe for the royal Tinhaj (sinhaji)

Take a large and deep tajine and put in it red meat of beef, without fat, from the thigh, shoulder (or hip). Add a lot of olive oil, vinegar, a little macerated muri, pepper, saffron, cummin and garlic; and cook it half way through. Then add also the red meat of sheep or goat, and continue cooking. Next, add chickens, cleaned and cut in pieces, partridges, squabs, chicks of turtle pigeons, small birds, sausages and meatballs. Sprinkle <the with split almonds and a fair amount of salt. Cover it with plenty of olive oil, and put it inside the oven, leaving it there until done.

This is the plain sinhaji eaten by the upper classes. The one eaten by the common folk will be described in its proper place, God willing.

(1) Tinhaj. A dish named probably in honor of a well-known North African tribe. Etc.

(2) plain. Cf. the begining of this section, etc.

(3) See vegetable section

1.16 Sausages (mirkas) made with fresh cheese

Take pounded meat, as was described above, with care(?), and add to it fresh cheese, -but not too fresh so that it will not run off once cooked-, as well as half its(?) amount of chopped fat(!?), and some eggs in order to bind everything together. Add also some pepper, cinnamon and coriander seeds. Squeeze in some mint and coriander juice. Mix everything well. With this mixture stuff, in the customary way, the intestins, with a thread running along them. Then fry them in fine olive oil, as formerly described. Eat them nibbling(?) without a sauce, or in any way you like.

1.17 Recipe of a dish described by al-Rhazi

This dish restores the strenght to sick people and to those weakened by a lengthy disease, and it is useful for those having a bilious condition(?).

Take fat meat of veal: from its shoulder, breast, neck, stomach, intestines, its fat and its bone marrow. Put it in a new pot with a little salt, coriander seeds, cummin, pepper, saffron, cinnamon, a small amount of onion, a few leaves of rue shoots of celery, of mint and of orange tree(?), leaves of citron, and olive oil. Cover the meat with strong vinegar, without adding water, and cook it until the meat falls apart and is shredded. With its grease soak a prepared with crumbs of a leavened bread made of darmak flour. It is excellent for what was mentioned above.

1.18 A dish made with mustard

Take fat meat of goats or sheep, and cut it up in small pieces. Put it in a clean pot with salt, onion juice, pepper, coriander seeds, a few leaves of rue olive oil and a spoonful of strong vinegar. Place the pot over a moderate fire, and cook it until done. Then take the inner core of a leavened bread made of darmak flour, grate it a little bit, and mix it with two eggs and two spoonfuls of a well done mustard, and thicken with it the pot. Lower the pot to the \angle brasero and leave it there until it has thickened, and its grease has come to the surface.

One may also thicken it with pounded and peeled almonds, instead of the inner core of a bread.

1.19 An Egyptian(?) dish

Take fat (sheep's?) meat from its fat places, and cut it in pieces. Place it in a pot with pepper, dried coriander seeds, saffron, a little thyme, two or three leaves of citron, some sprigs of fennel with flowers, garlic, plenty of oil, and macerated imur as needed. Introduce the pot into the oven, leave it there until it is cooked and the sauce (liquid?) has dried up, and take it out.

1.20 Dish al-Jamali

Take meat from a fat veal or from sheep or goat, and cut it small. Place it in a pot, and add pepper and dried coriander seeds, a little cummin and saffron, oil as needed, sharp vinegar and macerated muri-the amount

muri being less than the vinegar-, also meatballs made for this purpose (li-ha?), citron leaves, and peeled and split almonds. Bring the pot to a moderate fire. When the meat is done, thicken the dish with two eggs, beaten with cinnamon and saffron. Leave it on the brasero until (the eggs) have set, its grease has surfaced and the sauce has dried up.

-Jamal-al- A kind of stew, flavoured with vinegar, saffron and cummin, in contrast with the tafaya which does not contain them. It can be prepared with fish (cf. the fish section). Several recipes of the period are extant (cf. ...), but the dish does not seem to have survived to the present. Lexicographers have not registered it, it does not appear in Dozy, Lane, We ignore how it should be voaclized, the given spelling is just a que

1.21 A vinegared dish (laun al-mukallal)

Take meat from a fat beef or from a fat sheep or goat, and cut it small. Place it on a new pot with salt, pepper, dried coriander seeds, cummin, a lot of saffron, peeled and cut garlic, peeled and split almonds, and plenty of oil. Cover it well with strong and pure vinegar, not a single drop of water should be added. Bring the pot up over a moderate charcoal fire, and stir it when it boils. When it is cooked and the meat is dissolved(?) and (the liquid) has reduced, bring the pot down to the brasero (radaf), and thicken it with a lot of eggs and cinnamon and spikenard, and dye it with a lot of saffron to your liking, placing in it whole egg yolks. Leave it in the brasero until it has set, the sauce has dried up, and the grease has surfaced.

This dish keeps for many days, and does not change nor spoil. It is called in the West (Maghreb?) wedding fare(?). It is one of the seven mentioned (masculine?) dishes served among us in Cordoba and Seville at the banquets.

1.22 Recipe for the fartun

Take the vessel called fartun which has the shape of a large drinking cup with a wide mouth and a narrow bottom. Place it on a mild fire, and place some oil in it. When the oil boils, beat the required amount of eggs on a dish with vinegar, saffron and cinnamon, adding some cooked and vinegared meat, and pour all this on it. When it has set, go around with a knife in between the fartun and the eggs and meat, so that it loosens and separates from it. Drip oil at the place where the knife is at, so that it does not stick to the vessel, and do this carefully, so that the shape will remain intact. Then turn it upside down on a plate, whole, and you got a monkey's head, indeed!

(1)Fartun. A dish also known as mokey's head. It is, basically, a conically shaped custard, filled with cooked meat. Several recipes are extant. Cf. ...

The word is not of Semitic origin, and it is most likely an Hispano-romance borrowing. Cf. Simonet, p.205 and Dozy, etc.

1.23 A mukalla

Take two or more pounds (rat) of fat meat of good quality and without bones, and cut it small. Place it in a clean pot with salt, onion, pepper, a little cummin, cinnamon and saffron. Add(?) the needed amount of strong, sour vinegar, and of good quality oil what will cover it. Raise the pot over a moderate fire. Then add a spoon of peeled and split almonds, a little of peeled and cut garlic, and two or three leaves of citron. Cook it and stir it. When it dries up, add strong vinegar, instead of water, and two, or more, ounces of rose confiture(?) (marmelade?) made with sugar. When the meat is done, take ten eggs and break them on a bowl, adding pepper, cinnamon, spikenard, cloves and a lot of saffron to dye the dish to your liking. Beat the eggs with a spoon, and thicken with them the pot. Add also to the pot whole egg yolks. Leave it on the brasero (radaf) until it has set and the sauce has dried up. Then serve it, God willing.

1.24 Omelet(?) with squabs

Take two(?) cleaned squabs, picked up from those young pigeons, that start to get out of the nest(?), and fry them in a pan with good tasting oil. Then place them in a pot, and add some macerated muri, vinegar, oil, fresh coriander, (Chinese?) cinnamon, and thyme. When they(?) are cooked, break eight eggs on them, and empty (the pot on a serving dish). End.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

(x) Chapters I and II deal with what the author calls simple foods. Our author does not explain what he means by simple, nor what criteria he uses to make the selection. Analyzing the contents of these two chapters, we suggest that two criteria may be involved: foods are simple, if (i) they are not composed of two heterogeneous main ingredients, -like meat and vegetables (chapter 4), or starchy products and meat (chapter VI)-, or if (ii) they are simple to prepare -by the standards of the time-, and use simple, basic culinary techniques -stewing and roasting-. Thus complex culinary preparations (chapter 3), and pastry and confectionary (chapter VII), are excluded. Chapter I deals mostly with stews, and those things that were often added to them, and chapter II deals mostly with roasts.

Although browning the meat initially was a known procedure, plain stews were usually prepared by placing in a cold earthenware pot all the ingredients: the cut up meat, the seasonings, and the cooking liquid covering the meat. Then the pot was brought to the fire, uncovered, and simmered until the meat was well done and the sauce reduced. This procedure is more appropriate for earthenware pots, since they do not accommodate well sudden temperature changes or high temperatures. Chapter I starts with stews, that our author calls feminine, and that are delicately flavored, like the tafaya. Then it deals with those preparations made mostly of pounded meat, like meatballs and sausages, that were often added to stews. The chapter finishes with stews that have more assertive, or masculine, flavors, due to vinegar, mustard, etc.

The tafaya in its simplest form is a meat -or fish- stew, flavored basically with fresh coriander or coriander seeds, onions, salt and pepper, and never with vinegar or saffron. The meat, cut up in pieces, together with all the other ingredients, is placed, cold, in a pot, which is then brought to a simmer and cooked until done. Meatballs are a common

addition. The dish can be made more complex by thickening the sauce with eggs, or by adding sausages, sanbusak, etc., but not vegetables. tafaya made with fresh coriander or coriander juice is usually called green, and white the one made with coriander seeds, in which case almonds are often added. Our author considers the tafaya a feminine dish, served at the beginning of a formal meal (cf. Preface 10). For examples cf. the present chapter I, chapter V (V.2, and V.4, made with fish), and Part II. Ibn Razn's cookbook has tafaya made with chicken (cf. Benchekrour, Mohamed B. A. La cuisine andalou-marocaine au 13^e. siecle d'apres un manuscrit rare. Rabat, 1981.) (p.101). This dish is still alive today in Morocco. (Cf. Guinaudeau. p.112 Tajine tafaia). The author says of this dish est venu dit-on d'Andalousie. The word tafaya seems to have been used only in Spain and northwest Africa. It does not have a Semitic root. It is registered in Dozy, but not in Lane or Freytag. We ignore its etymology.

(x) Disdbaja. A Persian dish. A recipe is extant in al-Baghda's Cookbook (Chelebi p.32, Arberry's transl. p.46). There are similarities between this Eastern recipe and the white tafaya. There is only another occurrence of this word in our ms., namely in 7.38. The Persian term is composed of white, and gruel or spoon-meat (cf. F. Steinga Persian-English Dictionary. London, 1892).

(x) On grammatical grounds the Arabic expression we translate is ambiguous. It can mean either fat meat of sheep or meat of fat sheep. We have adopted the second alternative, because (i), in that period, a fat animal was considered a healthy one, and the expression is tantamount to meat of healthy sheep, and (ii), whenever fat cuts of meat are required, our text makes the point explicit. This remark applies to many of the following recipes.

(x) Taf . This term, in the sense used in our text, is not registered in standard Arabic dictionaries. From the numerous occurrences of this word in our ms. it is clear that the rad. Taf was a mild source of heat, where pots could be placed to be kept warm without drying out or burning, or where a sauce, in which beaten eggs had been added, could be left to set without curdling. It is also clear that pots were lowered to the rad. Taf, i.e. the rad. Taf was close to the ground. From a recipe in Part II (cf. xx) it is also clear that the rad. Taf was filled with dying embers (jamr). Although embers set aside in the kitchen floor could fulfill the above requirements, and actually in some of the recipes of Part II that was actually the case, it is more likely that the rad. Taf mentioned in the present cookbook was a low footed utensil, made of metal, and filled with embers, something similar to a footed brazier covered with a grid. If this is so, probably only wealthy households had one.

The term rad. Taf may stem from the old Semitic root rad. Tafa: to warm up milk, or water, by throwing heated stones into the liquid, to roast meat upon heated stones. (cf. Lane, Freytag). The term is not registered in Dozy.

(x) Tas. A Berber word. (to be completed. duwwara. Freytag translates ventris pars in ove, quae intestina comprehendit AF (i.e. that part of the belly of a sheep, that contains the intestines). Lane translates. What winds or what has or assumes a coiled or circular form, of the guts or intestines of a sheep or goat. We have translated duwwara as gut.

(x) Bundles. (to be completed).

(x) Meatballs (banadiq). It is important to note that the meatballs used in our text, in contrast to the ones made nowadays, were made of lean cuts of meat, which were pounded in a wood or stone mortar into a smooth paste, then seasoned and shaped into small balls. It is unfortunate that the present recipe is broken off. The list of ingredients, though, seems complete. The other recipe present in our ms. lists basically the same ingredients (cf. Part II, xx). Once shaped, they could be added as a finishing touch to a simmering dish, or be fried and then added, etc.

Meatballs were used extensively as additional ornaments or tibbits to dishes, and, in a large, wealthy household, were probably prepared daily and early in the morning, ready to be used in any dish that called them for.

The Arabic term for meatball, sg. bunduq, means literally hazelnut. The term stems from the Pontus, a region of Greece, where hazelnuts came from (cf. Lat. *nux pontica*). It is a remainder that the meatballs used at that time were of small size. The Spanish *alb ndiga*, meatball, stems from the Arabic. *Alb ndigas* have been a feature of traditional Spanish cuisine.

(x) Shoulder (sin). We have translated Ar. sin as shoulder, since this seems to be its meaning from the numerous occurrences of this term in our text. However, this term, as a cut of meat, does not seem to be registered in the Arabic dictionaries. Since this translation is conjectural, we have kept the term sin in parenthesis.

(x) Darmak flour. Darmak flour is a high quality wheat flour, that in contemporary Spanish would be called flor de harina. Darmak has yielded old Spanish *adargama* with the same meaning. (Cf. Dozy, Reinhart et Dr. W.H. Engelman. *Glossaire des mots Espagnols et Portugais de rive de l'Arabe*. 2nd. ed. Leyden, 1869. p.41., and also Leopoldo de Eguilaz y Yanguas. *Glosario etimologico de las palabras espa oladas de origen oriental*. Granada, 1886. p.49).

Another high quality wheat flour used in our text is the sam flour (or semolina flour). Sam flour may have a higher gluten content, and the wheat may grow at higher altitudes and on drier land, but if this was the difference among these two types of flour at that time, we do not know. We have left both terms untranslated.

The term darmak is not of Semitic origin, and it is not registered in Lane, nor in Freytag (in the present sense), nor in the Persian dictionary of Steinga We ignore its etymology.

(x) The recipe ends here abruptly. The text that follows in the manuscript has a completely unrelated topic, -a drink, pastries, sweets, etc.- and is given in Part II. This abrupt change is due, in our view, to a mis pagination of one of the ms. on which our ms. is based, and it is discussed in the Introduction.

We have printed next what we consider is the actual continuation of the present cookbook. This seems clear, since (i) the dietetic comments of I.7 and I.8 are closely related, (ii) the dish referred to in the present recipe I.7 appears in the nearby recipe I.11, (3) the beginning lines of the next chapter refer back to the beginning lines of the present chapter, a proof that chapter II is the actual sequel of chapter I, and (4) both parts of this chapter, namely recipes I.1 through the present I.7 and the added recipes I.8 through I.24, match contentwise.

Since the present recipe I.7 is incomplete and truncated, we have a loss of text. How much is lost? In our opinion the loss may be limited to a few lines, no recipe seems to be missing. The size of the present chapter is similar to the ones that follow.

(x) Sausage (mirka). Sausages were very popular at the authors time, not only as regular fare or additional tibbits in a dish, but also as street food, sold to passers-by in the suq. (Cf. E. Levi-Provencal y E. Garcia Gomez. Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII. El tratado de ibn ʿAbdu. Madrid, 1948. p.140).

Our ms. has other sausage (mirka) recipes, namely I.16 (made of cheese), 4.30 (made of eggplants), Part II. xx (spelled mirqa), and Part II.yy. Mirka are still popular nowadays in northwest Africa, and known as merguez.

Mirka does not have a Semitic root, and may be of Iberian origin, related to Spanish morcilla, cf. J. Corominas DCELC (under morcilla). Cf. also G.S. Colin et E. Levi-Provencal. Un manuel hispanique de Tisba. pp.33-34.

(x) When making of sausages a thread is used, which runs along with the intestine being stuffed. This thread is tied around it at intervals to divide it into links or sausages. This seems to be the meaning of this condensed expression.

(x) Tras. Large Arabic dictionaries do not register under the root Tarasa any term related to food. There are four recipes for Tras in our ms. (I.9, I.10, V.12 (with fish) and Part II xx), and three more in ibn Razn's cookbook (p.97). They have this in common: the Tras are made from pounded meat, pounded and seasoned as for sausages (mirka), including usually the addition of hacked fat; they are shaped as meatballs, patties or loaves; and they are fried in a pan. These characteristics remind us of contemporary hamburgers. The meatballs (banadiq), described above, were usually added to dishes, and not fried and eaten by themselves. The Tras may fill this gap. We have left the term Tras untranslated.

(x) Sayyid Abu Tasan. (to be completed).

(x) Isfrya are patties (....), that can be made of a variety of basic ingredients: pounded meat (I.12, Part II xx, yy), eggs (I.13, Part II zz), chickpeas (I.14), eggplants (4.33), etc. The basic ingredient is usually seasoned, mixed with a binding element, then shaped, and fried in a pan. The term is still used nowadays in northwest Africa in a similar sense, but spelled sfrya (cf. Hadjiat, Salima. La cuisine d'Algerie. Paris, 1983. pp.59, 61, 71, 109). The term is registered in Dozy (I,22), but described vaguely. It is probably unrelated to the Semitic root safara.

(x) Muzawwara. This term means fake or counterfeit, but it has an additional medical connotation in our text. It is applied to foods, prepared for the sick, that try to simulate dishes they cannot eat. Several recipes of this type appear in our cookbook, for instance 4.34, 4.37, 4.38 etc. Cf. also Dozy.

(x) Tanhaja. The Tanhaja is a group of nomadic Berber tribes, living in the western Sahara, which in the XI c. under the inspiration of the religious leader Ibn Yasn created the Almoravid empire, extended over a

large part of northwest Africa. The Almoravids, eventually, invaded and conquered Muslim Spain (1086-1145). The present dish, named after the Tanhaja, appears in a more interesting version in 4.18, and it is discussed there.

(x) Explain. Cf. note 1 above.

(x) See note xx above.

(x) The jiml is a meat -or fish- stew, prepared in a way similar to the tafaya, but flavored differently: vinegar and mur(usually in the proportion of two to one) are the essential ingredients, cummin or caraway are often present, and green coriander is lacking. For examples cf. I.20, V.5 (made with fish), and Part II xx, yy, zz. Some of these later recipes are prepared with innards. There are also recipes in ibn Razn's cookbook. While the tafaya is considered a feminine dish, the jiml may be considered as masculine. The dish does not seem to have survived to the present. Lexicographers have not registered this term. We ignore how it should be vocalized, the present vocalization is conjectural.

(x) A kind of conically shaped savory custard, mentioned in the Preface as one of the dishes served at formal meals. It was also known as saya, due to its similarity to a conical hood (see quote in Dozy I,802, under this last word). The last sentence of the recipe seems to imply that it was also known as a mokey's head, a popular dish for which several recipes are extant in Part II (cf. xx), but the claim is not obvious, since a mokey's head was usually prepared with dough. The word fart. Tun is not of Semitic origin. Simonet discusses this term, and suggests it stems from Lat. fartum (pp. of farcio, to stuff). (Cf. Simonet, Francisco Javier. Glosario de voces ibericas y latinas usadas entre los mozarabes. Madrid,1888. p.205). This does not agree with our text, which states clearly that fart. Tun is the name of a vessel, though we have been unable to corroborate this claim.

(x) Weight measures. In the 7 Medical Cookbook three measures of weight are generally used, namely: the dirham, the uqya and the rat. Their equivalences are:

1 1 dirham= 3 grams approximately.

1 1 uqya = 10 dirham (30 grams approx.).

1 1 rat = 12 uqya (360 grams approx.).

A table displaying these and other measures, and the values assigned to them by several authors, appears in Alvarez, Camilo. Libro de la Almohada de ibn Wafid de Toledo. (Recetario medico arabe del siglo XI). Toledo, 1980. (p.475).

(x) Cassia. We have translated dars as cassia (also called Chinese cinnamon), and qirfa as cinnamon. Both spices are very similar. In the United States, for instance, they are not distinguished commercially.

(x) Sayyid Abu al-Tasan Al.

There are two Almohade princes with this name:

(i) One was a grandson of Abd al-Mumin and a cousin of Yaqub al-Mans. Tur (see table I). In 582/1186 Abu al M. Tasan was appointed governor of Marrakesh by his cousin al-Mans Tur. Later he held other important posts in Africa. Having become sick he returned in 605/1206 to Marrakesh, and

died there a few years later. He was considered to be indolent and interested in literature. (See Huici, p. II:616).

(ii) The other one was a son of Abd al-Mumin (see table I). He held several governorships (Fez, Cordoba 571/1175, Ifriqya 576/1180, Tlemcen 580/1184 etc.), and spent some time in Marrakesh with his family around 575/1179. (See Huici, pp. II:619-620).

Probably the first prince is the one meant in recipes I.10 and 3.18, since he was a governor of Marrakesh. The dates of his two stays in Marrakesh were around 1186 and 1206. These dates agree with the date when Abu al-Ula was governor of Ceuta (see note II.xx on him) and with the recent death of Abu Yusuf Yaqub al-Mans. Tur (see note 7.xx on him). These events were probably of recent memory to the author of our cookbook, and are a clue to the date of its composition.

Reference: Huici Miranda, Ambrosio. Historia politica del Imperio Almohade (two volumes). Tetuan 1956,1957.

(x) Al Raz (latinized Rhazes) (865-925) 1B 2D 00.

Abu Bakr al-Raz was one of the most illustrious Islamic physicians and medical authors. Some of his books, translated into Latin, became standard medical texts in Medieval European universities.

Of special importance for culinary history is his extensive book on Beneficial uses of foods and <how> to avoid their harms, which does not seem to have been translated into any European language. In it he discusses in detail the dietetic properties of foods, dishes and beverages of his time. This book will be used occasionally in these notes.

References: al-Raz. Manafi al-agdiya wa-daf mad. Tarrha. Beirut, 1982.

Manfred Ullmann. Die Medizin im Islam (Handbuch der Orientalistik). Leiden/Koln 1970 (pp. 128-136, 200)

Waines, David. The gourmet's physician: Abu Bakr al-Raz. Ur (London) 1985/3 (pp.26-28).

CHAPTER 2

Description of different kinds of roasts .

Since roasts are simple foods, it is necessary to describe them subsequently , except the thickening of their sauce.

2.1 Roasting meat over the coals

Take meat of a fat, young animal, and cut it into thin slices with a sharp knife. Let the meat be mixed with fat (sah) be without bones, and be taken from the tender parts, like meat from the shoulder (sin), the thigh and the like. Put the meat in a bowl (gadar). Pour on it the needed amount of macerated murri vinegar, thyme, pepper, pounded garlic and a little olive oil, mixed all together, and let the slices soak in this mixture. Then string them on a spit so that they do not overlap each other, thus enabling the fire to reach them all over. Rotate the spit continuously over a charcoal fire until they are done and browned, and baste them with the above sauce whenever they dry up, until they are evenly roasted. Then spread the slices in the sauce, or in mustard sauce, made beforehand. They are ready to be served.

Roasted meat gives strenght, increases the blood in the body, but is difficult to digest, and slow to descend through the alimentary track.

2.2 A roast made in a tajin

Take the rack of a young and fat ram, whole, as is, and put it in a big tajine, large enough to hold it. Put it into the oven, and leave it there until the top has browned. Then take it out, turn it over and return it to the oven for a second time until it is cooked and browned on both sides. Then take it out and sprinkle it with salt pounded with pepper and cinnamon. It is an excellent and outstanding roast, since its grease) and juice remain at the bottom of the tajine and do not spill on the fire as it is the case with roasts done on a spit or roasts done in the tannur.

2.3 Recipe for roasting a chicken.

Take a young and fat chicken, and clean it up. Boil it in a pot with water, salt and with the seasonings used for preparing the tafaiya. Then remove the chicken from the pot, and pour the sauce with its fat into a bowl. Add to this sauce the ingredients of the basting sauce that was described in roasting meat over live coals (see II.1). Soak in it the boiled chicken. Then mount it on a spit, and turn the chicken continuously over a moderate charcoal fire, basting it constantly until it is cooked and browned. Then spread it on what remains of the sauce. It is ready to be served.

The nourishment of this roast is more delicate and balanced than the roasts made with meat of cattle or sheep. Likewise the roasts of other fowl should be prepared.

2.4 A chicken roasted in a pot and in the oven

Take a young, fat and cleaned up chicken, and pierce it with a spit made of wood, say a stick. Put it in a new pot in such a way that no part of the chicken touches the sides of the pot nor its bottom. Cover it with a

lid perforated in its center, and let one end of the stick come out through the hole, so that the chicken remains vertical. Then seal the lid with dough, and place the pot into a moderately heated oven, leaving it there until it is done. Then remove the pot from the oven. Have ready salt pounded with pepper and cinammon, and sprinkle the salt on the chicken when the pot is opened. Cover the pot for a short while after shaking it, so that the chicken will absorb the salt.

2.5 A chicken roasted in a pot and in the cooking hearth (home)

Take a cleaned up and fat chicken, and make in it incisions everywhere. Prepare a sauce with olive oil, macerated muri, some vinegar, pounded garlic, pepper, cumin, and a little thyme. Baste the chicken with this sauce everywhere, inside and outside. Then place the chicken in a pot, pour on it what remained of this sauce, and cook it until done. Then remove the charcoal from underneath the pot, transfer it to the lid of the pot, and leave it there until the sauce has dried up and the chicken is fried. Then take it out. It is ready to be served.

2.6 A chicken called the basted one

Take a cleaned up chicken and leave it whole. Make incisions on its breast and perforate it with a stick on all sides. Baste it all over, outside and inside, with olive oil, macerated muri, pepper, saffron, cinammon, cloves, spikenard, and ginger. Then put it in a pot, pour on it the rest of the olive oil and muri, and cover the pot with a well fitted lid. Put the pot in the oven, and leave it there until the chicken is done. Then take it out. It is ready to be served. It is wonderful.

2.7 A chicken, fried and cooked in a pot

Cut up every member of a chicken in two, and fry them in a frying pan with plenty of fine olive oil. Then take a pot, and put in it four spoonfuls of vinegar, two spoonfuls of macerated muri, the same amount of olive oil, as well as pepper, coriander, cumin, some garlic, and saffron. Put the pot over the fire, and when the sauce boils, put in it the above mentioned fried chicken. When the chicken is evenly done, transfer it to a serving plate and serve.

2.8 A stuffed, roasted ram, called the perfect

Take a fat and skinned ram, open its cavity by making a narrow cut in between the thighs, and remove the innards and clean them. Then take whatever fat chickens, squabs, young turtle doves, or sparrows are available. Remove their innards and clean them, make incisions in their breasts, and cook in a pot each kind of bird separately. Then fry the birds with a lot of olive oil, and leave them aside. Then take what remained of the sauces, in which each kind of bird was cooked, and add grated breadcrumbs of darmak bread, and break in it the needed amount of eggs, add also pepper, saffron, cinammon, coriander seeds, spikenard, ginger, split and pounded almonds, and a lot of olive oil. Mix these ingredients together, and stuff with it the cavities of the fried birds. Insert in the cavity of the ram one bird after another, until finished with all of them, pour also in it what remains of the stuffing, and add also cooked meatballs, fried sausages (mirka), and whole egg yolks. When completed, sew the opening used in stuffing the ram. Baste the back and the front of the ram with a sauce made of macerated muri, olive oil, and thyme. Place the ram, as is, inside a heated tannur and leave it there

for a while. Then take it out, repeat the basting again, and return it to the tannur. Leave it there until the cooking is completed and it is browned. Then take it out, and serve.

2.9 A roasted lamb

Take a skinned lamb, and clean up its cavity as described above. Gather the innards after having cleaned them, wrap them with fat, and tie them around with thin intestines. Then fill the cavity of the lamb with these bundles (n) and with fried sparrows and starlings, stuffed as described above, and sew the lamb up. Place the lamb in a large tajine, wide enough to contain it, and pour on it a sauce like the one described above, adding also coriander juice and olive oil. Put the tajine inside the oven, and leave it there until done. Then take it out, and serve.

2.10 An outstanding roasted lamb

Take a fat, cleaned up lamb, with a narrow cut to access its cavity. Then take meat of another lamb, cut up small, and place it in a pot with salt, pepper, coriander seeds, saffron, cinnamon, spikenard and olive oil. Raise the pot over a moderate fire until the meat is done. Then add fresh meat, cheese, eggs, grated breadcrumbs and a proper amount of seasonings, and fill with this mixture the cavity of the lamb. Put the lamb inside a heated tannur, as described above, and when done, take it out. If the lamb is very small, place it in a tajine as pointed out above (see II.2).

2.11 A lamb roasted with its skin

Take a fat lamb, as is, with its woolen skin, and remove through a narrow opening what is in its cavity. Place it in a basin or cauldron and pour boiling water on the animal. Pluck its wool so that none is left on the skin. Then take the innards that were removed from the cavity, clean them, and prepare with them a stuffing: cook them with seasonings, olive oil and a little macerated murri, and, -after mixing them with eggs, aromatics and whatever you like-, put them back in the cavity of the lamb. Sew the cavity, the neck, and whatever holes the skin may have, so that none are left from which the grease (dasam) could flow out. Put the lamb inside a tannur, and leave it there until done. Then take it out, cut it up with a sharp knife, and sprinkle on the cuts salt pounded with pepper and cinnamon.

2.12 A roasted calf done for the sayyid Abu al-Ala in Ceuta

Take a fat and young ram, skinned and cleaned. Make a narrow cut in between the thighs, and remove carefully all that is inside the cavity. Insert in it a roasted goose, and in the cavity of the goose insert a roasted chicken, and in the cavity of the chicken insert a roasted squab, and in the cavity of the squab insert a roasted starling, and in its cavity insert a roasted or fried sparrow. All these birds should be roasted and basted with the sauce described for roasts (see II.1). Sew the cut, and place the ram inside a heated tannur, and leave it there until cooked and browned, and baste it with this sauce. Then insert <the ram> in the cavity of a calf, prepared and cleaned beforehand, and sew it. Put the calf in a heated tannur, and leave it there until done and browned. Take it out and serve.

2.13 A recipe for a roasted rabbit

Take a skinned and cleaned up rabbit, and boil it lightly with water and salt. Pour out the water, mount it on a spit, and turn it around over a moderate charcoal fire. Baste it with fresh butter once. When the meat is done, remove the rabbit from its attachment to the spit, and cut it up on a plate. Make a sauce with vinegar, a little macerated muri, ginger, thyme, cumin, olive oil and a little pounded garlic, by boiling all these ingredients, and pour it over the rabbit.

The reason that it is basted with fresh butter while roasting is to balance the dryness of its nature. If basted with oil of sweet almonds, it would turn out even better.

2.14 A recipe for sparrows made from sheeps or goats meat

Cut a piece of meat into small pieces and shape them like sparrows. Then either mount them on a spit, and roast them, or fry them in a lot of olive oil, until done, and leave them aside. Then take a pot, and put in it three spoonfuls of vinegar, a spoonful of macerated muri, two spoonfuls of fine olive oil, pepper, cumin, and a little saffron. Raise the pot over the fire, and when the mixture boils, put in it the above mentioned fried or roasted sparrows, and let them cook in it for a while. Then remove the pot and serve.

One may make these figures also from pounded meat, after adding seasonings, and shaping it as sparrows, starlings or other kinds of birds. One may fry them also as described above.

2.15 A roasted rack of sheep

Pound a rat (n) of meat in a stone mortar. Add the same amount of hacked fat (sahm), a small amount of onions, fresh coriander and coriander seeds, crushed cheese, a large handful of peeled and pounded almonds and walnuts, some macerated muri, -the amount needed to balance the taste-, and also cassia, pepper and ginger. Pound all these ingredients together with the meat until they are mixed, and knead them until they are evenly distributed.

Then take the rack of a fat sheep, split it open by separating the meat from the ribs, and fill the gap between the two with the stuffing. Sew it back with gut or a vegetable thread (n). Rub the rack with olive oil and sprinkle it with powdered starch. Hang it in the tannur and close it. When done, take it out and serve. It is a delicious roast.

2.16 Another kind of rack of lamb

Take the rack of a fat lamb. Split it open by separating the meat from the ribs, and split it wide enough so that the hand and fingers can be inserted in it. Then take peeled almonds and hazelnuts, -of each a large handful-; also cassia, spikenard, cloves, saffron and pepper, -of each one; and add also a little salt. Pound all these ingredients together. Mix them with breadcrumbs, stir the mixture with olive oil, and knead it until it has thickened and can be used as stuffing. After the rack is stuffed, sew it with a clean gut. Hang it in the tannur and place under it a container to hold the drippings melting from the rack. When done, take it out.

2.17 Another remarkable rack of lamb

Take a rack of a fat lamb, and cook it in vinegar until done. Then take it out, and let it dry. Take a wide pan, and pour in it fine olive oil, coriander and mint juice, thyme, and a whole cleaned onion. Raise the pan over the fire. When the flavor of the onion has been absorbed, remove it from the olive oil. Then put the rack in the pan, and fry it until it is browned on both sides. Spray macerated muri on it, sprinkle it with cinnamon, and serve.

This dish may be done also in the oven.

2.18 Recipe for a marvelous stuffed large intestine.

Take a fat, large intestine and turn it inside out. Then take as many eggs as you know are needed to stuff it properly, and break them into a bowl. Add to them a pounded piece of onion, cinnamon, pepper, olive oil, peeled almonds -pounded and unpounded-, and also sugar, -an amount according to the sweet taste of the eater-. Mix all these ingredients together, and pour them into the intestine with a funnel, tying the two ends of the intestine with a thread. Let it hang in a gently heated tannur, and leave it there until done and browned. Then remove it.

This dish may be done also by frying it in a pan with fine olive oil.

2.19 On making marrow

What one wants from a recipe for making marrow is that it should resemble in appearance and taste the appearance and taste of marrow. One needs such a recipe because many kings and leaders loved to eat it and considered it to be of greatest nourishment, and if men were limited to cook only the marrow that they gathered from slaughtered animals, they would not get enough of it to satisfy their desire and gratify their craving for it. Indeed, marrow is a beloved and eagerly desired food. One of the nicest manners of eating marrow is that he who received the marrow bone first and extracted it at the table, should not taste it, until he offered it first to the master of the table, and likewise he should not taste it until he offered it first to his beloved friend and the diner sitting next to him.

I have heard that one king assigned an important job to one of his subordinates. When he entered to bid farewell to the king and to depart, the table was set and food was served. After serving the beginning course a dish was served containing a bone with marrow. The man took it and extracted it. The king was excited by his actions, having no doubt that the man would offer it to him. But after extracting it, the man placed it on a morsel of bread, sprinkled some salt on it, and ate it. The king concealed his anger. When the table was removed and the king had washed his hands, the man stood up to bid farewell to the king and to depart. The king told him: Between you and me there is something that I will need to call your attention to at some other time. The man went to his home, but did not depart to do the job. When the king was told about this, he said: If he would be paid the five thousand dirhems a year for the job, they would not be sufficient to buy all the marrow that he craves to eat.

2.20 Making marrow without marrow, and not be noticeable

Take the fat covering a fresh kidney and remove the veins, and peel off the skin from a spleen. Take one part of spleen and five parts of the cleaned fat) of the kidney. Pound them together until they have the consistency of brain. Stuff with this mixture small intestines, large intestines, cane tubes, or the like. Boil them in a pot where a tafaya is cooking. Then remove them from the pot, transfer them to a container and serve them hot.

2.21 Another marrow recipe

Take a brain, and clean it from its veins. Then take meat that is tender, like shoulder of lamb, pound it in a stone mortar until it is smooth, and mix it with the cleaned brain. Stuff intestines with this mixture, and cook them. Then remove them from the pot, and sprinkle ground sugar over them.

If one adds at the beginning of making them pounded almonds and walnuts, the dish will turn out even better.

2.22 Making another marrow

Take the brain of a lamb and add to it fresh, an egg, fresh milk, and a little sugar. Stuff intestines with this mixture, and boil them. Glass molds, that resembled shank bones or other bones, used to be made for distinguished people. When one had finished putting together the ingredients of the marrow, he stuffed these molds with this mixture, sealing them with dough, and placed them in a pot with water, salt, and all that is needed for making the dish. He then cooked them until he knew that the marrow was done and had hardened inside the molds, which was done by looking through the glass from the outside. When one removed the molds from the pot, he took away the dough, that sealed the openings of the molds, shook off what was in them, and served them.

2.23 Making a delightful marrow, that no one could doubt to be real

Take three uqya of new walnuts, cleaned of their shells, and boil them in hot water, then peel their thin skins off, and pound them thoroughly. Then take one quarter of a rat of pounded fat (sahm) and the same amount of spleen, and mix everything together. Pour fresh almond oil, chicken fat, or fresh butter in the marro molds made of glass, first, then fill them with this stuffing, and close tightly their openings with dough. Boil them in water and salt until done. Shake them off in butter, and serve.

The best water fowl is the one called iwazz al-qurt which is a duck with a broad beak and of dark color. It fattens very fast, and it is not good to eat except roasted.

2.24 Recipe for roasting it

After slaughtering it, hang it during the night by its legs. On the following morning clean it, wash it, and leave it aside. Then take salt, and pound it with thyme, pepper, olive oil and coriander until it has the consistency of a thin honey, and baste with it the body of the bird inside and outside. Then hang it in the tannur. When taken out, serve it with its sauce, if you wish.

2.25 Recipe for another roast, one of the dishes prepared for Abu Salih al-Rahbani(n) in his kitchen.

Extract juice from squeezed onions, from fresh garlic, and from coriander, and take also macerated muri, -of each one uqya-, and add half a rat of strong vinegar, and the needed amount of olive oil. Then take coriander, cassia, ginger, thyme, and cumin, -of each three dirham -, grind these seasonings together, and mix them with the above liquid containing vinegar.

Then take the above mentioned bird, called iwazz al-qurt, which is actually a duck. Scald it, remove the contents of its cavity, and hang it. Then with the tip of a knife pierce its body, and stuff each incision either with a peeled clove of garlic, or with a piece of peeled walnut kernel, or with a piece of ginger. Then let the bird remain overnight in the above mentioned liquid containing vinegar. In the following morning remove it from the liquid and roast it in the tannur. When done, remove it from the tannur, cut it up, and serve it in its sauce.

You should know that all roasts are slow to digest, are very nutritious, restore the strenght, and, if digested well, their chyme is not harmful. They are simple foods, since they have no components that can be removed from their nature (n). They are praiseworthy foods, if enjoyed in a proper manner.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

Chapter II overview.

This chapter on roasts is remarkable for the variety of methods used, and also because this topic is poorly documented in medieval culinary sources, even though it was widely used.

Basically, to roast a piece of meat is to cook it by direct exposure to dry, radiating heat. As a result the meat has a crisp, browned surface. Several methods for roasting are used in our text:

(i) The piece -or pieces- of meat or the animal is mounted on a spit, and roasted over live coals (cf. II.1, II.3, II.13, II.14).

(ii) The piece of meat or animal is placed in a large Tajin, and roasted, uncovered, in an oven (furn) (cf. II.2, II.9).

(3) The piece of meat or animal is placed in a closed earthenware pot in such a way that it does not touch the walls nor the bottom of the pot, and it is introduced into an oven. The walls of the pot act in this case as the source of radiating heat (cf. II.4).

(4) The piece of meat or animal is suspended in a tannu. This method is sometimes used for larger pieces (cf. II.8, II.10, II.11, II.12, II.15, II.16, II.18, II.24, II.25).

(v) The piece of meat is first cooked in a pot, and then roasted by placing live coals on its cover (cf. II.5).

(vi) There is a method of roasting, that does not appear explicitly in our text, namely, to grill, i.e. to place over live coals a piece of meat on a grill or gridiron (Lat. craticula, Hispano-Arabic mafra). This procedure is well documented at least since Ancient Greece and Rome, and was, no doubt, well known to our author.

Recipes II.6, II.7 and II.17 do not fit into the above scheme, and may not be roasts in a proper sense. In the last two the browning of the meat is achieved by frying it in olive oil.

Pieces to be roasted are often stuffed (cf. II.8, II.9, II.10, II.11, II.12, II.15, II.16). In some cases, as in recipe II.12 for a roasted calf, the stuffing could be of gigantic proportions. Before roasting the piece of meat or animal may be marinated for some hours (cf. II.1, II.25) or simply basted with olive oil, salt or mur, thyme, etc. (cf. II.5, II.6, II.24). During roasting the meat may be basted (cf. II.1, II.3, II.8, II.12). After roasting it may be sprinkled with salt, pepper and cinnamon (cf. II.1, II.4, II.11).

The chapter includes at the end some recipes for making fake marrow.

(x) Simple foods. For this notion see note I.xx

(x) Cooking hearth.

The word *dar* usually means house or home, but this may not be the correct translation. All the occurrences of this word in our text appear in contexts where there is a choice between cooking the dish in the *dar* or cooking it in an oven (furn) or a *tannur*. Cf. the present II.5 (an alternative to II.4), VI.15, VI.16 and VI.26.

In the Medical Cookbook the oven was used so frequently, and it was so easily accessible, that it is likely that the oven was part of the household. Thus a dish may be finished by placing it in the oven to acquire a browned surface, an impossible task if it required a last minute trip to a public or communal oven. Hence a choice between the *dar*, understood as house or home, and an oven makes no sense. But even if the oven meant was a public or communal oven, it is clear that the intended meaning of *dar* is not house, but more precisely the area of the house where one cooked, i.e. cooking hearth. The word *dar*, in this sense, is not registered, though, in any Arabic dictionary I know of. How did the cooking hearth of our present cookbook look like? As far as I know there are no known archeological Hispano-Arabic kitchens remnant. All we have is the literary evidence. In the Medical Cookbook pots are usually lowered from the cooking hearth on the *rad. Taf.* This seems to imply that the cooking hearth had some height. It may have been a masonry table in the Roman tradition, examples of which are known from Pompeii. In poorer households the cooking hearth may have stood at floor level. The height of the cooking hearth is obviously dependent on the way one cooks: one may cook standing or sitting in a stool or floor. The regularly used fuel was charcoal (*jamr*), often mentioned in our text. Pots may have been placed on tripods.

(x) The text does not say explicitly what one should do with the bundles just made. It is likely they are used as stuffing.

(x) *Sayyid Abu al-Ula Idrs*

There are two Almohade princes with this name. The one who was governor of Ceuta, and thus the one meant here, was a son of Yusuf I and a brother of Yaqub al-Mans. Tur (see table I). As governor of Ceuta he commanded the fleet that captured Majorca for the Almohades from the Almoravids in 599/1203. In 618/1220 he became governor of Seville, where he build the famous Torre del Oro. He died in 620/1223.

Reference: Huici Miranda, Ambrosio. *Historia politica del Imperio Almohade* (two volumes). Tetuan 1956,1957. pp. II:624, II:398.

(x) Rat. See note I.xx (weight measures).

(x) I have translated kus as vegetable thread. It may mean palm leaves⁷, but I am not sure this is the proper translation. The word occurs also in Part II (cf. xx).

(x) 1 dirham. See note I.xx (weight measures).

(x) 1 wazz al-qurt (to be completed).

(x) Abu Talih al-Rahban. I have been unable to identify him.

(x) (Note on the last paragraph to be completed).

CHAPTER 3

Description of dishes thickened with starches

(mukattara) and of dishes thickened with eggs (mukammara)

3.1 Recipe for the sirbaya

This dish has a balanced composition, its nourishment is superior, it is beneficial for the stomach and the liver, and combines in it the benefits of the sikbaja and ... (n)... among its merits are those that were told to the elders of Baghdad by one who followed Hunain bin Ish

He said:

I was walking with Hunain one day, when a man came across him, and Hunain said to him: Oh you! You came to me describing the condition of a sick woman in your home, then I did not see you anymore. What is the reason for staying away, since I continue to be concerned about you?. He said: I came to you, sir, and I described to you the sickness of my mother. You ordered to feed her sirbaya. I followed your order to do so, and she recovered from her illness I did not want to come back to you, and disturb you, may God recompense you for your deed!. Hunain said: This dish is balanced and it is the sakanja of the dishes.

Somebody else has said: It is the jewel of the kitchen. It is without any harm whatsoever.

Its recipe:

Take a young chicken, clean it, and put it in a pot with a little salt, pepper, coriander seeds, cinnamon, saffron and the amount needed of fresh olive oil and vinegar. Put the pot over a moderate fire. When the meat of the chicken is done, take four dalmons, each, of peeled and pounded almonds and of good quality white sugar. Mix them thoroughly in rose water, and pour this mixture in the pot. Let it boil. Then place the pot on the radaf until the grease (dasam) comes up to the surface.

It is extremely nourishing and beneficial for every temperament.

This dish can be prepared with chicken, squabs, chicks of turtle doves, or with meat of a young sheep.

3.2 Recipe for the kafurya

Take a young chicken, squabs, or young turtle doves, whatever is available, and clean them. Make incisions in their breasts, and put them in a pot with salt, a small amount of onion, pepper, coriander seeds, and fresh olive oil. Cook them until done.

Then thicken the pot with peeled almonds, pounded like dough, and mixed thoroughly with rose water. Lower the pot on the radaf, squeeze in it the juice of two or three lemons, according to the degree of acidity one prefers, and flavor it with a little camphor (n) dissolved in rose water. Do not squeeze the lemons in the pot while cooking, since the dish will turn bitter, but only after having lowered it on the radaf. Let it stand for a while.

3.3 A dish cooked in a sealed pot

This dish can be made with a chicken, with a goose [meat] or with squabs. Take whatever bird is available of the above, clean it, and put it in a pot whole, as is, with incisions made in its breasts. Add salt, olive oil, a small amount of onion, pepper and coriander seeds. Cook it half way through. Then remove it from the pot, and put it in another pot. Pour in it the filtered sauce of the first pot, macermurri, saffron,

spikenard, leaves of citron, and a little thyme. Insert into the cavity of the bird two or three salted lemons, and sprinkle on it peeled and split almonds. Cover the mouth of the pot with dough, and put the pot in the oven, leaving it there until the cooking is completed. It is ready to be served.

It is a wholesome nourishment, suitable to moist stomachs.

3.4 Preparing a chicken dipped in batter called the reconstructed one

Take a cleaned and cut up chicken, and put it in a pot with salt, a small amount of onion, pepper, and coriander seeds. Cook it half way through. Then take the chicken out of the pot, remove the meat from the breasts and thighs, and pound it as finely as one prepares meat for meatballs. Add to it spikenard, cassia and pepper, and mix it with some eggs. Reconstruct with it the breasts and thighs. Then take breadcrumbs or flour, mix them with beaten eggs, and season this mixture with pepper and cinnamon(n), coat with it the reconstructed parts of the chicken, and fry them in a pan with fine olive oil until browned. Return the parts to the pot, and add vinegar, olive oil, a little imur, saffron, pepper and spikenard, and sprinkle on them split almonds. Thicken the dish with a good amount of beaten eggs, as many as needed, adding also some whole egg yolks, and lower it on the radaf, and leave it there for a while. It is ready to be served. If done in a tajine in the oven, it will be also superb.

3.5 Recipe for the maruzya

This is one of the dishes of Tunisia (Ifrikiya) and Egypt. Take a cleaned and cut up chicken. Cook it as was described in the recipe for the asirbay . When done, add plums, macerated in vinegar, olive oil, jujube and split almonds. It may be thickened with peeled and pounded almonds.

3.6 Recipe for the jafariya

Take a fat, cleaned chicken, and cut it up. Put it in a pot with salt, an onion, coriander seeds, pepper, saffron, vinegar, some macerated murri and peeled and split almonds, and cook it until done. Then thicken the pot with eggs, beaten with a lot of saffron, and with spikenard and cassia. Then remove the coals from underneath the pot, put them on top of the lid of the pot, and let them burn until they have browned the top of the dish. Protect the dish from burning. This dish was called jafariya because it contained a large amount of saffron, and it resembled the jafari (n) gold. It was also alledged that Jafar (n) invented it, and thus named after him.

3.7 Recipe for the julabiya

Take a cleaned chicken, and remove its neck, but leave it whole without cutting it up. Cook with it a white tafaya. When done, remove it from the pot and leave it aside to dry. Then take three ratls of white sugar, and dissolve it in rose water. Boil this solution in a cauldron, ,rtinjito make a julep syrup (sarab julab), and flavour it with spikenard, cassia, cloves and ginger. When it has thickened, flavor it with musk (n) and camphor dissolved in a fragrant rose water.

Then place in it the above mentioned chicken, and immerse it in it so that its cavity is filled with juleb and the juleb may harden on the chicken. Then lower the cauldron from the fire, remove the chicken from the cauldron, and let it stand until the juleb sugar has hardened on the sides of the chicken, and the chicken is evenly coated and is round like a citron. When this procedure is finished, place the chicken in a Damascene plate (baqiya), and serve it as a luxurious dish.

3.8 Preparing a refined dish

Take a very fat chicken, and put it in a pot with pepper, coriander seeds, cassia, spikenard, vinegar, some macerated murri, a lot of olive oil and five spoonfuls of rose syrup. Put the pot on a moderate charcoal fire, and cook it until the chicken is done and the sauce has disappeared. Then remove it from the fire and leave it aside. Next take pounded, tender meat, peeled and pounded almonds, ten eggs, juice of fresh coriander, juice of pounded onions, pepper, ginger, cassia, saffron, oil, rose marmelade (murabbab al-ward) and split almonds. Mix all these ingredients together, and thicken the pot with it after adding meatballs made for this purpose. Stud the dish in a starlike manner with ten or more whole egg yolks, and put the pot in the oven, leaving it there until it has set. Then take it out, and let it cool off a little. It is ready to be served. If desired, one can make this dish in a tajine in the oven.

3.9 Preparing a dish with sparrows

Take as many fat sparrows as you want, and clean them. Sprinkle them with ground salt, and fry them in a pan with fresh olive oil until browned. Then put them in a pot with pepper, cumin, vinegar, some macerated imurr and coriander juice, and finish cooking them. Then thicken the dish with eggs mixed with saffron and cinnamon.

3.10 Preparing a dish with squabs, young turtle doves or thrushes

Take whatever birds are available, and fry them in a pan with a lot of olive oil until browned. Then pound thoroughly tender meat and peeled almonds together, and put them in a bowl. Add to the bowl coriander seeds, pepper, cinnamon and spikenard, and the needed amount of oil and eggs. Mix all these ingredients together until the pounded meat and almonds are thoroughly mixed, and moisten the mixture with a spoonful of fresh coriander juice and a little mint juice. Put this mixture in a pot, and add the above fried birds. Cover the pot, and put it in the oven. When the dish has set and is completely done, remove it from the oven, and serve.

If one wants this dish to be masculine, he should add to it vinegar and murri, as much as needed, also cumin, garlic and saffron. This will turn it into another dish.

3.11 A dish made with squabs

Take a fat squab, one that has already enough feathers and is almost ready to fly, and clean it. Put it in a pot, and add to it a little salt, pepper, coriander seeds and olive oil, and fry it lightly. Then pour enough water to cover it, add a quarter of a sugar, and finish cooking it until done. Thicken it with four eggs, beaten with saffron and cinnamon, and stud on it egg yolks in a starlike manner, leaving it on the radaf

for a while. Then transfer it to a plate, and sprinkle on it sugar, spikenard and cinnamon. It is ready to be served.

3.12 A dish made with rabbit

Cut the rabbit in small pieces and wash it with boiling water. Put it in a pot, and add to it salt, pepper, coriander, a lot of cumin, three spoonfuls of olive oil, the same amount of strong vinegar, and a spoonful of macerated murri. Then take three or four onions, pound them thoroughly in a wooden mortar, squeeze their juice, and pour it in the pot with the other ingredients. Raise the pot over the fire. When the meat is done and falls apart, lower the pot on the radaf, and thicken it with four or five eggs. When completed, remove the pot from the radaf and let it stand for a while to cool off. Then serve.

3.13 Preparing a marvelous pigeon

Take a well fed, fattened pigeon, and clean it. Baste it with macerated murri, thyme and a lot of olive oil, and put it in the oven in an unvarnished (hantam) or tajine. Next, cut finely its innards, and put them in a pot. Add pounded and unpounded almonds and walnuts, a quarter of an of pepper, also thyme, cumin, cinnamon, spikenard, saffron and coriander. Pour on these ingredients two spoonfuls of olive oil, the same amount of strong vinegar, and one spoonful of macerated murri. Raise the pot over a moderate fire. When this sauce is done, cook in it ten egg yolks, whole. Then pour this sauce over the pigeon in the tajine, when it is taken out of the oven, and it is completely cooked. Let it stand for a while to cool off. Then serve.

3.14 Recipe for a dish made with a partridge

Cut up a partridge after skinning it and cleaning it. Put it in a pot with salt, onion juice, pepper, coriander, vinegar, olive oil, a little macerated murri, cumin, and meatballs made from the breasts of the partridge. Raise the pot over a moderate fire. When done, thicken it with eggs, and transfer it to a serving dish.

You should know that the breasts of the partridge are no good except for making meatballs, since the meat of its breasts is dry, desiccated and tasteless. But if the meat of the breasts is pounded, and mixed with eggs, with a little adarm flour and with appropriate seasonings, and it is made into meatballs or then it turns out to be tender and tasty.

3.15 Recipe for a dish cooked in a sealed pot ascribed to Ibn al-Mahdi

Take a fat chicken, cut it at its joints, and put it in a pot. Add to it: coriander seeds - one dirham in weight; pepper - half a dirham; cinnamon - the same amount; ginger, galingale, spikenard, cloves - of each, a quarter of a dirham; vinegar - three; juice of squeezed onions - two; juice of fresh coriander - one macerated murri one and fine olive oil - four.

Mix with a little rose water all the above ingredients in the pot. Cover them with a thin loaf and cover the mouth of the pot with a well fitting lid. Put the pot in a moderately heated oven, and leave it there until done. Then remove the pot from the oven, and let it stand for a while to cool off. Then turn the pot over on a clean plate (sahfa), and serve. It is wonderful.

3.16 A chicken in the Abbasid style

Take a cleaned up chicken, and stuff it, as it was described before (n), namely, between the skin and the flesh, and stuff also its cavity. Then roast it on a spit until it is browned from all sides.

Then take a pot, and put in it three spoonfuls of vinegar, one spoonful of macerated murri, two spoonfuls of olive oil, pepper, coriander seeds, saffron, cinnamon, thyme, rue, ginger, four cloves of garlic, and almonds and walnuts. Raise the pot over the fire, and when the sauce boils, put in it the chicken so that the grease (dasam) of the chicken will flow into the sauce. When the cooking is finished, stud on it five eggs in a star-like manner, and lower the pot on the until it cools off. Empty the contents to a serving plate, and serve.

It can also be done in the oven in atajine , and with the same sauce. In either case the dish is marvelous.

3.17 Preparing the jalidiya

This dish can be made either with a goose, a chicken or a capon. Take whatever bird is available, clean it, and put it in a pot. Then take two pounds of raisins, and pound them finely, soak them in water to extract their sweetness, and filter them. Then pour the filtered liquid in the pot, and add also three spoonfuls of strong vinegar, two spoonfuls of olive oil, pepper, coriander, half a chopped onion, and a proper amount of salt. Cook it until done and the sauce has thickened. Then take peeled and pounded almonds, likewise peeled and pounded walnuts, grated crumb of bread, pepper, and six eggs, and thicken with these ingredients the pot after the cooking is done. Stud it with egg yolks in a starlike manner, and leave it on the until the grease (dasam) has come up to the surface.

3.18 Recipe for the garlic dish

Take a fat chicken. Remove what is in its cavity, clean it, and leave it aside. Then take four ounces of peeled garlic, pound it until it has the consistency of brain, and mix it with what was removed from the cavity of the chicken. Fry this mixture in enough olive oil to cover it, so that the smell of garlic is gone. Then put the chicken in a clean pot, together with this garlic mixture, and with salt, pepper, cinnamon, spikenard, ginger, cloves, saffron, peeled almonds -pounded and unpounded-, and a little macerated murri. Seal the pot with dough, put it inside the oven, and leave it there until done. Then remove the pot from the oven, pry open the pot, and pour the contents on a clean plate. A delightful fragrance will come forth spreading all over the place. This chicken used to be prepared for Al sayyid Abu al-Hasan who found great delight in it.

3.19 A chicken called ibrahimiya

Take a cleaned up chicken, cut each joint in two, and place them in a pot with salt, onion, pepper, coriander, saffron, and split almonds. Pour in it two spoonfuls of olive oil, two spoonfuls of vinegar and five spoonfuls of rose syrup (sarab al-ward) made with sugar. Raise the pot over a moderate fire, and leave it there until done.

Then take four eggs, and beat them with a little darmak flour and with rose water, saffron, spikenard and cloves. Flavor this mixture with a

little camphor, and thicken with it the pot. Let it stand on the radaf for a while. Now it is ready to be served.

Dishes with a dried out sauce.

3.20 Preparing the mushi (a stuffed casserole)

This dish can be made with a chicken, with squabs or young turtle doves, with sparrows, or with meat of a young sheep.

Take whatever is available of these, clean and cut them up, and put them in a pot with salt, a piece of onion, pepper, coriander seeds, cinnamon, saffron, a little macerated murri, and a lot of olive oil. Raise the pot over the fire, and when they are done and the amount of sauce has diminished, remove the meat from the pot and leave it aside.

Then take the necessary amount of breadcrumbs, grated from a bread made of darmak flour, and knead them in a tajine with what remained of the grease (dasam) of the chicken and its sauce. Color this mixture with a lot of saffron, and add spikenard, pepper and cinnamon. When the breadcrumbs have been thoroughly soaked, break on them a sufficient amount of eggs so that the resulting mixture will be enough to submerge all the above pieces of chicken. Sprinkle on them also peeled and split almonds, and stir the mixture until everything is blended. Then bury in it the pieces of the chicken so that they are concealed inside the mixture, as well as whole egg yolks. Cover it with plenty of olive oil, and put it in the oven. Leave it there until it dries out and it has set and the surface of the tajine is browned. Then remove the tajine from the oven, and let it stand until its heat has subsided and cooled off. Now it is ready to be served.

3.21 Preparing the badi'i

Take very fat meat of lamb, cut it in small pieces, put it in a pot with a little salt, a piece of onion, pepper, coriander seeds, spikenard, saffron and olive oil, and cook it half way through.

Then take fresh cheese, but not too fresh so that it will not melt away, and cut with a knife slices approximately the size of the palm of the hand. Put them in a plate, color them with saffron, sprinkle on them spikenard, and turn them over, so that they will be colored from both sides.

Then put them in a pot or in a tajine together with the cooked meat. Add to this mixture the necessary amount of eggs, beaten with saffron, spikenard, and cinnamon, and bury in it also whole egg yolks. Cover these ingredients with plenty of olive oil and with the grease (dasam) of the cooked meat, and put the pot or tajine in the oven. Leave it there until the sauce has dried out, all the ingredients are cooked, and the top is browned. Then remove it from the oven, and let it stand for a while until its heat has subsided and the dish has cooled off. At that time it is ready to be served.

3.22 Another kind of badi'i

Knead cheese in a bowl with a pestle or with the palm of your hand until it becomes like breadcrumbs, and mix it with eggs, saffron, the above mentioned seasonings, and the sauce of the cooked meat and its grease (dasam). Then put this mixture in a pot or tajine, add to it the cooked meat, and cover it with olive oil and fresh milk. Put it in the oven, and

leave it there for a while until it dries out and its surface is browned. Then remove it, and let it stand for a while.

3.23 A Tajine with cheese.

Take fresh cheese, not one day old, but at least three or or four days old. Knead it with the palm of the hand, adding to two ratls of cheese two uqiyas of darmak flour. Add fresh milk, and break in it also ten eggs. Sprinkle on it pepper, saffron, cinnamon, spikenard, and coriander seeds. Mix everything in a, and if it turns out to be too thick, pour more fresh milk. Cover it with plenty of olive oil. Bury in it fried sparrows or cut up fried squabs, whole egg yolks, and split almonds. Put the tajine in a moderately heated oven, and leave it there until the mixture dries out, it is set, and its surface is browned. Then remove it from the oven to cool off. Now it is ready to be served.

One may color this tajine green with coriander juice, made of seeds and fresh leaves, and with mint juice, but without adding saffron. This will turn it into a different dish.

If one wants this tajine made with cheese alone, without sparrows or meat, he may do so. This dish is delightful in whatever way prepared.

3.24 Preparing the barmakiya (a kind of meat pie)

This dish can be made with chicken, with squabs or young turtle doves, with sparrows, or with lambs meat.

Take any meat that is available of the above, and clean it. Cut it up, and put it in a pot with salt, onion, pepper, coriander seeds, spikenard or cinnamon, a little macerated murri, and olive oil. Put the pot over a gentle fire until the meat is almost done and its sauce has dried out. Then take out the meat, and fry it with fine olive oil, but not excessively, and leave it aside.

Then take darma flour or samid flour, and make a dough kneading it well with leaven. If done with a little olive oil, it will turn to be even tastier. Then roll the dough into a flat loaf. Put in its center the meat of those birds that were cooked and fried, then cover it with another flat loaf, and seal the edges of the two loaves. Put it into the oven, and when the dough is baked, take it out.

This dish is good for taking on trips. This loaf could be made also with fried fish, and could also be taken on trips.

3.25 Preparing the bilaja

Take meat from a young, fat sheep or goat, without bones and tendons, but just pieces of meat, and take also its fat sahm tripes, intestines, liver, heart, and stomach, and cut up all of these very small. Put them in a pot with salt, a piece of onion, coriander seeds, olive oil, and a little macerated murri. Put the pot over a moderate fire, and cook them until done. Remove the pot from the fire, filter the solid part of its sauce, and fry it in a pan with plenty of olive oil until it is browned. Then put the solid part in a tajine, pour on it the necessary amount of grease (dasam) and sauce in which it was cooked, break on it the proper number of eggs, and add also pepper, coriander seeds and spikenard. Sprinkle over the tajine peeled and split almonds, color it with saffron according to your taste, and stir it until it is well mixed. Pour over it plenty of olive oil, and insert in it whole egg yolks, as many as you can. Put the tajine in the oven, and leave it there until the sauce dries out, and its top is browned. Then remove it.

This recipe for preparing the bilaja is the one that was used in the cities of the West, like Cordoba and Marrakesh, and the cities situated in between the two.

3.26 A dish with prunes

Take meat from a young, fat sheep or goat, cut it up, and put it in a pot with salt, pepper, coriander seeds, a little cumin, saffron and the necessary amount of vinegar and olive oil. Put the pot over the fire. When it is almost done, add prunes preserved in rob (al-baqar al-murabbab) and macerated in vinegar, and cook them in the pot ... (n)

.....

It is known that all the dishes we have described, those that are cooked in a pot (mutabbakat) and those with a dried out sauce (mujaffafat), are beneficial to old people and for those who have moist stomachs. And those dishes that are prepared with macerated murri are even more so, since macerated murri has a drying quality, dissolves and breaks down the food eaten, opens up the vessels of the body, and it is suitable for those afflicted with phlegma in their stomachs.

NOTES CHAPTER 3

Chapter 3 overview.

The present chapter has two parts: recipes for dishes with thickened sauces (3.1 - 3.19) and recipes for dishes that have a solid consistency (3.20 - 3.25).

First part: recipes for dishes with thickened sauces (3.1 - 3.19).

Two techniques are used in this part to thicken sauces: (i) with pounded almonds and (ii) with eggs, and a specialized terminology is used in each case: (i) *_attara*, if almonds are the thickening agent (cf. the Arabic text of recipes 1, 2 and 5 of this chapter), and (ii) *ammara*, if eggs are the thickening agent (cf. the Arabic text of recipes 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17 and 19 of this chapter). This terminology is consistently used throughout this Almohade cookbook, though *attara* is also used if breadcrumbs, other nuts or starches are the thickening agents.

Participles of these two Arabic verbs provide the title for the present chapter. Both Arabic verbs have been translated by the verb to thicken, since English lacks this distinction.

A few recipes of this part remain outside this scheme: recipe 7 for the *julabya*, a caramelized chicken without a sauce; recipes 3, 15 and 18, for dishes cooked in sealed pots, where the prolonged method of cooking reduces and thickens the sauce naturally; and recipes 10, 13 and 16 that are more elaborate applications or variations of the above two basic techniques.

All the recipes in this part are prepared with chicken or small fowl, except recipe 12, that is prepared with rabbit.

It may be worth noting that almond milk is not used in this chapter as a thickening agent, a liquid often used for this purpose in the later Middle Ages.

Second part: recipes for dishes that have a solid consistency (3.20 - 3.25).

This part has recipes for dishes whose initial liquid or sauce turns solid in the process of cooking, or, dries out (*jaffa*) to use the expression of our author. This is accomplished by the addition of beaten

eggs mixed with a good amount of breadcrumbs, or cheese, etc. Recipe 24, which is a sort of dry meat pie, does not fit, though, in this scheme. The technical verb *jaffa* occurs in each of these recipes. Both lamb, sheep and fowl are used in this part.

Recipe 26 is incomplete, and there is a loss of text at this point. Probably the loss is not extensive.

Some dishes described in the present chapter originated in the East. This is certainly so for the *zrbaja* (3.1), the *ibrahimya* (3.19) and the dish ascribed to ibn al-Mahd (3.15), and possibly so for the *jafarya* (3.6), the *barmakya* (3.24) and the Abbasid chicken (3.16), as their names suggest.

One dish, the *maruzya* (3.5), is acknowledgedly North-African.

Most dishes in this chapter, though, like the *muh...* (3.20), that lasted in Spain well into the XVII century, and those that use ingredients, that are plentiful in Spain, like rabbits, partridges, pigeons, sheep and goat cheeses, etc. are likely to be Hispano-Arabic. The names of some of these dishes, like *jaldya* (3.17), *bad* (3.21 and 22) and *bilaja* (3.25), and the culinary technical verb *affara* do not seem to have a counterpart in the East.

Several recipes of this chapter appear also in ibn Razns cookbook, such as 2, 3, 5, 6, 17, 18, 19, 21, 25, and some of these recipes are almost verbatim, such as 3, 17, 18, 19.

(x) *zrbaja* or *zrb*

A dish of Persian origin and one of the most famous and well-known in the Near East during the Abbasid period. From the extant Eastern recipes it can roughly be described as a stew, made usually with chicken, often containing chickpeas, and with some vinegar (or vinegar and sugar), which is an indispensable ingredient. The sauce is thickened at the end with pounded almonds, breadcrumbs, or other starches.

The dietetic properties of this dish are discussed in al-Raz (op. cit.) p.143.

The word stems from the Persian *zrba*. *Ba* means gruel or spoon-meat (cf. F. Steinga Persian-English Dictionary. London, 1892). For similar Persian terms with the same ending cf. *isfdbaja* (note I.xx) and *sakbaj* (Part II note xx).

References:

al-Warra's cookbook, chapt. 57, pp. 152. (seven recipes).

al-Baghda's Cookbook (cf. Chelebi p. 13, Arberry's transl. p.36) (One recipe).

(Temporary note. *Mille et une Nuits*, edition Albin Michel I p.280. seems to have an amusing story on *zrbaja* that I would like to see).

(x) Temporary note. My microfilm is illegible at this point. I need to see the original ms. to complete the text.

(x) *Tunain ibn Ish Taq* (808 - 873 or 877).

A famous Nestorian physician, and one of the most productive translators of Greek medical texts.

Reference: Manfred Ullmann. *Die Medizin im Islam* (Handbuch der Orientalistik). Leiden/Koln 1970 (pp. 115.)

(x) *Sakanjabn* I.e. oxymel (Cf. note Preface.xx).

(x) *Kafurya*

A dish flavored with camphor (kafur) (cf. next note). There is another kafurya recipe later in this cookbook (cf. VI.5) and another one in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.3 cap.2, p.101).

(x) Camphor (kafur).

An aromatic substance contained in the wood of the camphor tree (Cinnamomum camphora) of the laurel (Laurus) genus. This tree is indigenous to China, Japan, Sumatra and Borneo. Camphor was unknown to the Ancient Greeks.

It is likely that this substance was available in the form of gum or resin, since it was usually dissolved in rose water, often in combination with musk.

Camphor seems to have been used very rarely to flavor savory dishes and sweets, and hardly any examples are to be found in the Arabic and Christian Medieval culinary literature published so far. It is surprising that in the present cookbook it is used in 25 recipes out of the approximately 220 it contains. No doubt a sign of the aristocratic nature of this cookbook. Camphor is not used in the recipes of Part II of this manuscript.

The word camphor stems from the Arkafur, and this in turn from Malay kapur.

(xx) Magmum is a participle of the verb gamma, to cover, to cover with a veil, to conceal, etc. As a culinary term it seems it was used in the East for those preparations whose pots were covered with a thin loaf (ragf) while cooking (cf. al-Warraq's cookbook, who devotes a chapter on them, chapt. 74, pp. 184-186). In Hispano-Arabic this term suffered a change of meaning and was usually applied for those preparations whose pots were covered with a lid, whose rim was sealed with dough (cf. Part II several recipes, see also 3.15 and 3.18 below). This procedure, which is often used in our manuscript but not always under the above technical term, keeps, obviously, the moisture and aromatics inside the pot, allows for a longer cooking period, and yields usually a more tender and tastier dish.

The Vocabulista in Arabico (pp. 597-598), a work written in Spain, translates sufocare, with the added note coperire calidum ne vaporet, as gamma, and Dozy translates the second form of this verb as étouffer, gner la respiration, suffoquer. It is worth noting that this culinary procedure was called in Catalan ofegat, in Spanish estofado and in French étouffé, and was used in these countries in older times in a way similar to the one described here.

The present recipe 3.3 appears almost verbatim in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.3 cap.2, p.43).

(x) Muaffara, dipped in batter and fried.

muaffara is a participle of the verb afara. afara, as a culinary technical verb, is used in our text for the procedure of dipping a piece of meat, fish or vegetable in batter and frying it. The batter is usually made of beaten eggs, breadcrumbs or flour, and seasonings. Cf. 4.31 and V.11.

(x) A sentence, describing the preparation of a batter, seems to be missing here, and has been tentatively added. Cf. the parallel recipe of the same title V.11.

(x) Maruzya.

One of the characterisitic features of the maruzya at the time of our author was the presence of prunes. Other recipes of this dish and of that period are given in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.II cap.1, pp.58,59; sect.3 cap.2, p.106).

This dish is still prepared nowadays in Morocco (cf. Guinaudeau, Z. Fes vue par sa cuisine. Rabat, 1966. p. 98 Mrouziya). This author says that this dish is a traditional one for al-dal-kabr (the Major Feast). Her recipe does not include prunes, but contains large amounts of raisins, almonds and honey, and it is prepared with lamb.

Dozy II pp. 185-186 contains further information.

This dish was mentioned in the Preface as typical of Egypt.

(x) Djafarya.

The name of this dish is explained at the end of the recipe, though it is not registered in any dictionaries I know of. A recipe with the same name is extant in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.3 cap.2, pp.105-106).

(x) Jafar gold.

This term is registered in Dozy, but its precise meaning does not seem to be known.

(x) Jafar.

Probably Jafar al-Barmak (766?-803) is the one meant here. He was a contemporary of Harun al-Rasd (reigned 786-809), and a member of the famous Persian Barmakid family of viziers. He had a magnificent palace in Baghdad, and lived in grand style. He acquired great fame for his eloquence and literary ability, as a leader of fashion, and for his great generosity and munificence, that became proverbial.

Reference: Philip K. Hitti. History of the Arabs (Ninth edition). New York, NY 1968. (pp. 295-296).

(x) Julabya or juleb dish.

The present dish consists of a caramelized, whole chicken, obtained by boiling a cooked chicken in sugar syrup flavored with rose water. The method used is clearly a borrowing from the confectioner's trade. The word julab stems from the Persian gul, rose and ab..., water.

(x) Musk is an odoriferous substance secreted into a vesicle situated below the navel of the male musk deer (*Moschus moschiferus*). Musk deer live in Tibet and contiguous parts of China. In the Middle Ages the best musk came from far away Tibet, and was very expensive and a luxury item.

(x) Bujun.

This term is not registered in Dozy nor Simonet. It appears also in Part II recipe xx. From this last recipe it is clear that bujun is a kind of fowl. Huici (1966, p.43) translates this term into Spanish as buchon, i.e. a kind of pigeon that can expand considerably its crop or crop (Sp. buche), in the belief, I suppose, that Arbujun stems from Sp. buchon. Bujun may stem also from Sp. pichon (Fr. pigeon, It. piccione, from Lat. pipio pigeon (cf. Meyer- Lubkea)). In either case it seems clear that pigeon is an appropriate translation for bujun. The presence of this Hispanism here is an important clue to assess the provenance of this and related recipes.

(x) Tantom.

This word qualifies clay pots, but its exact meaning is not clear. It does not seem to mean glazed nor varnished, since ah. Tantom pot:

(i) is porous and particles of food may remain embedded in it after cooking (cf. the Arabic text of al-Arbu (ed. Diaz Garcia) p.65).

(ii) it is used in our text in cases where the clay vessel is heated in an oven or under strong fire without containing any liquid, though its surface may be smeared with oil (cf. 3.13, 7.14, 7.15, 7.16, 7.19). It is unlikely that a varnished clay vessel may be appropriate for this purpose.

(3) recipe 7.16 for the murakkaba has a parallel in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.I cap.4, p.40). Our text requires for its preparation Tantam pan, Razn's text requires a clay Tajin without glaze gair muzajjaj). Both requirements, I suppose, are identical.

(4) Dozy translates Tantam as vernisse en dedans. The two texts he mentions of ibn al-Awwam are, in my view, inconclusive.

I have translated Tantam as unvarnished, and kept the Arabic word next to it in case this translation is found to be unsatisfactory.

Reference: Diaz Garcia, Amador. Un tratado nazar sobre alimentos: al-kalam alà l-agdiya de al-Arbul. Edicion, traduccion y estudio, con glosarios (II). Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales X-XI, 1982-83, (p.65).

(x) Tasu.

The noun Tasu means, normally, in Arabic stuffing, i.e. a mixture of ingredients that one inserts in the cavity of an animal or some other enclosure before it is cooked. In our manuscript, and especially in Part II, there are many instances where Tasu is not used in this sense, but as a synonym of maraqa, sauce. Such instances have been translated as sauce with Tasu added in parenthesis, as in the present case.

(x) A recipe ascribed to ibn al-Mahd(3.15).

The present recipe is very similar to the second recipe in page 184 of al-Warraq's cookbook. Al-Warraq's recipe is not ascribed to anybody, but it is likely that both stem from ibn al-Mahd's cookbook, that is, the title of our recipe is basically correct. The original recipe has been adapted, interestingly, to the culinary traditions of the West: (i) it includes spikenard, cloves and mur, not listed in al-Warraq's recipe, (ii) in al-Warraq's recipe the dish is covered only with a ragf, ours additionally with a lid (cf. note xx above), and (3) the dish is cooked in an oven, and not on embers.

(x) A ragf is a thin, round loaf of bread, made usually with unleavened dough. The dough may be baked in a variety of heated surfaces or enclosures. Since there is no appropriate English word for this term, it has been left untranslated.

(x) This recipe is not extant in this Almohade cookbook and there are no such recipes in Part II.

(x) Jalya.

This dish is prepared by cooking a chicken in a syrup with seasonings, and then thickening the sauce with pounded almonds, etc. It has probably a stiff texture. The present recipe uses a syrup made with raisins, but a similarly titled recipe in Part II (cf.xx) uses honey, thus the raisin syrup does not seem to be an essential ingredient.

The name of this dish derives, probably, from the noun jald, whose root jalida means to become solid, to gel, to turn into ice, etc. The Arabic term jald is similar, phonetically and semantically, to the Latin term gelidus, stiff, cold, from gelare, to freeze. The two roots seem, though, to be independent, and not a borrowing.

The name of this dish may remind one of the gelatine dishes, made by extracting gelatine from bones, skins, etc., and much in vogue in the elegant circles of late Medieval Christian Europe. But it is not clear if there is any relation among the two.

The present recipe and the next two appear almost verbatim and in the same sequence in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.3 cap.2, p.111).

(x) Tumya.

The name of this dish derives from tum, garlic.

The present recipe appears almost verbatim in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.3 cap.2, p.111).

(x) Sayyid Abu al-Tasan.

Cf. I.10.

(x) Ibrahimya.

The ibrahimya is a famous dish, named, supposedly, after Ibrahim ibn al-Mahd. It is the second recipe given in al-Baghdad's Cookbook (Chelebi p. 10, Arberry's transl. p.34)).

The dish seems to be a more refined version of a sour-sweet zrbaja (see note xx above). This view is suggested from the similarity of these two dishes and from the fact that Al-Warraq's cookbook groups together in one chapter recipes for zrbaja and ibrahimya (see chapt. 57), unfortunately no recipes for the last are given.

Al-Baghdad's recipe, although similar, is not closely related to the present one.

The present recipe appears almost verbatim in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.3 cap.2, p.111).

(x) The muh is a dish that can be prepared with cooked chicken, small fowl, fish or eggplants. This dish is usually made by mixing a good amount of breadcrumbs with beaten eggs and/or broth in a Tajin or casserole, and then inserting the fowl, fish or eggplants into this breadcrumb mixture. The Tajin is then covered with olive oil, and sometimes grated cheese or almonds, and baked in an oven. Cf. 3.20, 4.26, 4.27, 4.28, 4.29, V.10.

This dish became very popular also in Christian Spain, where it was called called cazuela moj(or mox), a word derived from its Arabic ancestor, and lasted well into the XV3 century. Cf. Nola 1529, Cacuela moxi, fol.41r. Montin, Cacuela mogi de berengenas, fol. 150r.

For the word mox cf. Dozy (Glossaire) p.321.

References:

Nola, maestro Ruberto. Libro de guisados. Logroño, Miguel de Eguia, 1529.

Montin, Francisco Martinez. Arte de Cocina, Pasteleria, Vizcocheria y Conserveria. Madrid, Luis Sanchez, 1611.

Dozy, Reinhart et Dr. W.H. Engelman. Glossaire des mots Espagnols et Portugais de rive's de l'Arabe. (deuxieme edition) Leyde et Paris, 1869.

(x) The bad is a casserole dish, made, basically, with cooked meat, fresh cheese and eggs or milk, and baked in an oven until the surface turns brown. (Cf. also the next recipe 3.22). A detailed recipe for the bad is given also in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.II cap.3, p.84). A related recipe prepared by the sheperds of Cordoba is given in VI.18. bad, as a name of a dish, does not appear in any Arabic dictionary I know of. Bad means in Arabic extraordinary, unprecedented, original, marvelous etc.

(x) Barmakya.

The name of this dish derives from barmak, Barmakid. Barmakid is an illustrious Persian family of viziers of the second half of the 8th century, during the golden age of the Abbasid dynasty. Yahya benlid (see note Preface.xx) and Jafar (see note 3.xx) were Barmakids. Al-nadm's Fihrist mentions Ahmad ibn Jafar al-Barmak (d.937/938) as a cookbook author.

References: Philip K. Hitti. History of the Arabs (Ninth edition). New York, NY 1968. (pp. 294-296); Dodge, Bayard (ed. and transl.) The Fihrist of al-Nadm. (2 vols.) New York, 1970. (p. II:742, see also I:319).

(x) The bilaja is a dish made with innards and/or cheap cuts of meat. After cooking them, they are mixed with beaten eggs in a casserole, and the whole is baked in an oven.

A detailed recipe is given also in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.II cap.2, p.83).

The word bilaja, as the name of a dish, is not registered in Dozy.

(x) The recipe ends here abruptly. The text that follows in the manuscript is part of another recipe (cf. Part II.xx). The continuation of the present recipe and the immediately following ones, if any, do not seem to be extant in our manuscript. How many recipes are lost? Clearly one does not know, but the size of the extant chapter 3 is similar in size to other chapters in this cookbook, in other words, probably not many recipes are lost.

(x) Tabbak and mujaffafa.

Tabbakat is a participle of Tabbak. Tabbak, usually translated as to cook, has a more restrictive sense in Arabic than in English, and is closer to Sp. cocinar or Fr. cuisiner. Tabbakat are dishes cooked in pots or Tajin often with a sauce. The dishes described in 3.1 - 3.19 are cooked dishes or mut. Tabbakat.

mujaffafat lBI is a participle of jaffa, and seems to refer to those dishes, described in 3.20 - 3.25, that have a solid consistency or dried out sauce.

It is likely that the present paragraph is the end of Chapter 3 of the Almohade cookbook. Chapters II and V have similar endings.

(x) The title of this section has two culinary terms, that do not have English equivalents. These terms stem from the root at ara, to thicken with pounded almonds, nuts, breadcrumbs or the like^V, and from the root amaral, to thicken with eggs or egg yolks^V. Both have been combined in the present title.

(note: if this title is appropriate for the whole section, needs to be seen).

(x) Zrbaja. An ancient Persian dish, that at the time of our author had evolved into a dish made with a delicate meat and cooked in a sauce of pounded almonds and sugar. The al-Bagédadi brings its recipe too, (My numbering #6) and the Thousand and One Night has an amusing story on this dish (french ed. Albin Michel I p. 280).

The word stems from the Persian babroth, and was originally a dish flavoured with cummin, according to the Glossaire Mansuri (p.56). Already in the Xc. Rhazes discussed at length the dietetic properties of this earlier dish (my ed. p.143).

A contemporary version appears in Rene Khawan, La cuisine arabe p.87.(x)
Missing text

(x) Tunain ibn Ish Taq (808 - 873 or 877). Famous Nestorian physician, and one of the most productive translators of Greek medical texts. (cf. M. Ullmann p. 115)

(x) Sakanjab etc.

(x) Kafuya

(x) Camphor: a highly priced aromatic resin of a spiny bush growing in Arabia Felix (Yemen), and for which there was an active caravan trade in the Middle Ages. Unrelated to present day camphor, which is a chemical product. (check!)

(x) A dish cooked in a sealed pot (magmum)

(x) Batter (muafara)

(x) A sentence seems to be missing here, that would describe the preparation of the batter. Like Take breadcrumbs or flour, mix them with beaten eggs, and season the mixture with pepper and cinnamon^V. Cf. the parallel recipe of the same title in the fish section.

(x) This dish was referred to in the introduction as typical of Egypt. Make the appropriate cross-references.

(x) Jalfirya. Not in Dozy, not in Bagdadi, not in Razes, appears though in Moroccan text.

(x) The jafir gold

(x) Jafar

(x) Julaya

(x) Pigeon

(x) Tantom

(x) Tas thin loaf (rage) as it was described before jalyamya

(x) Sayyid Abu al-Tasan

(x) Ibrahimya

(x) Muh Cf. Dozy Supplement and Glossaire under mox Cf. also Castilian cazuela mox. (to be completed)

(x) Bad No trace.

(x) Barmakya

(x) Bilaja. Not in Dozy. A similar, unrelated(?) recipe in Moroccan book.

(x) Break

(x) Mujafafa (?)

CHAPTER 4

Description of dishes made with vegetables or greens.

4.1 Preparing the mutallat

Any dish cooked with meat, saffron, vinegar and vegetables, like turnips, eggplants, calabash, carrots, or heads of lettuce without their leaves (n), is called a mutallat.

How it is prepared:

Take fat and tender meat, and cut it up small. Put it in a pot with salt, pepper, coriander seeds, cumin, saffron, garlic and olive oil, and cook it until done. Then cut up whatever vegetable is at hand of those mentioned above, boil and cook it in a separate pot, and once cooked pour out the water, and add it to the meat in the pot. As soon as the pot boils, pour in it strong vinegar, an amount that will make its taste noticeable. When the cooking of all these ingredients is completed, lower the pot on the marmite until its grease (dasam) has come to the surface. Now it is ready to be served.

Some people prepare it with eggplants and calabash together, and this is the authentic mutallat. In the same way the mutallat of carrots and turnips can be prepared, as well as the one with turnips alone. Likewise it can be made with the other vegetables mentioned above.

Mutallat. The meaning of this word is made clear by the author at the beginning of this section. The dish is mentioned in the Introduction as one of the dishes served at banquets (cf...). Other recipes are extant in our ms. as well as ... (cf...).

The word is registered in Dozy, and it stems from the root to triple. The dish may have had originally three main ingredients. It seems to be of old ancestry. The name of this dish is known in Syriac (check) and in Talmudic Hebrew(?).

4.2 The... (a dish with calabash)

It should be known that a requirement to prepare the dish known as qarya is that the meat for this dish be from a young and fat sheep or goat, that should be freshly slaughtered, the animal still quivering and instantly cut up (n).

Put the meat in a pot with salt, a little onion juice, pepper, coriander seeds, thyme and a lot of olive oil. Then put the pot over a moderate fire. When the meat is done, add the necessary amount of tender, fresh calabash, cut in large pieces. When the mixture is done and its cooking is completed, pour on it juice of fresh coriander, and lower the pot on the marmite for a little while, and it is ready to be served.

This is the plain qarya, the feminine one, according to the opinion of the expert cooks.

4.3 Preparing the liftya (a dish with turnips), equally plain

Take fat and tender meat, cut it up, and put it in a pot with salt, onion, pepper, coriander seeds, a small amount of cumin, and cook it. When the meat is nearly done, take turnips, peel them, and cut them in large pieces, and if they are boiled separately, it is preferable, the same is true for all vegetables. Add them to the meat, and let the dish

finish cooking. Then lower it on the hot stone. If one squeezes on it fresh coriander juice, it will turn out even more delightful.

4.4 Recipe for a white kurunbya (a dish with cabbage)

Take fat and tender meat, cut it up, and put it in a pot with salt, onion, pepper, coriander seeds, caraway and olive oil. Put the pot on a moderate fire. When the meat is nearly done, take coarse cabbages (n), throw away the external parts, keep the inner cores and the parts close to them, and remove their leaves. Insert a knife in between the shoots and their skins to remove any trace of leaves so that the stems will be as white as turnips. Then peel the stems and cut them up skillfully. Add them to the pot containing the meat after boiling them separately, as has been described above. When the cooking is completed, lower the pot on the radaf and squeeze on it fresh coriander juice. If one wants this dish to be a mutallat, he should add vinegar and saffron.

4.5 Recipe for mashed (mukarrara) (n) cabbages

Take fat meat, and prepare it as was described in the previous recipe. When the meat is nearly done, take tightly closed cabbages, throw away the outside leaves, expose the shoots and chop them. Take the fresh leaves close to the shoots and chop them finely, soak them in a bowl) with water and salt, then squeeze the water out, and cook them (n) separately. When they are done, take them out of the water, pound them in a wooden or stone mortar, and add them to the meat. Squeeze in the pot fresh coriander juice. When the cooking is completed, lower the pot on the hot stone, and it is ready to be served. One may prepare this dish in another way by taking the above mentioned leaves, and pounding them -instead of chopping them- with some fresh coriander, and squeezing their juice over the shoots without adding the bulk of the leaves to the pot. Thus one avoids chopping them with the shoots. It is delicious in whatever way is prepared.

Mukarrara (tentative!) We have translated this Arabic participle as pureed, as its closest English equivalent. In contemporary practice purees are usually sieved, which is not the case in our recipe, but it is clear that in our recipe the vegetable is reduced to a puree state. Another occurrence of this word in our text corroborates this interpretation. (Cf. a recipe a little below) (searched for more occurrences in our ms. and moroccan, nothing so far). Arabic dictionaries translate the second form of this verb as to purify, filter, refine, etc., meanings that are akin to the etymology of puree.

4.6 A mutallat made with heads of lettuce

Take fat and tender sheep or goat's meat, and cut it up small. Put it in a pot with salt, a piece of onion, pepper, coriander seeds, cinnamon, saffron and olive oil, and put the pot over a moderate fire. When the meat is nearly done, take heads and buds of lettuce, without their leaves, and peel them and cut them up, and add them to the meat in the pot. When the lettuce is done, add good quality vinegar, and when the cooking is completed, thicken the dish with eggs beaten with saffron and spikenard. Lower the pot on the hot stone.

4.7 Preparing a vegetable dish (baqlya) with lettuce

Take tender sheep or goat's meat. Cut it up, and put it in a pot with salt, onion, pepper, coriander seeds and fine olive oil, and put the pot over a moderate fire. When the meat is done, take shoots of lettuce and the fresh inner leaves, chop them extremely fine, soak them in water, and put them in the pot with the meat. When the cooking of both is completed, lower the pot on the hot stone and squeeze on it fresh coriander juice. Let it stand for a short while, and it is ready to be served. This dish is very nourishing and balanced, tending towards moistness and mild coldness, it is sleep inducing and good for cold temperaments.

4.8 Preparing al-baqlya al-mukarrara (a dish with mashed vegetables)

Cut up fat and tender sheep or goat's meat. Put it in a pot with salt, onion, pepper, coriander seeds, caraway and fine olive oil, and put the pot over a moderate fire. When the meat is done, take spinach, wash it, chop it finely, soak it in water, ... (n), and boil it aside until it is mushy. Then pour out the water, and add the mashed spinach to the meat. Squeeze on it fresh coriander juice. When the cooking is completed, lower the pot on the hot stone for a while. Then it is ready to be served.

One may add to the pot ready made meatballs. On the other hand, if one lacks spinach, it can be done with blite (*Amaranthus blitum*), or orach (*Atriplex hortensis*), or with the leafy parts of chard (*Beta vulgaris* subspecies *cicla*), or lettuce, or garden chicory (*Cichorium endivia*).

This dish is mentioned in the Introduction as one of the feminine dishes served at banquets. Etc.

4.9 Preparing the basbasya (a dish with fennel shoots)

Take fat and tender meat, and cut it up. Put it in a pot with salt, onion, pepper, coriander seeds, and olive oil, and cook it. When the meat is done, take fresh fennel shoots, chop them finely, soak them in water, and add them to the meat. Squeeze in it also fresh coriander juice, and finish cooking the dish. Then lower the pot on the hot stone for a while, and it is ready to be served.

Some people chop the tender shoots, and squeeze on them the juice of mint (n) leaves, pounded with a little coriander juice. Some people cook the meat as a tafaya with added meatballs, and pour on it the juice of pounded and squeezed fennel, without its bulk, adding to it coriander juice and a little mint juice. This is considered to be the fennel tafaya. One may also thicken the dish with eggs.

4.10 Preparing a vegetable dish ascribed to Zirya

Take fat and tender meat of a ram, and put it in a pot with salt, onion, coriander seeds, pepper, caraway, two spoonfuls of olive oil, and one spoonful of macerated murri. Put the pot over a moderate fire. Then take tender shoots of cabbages, remove the leaves, chop finely the heads, and wash them. When the meat is nearly done, add the chopped cabbage. Then pound lean meat, taken from the tender sections, mix it in a bowl (with eggs, crumb of bread, almonds, pepper, coriander and caraway, and thicken the pot slowly with this mixture. Then let it stay on the hot

stone until the sauce dries out and the grease (dasam) comes to the surface. Then serve.

4.11 Preparing the safarjalya (n) (a dish with quinces)

This dish is very beneficial for people with hot temperaments, it stimulates the appetite for food, strenghtens the stomach, and prevents the vapors of the stomach from rising to the head.

Take fat and tender meat of sheep or goats, or fat meat of small calves, and cut it up small. Put the meat in a pot with salt, pepper, coriander seeds, saffron, olive oil and a little water. Put the pot over a gentle fire, and cook the meat until done. Then put in it the amount of quinces you need, peeled, cleaned and quartered, as well as strong vinegar, verjus or squeezed quinces juice, and cook it for a while. Then it is ready to be served.

If you wish, you may thicken the dish with eggs. This dish turns out to be like a mutallat.

4.12 Preparing the tuffaya (a dish with apples)

Take the same meat described for preparing the safarjalya, and prepare it in the same way. Then add to the pot the amount of sour apples you need, peeled and cleaned ... (n). When the pot is lowered on the hot stone, add a small amount of sugar, and flavor it with some musk and camphor, dissolved in a fragrant rose water. The fragrance of this dish is most exhilarating and heart strenghtening.

This dish could be prepared also with fowl, such as fat, young chickens, squabs or young turtle doves, and then it will come out even more delicious and better tasting.

4.13 Preparing a narjisya (a narcissus dish) with carrots

Take fat and tender meat, cut it up, and put it in a pot with salt, pepper, coriander seeds, and olive oil. Cook it half way through. Then take peeled carrots and cut strips smaller than the size of a finger, and add them to the meat with a little water and a little vinegar and saffron. Scatter over it a small amount of rinsed rice. When everything is cooked, pour on it eggs, beaten with saffron, in an amount that will thicken the dish. Remove the pot from the fire. When the dish has cooled off, cut with a knife pieces in the shape of narcissus. One may finish cooking this dish in the oven as well.

4.14 Preparing the rahib (the monastic dish) (n)

This dish is prepared in different manners, and, because of the offensive smell of the onions, it is necessary to improve its taste either by sweetening it with rose marmelade (murabbab al-ward) made with sugar, or by preparing it with fruit robs (rubb), -like pomegranate rob, or apple rob or grape rob-, or by mixing it with vinegar and prunes preserved in rob (uyu al-baqar al-murabbab).

People usually prepare this dish with sheep or goats meat, that is very fat, as they prepare also the murri dish. And, indeed, these two dishes will not be properly cooked and will not be tasty, unless they are cooked in the oven. At the same time the robs (rubb) mentioned above are sweet and sour, making the dish both tasty and colored, thus it does not require any saffron.

How to prepare the rahi.

Take tender and very fat meat, from sections of the animal with good fat sahm and also tripe (halqa kirshu) (n), and put it, cleaned and cut up, in a pot with salt, pepper, coriander seeds, and a lot of olive oil. Put the pot over a moderate fire. When the meat is nearly done, remove the pot from the fire, and leave it aside.

Then chop a proper amount of onions. Put them in another pot, covering them with water, and cook them until done. Then pour out the water, and put them either in a bowl), and mash them with a spoon, or pound them in a wooden or stone mortar until they become mushy.

Then put the mashed onions in the pot with the meat. Add olive oil, as required or even in excess, and add also pepper, ginger, saffron, spikenard and cinnamon, as well as rose marmelade (murabbab al-ward) or one of the above mentioned robs (rubb). Cover the pot with a lid, and put it in the oven. Leave it there for a while until the sauce has dried out, the top has browned, and only the grease (dasam) remains. Then take the dish out, and let it stand for a while to cool off. Then it is ready to be served.

Rahab. Basically, a dish of finely cut onions, cooked in the oven with plenty of grease, which turn golden and become caramelized. A similar dish existed in Christian countries. In Catalan it was called puriola (Cf. Sent Sovi etc.)

Our text spells the name of this dish as ahab, but the Moroccan text, who carries recipes similar to the ones of our text, spells it rahab and so does Dozy, who registers this word in the present sense, but not the former. The Arabic... and... look similar, and a confusion can easily arise. We have adopted Dozys spelling rahab in Arabic means monastic.

4.15 Another rahib recipe

Take fat meat, as the one just described, and prepare it as above. When the meat is done, squeeze on it juice of pounded onions, and add pomegranate rob (rubb) and rose marmelade (murabbab al-ward) as described above. Put it in the oven. It comes out amazingly good.

4.16 Another rahib recipe, prepared by a dripping method

Prepare the meat, as described above. When it is nearly done, take chopped onions and put them in a perforated couscous pot, and place this pot over the pot containing the meat, sealing the two with dough. Cover the upper pot also with a lid and seal it too. Let the liquid of the onions drip on the pot containing the meat. When the liquid is finished and has dried out, discard the pulp. The cooking may be completed, either in the cooking hearth or in the oven, after adding to the dish what was described above.

4.17 Preparing a rahib in the tajin

Take fat parts of sheep, goat or calf's meat, as has been described above, and put them in a pot with salt, seasonings and olive oil. Cook the meat until it is nearly done, then remove the pot from the fire. Then take large, bulky onions, and cook them whole, without chopping them, in another pot. When done, pour out the water, in which they were cooked, and pierce the sides of the onions. Then put the onions and the cooked meat in a tajin, add the above mentioned seasonings and pomegranate rob (rubb), and cover the tajine with plenty of olive oil. Put the tajine in

the oven, and leave it there until the cooking is completed, the sauce has dried out and the top has browned. Then remove the tajine from the oven.

4.18 Preparing the sinhaj(n)

Take a big and deep kettle *Tinjr*), and put in it for every three portions of strong vinegar and one portion of macerated, *murri* and also the necessary amount of pepper, coriander, cumin and saffron. Raise the kettle over a moderate charcoal fire. Add to it the necessary ingredients mentioned before (cf. I.15), namely, beef meat, cut up small, and when it boils once or twice, add also cut up sheep or goat's meat, then cut up chickens, cut up partridges, squabs or young turtle doves, or any other available fowl. Add also chickpeas, soaked and peeled, peeled and split almonds, chestnuts, peeled of their two shells, garlic and citron leaves. Cover all these ingredients with a lot of olive oil.

When the dish is nearly done, add whatever vegetables are available, cooked separately, and finish cooking the dish. These vegetables may be turnips, carrots, eggplants, calabash, shoots of cabbages without their leaves, and heads of lettuce without their leaves, whatever is available according to season and time. Cook them separately in a pot with salt, proper seasonings, and onions, until done, then pour out the water, and add them to the above mentioned meats in the kettle. It is essential not to omit ready-made meatballs and sausages (*mirka*), since these ingredients are characteristic of this dish, without them one certainly has variety, but the mixture is not perfect.

The characteristic of this dish is that it is wholesome for every age and for every temperament, since in it are brought together all kinds of meats and vegetables, and since it contains vinegar, macerated *murri*, seasonings and the like.

Tinhaj. For this dish and its royal version, see the First Section (cf. ...). This dish is clearly the antecedent of the Spanish *olla podrida*, which was Spain's national dish in the XVI and XVII centuries, and became famous all over Europe during this period.

Preparing dishes made with eggplants

4. 19 Preparing the buranya

It is ascribed to Buran, daughter of al-Hasan ibn Sahl (n). It is said that she was the first to invent this dish.

Take fat meat of sheep or goats, and cut it up. Put it in a pot with salt, onions, pepper, coriander seeds, a little cumin, saffron and olive oil. Raise the pot on a moderate fire, add one spoonful of macerated *murri* and two spoonfuls of vinegar, and cook it half way through. Then remove the pot from the fire.

Then take another pot, and add the fried eggplants, described later on (cf. 4.32), in the following way: put a layer of the cooked meat, then a layer of the fried eggplants, then a layer of the cooked meat, and so on until these ingredients are finished. Then add ready-made meatballs, split almonds, and color it with a lot of saffron. Thicken the dish with eggs, beaten with *spikenard* or cinnamon or saffron, and place egg yolks on top in a starlike manner. Then put the pot in the oven, and leave it there until its sauce has dried out, the eggs have set, and only the

grease (dasam) remains. Lower the pot on the hot stone , and leave it for a while. It is ready to be served.

Buraniya. This dish has survived in Spain to the present, cf. alboron. Cf. also Thousand and one Night (V3, 288, ed. Habicht); Dozy, Glossaire (73); etc. etc.

(2) This recipe for fried eggplants appears later in this section, cf..

4.20 Preparing the perfect buranya

Take lean meat of sheep, cleaned of sinews, and pound it until it is like the meat prepared for meatballs. Mix it with boiled and pounded eggplants, and continue stirring this mixture until the proper seasonings, mentioned above, like pepper, coriander, spikenard, a little macerated murri, cumin, cinnamon and also split almonds have been blended into it. Make from this mixture flat loaves (ragf) the size of the palm of the hand, and fry them in a pan with fine olive oil. Leave them aside. Next, fry eggplants, in the usual way, and leave them also aside. Next, take meat of a fat sheep, cut it up, and cook it with pepper, coriander, saffron, cinnamon, cumin, spikenard, macerated murri, vinegar and a little garlic, until it is nearly done. Then place in the pot a layer of this half cooked meat, a layer of the fried eggplants, a layer of the loaves made with pounded meat and eggplants, a layer of the cooked meat, and so on to the end. Add meatballs, split almonds, egg yolks, and cover the dish with a lot of olive oil. Put the pot in the oven, and leave it until it has set and dried up, and the top is browned. Then remove it from the oven.

One may thicken this dish with a few eggs, as formerly described.

4.21 A dish of eggplants, without vinegar

Take fat and tender sheep or goat's meat, and cut it up. Put the meat in a pot with salt, a small amount of onions, pepper, coriander seeds, and a lot of olive oil. Raise the pot over a moderate charcoal fire. When the meat is done, take a small amount of eggplants, cut them in halves and in fourths, boil them, pour their water out, and add them to the meat. Then squeeze in the pot a good amount of coriander juice, and also a smaller amount of squeezed pounded mint juice, and finish cooking the dish. Then lower the pot on the hot stone for a while. It is ready to be served.

4.22 A dish of eggplants

Cut up sheep or goat's meat, and put it in a pot with salt, pepper, coriander, cumin, thyme, two spoonfuls of macerated murri and three spoonfuls of olive oil. Raise the pot over the fire, and cook the meat. When the meat is done, add eggplants, cut in fourths, that have been boiled separately. When the pot boils, mix breadcrumbs of darmak flour bread with the necessary amount of eggs, beaten with coriander juice, and thicken with it the pot. Then lower the pot on the hot Stone.

4.23 Preparing a tuffya (a dish with apples), with apples and eggplants

Take three rats of lamb's meat, cut it up, and put it in a pot with onions, salt, coriander, pepper, ginger, cinnamon and four pounds of olive oil. Let the meat sweat in the pot over the fire until it loses its

moisture, then cover it with squeezed apple juice, and cook it. When the meat is done, add to the pot peeled eggplants, that have been boiled separately, together with peeled, whole, uncut apples, and with ready made meatballs. Then add a little pounded meat, mixed with eggs, and thicken with it the pot, or you may leave it without thickening it. Let it settle on the hot stone for a while.

4.24 Preparing a musatar (a dish with thyme (n)) with eggplants

Take a pot and put in it three spoonfuls of vinegar, one spoonful of macerated murri two spoonfuls of olive oil, also pepper, coriander seeds, cumin, thyme and rue. Put the pot on the fire, and when it boils, put in it eggplants, boiled beforhand, and cook them in this sauce. Then break on it some eggs. Let the dish cool off, and serve it cold, .

4.25 Recipe for the arnab (a mock rabbit dish)

Take good looking eggplants of a large size, and cut them in halves. Boil them in water and salt, then remove them from the water, and let them strain. Then take a tajine, and put in it strong vinegar and a smaller amount of macerated murri, als o pepper, cumin, thyme, saffron, chopped garlic, and a lot of olive oil. Put in it the boiled eggplant halves, and soak them in this sauce. Then rearrange them in this tajine, and put the tajine in the oven. Leave it there until the sauce dries out and only the oil remains. Then take the tajine out of the oven. Let it stand until it cools off. It is ready to be served.

Some people break eggs in the tajine and then they put it in the oven.

Arnab. Odd name. No clue. Mentioned again a few recipes later.

4.26 Recipe for the muh (n) made with eggplants

Take good looking eggplants, peel them and boil them in water and salt until done. Then remove the stems and leave them aside. Put the pulp of the eggplants in a tajine. Add to it the same amount of breadcrumbs, and also pepper, coriander seeds, cinnamon, saffron, split almonds and the necessary amount of eggs. Mix everything together, cover the mixture with plenty of olive oil, and insert in it whole egg yolks. Then implant on it the stems of the eggplants (n). Put the tajine in a moderately heated oven. Leave it there until the cooking is completed, the dish has set, and its top has browned. Then remove it from the oven, let it stand until it has cooled off, and serve.

One may insert in it meat of any fried fowl, that is available, then it will turn into another dish. Some people prepare it also with coriander juice and mint juice.

For this dish see its previous recipe in Section Three, and note there. The present version, with eggplants, as well as the next one, with eggplants and cheese, were very popular in Spain well into the XVIIc. Cf. R. Nola (1529, ed. by D. Perez p.121), etc. etc.

4.27 Recipe for a muh made with eggplants and cheese

Take boiled eggplants, and, as in the preceeding recipe, mix them in a bowl with the seasonings mentioned above, with chopped cheese, with almonds, and with a proper amount of eggs. Put the mixture in a tajine, and cover it with olive oil. Put the tajine in the oven, and leave it there until the surface has browned. Then remove it from the oven.

4.28 Another kind of stuffed eggplants

Take well shaped, good looking eggplants, and remove carefully the stems, so that their shape will be preserved. From the spot, where the stems were removed, carve out carefully the eggplants with a sharp knife so that they will become hollow. Then boil with water and salt what was removed from the inside of the eggplants, and when done, pour out the water. Knead the boiled pulp, as described above, with grated breadcrumbs, eggs and pounded cooked meat, and fill with this mixture the hollowed eggplants, and put the stems back on them as they had been originally. Line up and arrange the stuffed eggplants in a tajine, and pour in it the remainder of the stuffing and also olive oil. Put the tajine in the oven and leave it there until set and done. Then remove it from the oven. Place the eggplants in a plate (sahfa), whole, as they are, as if nothing at all had been done with them.

4.29 Another recipe for stuffed eggplants

Take big eggplants, cut them in halves without peeling them, and boil them in a pot with water and salt. Remove them from the water, and carve out each half by itself, keeping the shapes of the halves intact. Then take their pulp and knead it in a dish (sahfa) with pounded cooked meat, as before, and mix it with eggs and seasonings, according to what was described in the recipe for the muhs, and fill with this mixture these carved out halves. Dust them with darmak flour, and fry them in a pan with olive oil, as they are, until they are browned. Take them out of the pan and serve them with a sauce or without one. One may prepare them in a tajine, browning them in the oven, as is done for the buraniyya.

4.30 Recipe for sausages (mirka) made with eggplants

Peel the eggplants and boil them in water and salt. Then take them out of the water and squeeze them. Mash them with a spoon or pound them in a stone or wooden mortar. Put the mashed eggplants in a bowl (sahfa), and add a little macerated murri, pepper, cinnamon, spikenard, onion juice, coriander seeds, and a few eggs, an amount that will bind the mixture. Mix this with the proper amount of fresh, chopped fat, as it is customary done in preparing other sausages. Then fill with this mixture the intestines with a running thread attached to them (n). Fry the sausages in a pan with fine olive oil, and eat them hot with a sauce, or, if desired, without it.

4.31 Recipe for eggplants, dipped in batter and fried

Take good looking eggplants, slice them either lengthwise or across, and boil them lightly. Then take them out of the water, and let them strain and dry a little. Then take darmak flour, and mix it with eggs, pepper, coriander, saffron, and a little macerated murri. When this mixture

becomes like a thick soup, dip in it these sliced eggplants, and fry them with olive oil in a hot pan. When they are browned, dip them again in this batter, and brown them again. Repeat it again two or three times.

4.32 Recipe for fried eggplants

Take good looking eggplants, and slice them, either lengthwise or across, as above. Boil the slices in water and salt. Then take them out of the water, and let them dry and drain. Then dust them with darmak flour, and fry them in a pan with fine olive oil until they are browned. Pour on them a cooked sauce made from vinegar, olive oil, a little macerated murri and a little garlic.

In the same manner one may also fry with the eggplants boiled calabash.

4.33 Eggplant patties (isfiryā)

Cook peeled eggplants in water and salt until done. Remove them from the water. Knead them in a bowl (sahfa) with grated breadcrumbs, eggs, pepper, coriander, cinnamon, a little macerated murri, and olive oil. Mix everything together until well blended. Then fry thin loaves made from this mixture, as was described previously in preparing the isfiriya.

4.34 A muzawwar (n) dish made with eggplants prepared by ibn Mutanna

Take eggplants, pierce them everywhere with a little stick, and boil them. Then squeeze out the water in which they have been boiling, and put them in a pot. Pour in it vinegar, macerated murri, a lot of olive oil, and add also pepper, saffron, cumin, cinnamon, cloves of garlic stringed in thyme twigs, as well as two whole onions. Raise the pot over a charcoal fire, and cook them. Then put hot coals on the lid of the pot, and leave them there until the top of the dish has browned and the sauce has dried up. Then remove the pot from the fire, and throw away the two onions. It is ready to be served.

This dish keeps for many days, it will not spoil, nor will it alter, and so does the arnab (cf. 4.25).

Muzawwar dish is a dish prepared with vegetables, that tries to immitate a dish made with meat or fish. These dishes are usually prepared for the sick, and prescribed by physicians. Our text has several recipes for them (cf. etc.). Cf. also Dozy. The present recipe seems to immitate a dish made with rabbits(?), according to the last remark.

4.35 Recipe for a dish of browned eggplants

Take good looking eggplants, and chop them small, and add to them two or three times the amount of chopped onions. Boil the two together. Pour out the water, and put them in a pot with salt, pepper, coriander seeds, thyme, saffron, a small amount of macerated murri, and a lot of olive oil. Cook them in an oven until the liquid has dried out and only the oil remains. Then take them out of the oven.

4.36 Recipe for a dish of boiled eggplants

Take eggplants, and make two crosswise incisions but without separating them apart. Boil them in water and salt until they are done. Then take the eggplants out of the water, pour on them a lot of olive oil, add

vinegar and a small amount of pounded garlic, and boil them until the vinegar has penetrated them, and has taken away the pungency of the garlic.

This boiled dish may be prepared in a different manner: sprinkle on the eggplants, after boiling them, cheese grated with an iskinfaj (n). Add pounded garlic and plenty of olive oil, and cook the dish slightly. Let it cool off. Then it is ready to be served.

4.37 Recipe for a dish made out of calabash, that resembles fish

It is prepared to deceive the sick, who crave for fish and the like. Peel the calabash and clean its inside, then cut it lengthwise in pieces of more or less two fingers wide. Then boil them. Design shapes for them of heads and tails, similar to those of fish, and let them drain of their boiling water. Then take a bowl (gadar), break in it the necessary amount of eggs, and add to them darmak flour, cinnamon, and coriander seeds, and mix them with the eggs. Then set up a pan with fine olive oil on the fire. When the oil boils, take the calabash pieces, shaped like fish, and fry them. Then take them out and dip them in those eggs mixed with flour and seasonings, and return them to the frying pan. Then repeat the procedure by dipping them again in those eggs mixed with flour. When you see that the eggs have already set on the calabash pieces, repeat the procedure several times until they are completely covered with the eggs and one can not see any trace of the calabash. Then place them in a dish and sprinkle on them vinegar and a little murri, or fresh coriander juice, or the like.

This is clearly a muzawwar dish. Cf. note ...

4.38 A muzawwar dish helpful for people with tertian fevers and other acute fevers

Take a handful of lentils, soaked and peeled of their husks (n), and wash them in hot water several times. Put them in a pot, pour on them water without covering them, and cook them. Then add pieces of calabash or stalks of chard (*Beta vulgaris* subspecies (cicla), or stalks and buds of lettuce, or the pulp of cucumbers or serpentine cucumbers (n), and also vinegar, coriander seeds, a little cumin, cassia, saffron, and two uqya of fine olive oil. Season with a little salt, and cook all these ingredients. Check if the taste of the dish is properly balanced between sweetness and sourness, and if not, strengthen it accordingly until it is balanced as desired. Let the heat subside until it cools off. Then serve.

This recipe is clearly defective.

Change taraka to nazala, in last line? Graphically similar. See Recipe 361.

4.39 Recipe for a dish made with garden vegetables

It is customary among us to prepare this dish in orchards and vegetable gardens.

If it is made during the summer or the fall, then one should take purslane (*Portulaca oleracea*), blite (*Amaranthus blitum*), calabash, tiny eggplants, shoots of fennel, hound's berry (*Solanum nigrum*), tender shoots of calabash, and the pulp of cucumbers and serpentine cucumbers.

Chop all this small, as one chops green vegetables, cook them with water and salt, and once cooked pour out the water. Then take a clean pot and pour in it a little water, a lot of olive oil, a pounded onion, garlic, pepper, coriander seeds, and caraway. Raise the pot on a moderate fire, and when it boils, put in it those boiled vegetables. When they are done, add grated or pounded cheese and leaven dissolved in water, break in it the amount of eggs one wants, and squeeze on it fresh coriander juice and mint juice. Leave the pot on the hot stone until the eggs are set. If this dish is made during the spring, then one should take lettuce, fennel shoots, fresh fava beans, peeled of their pods and skins, spinach, chard (*Beta vulgaris* subspecies *cicla*), carrots, fresh coriander, and the like. Cook all these vegetables, and add what was described above regarding the seasonings, abundance of fine olive oil, cheese, leaven dissolved in water and eggs

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

The present chapter has two parts: the first part deals with vegetable dishes, excluding the eggplant (recipes 1-18), and the second part deals with eggplant dishes (recipes 19-36). Three additional meat-less vegetable dishes are added at the end (recipes 37-39).

First part (recipes 1-18).

The preparation of most of the vegetable dishes in this part follows a standard pattern: (i) a meat stew is prepared, as a kind of sauce or meat base for the vegetable, (ii) the vegetable is boiled separately, and (3) once the stew is almost done, the boiled vegetable is added to the stew, and both are cooked together to completion. The dish may be seasoned in two opposite ways, either in a masculine or in a feminine way. Our author's view is that some flavors are masculine, such as vinegar, saffron, garlic and macerated *mur* (not all need to be included in a dish) and some are feminine, such as onions and fresh coriander. Thus, recipes 1, 6, 11, and 13 are masculinely flavored, and recipes 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9 are femininely flavored.

This part ends with some dishes that do not fit exactly in the above pattern, namely, the popular *Irahab*, a dish prepared with onions, and the remarkable and complex *Tinhaj*, a clear example of an olla podrida. One may note that macerated *mur* is not used with plain vegetable dishes. It is used in this part only twice, namely, in the dish due to *Ziryab* (4.10) and in the *Tinhaj* (4.18). Worth of note is also the unusual recipe 4.9, prepared with wild fennel shoots.

Second part (recipes 19-39).

No doubt the eggplant, so mistrusted in most of Europe until the recent past, was the favorite vegetable of Muslim Spain, and it was prepared in surprisingly different ways.

The first six recipes (recipes 19-23) of this part require the preparation of a meat stew, as in the first part, but the remaining ones (recipes 24-39) do not do so, actually none of them use meat except pounded meat in recipes 28 and 29.

This part has recipes for the *buranya* and the *muh*, dishes that had a lasting influence in Spanish cuisine. At the end, there are several *muzawwar* or mock recipes for the sick, reminiscent of vegetarianism. The last recipe (4.39) is evocative of the period.

Some vegetables, such as asparagus, artichokes, cardoons and cauliflowers, were known and consumed at that time, but do not appear in the present chapter. They appear, though, in part II. Legumes, such as chickpeas, lentils and faba beans, were also known and widely consumed, but our author thinks they are not worthy of an aristocratic table (see Preface 7). They appear here only in passing (4.18 and 4.38). Some vegetables, such as eggplants and spinach, were introduced and brought to Spain by the Arabs, and the chard (*Beta vulgaris* subspecies *cicla*), although known in Roman times, became popular due to the Arabs, as its Spanish name *acelga*, from Ar. *silq*, shows. The artichoke could be of Hispano-Arabic origin. It was unknown to the Romans and it has an Arabic name *_ursuf*. It is the result of cultivation and descends directly from wild cardoons, a plant indigenous to the Mediterranean region. A few recipes in this chapter are of Eastern origin, such as: the *safarjalya* (4.11), the *tuffahya* (4.12), the *narjisya* (4.13) and the *buranya* (4.19 and 20).

A *mutallat* is, according to our author, a dish made with meat and non leafy vegetables, and flavored with vinegar and saffron. These seasonings are masculine in the terminology of our author, and a characteristic feature of this dish. Besides the present recipe 4.1, other recipes for *mutallat* are given in this chapter (cf. 4.4 (end), 4.6 and 4.11 (end)) and there is one also in Part II.xx. This dish is mentioned in the Preface as one of the dishes served at formal meals (cf. 10).

Mutallat, as a dish name, is registered in Dozy, but not in the above sense. This noun stems from the root *t l-t...*, that connotes three. The dish may have had originally three main ingredients.

(x) Stems of lettuce.

Stems of lettuce were valued in the Middle Ages and beyond, and cooked in a variety of ways. Cf. Sent Sovi cap. 114 *Qui parla con se ffa letugat ab let de amelles*, p.140; Anonimo Toscano, *De le lattuche*, p.23; Maestro Martino, *Menestra de lactuche che para zucche*, p. 141. (These last two works are quoted from Faccioli's edition). Cf. also Montin, *tallos de lechugas*, fol.293.

References:

Grewe, Rudolf (ed.). *Libre de Sent Sovi*. Barcelona 1979.
 Faccioli, Emilio. *Arte della Cucina (Libri de ricette, testi sopra lo scalco, il trinciante e i vini, dal X4 al XIX secolo)* (2 vols.) Milano, 1966.
 Montin, Francisco Martinez. *Arte de Cozina, Pasteleria, Vizcocheria y Conserveria*. Madrid, Luis Sanchez, 1611.

(x) Note that this requirement implies that the animal is slaughtered at home.

(x) Coarse cabbages (*al-kurunb al-galz*).

Among the different kinds of cabbages that ibn al-Awwam of Seville discusses in his extensive book on agriculture, (chap.XX3 9; vol.II pp.161 &) there is none called coarse (*galz*). However there is one kind described as having coarse leaves (cf. note p. 166), that is probably the one meant here.

Two basic types of leaf cabbages were cultivated at that time. One whose leaves cluster together and form heads (cf. recipe 4.5), and another type whose leaves spread out and branch. One does not see cabbages of this last type in our markets, but they are illustrated in medieval

manuscripts (cf., for instance, the *Theatrum Sanitatis*, vol.I p.117. *Caules onati*) and also in Renaissance herbals. The stems were cleaned and cooked, and the coarse leaves used maybe as fodder for rabbits and other domestic animals.

Cabbages are native to Europe. The English term *cole* as well as the French *chou*, German *Kohl*, Spanish *col*, cabbage, derive from the Latin *caulis*, which means, as the Greek *kaulós* does, the stalk or stem of a plant, and in particular the cabbage stalk. This etymology makes clear that in Ancient times the stems were the valued part of this plant. The Arabic name for cabbage, *kurunb*, stems from the Greek *krḗmbe*.

References:

ibn al-Awwam. *Kitab al-filah Ta. Libro de Agricultura*. Edited by J.A. Banqueri. Madrid, 1802. (2 vols.).

Ububchasym de Baldach. *Theatrum Sanitatis*. Codice 4182 della Biblioteca Casanatense di Roma. Franco Maria Ricci editore. Parma, 1970. (3 vols.)

(x) Mukarrara.

The technical culinary meaning of *mukarrara* seems to be mashed or pureed (cf. 4.5 and 4.8). Usually, as in the present case, this is achieved by pounding the vegetable in a mortar.

This culinary meaning of the term is not registered in Arabic dictionaries. Pedro de Alcala (1505) translates old Sp. *reduzir* as *karrara* (Pezzi p.440) *reduzir* was probably understood, as to divide a solid in small fragments (cf. Fr. *réduire*). Dozy translates *mukarrar* as *raffiné*, *fin*. Both entries support the above translation.

Reference: Pezzi, Elena. *El Vocabulario de Pedro de Alcala*. Almeria, 1989.

(x) The recipe does not say explicitly what one does with the shoots. It is likely that they are boiled and pounded, i.e. mashed, together with the tender leaves, and added to the meat. This remark applies also to the variant recipe given in the next paragraph, except that in this case the tender leaves are treated separately.

(x) Al-baqya al-mukarrara

(a dish with mashed vegetables).

The *al-baqya al-mukarrara* is a dish of mashed or pureed leaf vegetables, like spinach, chard, etc., that seems to have been a favorite one of the period. This dish is mentioned in the Preface as one of the Feminine dishes served at formal meals (cf. 10).

(x) The text has at this point and wash it to remove its greenness and blackness, which does not seem to yield good sense. It is not obvious how the text should be amended. In any case, this short sentence does not seem to alter basically the overall procedure on how to prepare this dish.

(x) The name of the leaves is missing in the text at this point. Mint, often combined with fresh coriander, is the most likely candidate.

(x) Ziryab.

A Persian tenor and artist from the court of Harun al-Rasid of Baghdad, who arrived in 822 in Cordoba, during the reign of Abd ar-Rahman II (822-852). Due to his magnetic personality, he became a most popular figure and an arbiter of fashion of Muslim Spain during his lifetime. Reference: Philip K. Hitti. *History of the Arabs* (Ninth edition). New York, NY 1968. (pp. 514-515, 598).

(x) Safarjalya.

Cf. Part II.xx, yy. al-Baghdad' s Cookbook (cf. Chelebi p.36, Arberry's transl. p.189).

ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.II cap.2, p.74).

(x) Tuffahya.

Cf. Part II.xx. Al-Baghda's Cookbook (cf. Chelebi p.15, Arberry's transl. p.37).

Ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.II cap.2, p.73).

(x) In the manuscript part of the line has been left blank at this point. It is not clear if the loss of text is just a few words, such as, and finish cooking the dish, or if it is more extensive, and could include several recipes. The lines that follow are not intrinsically related to the ones that preceed.

Ibn Razn's recipe for a tuffahy (cf. previous note) is similar to other recipes of this type in the present chapter, but adds as an alternative way to finish the dish to flavor it with musk, ambergris and camphor. This suggests that the loss of text is minor, and that the lines that follow are actually part of the tuffahya recipe.

(x) Narjisya.

The characteristic feature of this dish is that it is presented in such a way as to suggest narcissus flowers, whence the name narjisya, from Ar. narjis, in turn from Persian nargis, narcissus. This is accomplished in a variety of ways, often with eggs, placed on top of the dish with their yolks unbroken, playing the role of flowers. This dish is of Eastern origin.

The present recipe appears almost verbatim in ibn Raz's cookbook (sect.II cap.2, p.72).

References:

Al-Warraq's cookbook, chapt. 73, pp. 183 (two recipes).

Al-Baghdad's Cookbook (cf. Chelebi p.41, Arberry's transl. p.192) (one recipe).

Ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.II cap.2, p.72; also sect.3 cap.2, p.110).

(x) Rahab.

The rahab is, basically, a dish of finely cut onions, cooked, usually, in an oven with meat and plenty of grease until they turn golden and caramelized. A similar dish existed in Christian Spain. In Catalan it was called puriola or poriola. (Cf. Sent Sovi, cap.72 p.113). A related dish is the Taqalabya Slaves dish, of which several recipes are preserved in Part II. Irahab means in Arabic monastic. The dish is likely to be of Spanish ancestry even though onion dishes were known also in the East. Our text spells the name of this dish as hab, but the Moroccan text, who carries recipes similar to the ones of our text, spells it Irahab, and so does Dozy, who registers this word in the present sense, but not the former. The Arabic and Ir... look similar, and a confusion can easily arise. We have adopted Dozy's spelling.

References: Grewe, Rudolf (ed.). Libre de Sent Sovi. Barcelona 1979.

(x) Talqa kirs hu.

The stomach of ruminants has four chambers or compartments: the rumen, a large pouch, the reticulum, an accessory chamber to the rumen, whose

walls are lined with a criss-cross series of ridges (the honeycomb tripe), the omasum or psalterium, whose walls reminded our predecessors of the leaves of a psalter book, and the abomasum, which is the stomach proper. The first three chambers may be considered expansions of the esophagus.

When food is eaten, it enters the first two chambers, where it is subjected to muscular and bacterial action, and reduced to pulp or cud. Then it is regurgitated and chewed again. Finally it descends into the third and fourth chambers, where digestion is completed.

Talqa kirshu means, literally, the ring, or maybe the throat, of the stomach. It is not obvious what this expression may mean, possibly the rumen or the reticulum. It has been translated tentatively as tripe. The expression occurs again in VI.1.

(x) Tinhaj.

This dish is clearly a Spanish olla podrida, Spain's national dish in the XVI and XVII centuries, and famous all over Europe during that period. It is surprising that it bears the name of the Berber tribe Tinhaja or Tanhaja (cf. note I.xx). One may have guessed that this type of dish is ancient and autochthonous, reflecting the ingredients produced by the land.

The present recipe may well be the oldest preserved recipe for this dish. A version without vegetables is given in I.15.

(x) Iburanya.

The Iburanya, in its simplest form, is a casserole dish made of layers of fried eggplants and of half-cooked meat, the whole finished in the oven, in the West, or over the embers, in the East. The dish is of Eastern origin. al-Baghdad's Cookbook brings its recipe (cf. Chelebi p.39, Arberry's transl. p.191) and it is mentioned in the Thousand and One Night (see reference below).

There is also a Iburanya made with calabash, whose recipe is given in al-Baghdad's Cookbook (cf. Chelebi p.42, Arberry's transl. p.193.) and was probably prepared in Spain too, though the recipe is not extant in our manuscript.

This dish was renowned in Spain at that time and it continued to be prepared well into the XVI century and beyond. It is mentioned in Francisco Delicado's La lozana andaluza (1528) (cf. Mamotreto II, Pues borona ¿no sabia hacer? por maravilla! AF) and in Miguel de Cervantes La gran Sultana (cf. Jornada Primera AE... gozar de la cazuela llena de borona y caldo prieto). However, the cookbooks of the period, Nola, Diego Granado, Hernandez de Maceras, and Montañó, do not bring the recipe.

A dish called alboronia is still prepared nowadays in Southern Spain, clearly a survivor of the buranya. However, the present dish has been completely transformed by the addition of New World vegetables, such as tomatoes and bell peppers, and all that it has in common with the older dish « is just the eggplants. One should be aware that the definition of alboronia given in the Diccionario de la Real Academia Española does not apply to the older usages of this word, as some scholars have done. The term buranya is supposed to derive from Buran (cf. next note).

Reference:

Tausend und eine Nacht. Arabisch. Nach einer Handschrift aus Tunis herausgegeben von Dr. Maximilian Habicht. vol. V3. Breslau 1838. p.288.

(x) Buran.

The marriage of Caliph al-Mahmun (813-833), a son of Harun al-Rasd, to Buran, a daughter of his vizier al-Tasan ben Sahl, was celebrated in 825. It was an incredible extravaganza, well remembered and glorified in the Arab literature.

Reference: Philip K. Hitti. History of the Arabs (Ninth edition). New York, NY 1968. (p. 302).

(x) This remark without vinegar may seem preposterous to a modern reader, but it is a condensed way for our author to say that, although the previous buranya recipes are masculinely flavored with vinegar, the present recipe is not, on the contrary, it is femininely flavored with fresh coriander, onions, etc...

(x) Musatar .
A recipe with a similar title, namely Tatarya, but prepared with meat instead of eggplants, appears in Part II.xx. The name of this dish stems from satar. Tatar, thyme. Cf. note xx.

(x) Arnab.
The name of this dish is puzzling, since arnab means rabbit, and it is prepared without it. It may not be a chance omission. This dish is probably a muzawwar dish (cf. note I.xx) for mock rabbit. The dish is also mentioned in 4.34. Both dishes are similar.

(x) Cf. note 3.xx (on muh...)

(x) This decorative and uncommon use of the star-like stems of the eggplant, placed on top of the casserole, appears also in the Sent Sovi (cap.152, p.169).

(x) Muh... is used here in the usual sense of stuffed, and not in the sense defined in note 3. xx.

(x) Cf. note I.xx.

(x) Cf. note I.xx.

(x) Ibn Mutanna.
(Temporary note). According to Huici (1966) he could be an almojarife of Yusuf I, or he could be his son, a favorite of Yusuf II, or he could be a friend of Jahiz, where he is mentioned in his Libro sobre los Avaros (see pp.11 and 191). (I have been unable so far to verify this information). This type of recipe suggests that he may have been a physician.

(x) Iskinfaj or iskilfaj.
iskinfaj (4.36) or iskilfaj (VI.17) is an Hispanism derived from escofina, a kind of grater or file. Escofina stems from Latin scobina, a rasp, from the verb scabo, to scratch, scrape. The term is discussed in Simonet and Dozy.

(x) Although the title of this recipe does not say it explicitly, the present recipe describes a typical muzawwar dish.

(x) The text has at this point lentils, boiled and peeled. Since the lentils are cooked afterwards, to use boiled lentils seems odd. To peel lentils of their skins seems a laborious task, though, maybe, it can be

accomplished by rubbing parboiled lentils with a cloth. Probably there is a scribal error here. Perhaps soaked and peeled of their husks is meant.

(x) Serpentine cucumbers (qitta).

There were two varieties of cucumbers: the kiyar, the common cucumber, Spanish pepino, and the qitta, Spanish cohombro, here translated as serpentine cucumber. (For the Spanish translation cf. Pedro de Alcala (ed. Pezzi), pepino p.400 and cohombro p.127). The cohombros are described by Laguna in his translation of Dioscorides as No se hallan en este Capitulo aquellos Cogombros luengos, que se comen comunmente en Castilla, sino solamente en España, y si alguna vez por maravilla se vee alguno dellos en otras partes, le tienen por una cosa monstruosa. Llamaron algunos de los antiguos, a este genero de Cogombro luengo Anguinum cucumerem, que quiere dezir serpentino, por ser luengo y torcerse a manera de culebra, de donde otros le llamaron Cucumerem tortilem. AF (Libro II Cap. CXX3I.). Ibn al-Awwam discusses both varieties in different sections, cf. chapt. XXV 1 p.213 (qitta) and chapt. XXV 5 p.232 (kiyar), and adds further information.

References:

- Pezzi, Elena. El Vocabulario de Pedro de Alcala. Almeria, 1989.
ibn al-Awwam. Kitab al-filah. Libro de Agricultura. (Arabic text with Spanish translation). Edited by J.A. Banqueri. Imprenta Real. Madrid, 1802. (2 vols.). There is also a French translation:
Ibn al-Awwam. Le l4re de l'agriculture. Traduit de l'arabe par J.J. Clement- Mullet. Paris, 1864 (2 vols). (reprinted Tunis, 1977).
[Laguna] Pedacio Dioscorides Anarzabeo. Sobre la Materia Medicinal. Traducido e ilustrado por el doctor Andres de Laguna. Salamanca, 1555.

Tatar satarzatar.

Etymologically, Arabic Tatar stems through an Aramaic intermediary from Latin satureiae (cf. Fraenkel p.143). From satureia derives also Italian santoreggia Catalan sajolida (older forms sadorija, sajorida), French sarriette, English savory (Old English saetherie), Hispano-Arabic satya, as-satraya and Spanish axedrea, ajedrea (through the Hispano-Arabic (cf. Dozy (Glossaire) p.219)). The Greek name of this plant is thymbra. There is a wild and a garden variety. In the Hispanic botanical literature Tatar has a wider meaning, and becomes a generic term, that includes oregano and its varieties as well as satureia.

(Arabic seems to lack a universally accepted term oregano)

Thus ibn Bait Tar, of Malaga, in his article on Tatar describes the varieties of this plant by quoting the four chapters of Dioscorides on oregano and its varieties (Dioscorides, book 3 chapters 27-30) and also his chapter on thymbra satureia satya (book 3 chapt. 37).

Likewise ibn al-Awwam, of Seville, discusses separately the planting of Tatar and of satya (Cf. chapt. XXV3 6, 7 vol II. pp. 308-311), the first understood in its generic sense, and the second understood as satureia

Also Pedro de Alcala translates Sp. oregano as sahtar, i.e. Tatar (cf. Pezzi p.382).

However Laguna still translates Sp. axedrea as sahatar i.e. Tatar and oregano differently.

It is likely that in our text.

Tatar means satureia since satya does not appear in it, and also in view of the contemporary meaning of Tatar.

Tatar has been translated as thyme, because this is the meaning it has in contemporary Arabic, both in the Near East and in the Maghreb, and it has a long-standing tradition. Satureia and thyme are very similar plants, and both have been confused since Antiquity. Laguna, for instance, argues that the satureia of the Ancients is actually our thyme (cf. Laguna ...) (cf. also Andre ...).

Hispano-Arabic

Wild Tatar is the same as Tatar al- Tam (cf. ibn al-Awwam ...) and Tatar al- Tam is the same as Tasa (cf. ibn Bait Tar ...).

That is, wild s. is the same as thyme.

One should bear in mind, though, that the present argument is not conclusive, and the Tatar of our text may not mean thyme.

Ibn al-Awwam mentions that Abual- air (?) of Seville considers that axedrea(?) is an appropriate seasoning for boiled calabash, eggplants and fish, and also for bland foods, such as calabash and vegetables. (cf. Aww ..) (cf. examples...)

References:

Andre, Jacques. Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique. Paris 1985.

Fraenkel, Siegmund. Die aramaischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen. E.J.

Brill, Leiden 1886.

[Dioscorides Pedanius]. Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de Materia Medica libri quinque (ed. Max Wellman), 3 vols. Berlin 1906-14 (reprinted Berlin 1958)

Ibn al-Awwam. Kitab al-fila. Libro de Agricultura. Edited by

J.A. Banqueri. Imprenta Real. Madrid, 1802. (2 vols.).

Pezzi, Elena. El Vocabulario de Pedro de Alcalá. Almería, 1989.

ibn Bait Tar. Kitab al-jami al-kabr ...

Grosse Zusammenstellung der Kräfte der bekannten einfachen Heil- und Nahrungsmittel, von Abu Mohammed Abdallah ben Ahmed aus Malaga, bekannt unter dem Namen ebn Baithar. Aus dem Arabischen übersetzt von Dr. Joseph v. Sontheimer. (two vols.) Stuttgart, 1840, 1842.

Ibn-al-Awwam. Le livre de l'agriculture. Traduit de l'arabe par J.J. Clément Mullet

[Laguna] Pedacio Dioscorides Anazarbeo ... traducido e ilustrado por el doctor Andres de Laguna. Salamanca, 1563. (!!!)

This last plant he considers a kind of Tatar, and useful in cooking, especially with eggplants, calabash and fish. Also Pedro de Alcalá translates Sp. oregano as sahtar i.e. Tatar. However this extended meaning of Tatar may not have been pervasive in Spain. Laguna (1555) gives as the Arabic equivalent of Sp. Axedrea sahatar that is Tatar.

Botanically satureia looks very much like thyme

and it is likely that there was no sharp distinction among the two.

Laguna even claims that the satureia of the Romans was actually thyme.

...

In contemporary Arabic, both in the Near East and in the Maghreb, Tatar means thyme. This is the translation that has been adopted uniformly. No other member of the Labiatae

One may bear in mind the other possible meanings discussed above.

Etym satur. oreg.

Add Andre Jacques in body of this

CHAPTER 5

Description of various kinds of fish dishes

You should know that every kind of fish, especially the large size, after scaling them and cutting them up, should be boiled slightly in boiling water. Then after taking them out of the boiling water, you should wash them, and let them strain from the water. Then cook them properly in a tajine, or the like.

One can make from fish all the dishes that are made from meat or chicken. One can make from them meatballs and ahras. One can also prepare fish in a sealed pot in the oven, instead of preparing it in a tajine, as it is made by the people of Cordoba and Seville with the fish known among them as (shad) and (sturgeon).

5.1 Recipe for a dish made from a large size fish, such as grey mullet and the like

Take whatever fish is available of the above, scale it, clean it, and do not cut it up. Then boil it slightly in water, and put it in a tajine. Stuff its cavity with breadcrumbs, made from darma flour bread, pounded wallnuts and almonds, and pounded seasonings mixed with rose water. Cover the fish with a i.e. a flat, thin loaf of bread. Be sure that the edges of the cover the fish well from all sides. Then pour over it a lot of olive oil until it appears on the surface of the ragf. Then put the tajine in the oven, and leave it there until the ragf is browned and almost burned. Then take the tajine out, and throw away the ragf. Let it cool off. It is a Christian dish.

5.2 A green tafaya made with fish

Scale a large size fish, cut it up, and boil it slightly. Then wash it, and put it in a tajine or in a clean pot. Cover it with mint juice, fresh coriander juice, a little onion juice, and add also pepper, coriander seeds, ginger and caraway. Pour over the fish also a lot of olive oil, and add shoots of fennel, and fish balls prepared beforehand for this dish. Then put it in the oven, and leave it there until the fish is done and the sauce is reduced. Then take it out, let it stand for a while, and serve.

5.3 Basbasya (a dish made with fennel shoots)

Scale a fish, and prepare it as above. Put the fish in tajine or in a pot, and squeeze on it juice of pounded fresh fennel shoots in an amount that will cover it, and add also onion juice, pepper, coriander seeds, and ginger. Pour over the fish also a lot of olive oil, and add a proper amount of salt. Then put it in the oven, and leave it there until the sauce has been reduced.

5.4 A white tafaya made with fish

Take a big fish, cut it up, and boil it slightly. Then wash it with cold water, and put it in a clean pot. Add pepper, cinnamon, ginger, coriander seeds, onion juice and meatballs made from its meat, an indispensable ingredient. Add also peeled almonds and wallnuts together with pine nuts mixed thoroughly with rose water or with fresh water (n). Pour on it also a lot of olive oil. Put the dish in the oven, and leave it there for a while until the sauce has been reduced and dried out. Then remove it from the oven.

5.5 A dish made with fish according to the recipe

Take a large size fish, scaled as described above, and let it stay overnight in ground salt. On the following morning wash it, and boil it slightly. Then

lay it out in a tajine. Pour on it two spoonfuls of vinegar, a spoonful of macerated murri, three spoonfuls of olive oil. Add also fish balls made beforehand for this dish, pepper, saffron, cumin, citron leaves, thyme, bay leaves, seeds of celery, garlic, cinnamon, and a little mastic. Put the dish in the oven, and leave it there until the top has browned. Then take it out, turn the fish over, and return it to the oven until it is browned on both sides and the sauce has dried out. Then remove it from the oven.

5.6 Another variation of the above dish

Take fish, like mackerel (sarda) sardines (Tardinas)(n), red mullets (mul)(n), or similar highly desired fish. Scale them, and fillet them, then submerge them in boiling water and remove them at once, and wash them with cold water. Arrange them in the tajine, and pour over them vinegar, a little macerated murri, pepper, saffron, cinnamon, spikenard, galingale, a little mastic, citron leaves, and prunes preserved in rob (el uyun al-baqar al-murabbab) and macerated in vinegar. Sprinkle over them split almonds and cloves of garlic stringed on twigs of thyme, and a lot of olive oil. Put the dish in a moderately heated oven, and leave it there until the sauce has dried out and the dish is browned on top. Then take it out, and let it stand for a short while.

One may prepare this dish in a pot done in the cooking hearth, instead of preparing it in a tajine done in the oven.

5.7 A dish made with mackerel (sarda) or with other kinds of fine fish

Take whatever fish are available. Scale them, and cut them in slices, if they are of a large size, otherwise fillet them. Boil them slightly and wash them. Then fry them in a pan with fine olive oil until they are browned, but you should not dust them with flour.

Then take them out of the pan, and place them in a tajin. Pour on them vinegar, a little macerated murri, pepper, coriander seeds, ginger, cinnamon, a little cumin, thyme, citron leaves and prunes preserved in rob (uyun al-baqar al-murabbab) and macerated in vinegar. Cover the dish with a lot of olive oil, and put it in the oven. When the sauce has dried out, take it out of the oven, and let it stand until it has cooled off. Then it is ready to be served.

5.8 A dish called the reconstructed (al-munass).

Take whatever fish is available, scale it and clean it, and if it is large, cut it up. Boil it in water and salt, and wash it. Then put the fish in a plate (sahfa), clean it of its spines, gather the meat together, and pound it until it becomes like the meat prepared for meatballs. Then add to the pounded fish meat a little darmak flour, pepper, coriander seeds, and cinnamon, and squeeze in it also mint juice, and mix it with these ingredients. Then reconstruct with this mixture the shapes of sardines (sard) or of any other kind of fish one wishes to make. Then dust them with flour, and fry them with fine olive oil until they are browned and done. When they are transferred to a serving plate, make for them a sauce with vinegar, olive oil, garlic and cumin. Boil these ingredients and pour the sauce over them.

5.9 A fish dish, called al-murawwaj.

Take any kind of fish, and scale it, cut it up, boil it lightly in water and salt, and leave it aside to dry off. Then take a tajin, put it on a moderate fire, and pour in it an amount of olive oil that will cover, submerge and envelop the fish. When the oil is boiling, put in it the above mentioned boiled pieces of fish, and let them fry in it until they are browned. Then take them out from the oil, and leave them aside.

Then take another tajine. Put in it for every two portions of vinegar, a little less than one portion of macerated murri, add also pepper, cumin, a small amount of garlic, a little thyme, cinnamon, and cover these

ingredients with plenty of fine olive oil. Put the tajine over a gentle fire. When it boils, take the pieces of fish, that were fried in oil, and put them in this second tajine one after the other. Let them cook for a little while, then turn them over. Leave them there until the sauce has dried up and no liquid remains in it except the oil. Remove the tajine from the fire, and leave it until it has cooled off.

This is the way that people of Ceuta and of the West of the al-Andalus used to prepare this dish.

5.10 A muhs made from any size of fish.

Take whatever fish are available. If they are large, scale them, and cut them in pieces. Boil the pieces slightly in water and salt, take them out from the water, and slice them lengthwise to remove their bones and clean them from spines, then fry them in a pan with fine olive oil until they are browned. If they are small, like sardines (sard), fry them whole, after scaling them and washing them, but without boiling them, and fry them well until they are browned and have lost their moisture completely. Leave the fish aside.

Then take another tajine , and put in it some grated breadcrumbs or finely crushed kak , pepper, coriander seeds, cloves, cinnamon, spikenard and saffron (n). Add the proper amount of salt, or, instead of salt, macerated murri . Sprinkle on the mixture split almonds, and cover it with a lot of olive oil. Then crumble in it those pieces of fried fish prepared beforehand. Put the tajine in the oven, and leave it there until it has set and its surface has browned. Then remove it, and let it stand until it cools off. It is ready to be served.

5.11 Fish dipped in batter and fried (muaffar). Take whatever good quality and desirable fish are available. Scale them, cut them in pieces, and boil them slightly with water and salt. Then take them out of the water and wash them. Open the cut pieces lengthwise, and remove whatever bones and spines they may have.

Then make a batter: take grated breadcrumbs or darmakflour, and add to it a few eggs, pepper, coriander, cinnamon and spikenard, and beat them all together. Dip in this batter these pieces of fish a few times, and then fry them with fine olive oil until they are browned. Repeat several times until the pieces are properly done. Then prepare a sauce for them with olive oil, vinegar, a little murri and cumin. Boil these ingredients and pour them over the fried fish.

This dish may be prepared in a different way, namely:

Take meat of fish after boiling it and cleaning it from its spines. Pound it, and add to it the seasonings and eggs mentioned above, I mean only the seasonings mentioned above(n), and mix them all together. Wrap with this mixture the bones, that were preserved in the original shape, and mold around the bones semblances of the fish, as they originally were. Then fry them until they are browned. Dip them in the above described sauce. This is another version of the dish.

5.12 Fish balls and fish ahras.

Take a large fish, like grey mullet (qabtun), and the like. Scale it, boil it in water and salt, then take it out, and clean it of its spines and bones. Then pound the meat until it is like meatball meat. Add to it darmak flour or finely crushed kak , eggs in an amount that will bind and blend the mixture properly, also pepper, coriander seeds, spikenard, cinnamon, as well as a small amount of juice of pounded onions, mint juice, macerated murri, and olive oil. Mix everything together until it is well mixed and thoroughly blended. Then make ahras and loaves (ragf) the size of the palm of the hand or a little smaller. Make also meatballs from this mixture, that may be added to various fish dishes. Fry these loaves in a pan with a lot of

olive oil until they are browned. Then prepare for them a sauce by boiling vinegar, olive oil and pounded garlic, and pour it over the loaves.

5.13 Buranya of fish.

It is prepared with pieces of fish, that have been boiled, washed and fried, and with fried eggplants, in the same way as the buraniya of sheep or goat's meat and fried eggplants is prepared, and it has the same seasonings as described before.

So also the mutallat of fish is prepared in the same way as the mutallat made with meat, eggplants and turnips.

5.14 To prepare fish roe.

Take whatever roe is available from large size fish. Boil it slightly, wash it, and, if you wish, you may leave it whole, or you may cut it up. Put it in a pot with coriander seeds, pepper, cinnamon, ginger, a little macerated murri , and a lot of olive oil. Break on it some eggs, and mix it all together and stir the mixture well. Put the pot in a tannur. When done, take it out and let it cool off. Cut it up, and sprinkle over it chopped rue (sada) or mint.

One may fry the roe in a pan with olive oil, then dip it in a sauce of vinegar and olive oil. Or one may also prepare it like a rahib in an oven with onions and olive oil.

It has been known for a long time, that fish is slow to digest, it is not suitable for phlegmatic temperaments and moist bodies, however it is suitable to hot and dry temperaments. If it is not thoroughly digested, it will spoil fast. But this will not happen, if it is prepared according to the manner described above with spices (aqaqr), tempered with vinegar and macerated murri , and covered with plenty of olive oil after boiling it and scalding it with water and salt, as has been described, in order to remove from the fish its phlegma and to take away from it its bad odor for the one who eats it. It is necessary after eating fish to drink some syrup (sara), some rob (rub) or whatever may be suitable for the temperament of the person who eats the fish, his age and his habits.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

The present chapter recapitulates the preceeding ones, and thus it has « fish adaptations of such typical dishes as the green and white tafaya, the muh. the mut allat, the buranya , pounded fish preparations, such as fish balls and fish ah and so on. However it has also new and interesting recipes, such as recipe V.1, for a whole fish, stuffed with a walnut and almond mixture, and baked in the oven covered with a thin loaf soaked in oil to keep the fish moist; recipes V.2 and V.3 that use fresh fennel shoots, herb that blends well with fish; and recipes V.7 and V.9 for cold fish dishes, prepared in a seasoned vinaigrette sauce, that includes in one case marinated prunes.

It is worth noting that most of the dishes of this chapter are cooked in an oven (V.1 - V.7, V.10, V.13), and usually in Tajin and that two of them are deep fried (V.8, V.11). One may note also that V.1 - V.4 are femininely flavored, to use the terminology of our author, and that V.5 - V.7 and V.9 are masculinely flavored. Eggs are used in this chapter only to prepare a batter (V.11), to bind pounded fish meat (V.12), in the fish roe recipe (V.14) and, probably, to prepare muhs (V.10).

Fish spoils easily, especially if it can not be refrigerated. The prescription given at the beginning of this chapter, and repeated occasionally, to perboil fish at the start is apropiate for its time and reflects the health concerns of our author.

Galenic medicine considered fish to be cold and moist, and hence, one may say jokingly, only suitable for people who want to practice ascetism. There are few fish recipes in Medieval Eastern Arabic cookbooks. Most recipes in this chapter seem to be of Hispano-Arabic origin, especially, in view of the extensive use of the oven, and in view of the fact that most fish names in this chapter are Hispano-Arabic. At least one dish is of Christian origin, as acknowledged.

Ibn Razn's cookbook devotes a whole chapter on fish, copying probably from different sources (cf. sect.V cap.1; pp. 132-142). The beginning and last paragraphs of his chapter follow closely, almost literally, the beginning and last paragraphs of the present chapter. Likewise, recipes 2,3,5,6,8,10,11 and 13 of this chapter appear almost verbatim and in the same order in his cookbook (pp.137-139), though some of the titles of his recipes have been mixed up. Since ibn Razn is a later author, one may conclude that either ibn Razn summarized most of the present chapter, or that he and our author copied from the same source.

An extensive list of the fish consumed in Muslim Spain, with their often Hispano-Arabic names, appears in chapter VII of al-Arbu's treatise (ed. Diaz Garcia) (Cf. Ar. pp. 66-70, Sp. translation pp. 26-32).

Reference: Diaz Garcia, Amador. Un tratado nazar sobre alimentos: al-kalamà -agiya de al-Arbu. Edicion, traduccion y estudio, con glosarios (II). Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales X-XI, 1982-83.

(x) Sabal (shad).

Sabal is an Hispano-Arabic term, that corresponds to Sp. sabalo, shad (Alosa alosa L.). The shad is an Atlantic fish, whose adults enter rivers during the spring to spawn.

The etymology of Arsabal and of Sp. sabalo is not clear. J. Corominas suggests that the later stems from Celtic. If this hypothesis is correct, then Ar. sabal would stem from an Hispanic, but not from a Romance root. This conclusion seems plausible, since the shad is an Atlantic fish. Cf. also Simonet under xabal.

Reference:

Corominas, Joan. Breve diccionario etimologico de la lengua castellana. Madrid, 1961.

(x) (Sturgeon).

A X3 c. Latin translation of Le Calendrier de Cordoue of 961 translates su as sturiones, sturgeon, and this translation has been adopted here. This text lists among the events that take place in March sturgeons and shads leave the sea to go into the rivers (cf. p.63). It is interesting to note that in those days sturgeons used to swim the waters of the Guadalquivir.

Reference:

Dozy, R. (ed.) Le Calendrier de Cordoue. Nouvelle edition par Ch. Pellat. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1961.

(x) Gabtun (grey mullet).

Huici (1966) p.194 translates qabtun as Sp. capitan. This translation seems correct. However the qabtun is not recorded in Dozy nor in Simonet. Spanish capitan is the common grey mullet (Mugil cephalus L.). It lives in the Mediterranean and Atlantic, and may reach a length of 60 cm. This fish is mentioned again in V.12.

(x) Under the root no name of fish is recorded in Arabic dictionaries, though Ar. Fah may mean a large size, male animal. Instead of f-h one could read m-h 08. This root is registered in Dozy as *sorte de poisson*. m-h 08 could stem from Sp. *mujol*, Lat. *mugil*, and be the grey mullet. If this is so, it could be interpreted as a clarification or synonym of the preceeding fish *qabtun*. Since a Romance can sometimes turn into an Arabic f-h could derive from Lat. *pagellus*, Catalan *pagell*, and be the red bream (*Pagellus centrodonatus* Delaroche), the pandora (*Pagellus erythrinus* L.), or a similar fish. (Contemporary Spanish lacks names derived from the Latin root *pagellus*, their present names are *besugo*, *besuguete*, etc.). These fish have a maximum lenght of 50 cm. All the fish mentioned in this note are excellent fish to be baked. Is mentioned again in V.12 and in conjunction with *qabtun*.

(x) Probably it is assumed that the nuts are pounded (cf. I.3).

(x) *Sarda* (mackerel).

Ar. *sarda* is probably equivalent to Sp. *sarda*, an alternate Spanish name for *caballa*, mackerel (*comber combrus*, L.). (Cf. *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*).

Sp. *sarda* stems from Lat. *sarda*, but the precise ancient meaning of this term is not clear. Lewis and Short translate *sarda* as a kind of fish that was pickled or salted, perhaps sardine, and Ernout et Meillet as *sorte de thon*. ... De Sardus, Sarde, en raison de leur origine. Cf. also Simonet under *sarda*.

One may bear in mind that the meaning of Ar. *sarda* may not be as precise as suggested above, and could possibly mean large size, adult sardines, bonito (*Sarda sarda*), or a similar fish.

References:

Lewis and Short. A Latin dictionary. Oxford U. P., Oxford, 1879.

(reprinted many times).

Ernout, A. et A. Meillet. *Dictionnaire etymologique de la Langue Latine. Histoire des mots*. (4th. ed.) Paris, 1959.

(x) *Sardinas* (sardine).

The text has t-r-d-n-s, that has been amended to T-r-d-n-s (i.e. *sardinas*) in the belief that Sp. *Sardinas*, sardine is meant here. Since in our ms. *sardin* is regularly used for sardine, it is surprising that the term *sardinas*, which is not registered in Arabic dictionaries, should be used here. There could be a scribal error, and some other fish be meant.

(x) *Mul* (red mullet or striped mullet).

Ar. *mul* derives from the Latin *mullus*, and is an Hispano-Arabic term. Catalan has preserved the term *moll*, but contemporary Spanish lacks a name derived from the Latin root, its present name *salmonete*.

There are two varieties of this fish, the red mullet (*Mullus surmuletus*), who lives among rocks, and the striped mullet (*Mullus barbatus*), who lives in muddy areas. Both live in the Mediterranean, but may be found also in the Atlantic.

Cf. also Simonet under *mul*.

(x) *Al-murawwaj*.

This interesting two step recipe, as well as the similar preceeding recipe V.7, may remind one of Sp. *escabeche*, as it is prepared nowadays

in Spain. The fish is initially fried. One prepares a heavily seasoned vinegar and oil mixture or sauce. Then one may either submerge the fish in this sauce, and let it marinate in it for some time, as it is done in the escabeche, or one may cook the fish in this sauce, as it is done in the present recipe. In either case the fish is eaten cold.

A similar recipe, with the same title, appears in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.V cap.1; p.133). However his recipe seems to derive from a different source.

Al-murawwaj is not registered in the dictionaries as a culinary term, though it seems to be a proper name of a dish. Al-murawwaj, in common Arabic, means current, saleable, usual, much in demand, etc.

(x) It is likely that eggs should also be added, since (i) they are a standard ingredient of the muh recipe, and (ii) the corresponding recipe of ibn Razn's cookbook, that stems from the same source as the present one, includes them too (cf. sect.V cap.1; p.138. The muh recipe is wrongly titled j-m in this text). Although it may be irrelevant, one may remark that Christians in the Middle Ages could not eat eggs in days of abstinence, and hence, could not prepare fish dishes with eggs on those days.

(x) This expression is awkward. It could mean that, contrary to what has just been stated, eggs should not be used, and that the pounded fish meat should be seasoned as in recipe V.8 for a reconstructed fish, a recipe similar to the present one that does not use eggs. It could mean also that it should be seasoned as in the above batter, but without the eggs.

CHAPTER 6

KINDS OF COUSCOUS, RICE, AND THE LIKE.

The tards (n), and the like, are coarse and produce phlegma, but they moisten the dry bodies, are wholesome and beneficial for them, are very nourishing, and their chyme is excellent for those having such a dry temperament. They are excellent also for the young, especially those that are tempered with vinegar, meat of fat calves, and the appropriate seasonings. Those that are made with unleavened bread) or the like, are coarser, slower to digest produce more phlegma, and they cause constipation.

Serving soaked with grease (dasam) is more appropriate in the winter than in the summer, because of the greater digestive power of the stomach during the winter season. However those that are tempered with vinegar, with tender meats, like lamb, kid or young fowl, and with calabash, lettuce, purslane (*Portulaca oleracea*) or blite (*Amaranthus blitum*), are appropriately served in the summer and the fall due to the dryness prevailing during these seasons, and they are especially appropriate for dry and hot temperaments, who by nature love to eat.

6.1 The perfect tard.

Take fat beefs meat: from the breast, the thigh, the shoulder the gut, the tripe, and from other fat parts. Cut it up, and put it in a large pot with salt, onions, pepper, ginger, coriander seeds, cumin, and a lot of olive oil. Cook it over a moderate fire until done. Remove the meat from the pot, and leave it aside. Then take fat sheep or goat's meat, and do with it likewise. Cook it also in a pot with the appropriate seasonings and olive oil until done, and leave it also aside. In the same manner prepare cooked chickens, squabs or young turtle doves, cooked also separately. Cook also fried sparrows.

Then take the broths of the above mentioned meats, and put them all together in a clean pot, after filtering them of the bones. Add also a proper amount of olive oil, strong vinegar, saffron, pepper, the necessary seasonings, and prunes macerated in vinegar. Cook this broth until it is well done. Soak with it a tard, that has been previously prepared by crumbling leavened bread, made of darmak or samd flour, well kneaded and baked. When the tard has been properly soaked, and piled up, place on top of it the various meats: arrange first the pieces of beef on the round border of the bowl (qasa), next the sheep or goats meat, above it the chicken meat, and at the top of the bowl) squabs and turtle doves. Stud the tard in a starlike manner with the fried sparrows, meatballs, fried sausages (mirkas), egg yolks, olives and split almonds. Then sprinkle over it a proper amount of ground spikenard and cinnamon, cover it with thin loaves of ready-made patties (isfrya), and serve. This is one of the dishes served to kings and viziers.

6.2 A tard with vinegar, a most outstanding tard.

Take fat meat, from the fat parts, and cut it up. Put it in a pot with salt, onions, pepper, saffron, cumin, garlic, strong vinegar and a lot of olive oil. Raise the pot over a moderate fire, and when the meat is done, add whatever vegetables are available, like tender, attractive turnips, eggplants, or peeled calabash, all cooked aside. The eggplants for this tard should be left whole, without cutting them up, likewise the turnips, and the pieces of calabash be left as large as possible. Add these boiled vegetables to the pot after draining the water from them. Next add to the

pot enough vinegar until its taste is noticeable. When everything is cooked, lower the pot from the fire, and soak with it a tard made from crumbs of leavened bread, and continue soaking it until it has the proper amount of moisture (n).

One may soak a couscous with this broth, and it comes out very well.

6.3 Couscous al-fityan i.e. for young people.

The couscous, which is commonly prepared by soaking, is known to everyone. However the couscous al-fitya is prepared thus:

Cook the meat with its vegetables in the usual manner. When done, remove the meat and the vegetables from the pot, and put them aside. Filter the broth from the bones or other solids it may have, and return the pot with the broth to the fire. When it boils, put in it the couscous, cooked and rubbed with grease (dasam), and let it stand a for little while on a light fire or on the radaf until the couscous has absorbed the broth to the proper amount. Then transfer it to a bowl (qasa) and even it up. Place over it the cooked meat and vegetables, sprinkle some cinnamon, and serve.

This couscous is called in Marrakesh al-fityan i.e. for young people.

6.4 A couscous made with darmak flour bread.

I have also seen a couscous made with breadcrumbs of darmak flour bread, and it is prepared thus:

Take the breadcrumbs, and rub them with the palms of your hands in a bowl, like one rubs the couscous. The breadcrumbs should not be from cold nor from warm bread (n). Put them in the perforated pot (qidr al-matqub) that is used to prepare the couscous. When the steam has dissipated, put them in a bowl and rub them with grease (dasam) or soak them with meat broth prepared beforehand for this purpose.

I have seen also a couscous that was made with fattened chickens and fattened castrated roosters i.e. capons, and it was as if it had been soaked with grease (dasam) exclusively, and it had Toledoan turnips as well as prunes (n).

Couscous was well-known at the time of our author, and the couscousie, the special pot to cook it, is made use of in 4.16 and in 6.4. However, few couscous recipes appear in our text. The assumption seems to be that 1BI 00 recipes can easily be adapted for couscous.

Instructions for making couscous grains appear in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.I cap.5; p.48), in Montin 08 7Eo (1611) (Como se haze el cuzcuz fol.221r.-223r, very detailed) and in Guinaudeau (Le couscous, pp.61 &). Mme. Guinaudeau remarks "Pour confectionner des grains reguliers et fins, il faut beaucoup de patience et un tour de main qui ne s'acquiert qu'apres une longue pratique".

Couscous remained popular in Spain for several centuries. It is mentioned in the classical literature, and Montino (1611) describes how to cook it (Como se guisa el cuzcuz, fol.223r-223v).

Couscous is of Berber origin, and may have been brought to Spain at the time of the great Berber invasions.

6.5 A white tard with onions called the kafurya

This tard is made with sheep or goats meat, or with chicken, and with a lot of samn.

Take tender, fat meat, cut it up, and put it in a pot with salt, pepper, coriander seeds, olive oil, and fresh samn or fresh butter. When the meat has been fried in the grease (dasam) and seasonings, pour in it one or

more of the squeezed and pounded onion juice, that is, an amount that should be enough to cover the meat, or even more, and finish cooking it. When done, break on it the required amount of eggs, whole. With the broth soak a tard, crumbled from bread, made from a leavened dough of darmak or flour, kneaded with samn, like the dough used to make the kak (cf. 7.26), but not kneaded much. When the tard has absorbed the broth and it has been evened up, place over it the meat, and serve. Some people make it with chopped, pounded onions, including the pulp.

The title of this recipe does not match its contents. No camphor is used nor white seems an appropriate attribute for this dish. Clearly something has gone astray. Many suggestions can be made to explain this problem, such as, that the scribe had misread the title, that he had inadvertently skipped over to the next recipe, etc. One may also suggest that some lines were lost, stating that, once the chicken is cooked, the sauce should be thickened with pounded almonds and then flavored with camphor dissolved in rose water (Cf.3.2). This would solve the above problem. White is often used to qualify a dish prepared with pounded almonds. There are no known parallel recipes to check if this suggestion is correct.

6.6 A masculine tard with vinegar and whole onions.

Take fat beef meat, cut it up, and put it in a pot with salt, pepper, coriander seeds, saffron, cumin and strong vinegar, and raise the pot over the fire. When the meat is almost done, add to the pot large, uncut, whole onions, and that were cooked separately beforehand, and finish cooking the dish.

When the cooking is done, lower the pot from the fire, and soak with it a tard, that has been previously crumbled from a choice bread (kubz naqy) made from a leavened dough of darmak flour. When the tard has absorbed the broth and has been evened up, arrange the meat and the whole onions over it, and serve.

In the same manner one may soak a couscous with the above broth.

6.7 A tard made with lambs meat, spinach, fresh (cheese and fresh butter.

This dish used to be served in Cordoba in the springtime to the physician Abu al-Hasan al-Bunan may Allah have mercy upon him, and may He forgive us and him.

Take fat lambs meat, cut it up, and put it in a pot with salt, onion juice, pepper, coriander seeds, caraway, and olive oil. Raise the pot over the fire. When the meat is done, add to the pot the necessary amount of cut and washed spinach, fresh and crumbled cheese, and fresh butter. When all these ingredients are done, lower the pot from the fire, and soak with it a tard, made from breadcrumbs of a moderately leavened bread. Then put the meat on top of it.

Abu al-Hasan al-Bunan, may Allah have mercy upon him, when he did not have lambs meat, tard was prepared for him with spinach, fresh) cheese, fresh butter, the above mentioned seasonings, and with eggs instead of the meat.

6.8 A tard made by the people of Bejaa a port city in Algeria called by them the turban of ibn al-Wad (n).

Take, in springtime, fat meat of sheep or goats, from the rack, the breast and the shoulder, and cut it up. Put it in a pot with salt,

onions, pepper and coriander seeds, and raise the pot over a moderate fire. When the meat is almost done, add lettuce, spinach, shoots of fennel and tender turnips. When all these ingredients are done, add peeled green fava beans and fresh coriander. When the cooking is completed, soak with it a tard. Arrange on top of it the meat, vegetables and fava beans, and put at the peak and top of tard lumps of butter, that will flow over its sides and in between the vegetables. For this reason the dish was likened to the turban of ibn al-Wad, since this white butter resembles the cotton tussles of the turban dangling from all sides.

6.9 A tard called fatr by the people of Tunisia (Ifriqya).

This dish is the most magnificent of their foods (n). This is prepared by some of them with fat chickens, while others prepare it with fat sheep or goats meat.

Take whatever is available of those two, cleaned up and cut up, and put it in a pot with salt, onions, pepper, coriander seeds and olive oil. Cook it until done. Then remove the meat from the pot, so that only the sauce will remain, add butter and fresh samn to the sauce, and boil it. Then soak the crumbs of fatrs (n), prepared beforehand, consisting of thin, well made, flaky (muwarraga) in a tajine placed on the rukkad (n) with charcoal. Continue soaking the bowl (until the crumbs have properly absorbed the sauce. Then arrange on top of the tard the meat of the chicken, after frying it in a pan with fine olive oil or with fresh butter. Stud it in a starlike manner with egg yolks, olives, and split almonds, and also sprinkle cinnamon over it, and serve.

6.10 Recipe for fidaus.

They are made from dough, and are of three types. One type has an elongated shape the size of a kernel of wheat. Another type is round and has the size of a coriander seed. They are called in Bejaa and its surroundings little chickpeas (n). Another type is made in flat sheets, thin as paper, and it is a women's food. They cooked it with calabash, seasonings and grease (dasam). It is a kind of turnovers (qataaif) (n). The manner of cooking the fidaus is the same as the itrya.

At the time of our autor, fidaus seem to have been shaped like wheat kernels, as our text says. Ibn Razn's cookbook describes their shape in the same way, and also gives a procedure, unfortunately unclear, on how to make them (cf. sect.I cap.5; p.5.). It seems that to make fidaus one placed dough in a container, that probably had perforations, and one extracted threads the length of a wheat kernel from it. These kernels were then left to dry in the sun.

At a later date fidaus became much longer and were shaped like strings. They were made by pressing dough through a perforated container, as Cobarrubias (1611) (cf. fideos) clearly states, and hence their cross sections were round. This procedure is different from the one used to make it rya (see note below).

In Spain fideos are still very popular nowadays. An early recipe to prepare them appears in the first printed Catalan cookbook, Mestre Rupert de Nola (1520) (cf. Parlem de fideus. p.59).

The usage of Ar. fidaus and its cognates Cat. fideus, Sp. and Portuguese fideos is restricted to the Iberian Peninsula and North West Africa. It is offhand not clear if the Romance words stem from the Arabic or viceversa, and both Latin and Arabic etymologies have been proposed (cf. Simonet, Corominas). It is likely that this kind of pasta originated in North West Africa, since the inhabitants of this region, especially

the Berber, have shown superb craftsmanship and originality in working with wheat flour, as it is obvious from this and the next chapter. Fidaus. Despite the apparent wider meaning given to the word in the title of the above paragraph, the usual meaning seems to be noodle, vermicelli. This word, spelled fideos or fideus in contemporary Castilian, Portuguese and Catalan, is still very much alive in these languages. It may stem from Lat. Fideo string of a musical instrument. Cf. Simonet fideox (p.213). For a different and unlikely opinion cf. Coromines. The Moroccan book has a more extensive text on this topic, that stems probably from the same source. From this text we gather the important information that these doughs were dried in the sun and made from samd flour, like present day pasta. The second type is called muhammas a word registered in Dozy in this sense. The third type is described as thin squares, two fingers wide, cooked with cabbage in the summer and with calabash in the winter. For more details see ...

References:

Cobarrubias, Sebastian de. Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española.

Madrid, 1611. Reprinted, Madrid, 1979.

Mestre Robert. Libre del Coch (ed. Veronika Leimgruber). Barcelona, 1977.

6.11 Preparing the itrya (n).

Take tails of sheep or goats, their alyas (n), their breasts, their guts (duwwara), or any other fat part of them. Cut them up, and put them in a pot with salt, onions, pepper, coriander seeds and olive oil. Raise the pot over a moderate fire, and cook it until done. Then lift and remove the meat from the pot, and filter the broth. Then put the broth back into the pot, and add butter, or fresh samn, or fine olive oil, and when the broth boils, put in it the proper amount of itrya. Let it boil, and while it boils stir it gently. When the liquid has dried up and the itrya is properly cooked, lower the pot from the fire, and let it stand for a short while. Then empty the pot in a bowl and even it up so that the grease (dasam) will be well distributed. Then take the meat previously cooked, if desired as is, or else fried, and arrange it over the bowl, and insert also some of it inside the itrya. Sprinkle over it cinnamon and ginger, and serve.

In the same manner one may prepare rice and fidaus

Alya is the tail of a special breed of sheep containing large amounts of fat. This breed of sheep is common in the Near East, and its tail has been used there as a cooking fat for centuries. However this breed of sheep does not seem to have been raised in Spain nor in North West Africa. This suggests that this recipe stems from the Near East. Alya is rarely mentioned in our cookbook (cf.7.41).

6.12 Preparing rice, cooked over water in a double boiler.

Take rice, washed in hot water, and put it in a pot, and pour on it fresh milk, that has just been milked. Put the pot in a copper cauldron (burma) half filled with water, or a little more. Put the cauldron over the fire. The pot with the rice and milk should be well set and fitted in the cauldron, so that it does not tilt, and at the same time it should also be well sheltered from the fire. Let the rice and milk cook without stirring. When the milk has dried up, keep adding more milk, until the rice is completely mushy and cooked. Add also fresh butter to the pot so

that the rice cooks with it. When the rice is completely cooked and mushy, remove the pot from the cauldron, and stir it with a spoon until it is completely smooth. Then pour it in a bowl, even it up, and sprinkle over it ground sugar, cinnamon and butter. It is ready to be served. In the same manner one may cook with milk the itrya the fidaus and the tard

6.13 Recipe for a tard made with milk.

Take fresh sheep or goats milk, since this dish is not properly done except with sheep or goat's milk, still warm from the time it has been milked. Put the milk in a clean pot over a moderate fire, and stir it carefully and slowly. Add fresh butter, and continue stirring it until it thickens and a white froth has risen on top. At that time add extremely fine pounded breadcrumbs, made from thin ragés of samd or darmak flour kneaded with a moderate amount of leaven. Leave the pot on the fire until the breadcrumbs have absorbed the milk and the cooking is completed. Then pour it in a bowl even it up, carve out a hole in its center, and fill it with fresh butter. Sprinkle over it also a lot of sugar and cinnamon. It is ready to be served.

6.14 Making the muhallabya.

It is said that Muhallab ibn AbiSafrā (n) arrived at the inn of a certain Persian cook, and that he approached and asked the cook to prepare for him a delicious dish in order to test his abilities. The cook prepared for him this dish and served it to him, and indeed Muhallab found it delicious. Thus it has been named muhallabya.

Its recipe:

Take four of meat from a fat lamb. Cut it up, put it in a pot, pour over it four uqyas of olive oil, and add also two dirhams of salt, a piece of cassia, galingale, chopped onions, and the appropriate amount of camphor. Cook it until it is almost done. Then lower the pot from the fire, remove the meat, and place it in a vessel.

Take also lambs fat and cut it with a knife as one does with vegetables. Then take a clean pot. Place in its bottom a layer of fat then on top of it a layer of the cooked meat, and a layer of broken down broken down as for a tard. Continue doing this: a layer of meat, a layer of fat and a layer of broken down, until the ingredients are used up. Then pour over it fresh milk, an amount that will cover the ruqāq. Add also a sufficient amount of ground sugar so that its sweetness will be noticeable throughout the entire dish. Then take twenty eggs, beat them until they are well mixed, and pour them over the meat and the ruqāq. Then continue tilting the pot in every direction and to soak it until the milk has penetrated everywhere in the pot. When the milk surfaces to the top, put the pot in a hot tannur, close the tannur, and leave it there until it is properly cooked. Then remove the pot from the tannur, turn it over in a nice vessel and serve.

The muhallabya is a kind of pudding, made basically with milk, a starch and/or eggs, and sugar or honey.

This dish is of Eastern origin, and is historically well documented. Several old recipes are extant (Cf. al-Warrāq's cookbook, chapt. 98, pp. 260 & (five recipes); and al-Baghdad's Cookbook (cf. Chelebi p. 31, Arberry's transl. p.46) (one recipe)). The dish is still popular in Arab lands.

Most recipes, past and present, use milk as a base, an exception is the al-Baghdad's recipe, that uses a broth. The starches used are rice, rice flour. Trya (al-Warrāq), ruqāqs (the present recipe),

starch(contemporary ones), etc. Many additions are possible: butter, almonds, broth, meat, seasonings, etc. The recipe of our text is by far more complex than the ones mentioned above.

This ancient dish is, acknowledgely, of Persian origin, and it is still with us today. The Baghdadi has its recipe too, but is not as complex as the present one. Aside from meat and sugar, it uses rice instead of a crumbled bread. Contemporary recipes have reduced this dish to a kind of rice pudding.

Our text is not too clear on the handling of the ruḡaq. It is likely that it is soaked with the broth where the lamb was cooked.

6.15 Recipe for a tard, a kind of Tunisian (Ifrqya)

Take good and choice samd flour, d4ide it in three portions, and put one third aside. Knead very well the other two portions, and make with it ragéf, that should be stretched out thin and be oiled. Sprinkle over them some of the samd flour, that was set aside, fold them over and they should be rolled up. Then they should be stretched for a second time, and oiled. Sprinkle over them more samd flour, and fold them like a leafy (muwarraqa) pastry. Do this several times, until the remaining third part of the samd flour is used up. The ragfs should then be put in the oven, left to harden, yet moist when taken out, and not be overbaked.

If desired, one may cook the ragéfs in a tajine in the cooking hearth. Then crumble the ragfs and make with them a tard like the fart Soak the tard either with fresh milk, like the tard made with milk (cf. 6.13), and eat it with butter and sugar, or soak it with broth of chicken or of any other meat, placing the meat, after frying it, on top of tard the and adding a lot of grease (dasam). Sprinkle cinnamon over the dish. Then serve.

6.16 How rice is cooked in the countries of the East.

Take rice, that has been washed in hot water, and put it in a pot. Add fat cuts of sheep or goat's meat, from the breast, the tail and the gut (duwwara), also pieces of fat and thigh bones. Pour water over it, in an amount that will cover it in excess, and add salt as needed. Let the pot remain overnight in the oven. On the next morning remove the pot from the oven as the rice by then will have desintegrated. Pour it in a bowl, and sprinkle over it cinammon, spikenard, ginger and ground sugar. This rice may be prepared at the cooking hearth with fresh milk. Then it is even better and tastier.

6.17 The lamtunya.

It is made in the country of al-Andalus and the Maghreb, and it is prepared with all kinds of fowl, like chickens, geese, fat capons, squabs, and the like.

Take whatever is available of these fowl. Clean them, make incisions in their breasts, and cook with them, half way through, a white tafaya. Then take them out of the pot, string them on a spit and baste them with the sauce described in the chapter On roasts. Turn the spit very slowly and with care over a moderate charcoal fire until they are done and browned. Then leave them aside. Some people prepare them by frying them instead of roasting them, and baste them, after frying them, in the above mentioned sauce, adding garlic pounded with almonds and walnuts.

Then make, carefully, thin ragé of darmak flour. When done, brake them up in large crumbs, the size of a dinar. Then filter the broth of the chickens, put the pot back over a moderate fire, and add to it a lot of

olive oil, pepper and cumin. When the pot boils, lower it from the fire, and add garlic pounded with walnuts and almonds as well as cheese, grated with an iskilfaj. Soak with this broth the above mentioned breadcrumbs. Then take the roasted chicken, and place it on top of the bowl after having rubbed and basted it in that sauce. Stud the bowl in a starlike manner with eggs, olives and split almonds. Sprinkle over it grated cheese and cinnamon. Cover it with patties (isfya) made with eggs.

This dish bears the name of the Lamtuna tribe, a leading tribe of the Almoravids, who ruled Spain between 1086 and 1121. This dish is clearly a *tard*, even though not explicitly stated. This dish bears the name of the Lamtuna tribe, which was the leading tribe of the Almoravids, who ruled Spain between 1086 and 1121 (check dates!). The title of this recipe is a clue for the date of composition of our text, which should have taken place during this period or after. Since Cordoba and Seville were Muslim during the author's time, and were lost in 1236 and 1248 respectively, our text was not written after these dates. I.e., it was written between 1086 and 1236, most likely sometime in the XIIc.

6.18 The muallak and the maqlu.

These two dishes used to be eaten by the shepherds of the plain of Cordoba. Both are robust, coarse, slow to digest, and very nourishing. Recipe for the muallak.

Take a young, very fat ram, clean it and cut it up in large pieces. Put them in a cauldron (*burma*), and add pepper, onions, olive oil and coriander. Cook the meat until done. Then remove the meat and set it aside. Filter the broth of its bones, and put the cauldron back over a gentle fire. When the broth boils, add breadcrumbs, crumbled from thin ragfs made with *darmak* flour dough, and add also the same amount of fresh, kneaded cheese as that of breadcrumbs. Mash this broth with a laddle into a glue, so that it becomes a single mass, and, if the broth becomes too dry, pour fresh milk in it. Leave the cauldron over the fire until its butter is completely absorbed. Then put back the meat that was set aside into the cauldron, and, when all these ingredients are well blended, remove the cauldron from the fire, and let it stand for a while. The dish is ready to be served.

Recipe for the maqlu.

Take an extremely fat lamb, that has been nursed by several mothers. Cut it up, put it in a cauldron (*burma*) and cook it a little, then pour in it fresh milk, and cook it until done. Then add fresh cows cheese, fresh sheep or goats cheese and a lot of butter, and cook it until everything is well blended, and fry it until it is seethed with grease (*dasam*).

6.19 A tard made with fattened chickens or with well fed and fattened castrated roosters i.e. capons.

Take whatever you desire of the above, cut them up, and put them in a pot with salt, onions, pepper, coriander seeds, cumin, saffron, olive oil and strong vinegar. Raise the pot over the fire, and, when the meat is almost done, add prunes, macerated in vinegar, and turnips, cut in large pieces and boiled separately. Finish cooking the dish.

When the cooking is completed, lower the pot from the fire, and soak with it a *tard*, prepared by crumbling leavened bread, made of well kneaded dough and of good quality *sam* flour. Let the *tard* properly absorb the broth. Now it is ready to be served. It is, indeed, a blessed dish.

6.20 A tard made with broth of chickpeas, squabs, cheese and olives, beneficial for a person who has been fasting.

Boil the chickpeas, covered with water, very thoroughly, until their substance has been transferred to the water. Then filter the broth and discard the chickpeas. Take this broth and pour it back into the pot. Put in it, cleaned and whole, three young fat squabs of those that have already enough feathers and are almost ready to fly, and also one third of good olive oil, pepper, coriander seeds, a piece of onion, a little cumin and a small amount of salt. When the squabs are done, lower the pot on the hot stone, and break in it five eggs.

Then prepare a proper amount of tard made from a choice bread (kubz naqy), and soak it with the broth until it is well saturated. Put the squabs in its center, and arrange around them the eggs, olives and fresh cheese. Then serve.

Indeed, tard is beneficial for a person, who has been fasting.

6.21 Recipe for a tard soaked with the grease (dasam) of ten fattened chickens.

Leave one chicken aside, and put the other nine, cut up, in a new pot. Cook them with the necessary amount of olive oil and seasonings until they are done, and their meat is shredded and falls apart. Then lower the pot from the fire, filter the grease (dasam) of the chickens, and remove their meat. Put this grease (dasam) back into the pot together with the tenth chicken, that was left aside, and add also pepper, cassia, and other necessary seasonings, and cook the chicken in this grease (dasam) until done.

Lower the pot from the fire, and soak with it a tard, prepared by crumbling a leavened bread made with darmak flour, and continue soaking it until the tard is properly moist. Then place the tenth chicken on top of it, and let it stand for a while. It is ready to be served.

6.22 Recipe for a cream of rice with sugar.

Wash as much rice as you desire, and cook it as usual. Then lower the pot on the hot stone, and let it stand for a while. When the rice is done and has desintegrated, crush it with a big spoon until it is a pure and no trace of the grains remain. Then cover it with pounded Egyptian white sugar, stir it thoroughly, and keep adding sugar repeatedly until it is very sweet, and it becomes like a creamy fondant cf. 7.61). Then pour it into a plate, make a hollow in its center, and fill it with fresh butter or fresh sweet almond oil.

If the rice is cooked with fresh milk, instead of water, it will turn even more delicious and tastier.

6.23 Description of the harissa according to its various kinds.

The harissa is hot, moist, very nourishing, fortifying, fattens dry, skinny bodies, increases the amount of blood and semen, and promotes also sexual intercourse, provided, however, that it is digested properly and well. Indeed, if the harissa is well digested, it is beneficial for the person, who seeks to strengthen his body and to add bulk to it, after he recovered from fever or from an internal indisposition. It is also good for skinny persons and for those having strong, dry stomachs, especially, since the harissa has a smooth and soft consistency, and is not extremely thick. Indeed, its smooth and soft consistency makes it easy to descend through the alimentary tract, and being mixed with grease (dasam) makes it moist and helps in sliding it out of the stomach.

One of the things that helps to digest the harissa is to eat it with macerated murri and with pounded cassia. Moreover, if the harissa is eaten by itself and it is not mixed with other foods, it is an excellent nourishment, the best to digest well, and the easiest to digest. Nevertheless it has become a custom among people, and agreed upon, to eat the harissa with a dough fried in olive oil. This custom increases its coarseness, slows down its digestion and creates constipation, since all doughs that are fried in grease (dasam) are constipating and harmful to the liver. For this reason the zalabya (cf. 7.45), which is a kind of fritter (isfanj), is the worst food to be eaten, since, beside being constipating and slow to digest, it acquires sulphur from the frying, and its harmful effects are greater than its benefits. Neither should one eat the harissa with a rafis (cf. 7.18), since a rafis is prepared with wheat and grease (dasam), as the harissa is, and the harissa with its meat and grease (dasam) does not require to be combined with any other kind of wheat besides the one it already has. In any case eating the harissa by itself is more beneficial, it is easier to digest and it is less harmful.

Among the different kinds of are: the one made with fat meat of veal; the one made with meat of two year old sheep; the one made with breasts or thighs of geese; and the one made with breasts or thighs of chickens. Each of these kinds has its own taste, and a flavor that the others lack, and likewise each one has a potency lacking in the others.

One of the requirements for preparing the harissa is that it should have a pleasant taste and little salt, like the rafis in its kinds, since it is inappropriate that it be salty. Some people prefer the harissa with a lot of meat, and some people prefer it more balanced. The most beneficial harissa to eat, the best to digest and the most balanced is the one made with two thirds of wheat and one third of meat.

How it is made.

Take wheat of good quality, and moisten it with water. Then pound it in a wooden or stone mortar, until the husks are loose, then shake them off. Put the kernels in a pot together with lean meat, cleaned of tendons, and cover both with plenty of fresh water. Put the pot over a strong fire until the meat falls apart. Then stir the pot vigorously with a stick until everything is well mixed and completely blended. Then pour on the harissa fresh, melted fat enough to cover it, and stir it with the stick thoroughly until the fat has been absorbed. If the fat (appears on the surface, disperse what comes up. Then pour the harissa in a bowl cover it with melted fat, and sprinkle over it ground cinnamon. Serve it in whatever way you wish.

The harsa, in its simplest form, is a mixture of whole grain wheat and meat, preferably sheep or goats, cooked in water with a little salt and for a long time until the ingredients are homogenized. Some fat is added at the end.

This plain dish, made with two of the most basic products of the Mediterranean basin since the Neolithic, namely wheat and sheep or goats, is likely to be ancient. A sign of this is that the harsa is known over a large area of the Near East, including Armenia, and that it is well recorded and documented. Arto der Haroutunian says that this dish is traditionally prepared in Armenia at the feast of St. Mary, and the recipe he gives is similar to the one in this text (cf. Haroutunian, herissah, p.56).

The harsa may be prepared also with rice instead of wheat.

There are recipes for the harsa in al-Warraq's cookbook (chapt. 50, pp. 138 & ss); in al-Baghdad's Cookbook (Chelebi p. 52, Arberrys transl.

pp.198, 199); and in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.II cap.6; p.98). The dietetic properties of the harsa are discussed in al-Raz(cap.10; p.145). The Vocabulista translates harsa as Lat.frumentum, a similar staple dish of the Roman Empire.

Harsa. In its simplest form it is a mixture of wheat and meat, preferably sheep or goat's, cooked in water for a long time to homogenize the ingredients, and with some fat added at the end. This plain dish, made with two of the most basic products of the Mediterranean basin since the Neolithic, namely wheat and sheep or goats, is likely to be ancient. It is akin to the Latin puls the staple dish of the Roman Empire. It is documented in Razi, Baghdadi, etc., and it was probably widespread in the Islamic world.

The word harsa stems from the root harasa, to crush, pound

Reference:

Haroutunian, Arto der. Middle Eastern cookery. London, 1982.

6.24 The harissa made with rice.

Wash as much rice as needed, and let it stand for one day covered with water. Then put it in a pot, add a sufficient amount of meat, either of chicken breasts or of young sheep or goats, cover it with water, and cook it. When everything has fallen apart, stir it thoroughly until it is completely blended and smooth. Then put it in a bowl pour over it melted sheep or goats fat, and sprinkle over it cinnamon. It is ready to be served.

One may make this harissa also in the oven in this manner: cover the above ingredients with plenty of water, cover the pot tightly with a lid and let it stay overnight in the oven. Then take it out, stir it, and serve it adding melted sheep's fat

6.25 Recipe for a harissa made with crumbs of darmak flour bread, instead of grains of wheat.

Take crumbs of a bread made with darmak flour or with samd flour, and rub them to the size of wheat kernels or a little larger. Spread them in the sun in order to dry, and pick them up at the time they are needed. Then take meat from the thigh or the shoulder of sheep or goats, -since the harissa is not properly made, unless made with sheep or goats meat and its fat, and put it in a pot with a lot of water. Cook it until the meat falls apart. Then insert a hook into the pot, and scatter the meat about. Then add the necessary amount breadcrumbs, prepared beforehand as described above, and leave them for a while until they have desintegrated. Stir the mixture until it is well blended and becomes one mass. It is ready to be served adding also melted sheep or goats fat and a sprinkle of cinnamon, as was described above.

6.26 Recipe for a tard made from a ragf called sabat

Make a sabat by kneading darmak flour with leaven, and baking it with hot ashes (malla) in the cooking hearth or in a gentle, low heated tannur. Do not overbake it.

Then take a fat chicken and clean it. Stuff it with a stuffing made of its innards, pounded meat, beaten eggs, pepper, coriander, onions and olive oil, and put the chicken in a pot. Add also meatballs made with sheep's meat to the pot, and cook the chicken until done. Break some eggs into the pot. The amount of broth left in the pot should suffice to soak the sabat.

Then pour the broth over the sabat , decorate it with the meatballs, place the egg yolks in a starlike manner, and put the stuffed chicken on the top. Pour over it melted butter, free of dregs, and serve. One can make with wheat, dishes that are appetizing, enjoyable, and that everybody finds delicious, especially so in winter seasons and on cold days.

Note that the text does not say explicitly that the bat should be crumbled nor that the chicken be cut up. Maybe this rag is left whole, but perforated with a small stick to allow the broth to seep in, and the stuffed chicken placed on top of it.

Ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.I cap.2; p.14) has also a recipe of a bread made with this bread. This recipe is different from ours, but the rag is perforated with a small stick before baking.

A more elaborate recipe for making this bread appears in the next section, cf. ... The Moroccan text has a trd... recipe, that seems to proceed from a different source, which is called sabat. None of these two words are registered in Dozy, Freytag or Lane in a sense appropriate in the present context. The first vowel of saba is conjectural. Note that the recipe does not say explicitly that the bread should be crumbled.

6.27 A royal jassa well nourishing

Take heavy whole grain wheat, clean it, and grind it with a hand mill so that it comes out coarsely ground. Then shake the bran off, and take the necessary amount of it. Put it in a kettle (burma), pour enough water to cover it, and cook it. When the water diminishes, add fresh milk from time to time. When the wheat is done, season it with a little salt, and pour on it some grease (dasam) from cooked chickens, and keep adding more grease (dasam) until it is thin enough to be drunk as a soup. When you drink it, you will find it to be very good.

Jassa is a soup made from coarsely ground wheat, or some other grains or legumes, and with some kind of grease added. It is also known as dassa, a phonetic variant of jassa (cf. Dozy I p.442).

Ibn Razn's cookbook has three recipes for this soup (sect.I cap.3; p.27). It is still popular in Morocco (cf. Guinaudeau, Soupe au ble chicha). The word jassa stems from the root jassa to grind, to crush, to grate.

6.28 An excellent jasal, that fattens women and emaciated men.

Take a handful of each of the following: coarsely ground wheat, rice, coarsely ground also, chickpeas and ... (n), peeled and washed. Put them in a pot, cover them with water, and cook them until they are completely done. Season it with a little salt. It should be as thin as a soup broth. Then add fresh butter, fat (from around the kidneys, and broths made with tender and fat meat. Drink it. Indeed, it adds immense strength to the body.

6.29 An asida, that is fortifying, extremely nourishing and fattening.

Take two pounds of honey, filtered and free of impurities, and add a quarter of a pound each of olive oil and fresh samn. Put the pot over a gentle fire, and when it boils, add the necessary amount of grated and sifted, leavened bread, whose crust has been removed, as well as peeled and pounded almonds, and ten egg yolks. Stir it, and keep on doing so, until the olive oil has been absorbed and the mixture is well blended and

thick. Then lower the pot from the fire and let it cool off. Serve it like an asda, after sprinkling over it ground sugar, and the kinds of grease (dasam) or oils (duhn) one likes.

Asda. I am not clear about this dish, and its presence in this section. He describes it as a thick paste made of flour and clarified butter. Dozy quotes a dozen authors that have described this dish. It seems to be registered in the Syriac dictionary. Etc.

The asda is, basically, a dish made by cooking wheat flour in water. The amount of water should be such that the finished dish has a thick consistency. To avoid burning, the cooking flour should be stirred constantly. Often some kind of grease is added to the dish, and also some honey or sugar at the end. It may be seasoned too. (Cf. Lane p.2060). The Vocabulista translates da asda Lat. pultes, which meant in Spain at that time, as it is clear from its Spanish cognate puches lBI 00, a dish of cooked flour. This dish was popular in medieval times all around the Mediterranean (cf. medieval Italian polenta, Cat. farines). Few old recipes survive, though. One appears in the medieval Catalan cookbook Sent Sovi (cap.111 p.138).

A recipe for asda appears in al-Baghdad's Cookbook (Chelebi p. 82, Arberrys transl. p.214) and in our text in 6.30. The present recipe 6.29 is not properly an asda, but a fancier dish that may be served instead.

6.30 An sida with coarsely ground wheat, that is nourishing and fattening.

Take coarsely ground wheat, as described before, and pour over it enough water to cover it. Cook it until the water has dried up, then soak it with fresh milk, and keep stirring it until done. Then add honey, free of impurities, and grease (dasam), from meat cooked with its fat and keep adding them several times until the mixture has a proper balance. Then put over it fresh butter, pounded sugar, white fanid (cf. 7.61) and ground cinnamon, and serve. It is, indeed, a superior dish.

CHAPTER 7

Description of the kinds of rafs, of baked goods, of sweets (alawa), and the like.

7.1 Recipe for making the judaba (n).

It is also called the mother of relaxation, and it is an Eastern dish. Take the fat sahm surrounding the kidneys of fat sheep or goats, cleaned of its membranes and veins, and pound it thoroughly in a stone or wooden mortar until it becomes like mashed brains. Then take a new pot (n), knead this fat (sahm) by hand, and coat the interior of the pot, all of it, bottom and sides, with a coating one finger in thickness. Then take ruqaqs, made on a polished metal mirror (mirah). These rags should be whole and unbroken.

They are made as follows:

Make a dough with darmak flour, knead it well in the manner one makes the musahhada (n), so that it will not become sticky nor cling to the mirror, and dilute it with water, a little at a time, until it becomes as thin as a broth and turns into a batter. Then heat an Indian mirror over a moderately hot charcoal fire. When it has been heated up, take the bowl (jafna) with the batter, and pour with a cup (kas) some over the mirror, so that it will cover completely its surface, and return the unused portion of the batter to the bowl (jafna). By doing so a thin veil will have been attached to the mirror, which is the ruqaq or kunafa (n). Then shake it off into a piece of cloth (mand...). The ruqaq comes out round, like the shape of the mirror. Then continue pouring batter over the mirror, as you have done from the beginning, until you have gathered the amount of ruqaq you need.

Next, take fat, young chickens, cleaned up and with incisions made in their breasts, and put them whole, as they are, in a pot. Add salt, olive oil, pepper, cinnamon and spikenard. Raise the pot over the fire, and cook them until done.

When the sauce of the chickens has dried up, take two of the above ruqaqs, and put them at the bottom of the pot (Ibarram), that was prepared beforehand covered with fat (sahm), and attach them also on the sides of the pot. Sprinkle over these ruqaqs a spoonful of ground sugar, peeled almonds, spikenard, cassia and cloves; drip over them a good amount of fine olive oil; and spray over the above drops of rose water, with a little musk and camphor dissolved in it, enough to flavor the sugar. Then spread over these two ruqaqs two more ruqaqs, sprinkle over them, as before, sugar, almonds, spices (agar) and olive oil, and spray also drops of rose water. Then spread more ruqaqs, and do the same, until the pot is half full.

Then take those prepared cooked chickens, rub them first with saffron dissolved in rose water, and then set them in the center of the pot on top of the ruqaqs. Cover the chickens with ruqaqs, and sprinkle over them sugar, almonds and seasonings, exactly as described before, and continue doing so until the pot is full and the chickens stay buried in the middle. After completing doing so, sprinkle over the pot a lot of sugar, pour also olive oil and rose water, and cover it with those ruqaqs, that were attached to the sides of the pot. Then cover the pot with a well fitted lid (gita), sealed with dough.

Then put the pot in a moderately hot oven, and leave it there as long as a pot of meat will take to cook. Then remove it from the oven, break up its seal, and a fragrant smell will spread out. Remove the covering ruqaqs, if they were burnt, and do likewise with the ones attached to the sides. Then empty it in a bowl (jafna), as is, and serve.

The judaba is extraordinary in the excellence of its taste and fragrance. It is an amazing dish, exquisite in its preparation even among royal dishes, and it is of outstanding nourishment and of beautiful composition.

Judaba, judab.

The judaba is a di(sh that is cooked in a tannur. One places at its base, say, a pile of ragfs, with sugar and spices spread in between its layers. One hangs a fat chicken, a rack of lamb, or the like, on top of them. While the meat is roasting, their juices drip on the ragfs underneath, and are absorbed by them. Once the meat is roasted, one serves the meat and the ragfs soaked with its juices.

This dish allows for many variations by changing the composition of the dish placed under the meat, however the hanging, roasting, dripping meat is a characteristic of this dish and without it there is no judaba, as the Glossaire Mansuri clearly states (cf. judaba, no.267, p.29; also Dozy I p.231). This festive and notorious dish was clearly very popular in the Near East. Al-Warraq's cookbook devotes a whole chapter to it with 19 recipes and a poem (cf. chapt. 92, pp.236-241), and al-Baghdad's cookbook brings 5 recipes (chap.V3; Chelebi p. 70., Arberry's transl. p.208 & ss). There is also a recipe along these lines in Part II xx.

The judba was also called umm al-faraj i.e. the mother of relaxation, because it removes one's anxiety for seasoning or condiment, according to Lane p.395.

This dish is of Persian origin. The word judaba, judab stems from Persian gudab. Steingass (p.1101) gives as one of its meanings food dressed under roast meat.

The title of the present recipe (7.1) is perplexing, since this dish does not fit the description of the judaba given above. Maybe trying to prepare the Eastern dish in an oven, instead of a tannur, caused the change. Maybe it was named this way by the desire to give it an Eastern pedigree. In any case, the present dish has the shape of a covered pie, Sp. pastel or empanada, old Fr. pâté, a type of dish very common in Medieval Christian Europe, however, it has a much more delicate crust than its Christian counterpart, and it is baked in a pot. Pedro de Alcalá (XVI c.) translates Sp. pastel de carne by Ar. bast, clearly a transliteration of the Spanish word into Arabic. The present dish is known nowadays in Morocco as bastila, and is one of the hallmarks of its cuisine.

Ibn Razn's cookbook carries also the present recipe (cf. sect.I cap.4; p.32 (for the ruqaq) and sect.3 cap.3; p.112 for the pie), and titles it also judaba. However his recipe stems either from the present cookbook or from the same source.

Reference:

Ibn al-Hachcha (X3e sie 08`cle J.C.). Glossaire sur le Mansuri de Raze's. G.S. Colin and H.P.J. Renaud (eds.). (Collection de textes arabes. Publiee par l'Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines). Rabat, 1941.

7.2 Recipe for the plain judaba.

Take equal amounts of almonds and sugar, and pound them together. Add also spikenard, cinnamon, cloves, galingale, and a little saffron, all of them ground.

Then take a new pot, and coat the bottom and the sides with fresh melted fat (sahm), as previously. Spread kunafa i.e. ruqaqa, piled up like leaves (muwarraqa), on the bottom of the pot, and attach them also on the

sides of the pot. Then sprinkle over them a spoonful of the above paste of almonds, sugar and spices (aqaq), and spray over them drops of rose water with a little of camphor dissolved in it. Then place on top of it another ruqaq, and sprinkle over it another spoonful, then another ruqaq and another spoonful, and continue doing so until one fourth, or less, of the pot remains to be filled. Break enough eggs over each layer every time you do so. Then pour olive oil until it appears on the surface of the ruqaqs. Then cover the dish with ruqaqs, seal the pot with dough, put it in a moderately hot oven, and leave it there until done. Then transfer it on a plate (qas...). Now it is ready to be served. One may pour over the judaba, once it is placed on the plate (qas...), rose syrup (sarab al-ward) and juleb syrup (sarab al-julab). It is excellent and delicious in every way prepared.

Ruqaqs, in our text, are paper thin wafers (Sp. oblea, Fr. oublie) as it is clear from the present recipe (7.1). To make them a round, polished metal surface and a thin batter are required.

The ruqaq batter. This batter is made by kneading flour and water into a dough, without adding leaven, and then diluting it with water into a thin batter. One may compare it with the musahhada or the zalabya batters, described below (cf. 7.15, 7.45).

Ruqaqs are usually piled up into a bunch or multilayered sheet, that has, as a result, a flaky structure. This is one way of making a leafy pastry sheet (Sp. hojaldre, Fr. pâte feuilleté). In this case the leaves are individually made, and one can add spices, sugar, ground nuts, etc. in between them. The other way of making one is by folding repeatedly a dough layered with fat, and it is described below in the note: musammana. For ease of reference these two ways may be called the individual leaf method and the folding method of making a leafy pastry.

Ruqaqs are used in this cookbook in the following recipes: the present one and its variant 7.2, recipe 7.4 for kunafa, recipe 7.14 for qjat. ..., recipe 7.38 for sanbuaks and recipe 6.14 for muhallabya. Similar paper thin wafers are made nowadays in Morocco, and called waraq leaves.

Grammatically, Ar. ruqaq is a collective noun, the singular is ruqaqa.

7.3 A judaba beneficial for cold temperaments and promoting sexual intercourse (n).

Take one fourth of a rat of each of the following: peeled walnuts, peeled almonds, hazelnuts, kernels of pinenuts and pistacchios, and pound them in a wooden or stone mortar (hawun) until they are like gruel (sawq) (n). Add to this mixture two thirds of a rat of the inner core of a samd bread, and two rats of pounded sheep's meat, taken from the shoulder (sin) and free of tendons. Break also fifteen eggs on the above, and mix all these ingredients together. One may add also one dirham of each of the following: ginger, galingale, pepper, cloves, and cassia; half a dirham of each: mastic and saffron; and half an uqya of good olive oil. Put all the above in a new pot, and pour on it one rat and a half of fresh milk. Hang the pot in the tannur and lock the tannur. Leave it there until done, thickened and properly cooked. Then remove the pot from the tanur, sprinkle ground sugar over it, and serve.

I reproduce a quote in Dozy (I p.706) sawik is the old and modern Arabic name for a dish of green grain, toasted, pounded, mixed with dates or sugar, and eaten on journeys when it is found difficult to cook. See Dozy for further details. The sawq is a Near Eastern dish.

7.4 Making the kunafa.

Take some of those ruqaqs, which previously were described how to make, and cut them up with scissors (miqra) the size of large rose petals. Then take a pot or a cauldron (Tinjr), pour in it enough fine olive oil to cover those cut up ruqaqs, and let them boil in it until they have absorbed the oil and the oil has been dispersed (qasa) in them. At that point pour enough filtered honey, free of impurities, to cover the above, and spray also some drops of rose water in which a little camphor has been dissolved. Stir these ingredients carefully so that they do not stick to the bottom of the cauldron (Tinjr). Then sprinkle on it ground sugar, and stir it. When the mixture has been well blended, lower the cauldron from the fire, sprinkle over it spikenard, cloves, ground sugar, peeled and split almonds and whole fand (cf. 7.61), and smoothen it with a spoon (migrafa). Make sure that, while the cauldron is boiling, to disperse (qasa) the olive oil, as it is done with the muassal (cf. 7.41). The people of Beja a port city in Algeria and of Tunisia (freqya) prepare this kunafa with butter and samn, instead of olive oil. However with olive oil it is better and it keeps longer.

Kinafa, kunafa (a pastry).

The kinafa pastry of our text is made by fryin kinafa leaves, the size of rose petals, and covering them with honey.

This pastry is still prepared in Morocco in a way similar to the present recipe (7.4). It is made with kinafa leaves, now called waraq, that are cut with scissors into circles of a uniform size, and that are fried.

However the leaves are nowadays piled up, with some kind of cream often added in between them. (Cf. Wolfert, keneffa p.322, and Carrier, keneffa p.202, where it is illustrated).

This pastry is also very popular in the Near East, where it is usually pronounced kunafa. In the Eastern version the kinafa leaves have been replaced by some kind of fried vermicelli or shredded wheat. These are covered with honey, cream, nuts etc.

7.5 Making the musammana (n), which is a leafy (muwarraqa) ragf made with samn or butter.

Take sifted samd or darmak flour, and knead it well without adding leaven. Then pour water, a little at a time, kneading it constantly, until the dough becomes diluted and has the proper amount of it. The moistness of the dough should be such that a piece of dough, when stretched out, will not break.

Then put a new pan over a moderate fire. When it is hot, take a piece of that dough, and stretch it out thin on a marble slab (rukama) or a board (auh...). Coat it with melted samn or with butter fused over hot water. Then roll the dough like one rolls a mat, so that it becomes like a tube. Coil this tube, and beat it with the palms of your hands, so that it turns into a thin, round ragf. If one wants, one may fold this piece of dough again, then stretch it out, and coat it, roll it, and coil it, and beat it with the palms of your hands for a second time so that it becomes thin and round.

Then put this piece of dough in the heated pan, ter oiling the pan with samn, -and whenever the pan dries up, add a small amount of samn. Then turn it over until it becomes firm. Remove it, and make more, until you have the amount you need.

Then beat these ragfs with the palms of your hands, and immerse them in butter and honey, that has been boiling. When this mixture has cooled off, sprinkle on top of it ground sugar, and serve.

musammana has three meanings in our text: (i) a dough, (ii) ragf or pastry made with this dough, and (3) a dessert made with this pastry.

(i) The musammana dough. The musammana dough is the basic dough used in our text to make a leafy pastry sheet by the folding method. The dough is made just with flour and water, without leaven, and should be kneaded very well until it becomes elastic, so that it can be stretched out very thin without breaking.

The musammana dough is used again in 7.12 and 7.13, and it is mentioned as a term of comparison in 7.8.

(ii) The musammana pastry. In the present recipe (7.5) this pastry is made by stretching a ball of musammana dough into a thin sheet, covering it with melted samn or butter, rolling up the sheet into a tube, coiling the tube into a spiral or like a snake, and flattening the snake with the palms of your hands into a ragf. This process may be repeated, i.e., one may fold the ragf into a ball, and start all over again. Finally, the flattened snake is cooked in a pan oiled with samn. Some remarks. (a) It is not clear how the dough is stretched out. Although a rolling pin (Ar. saubak, mirqaq) maybe used and taken for granted, the method used is never made explicit, neither in this nor in similar recipes of the Almohade cookbook.

(b) The fats used to cover the stretched out dough may vary. In the present recipe (7.5) melted butter or samn is used. However olive oil or fat (sahm) (cf.7.13, 7.29) may be used too.

(c) The folding procedure of the dough in the present recipe is rather complex. Simpler ones were also known. Thus the musammana dough could be stretched into a thin sheet, be covered with some kind of fat, and folded into itself once or twice. This process could be repeated a few times. Or, one could also pile up thin sheets of dough with some kind of fat added in between layers, and then pressing the pile with a rolling pin into a thin sheet. For these and other methods see ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.I cap.4; p.35).

(3) The musammana dessert. It is made in the tard fashion, by crumbling the ragfs into pieces and soaking them with melted butter and honey.

The participle musammana probably meant originally made with samn, with ragf implicitly understood in a culinary context.

Other leafy pastries, made by the folding method and present in this cookbook, are the fatr (6.15), the qursa (7.13) and the musas (7.29). Leafy pastries, Sp. hojaldres, are well-documented in the early Spanish culinary literature (to be completed!).

7.6 Recipe for the sabbata made with fat (sahm).

Make a dough with sifted samd flour and with a medium amount of leaven. Then pour on the dough melted fat (sahm) thinned with olive oil, and knead the dough very well until the dough has absorbed the poured fat. Then pour on the dough from time to time more fat until the dough has the proper amount of it. Let the dough stand for a while.

Then make with this dough round rags, and make them thin, if you want the sabbat (n) to be like a pile of leaves (muwarraqa). Fry them in a pan,

with an amount of melted fat (sahm) that will cover them, until they are done. Then take them out, and eat them with honey.

Sabbat is a feminine noun, as it is clear from 6.26, and it is the likely antecedent of the feminine pronoun of the Arabic sentence here translated. Other possible antecedents do not seem to yield good sense. The intended meaning is if you want the sabbat to have a leafy texture, then you should make the ragfs very thin, and pile them up, as one does with the ruqaqs.

7.7 Recipe for rice cooked with honey (al-aruzz al-muassa).

Take rice, and soak it covered with fresh water for one day or one night. Then wash it, and put it in a pot or a cauldron (Tinjr) over the fire, and cook it with water or fresh milk. Then add four or five rats of filtered honey, free of impurities, and cook it carefully over a gentle fire. While it cooks, keep pouring fresh milk until the mixture has completely mingled, thickened and become like paste. Then pour it in a bowl (qas), even it up with a spoon (migrafa), make a hole in its center, fill it with fresh melted butter, and sprinkle over it ground sugar and cinnamon. Now it is ready to be served.

Mujabbas (kind of cheese fritters or cheese pastries)

7.8 Recipe for the mujabbanas.

You should know that the mujabbanas are prepared not with one cheese, but with two, namely, cow's cheese and sheep or goat's cheese. Because if they are made only with sheep or goat's cheese, they burst open, and the cheese comes out of them running. If they are made only with cow's cheese, the cheese sticks together and is tough, and turns into a single body, that cannot be broken down. The rule for making them is that one mixes the two kinds of cheese in the proportion of one quarter of cow's cheese to three quarters of sheep or goat's cheese. Knead both kinds of cheese until they are completely mixed. It will then be well balanced, and at the same time it will hold together, not run in the pan, and will not be tough nor hard. If one needs to moisten this mixture, one may do so with fresh milk that was just milked. The cheeses should not be very fresh, but firm, without salt, and that have already lost their whey. This is how they are prepared by the people of our cities in the West of the al-Andalus, like Cordoba, Seville and Jerez, and other cities of the Maghreb.

How they are made:

Make a dough with samd or darmak flour and with a little leaven, kneading it well, and pour water a little at a time until the dough becomes slightly fluid. If fresh milk is poured instead of water, it will come out better. Test the dough by placing it on the palm of your hand and letting it spread out: it should not have the consistency of the musahhada batter (cf. 7.15), but be firmer than it, and also be lighter than the musammana dough (cf. 7.5).

When the leaven begins to act up, raise a pan over the fire with a lot of olive oil, so that it will submerge what is fried in it. Moisten your hand with water and take a piece of dough, insert in it the same amount of the kneaded cheese, then squeeze the dough in your hand. Shake off carefully what has come out and overflowed on your hand. Continue to do so until the dough and cheese mixture are finished. Then put the balls filled with cheese in the pan while the oil is boiling. When they are browned, remove them with an iron hook (mika), intended for this purpose,

and put them in an iron strainer (mfais), shaped like the palm of the hand, and set up over the pan, so that the excess oil may drip into it. Then put them in a bowl (qas), and sprinkle over them a lot of sugar and ground cinnamon.

Some people eat them adding honey or rose syrup (sarab al-ward). They are one of best foods to be eaten.

mujabbanas are small pastries made with cheese. There are basically of two types: (i) cheese fritters (Ar. isfanj), i.e., ball-shaped doughs, filled with cheese, and deep fried (cf. 7.8-7.11), and (ii) small cheese pies, i.e., circular pies, filled with cheese, partially covered with dough, and baked in the oven (cf. 7.12).

These pastries were extremely popular, both in Muslim and in Christian Spain. Thus they appear in the first printed Catalan cookbook, Mestre Rupert de Nola (1520), where we find recipes for both types: cheese fritters (cf. Bones toronges de Xat4a. p.83) and cheese pies (cf. De flaons. p.85). Xat4a, or Jat4a, is a city near Valencia. Similar pastries appear in the culinary literature of Medieval Europe.

It seems likely that mujabbanas, in spite of their Arabic name, are an indigenous pastry. They do not seem to have a counterpart in the Near East. However, the Arabic name mujabbana, which means made with cheese, (Ar. jubn cheese), prevailed in Castilian Spanish well into the XVII century (cf. Montina mojavanas, fol. 123 &).

Ibn Razn's cookbook has also several mujabbana recipes (cf. sect.I cap.4; p.44)

Reference

Mestre Robert. Libre del Coch (ed. Veronika Leimgruber). Barcelona, 1977.
Montino, Francisco Martinez. Arte de Cozina, Pasteleria, Vizcocheria y Conserveria. Madrid 1611.

7.9 Recipe for mujabbanas made with eggs.

Break eggs on the dough mentioned above, and knead the dough with them instead of water, until it becomes diluted, like the one described above. Then knead the above mentioned two kinds of cheese, and break also eggs on it, the amount it will absorb, and knead it with a small amount of anis and fennel seeds. Even up the mixture in a bowl (qas). Then wet your hand with water, take some of the cheese mixture, stuff the dough with it, make mujabbana as described before, and fry them as previously described. They are outstanding and very tasty.

These mujabbana were made for Abu Sad ben Jami (n) and his friends, and he loved them. It was an invention of Musa ben al- a... (n), Inspector of Markets, Weights and Measures in Marrakesh.

7.10 Recipe for mujabbanas made with three ingredients.

Take equal portions of each: dough made of darmak flour or samd flour, fresh (ratb) cheese, and butter. Crumble the cheese, and knead all these three ingredients together, adding to them fresh milk instead of water, until they are so well mixed that no trace of cheese remains, and the mixture will have the consistency of the isfanj dough. Then make mujabbanas from it, fry them in fine olive oil as described before. Serve them in whatever way you wish.

7.11 Recipe for mujabbanas ... (n).

Take the necessary amounts of samd dough, peeled and pounded almonds, butter, fresh (ratb) cheese, and eggs. Knead all these ingredients

together, and pour fresh milk in it until the mixture has the proper consistency. Make mujabbanas from this mixture.

7.12 Recipe for a mujabbana made in the oven, called among us the mujabbana of Toledo.

Make a dough like the musammana dough (cf. 7.5), and make from it a leafy and flat, circular pastry (qursa). Then stretch it out, and put in its center the proper amount of kneaded cheese. Fold the edges of the pastry, and join them from all sides over the cheese, leaving on top a small opening the size of a dinar for the cheese to be seen. Sprinkle on the opening a few anis seeds. Then put the pastry in the oven on a board (lauh), and leave it there until done. Then take it out. Serve it in whatever way you wish.

7.13 Recipe for a qursa (n) (a flat, circular pastry) made with fat (sahm) .

Knead a dough with samd flour, like the musammana dough (cf. 7.5). Take a piece of it, stretch it out on a board (lauh) or on a marble slab (rukma), and make from it a leafy dough using melted fat (sahm). The dough should be leavened. Then join the edges as was described above in the musammana recipe (n).

Put fat at the bottom of the tajin, and place on it the leafy (muwarraq) ragf. Spread pieces of fat (sahm) on it, so that it will not dry out while baking. Put the tajin in the oven and leave it there until the top of the rag is browned. Then remove it from the oven, pierce it in several places and pour over it honey, free of impurities. Then serve.

qursa is an object that has a thin, flat, circular shape, like a disk, and, when applied to food, refers to items that have this shape. In our text, qursas are made of many different edibles: pastry doughs (7.13, 7.16, etc.), a mixture of pounded dates, honey and almonds (7.53), a mixture of sugar, honey and starch (7.58), flavored sugar (7.60) etc., and their diameter may vary too, they may have the size of tiny candies (7.60) or of doughnuts (7.37) or of casseroles (7.23).

The qursas of our text are either sweet or eaten with honey, syrups, and the like, and thus may be considered as a kind of desserts.

English does not seem to have a term that is equivalent to Ar. qursa. French has the term *galette*, that like Ar. qursa, refers to a dessert that is shaped like a disk of variable diameter, and made of diverse edible substances: pastry, preserved fruits, marzipan, etc. Late Lat. *torta* may also be an appropriate equivalent.

Ar. qursa has yielded Sp. *alcorza*, that means in Spanish a sweet made of sugar and starch (cf. 7.58).

This last sentence seems to imply that the dough is rolled up into a tube, and then coiled like a snake or spiral (cf. 7.5). Since in this case the dough has been leavened, it should probably be allowed to rise after being kneaded as well as after being coiled.

This pastry is similar to the famous *ensaimadas* of Mallorca. Actually both pastries share the term fat. Catalan *ensaimada* stems from

Cat. *sam*, Old Cat. *sahim*, animal fat, lard.

(See Fraenkel for etym.)

7.14 Recipe for the qjata (n) (a large cheese pie).

It is made in the al-Andalus and it is called seven stomachs (sabbut). Take fresh and tender (ratb) cheese, and mash it by hand. Then take a antam clay tajin having a deep interior, and put at the bottom a rag i.e. a bunch of ruqaqs, made like the kunafas, and put on top of the ruqaqs some of the cheese, then another ragf, and continue doing the same until a fourth or a third of the tajin is left to be filled. Pour over it fine olive oil.

Then put the tajin in the oven for a short while. Then take it out, soak it with fresh milk, and return it to the oven again for a short while. Then take it out, soak it with fresh milk, and again return it to the oven. Continue doing so until the milk and its grease (dasam) have been absorbed. Leave the tajin in the oven until the top is browned and has a musk color. Then remove it from the oven, and pour over it honey, free of impurities, or rose syrup (sarab al-ward). Some people sprinkle over it ground sugar and seasonings, others leave it as is.

qjata is a large cheese pie. Its Old Spanish equivalent is quesada is documented in Medieval Spanish, for instance, in Enrique de Villena's Arte Cistoria (1423) (cap. XI; p.117). A similar pie was made in Sicily too, the cassata. Sicily and Spain had century old ties.

qjata stems from the Mozarabic name for cheese quécho or quéicho, Sp. queso, Port. queijo, and it is clearly an Hispanism. Cf. Simonet p.472. One may note that the DRAE is wrong in identifying quesada with quesadilla. Clearly their sizes are different.

Reference:

Villena, Enrique de. Arte Cistoria. (ed.) Russell V. Brown. Barcelona, 1984.

7.15 Recipe for the musahhadas (n) (honey comb crepes), also called the mutaqqabas (perforated crepes).

The musahhadas are the best of any kind of rafsas (cf. 7.18), the lightest, and the easiest to digest and to digest well, since they are made with leaven and they are kneaded with extreme thoroughness. Take good quality samd flour and knead it with leaven. Pour on it water a little at a time until it becomes slightly fluid and has the consistency of a thick broth, so that whenever it is poured in a pan it will easily spread on its surface. Cover the batter and let it stand for a short while. Then repeat the procedure again until the kneading is completed, the batter has fermented, and one sees bubbles on its surface. Then mount a antam clay pan over a strong fire, or an iron pan (miqlahad) over a moderate fire, and when the pan is hot, smear it with a rag (kirqa) dipped in fresh samn or in olive oil. Then scoop with a cup (kas) some of this batter, -an amount depending on the size of the musahhadas desired-, and pour it in the middle of the pan. Cover it with a bowl (gadar) so that the crepe will be done and covered with bubbles. Continue oiling the pan and pouring the batter until the batter is finished. Then melt fresh butter and filtered honey, and pour them over the musahhadas, placed in a bowl (jafna), and let them stand for a while until they have properly absorbed the butter and honey. Sprinkle over them ground sugar, and serve them. Some people add eggs to this dough in the amount needed.

The term musahhada is used in our text in two senses: for a type of crepes, and for the batter to make them.

(i) The musahhada batter. This batter is made, basically, by kneading flour, leaven and water. This dough is diluted into a batter, and is left to ferment until bubbles appear. Beaten eggs may be added to the batter.
(ii) The musahhada crepes. These are made with the above batter, but are cooked only on one side, i.e. the bottom side is flat, and the top side is filled with many little holes, that resemble a honeycomb. The word musahhada means precisely honeycombed, an appropriate name for these crepes. They should be cooked on an unvarnished clay surface or on an iron pan just smeared with oil, and they should be very light. They are usually eaten with honey and butter.
Ibn Razn's cookbook has also a recipe for these crepes. (cf. sect.I cap.4; p.34).

These crepes are still very common in Morocco, and known nowadays as beghrir. They are illustrated in Smires (pp.15-16; pp.152-153) and in Carrier (pp.77-78). See also Guinaudeau p.157.
According our text (7.39), ibn Razn's cookbook (l.c.), and the Glossaire Mansuri (no.1004, p.108), the musahhada crepes are equivalent to the qata made in the East. The recipe for making these last crepes given in al-Warraq's cookbook (chapt. 102, pp.274) confirms this view.
The musahhada batter is mentioned in 7.1, 7.8, 7.39, 7.45, and 7.15, the present recipe.

References:

Smires, Latifa Bennani. La cuisine marocaine. Casablanca, 1974.
Carrier, Robert. A taste of Morocco, a culinary journey with recipes. London, 1987.

7.16 Recipe for the murakkaba(n) (a stacked up pastry).

It is a dish made in the region of Constantine Algeria, and it is also called kutamya. Make a well kneaded dough with samd flour and leaven, similar to the dough for isfanjs (fritters) (n). Break in it a proper amount of eggs, and knead with them the dough, so that it will have a moist consistency.

Then mount a antam clay pan over a strong fire. When it is hot, oil it with samn or olive oil, and put in it a thin ragf of the above dough. When the bottom of the ragf is done, turn it over. Put dough in the palm of your hand and coat with it the top done face of the ragf. Then turn over the face just coated with dough on the pan so that it will be done, and thus reversing its top and its bottom. Coat the top face with dough again, then turn it over, then coat it again, and continue coating it with dough and turning it over in the pan. It will stack up and grow high, becoming a large, tall qursa. Then turn it sideways in the pan, so that its sides are done. When it has attained the desired size, put it in a bowl (qasa), pierce in it big holes with a wooden stick (ud), and pour over it a lot of melted butter and honey, enough to soak it. Then serve.

Named after the Kutama, one of the great Berber tribes, that lived in a large area of northeast Algeria, where the city of Constantine is located.

Reference:

Encyclopedia of Islam (new edition) vol. V, p.540 (1986).
Another recipe for this pastry appears in ibn Razn's cookbook (cf. sect.I cap.4; p.40).
Ar. murakkaba means stacked up, mounted, assembled, etc.

7.17 Recipe for the murakkaba (a stacked up pastry) with leaves (muwarraqa), made with dates.

Take the same dough described in making the al-murakkaba al-kutamya (7.16). Make with it a thin ragf, and put it in a heated tajin . When done on one side, turn it over, and cover it with cleaned, pounded dates, rubbed by hand and moistened with olive oil, and spread them evenly over the dough with the palm of your hand. Then cover the dates with another ragf, turn the pastry over, and cover the top with more of those dates. Then cover it with another ragf, and continue doing this until the pastry is as high as you wish. When done from the two sides, put it in a bowl (qasa), and pour over it heated olive oil and honey, free of impurities. This dish is prepared by the people of Tunisia frqya).

7.18 Requirements for preparing the rafs (n).

It is necessary to know that the requirements for preparing the rafs and their kinds are these:

Their dough should be made with sifted samd flour, with a moderate amount of leaven, and it should have very little salt, so that the taste of salt will not be noticeable. The butter used should be boiled and filtered. The honey used should be free of impurities. If olive oil is used, let it be heated, so that it will not have the taste of raw olive oil. The dough should be baked in a tannur (n), so that the cakes be moist, with open pores, and their interior be puffed up. Thus, when the cakes are kneaded (r-f-s), the rafs will be soft and spongy. The cakes should also be kneaded (r-f-s) with fat (dasam) (n), so that the rafs will be more tasty, more nourishing, and easier to digest.

On the other hand if the rafs are made with unleavened dough (fat), then its baked dough is heavy, and the rafs are compact, compressed, and no fat (dasam) can penetrate them, like the rafs of the Berbers or the rafs of the suq (market place), which are not suitable except for hard working laborers, or as chicken feed.

7.19 A royal rafs.

Take sweet almonds, peeled of their two skins, and pound them until they are like dough. Add an equal amount of darmak flour, and knead them very thoroughly with eggs instead of water. Sprinkle the dough with rose water, in which a little camphor has been dissolved. Then make with this dough thin qursas (flat, circular loaves), and cook them in a antam clay pan over a gentle fire until they are firm, but do not overcook them. Then knead (r-f-s) these loaves with fresh almond oil or melted and filtered fresh butter. Make from them a qursa and put it in a bowl (qasa) as if it were a sugar cone (jama). Pour over the cone freshly extracted almond oil, or melted and filtered fresh butter, and rose syrup (sarab al-ward).

7.20 An excellent royal rafs. Take darmak or samd flour. Sift it, and knead it with fresh milk, eggs and leaven into a dough, kneading it thoroughly until the dough is like glue. Make with it ragfs, cooked on an iron plate (Tabiq), and do not cook them long, but remove them while they are still moist.

Add to them pounded, peeled almonds and grated sugar. Then knead (r-f-a) these components into the shape of a sugar cone (jama). Sprinkle over it pounded sugar, and pour fresh melted butter. It is ready to be served. This dessert is moist and delicious.

7.21 Recipe for a rafs made with fresh cheese.

Take the crumb of a leavened bread made with sifted flour, just when it comes out of the oven. Knead (r-f-s) only the crumb without the crust, and mash it in between the palms of your hands with an equal amount of unsalted, fresh and tender (ratb) cheese, and with a little butter. Make with this mixture a qursa (a flat, circular disk), and place it in a bowl (qasa). Pour over it the necessary amount of melted, filtered butter and of honey, free of impurities.

7.23 A rafs cooked with fresh cheese.

Take rags, whose dough has been kneaded with eggs, and crumble them extremely fine in the amount you need. Crumble also a slightly larger amount of fresh cheese, before salt is added to it. Leave both aside. Then take a cauldron (tinjr), and put in it the necessary amount of honey, remove its impurities, and add also fine olive oil. Then add the breadcrumbs and the cheese described above, and stir steadily the mixture with a spoon (migrafa), slowly and gently, until the oil seeps off (qasa). Then pour the mixture in a bowl (qasa), smoothen it up, and sprinkle over it ground sugar and cinnamon.

7.24 The qursa made with dates, one of the dishes of the people of Tunisia (frqya).

Take good quality samd flour, knead it, make thin ragfs with it, and cook them. However do not overcook them, so that some moisture will remain in them. Then crumble them extremely fine. Then put a cauldron (tinjr) over a moderate fire. Pour in it fine olive oil, one that does not have any odor, in the amount that will cover whatever is put in it. Then take equal amounts of good quality saddak dates (n), after removing their kernels and stems, and of breadcrumbs, though some people use a larger amount of saddak dates than of breadcrumbs-. Pound the dates in a mortar (mihras) until they are like rose marmelade (murabbab al-ward). Then add them to the cauldron (tinjr), where the oil is boiling, and stir them with a spoon (migrafa). When they are dispersed in the oil, add slowly the above breadcrumbs. Stir the mixture until it is blended, the dates and the breadcrumbs are undistinguishable, and it has become a single body like a paste. Then lower the cauldron from the fire, and the oil will seep off (qasa). Let the cauldron stand for a while. Then sprinkle in the mixture cinnamon, spikenard, cloves, ginger, and galingale, as needed, and stir it with a spoon (migrafa) until the spices (aqagr) are well mixed in it. Pour this mixture on a bowl (qasa), and even and smoothen it up into a qursa (a flat circular shape). Make a hole in its center, and fill it with the oil in which it has cooked i.e. that has seeped off. Sprinkle over it sugar, spikenard, and cloves. Insert in it split almonds and fand (7.61), and serve.

This dessert keeps the same without spoiling or change for many days.

7.25 A Tunisian (tunisya) qursa according to another recipe.

Take samd flour, mix it with fine olive oil, and make a dough like the kak dough (7.26). Use a lot of olive oil. Make with it beautiful qursa, shaped like sugar cones jama) or a little less in seize, and put them in the oven. Do not overbake them. Then □RM86□remove them from the oven, and break them up in a bowl (qasa), crumble them finely with the palms of your hands until they become like samd flour. Pass this powder through a sieve (girba), and leave it aside.

Then take saddak dates, cleaned of their kernels and stems, and pound them until they are like paste. Mix them with an equal amount of the

above mentioned sieved samd powder. Add a sufficient amount of the above spices (aqagr), and knead the mixture until it is completely blended and becomes one body.

Then oil your hands with olive oil, mold from it a qursa (a flat, circular disk) in the center of a bowl (qasa), and pour over it fine olive oil.

7.26 Recipe for the tarfist (n), one of the dishes of the people of Fez.

Knead a dough with darmak or with samd flour, and make from it thin ragfs, baking them either in a tannur or in a moderately heated oven. Then crumble them finely.

Then take honey, free of impurities, and dissolve it in an equal amount of fresh water. Add to the solution enough saffron to color the breadcrumbs to your liking. Then add those breadcrumbs into this solution, and stir it until its consistency becomes like a paste, and continue stirring it. When it has completely thickened, empty this paste in a bowl (jafna) with a lot of split almonds, and stir it to mix both well. Carve a hole in its center, and fill it with a flavorful samn or with fresh butter. Sprinkle over it sugar, cinnamon, spikenard, cloves, and whole fand (7.61). Then serve.

7.27 Recipe for the kalk.

The proportions for making the kak dough are: For one mudd (n) of Abuafs (n) of darmak flour or one mudd of good quality samd flour one should use half a rat of olive oil.

This kak is good for travelling, since it does not crumble. If one wants to eat it sooner, use a rat or more of olive oil for the above mentioned mudd. In the same manner one should prepare the dough for baked goods (n), like the jauznaq (cf. 7.32) and the rest.

Making thekak :

The kak dough (n). Mix the darmak flour or the samd flour with olive oil or with samn according to the above mentioned proportions. If mixed with olive oil, it is tastier and keeps longer. If mixed with samn and kept long, it may turn smelly and bitter. Then pour into the mixture hot water a little at a time, and knead it into a dry dough i.e. one with a small amount of water. Then knead it extremely well until the dough becomes flexible and uniform, so that if one takes a piece of it and stretches it out, it stretches without breaking. If one desires, one may add a little leaven, or leave it as is.

The kak stuffing (n). Then take equal amounts of peeled almonds and sugar, though, if desired, but you may take a larger amount of sugar than almonds, and pound them together until they become like dough. Put this stuffing in a bowl (qasa), and add the necessary amount of spikenard and cloves, a small amount of mastic and a little camphor dissolved in rose water. Knead the stuffing with these spices until they are well mixed. Then oil a pastry board (saya) with olive oil, and makekaks on it with the dough, and insert inside them an equal amount of stuffing as of dough. Then either sweep for them in the oven an area away from the fire, or put them in the oven on a clean board (lauh), and leave them there until they are done. Then remove them from the oven.

One can make with the kak dough figures one type of which is called in Beja (North Africa) kuskan though the authentic kuskan has another recipe, that will be described next. Other shapes that could be formed from kak dough are stuffed qursas, large or small, and also figures of birds, gazelles, and the like.

Since the value of the mudd of Abu. Tafs is not known exactly, it is difficult to know the exact proportion of flour and olive oil, or samn, that should be taken to make this dough. However one may guess the proportion to be, roughly, for every unit of capacity of flour, one third or one fourth of this amount in olive oil. (This guess is based on ...). The density of olive oil is 0.917 gr/cc. In some cases a larger proportion of olive oil is used.

To make this dough our author first mixes the flour and oil, or samn, then adds water gradually until the dough loses its stiffness but without being too soft, and finally he kneads the dough thoroughly. The kak dough is used normally as a wrapping for other foodstuffs. It can be baked or fried, and keeps well. It is mentioned in 7.24, 7.30, 7.32 and, of course, in the present recipe 7.26.

This dough is similar to Sp. masa para empanadas o empanadillas, and to Fr. pate a pate. However, these last doughs are usually made with a different type of fat, used also in a large proportion, and the ingredients are mixed initially all together.

7.28 Making the kusklan.

Take coarse grained samd flour, rub it with a lot of samn or(?) with fine olive oil, and moisten it also with a little water. Do not knead it much, and let the dough be dry. Then from this dough make loaves ragf stuffed with the stuffing described for the kak, and shape them in different ways, cutting them with scissors (miqrad) or with a knife (sikkn). Make also from the dough figures like rings, half circles, kaks, and loaves (ragf), small and big. These are the authentic kusklans. Then fry them in fine olive oil. Remove them from the frying pan, and sprinkle over them ground sugar and spikenard.

7.29 Making the kabs as it is made in Niebla.

Take good quality wheat, put it in a container (qasrya), and cover it with clean fresh water. Replace the water after (every?) two or three days until the wheat is moist and tender, as it is done in making starch. Then remove the water and press the wheat with your feet in a large basket (quffa), or with your hands, if it is a small amount. Filter the liquid that comes out of the kernels into a bowl (jafna). Then pour a small amount of fresh water on the wheat husks to wash them, and press them further until nothing is left inside them. Collect all this liquid in a bowl (jafna), and leave it exposed to the sun until it has settled down. Remove from time to time the water that arises on top of the sediment, until it has thickened. Then pour the liquid into a piece of cloth (kirqa), and hang it to strain and become dry, or leave it exposed to the sun, if starch is what is wanted. This is the recipe for making starch. Do not let starch get moist to avoid spoilage.

For making the kabs take either the above liquid before it is completely dry, and has the consistency of curds (raib), mixing it by hand so that it will be uniform, or, if you wish, you may dilute dry starch in fresh water until it reverts back to this consistency, and procede with it likewise. In either case, when ready, put a pan over a moderate fire. When it is hot, oil it with a piece of cloth (kirqa) soaked in olive oil. Then take with a spoon (migrafa) some of this diluted starch, and pour it on the pan, and turn around the pan with your hand so that it will spread out thin. When it has hardened and it is still white, remove it, and place it on a board (lauh) or on a mat (hasr). Then oil the pan with olive oil again, pour another spoonful, and continue doing so until you have the amount of kabses you need. Leave them on the mat (hasr) exposed

to the sun until they are dry. Then put them in a large basket (quffa) or in a large bag (id), and beat them with a cane from every direction until they are crumbled and have the size of wheat or a little larger. Then raise a pan filled with fine olive oil over a moderate fire. When the oil boils, put in it the crumbled, beaten kabses, and remove them soon with a strainer (misfah) so that they will not burn, and let them strain from the oil. Have ready filtered honey, free of impurities, that has been thickened in a pot over a gentle fire, and left on the radaf to stay fluid. Whenever you remove the crumbled kabses from the pan, strained of oil, throw them into this thickened, heated honey, and turn them with a spoon (migrafa). Continue adding more crumbled kabses a little at a time, and stirring it with a spoon (migrafa), until all parts have intermingled, it has thickened, and it has become a single body. Then remove the pot from the radaf. Then offer the dish.

In this Almohade cookbook, as well as in the one of ibn Razn, kabs seems to be used in a specific sense: (i) for a kind of wafers made of wheat starch, and (ii) for a dessert made with them and with honey, both described in the present recipe 7.28. This dessert, a mass of honey embedded with white kernels of cooked starch, seems to have been typical of Islamic Spain, -Niebla is a city in the southwest, in the present province of Huelva-, and also been very popular, judging from the number of preserved recipes (cf. Part II ..., and ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.I cap.4; pp.36-38 and sect.IX cap.2; pp.167-168)).

Abs had a much wider meaning in the East, however, and referred to a vast variety of desserts, puddings and jellies, often thickened with wheat starch or the like. Al-Warraq's cookbook devotes four chapters to describe them with a total of 38 recipes (cf. chapt. 94-97, pp.246-259), and al-Baghdad's cookbook has 6 recipes (chap.V3; Chelebi pp.73-74, Arberry's transl. pp.209-210). Some of these desserts appear later in this chapter, but are simply called sweets by our author (cf. 7.56, 7.58).

These desserts were highly appreciated in the Abbasid court, following the lead of the Sassanian one. Persians seem to have been the first to delight in these desserts made with wheat starch. For this last point cf. Rodinson, *Recherches* p.150, and the bibliography given there.

Reference:

Rodinson, Maxime. *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs a 08` la cuisine*. *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1949, pp.95-165.

7.30 Recipe for the musa.

Mix samd flour or darmak flour with samn or with oil, and knead it thoroughly with a little leaven, pouring water a little at a time. The dough should be dry, and the kneading be thoroughly done until the dough becomes soft. Roll out a piece of dough on a pastry board (salaya) oiled with olive oil, and spread over it with your thumbs a similar layer of fresh sheep's fat (sahm) or goat's fat, cleaned of its membranes, and diluted with a little olive oil, so that it will have the consistency of brains or butter, to cover the surface of the rolled out piece of dough. Then fold it in half(?), roll it out once more, cover it with fat (sahm), as it was done at the first time, and roll it out again. Then cut it into shapes of triangles, circles or squares.

Raise a pan over a moderate fire with enough olive oil to cover what will be fried in it. Fry them until they are done, and strain them of the oil. Drench them in rose syrup (sarab al-ward) or filtered honey.

musas are small puff pastries, sometimes filled with marzipan, and served with honey, rose syrup, ground nuts, or the like. They are usually fried, and not baked.

This interesting pastry is poorly documented. Besides recipes 7.29 - 7.31 there is only another one in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.I cap.4; p.41).

Some comments follow.

(i) The musas dough. This dough is made by kneading initially flour, a little leaven, and samn or olive oil thoroughly, and then diluting it with water to the desired consistency. The proportion of samn or olive oil to flour is probably high, maybe of the order of one to two. This dough is similar to the kak dough, and is very different from the musammana dough.

(ii) The musas pastry. To make this pastry the dough is stretched out, covered with a layer of fat (sahm) en pommade, and folded. These three operations are repeated once more, and hence the dough is covered with a layer of fat twice. Finally, the dough is stretched out again, cut into shapes, and deep fried in olive oil.

The folding of the dough is described by the verb affa, which means, strictly, to roll. Pedro de Alcala (XVI c.) translates Ar. affas Sp. envolver, to wrap. If the rolling or wrapping of the dough is not tight, to fold may be an appropriate translation.

7.31 Another musas.

Take sifted samd flour or darmak flour, the later is preferable. Mix it with a lot of samn, the proportion being one rat of samn to one small mudd of flour, and knead it like the kaks dough. Roll out round loaves (qursa)

...(text missing)...

in oil, and do not overdo the frying. Place the pastry in hot, filtered honey, that contains walnuts peeled of its two peels and sugar, the two pounded coarsely. Let the pastry stay in this mixture until the honey with the sugar and the walnuts has soaked in between its leaves. Then take it out, and the honey will flow out, while the coarsely ground walnuts and sugar will remain in the pastry. This is one kind of musas, and it does not contain spices (aqaqr).

7.32 Another kind of musas.

Prepare a stuffing with coarsely ground almonds and sugar. Do not add any spices (aqaqr), except rose water and camphor only, so that it will stay white. Then make with the dough described above small round loaves (quraisa). Place on top of one of these small loaves the stuffing and place on top of the stuffing another small loaf. Fold the edges of the two doughs, or press them with a kak crimper (milzam), so that they will stick together. Then fry them lightly in olive oil, and place them in rose syrup (sarab al-ward).

7.33 Making the jauznaq.

Take the dough described for making the kak and likewise the stuffing described above. Make shapes like hazelnuts, small wallnuts, little kaks, figures of pomegranate flowers, turnovers (?) (fartalat), and those which are called judge's ears. Make also images of roses, of other flowers, of seal designs(?), and the like. All these are stuffed: insert in every piece of dough some of the above stuffing. Sculpture them finely. Then fry them in a clean pan with fine olive oil. Remove them immediately from the frying pan, lifting them up with a strainer (misfah) shaped like

the palm of the hand, and strain them of the oil. Dip them in honey, free of impurities, or juleb syrup (sarab al-julab), or rose syrup (sarab al-ward), or mastic syrup (sarab al-mastaka). Then offer them.

A preliminary note on lauznaq (or lauznaj) is necessary. Lauznaq is a paste made with almonds and sugar, that is similar to marzipan, and that is sometimes stuffed into a pastry. It is of Persian origin, and well documented. Thus there are recipes for lauznaq both in al-Warraaq's cookbook (chapt. 99, pp.265-266) and in al-Baghdad's cookbook (chap.IX; Chelebi p.76, Arberry's transl. p.211).

The Persian term lauznaq is formed, according to Rodinson, from the term lauz, which means almonds in Arabic and also in Persian, though badam is the more common name for them in this last language (cf. Rodinson, *Sur etymologie de losange*, pp.426-427).

Jauznaq is a term similar to lauznaq, except that lauz has been replaced by the term jauz, which means walnut in Arabic. The term jauznaq is poorly documented. It does not appear in Steingass Persian dictionary, nor in the Eastern medieval cookbooks published so far. Dozy just registers the name without any comment or explanation. It is not obvious if it is of Persian origin or a later construction built by analogy on the term lauznaq.

However, it is clear that jauznaq is a paste or pastry meant to be like the lauznaq, except that it is made made with walnuts instead of almonds. Thus in ibn Razn's cookbook the recipes for jauznaq are made with walnuts, and the recipes for jauznaq and lauznaq appear consecutively (cf. sect.I cap.4; p.32 and sect.IX cap.4; pp.171 and 170 (it is unfortunate that the lines in these two pages are scrambled)). Our author seems to use the term jauznaq as a synonym of lauznaq.

Reference:

Rodinson, Maxime. *Sur l'etymologie de osange*. Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vita (pp.425-435). Roma, 1956.

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The title of the present recipe (7.32) is not clearly readable in the ms.. In the previous occurrence of this word in the kak recipe (7.26) it is spelled jauznq (?).

7.34 Making qahirya.

Take a rat and half of white sugar, and dissolve it with a little water. Raise the pot over a gentle fire, remove its foam, and cook it into a juleb. Then add two rats of finely pounded, peeled almonds. Stir the mixture until it turns into a single body, and the almond oil is released. Then lower the pot from the fire, let it stand for a while, and add pounded spikenard and cloves diluted in rose water and a little camphor. Knead this mixture until it dries off.

Make from it large and small kaks, and let them get dry a little. Then dip them in starch dissolved in a bowl (sahfa), the solution should be a little thick, and let them dry off. Then put them in a pan with boiling fine olive oil, with enough oil to cover them. Let them stay briefly in it, then take them out so that they do not dry out or be altered. Then let them float in rose syrop (sarab al-ward) or juleb (julab) or filtered honey.

From the few known extant recipes, and leaving aside the abunya (7.36), a qahirya may tentatively be described as a sweet, made of marzipan or

a marzipan-like paste, shaped like a kak or doughnut, and covered with starch or a starchy dough, and hence with a whitish surface.

Ahirya means from Cairo, the place where originally these sweets came from. Cairo was a large exporter of marzipan.

This sweet is poorly documented. Aside from the recipes in our manuscript and in ibn Razn's cookbook, no others seem extant among the medieval Arabic cookbooks published so far. This sweet is not registered in Arabic dictionaries neither, except Dozy, who only states *espece de sucrerie*. The three recipes of ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.IX cap.3; pp.169 and 171 (unfortunately the lines are scrambled)) correspond to 7.33, 7.34 and xx of Part II.

7.35 qahiryas made in the oven.

Take the stuffing explained in making the kak, stiffen it with darmak flour or with starch flour, and knead it with seasonings and a little camphor diluted in rose water. Make with it kaks, as many as you want, and line them up on a board (lauh). Put them in the oven on this board, and let them stay briefly in it until they have hardened. Then remove them from the oven. They are the most delicious one may eat of this type of sweets.

7.36 Sun dried qahiryas.

Take one portion of finely pounded almonds and an equal portion of white sugar, and pound them together in a stone mortar or in a wooden mortar until they are blended. Add to this mixture pounded cloves and spikenard diluted in rose water and a little camphor, as it is customary. Make with it kaks, as many as you want. Then dip them in a thinly diluted starch. Place them on a board (lauh) or plate (tabaq), and leave them exposed to the sun until the starch coating has dried out.

7.37 qahiryas called the sabunyas.

Pound almonds thoroughly, mix them the same amount of sugar, and add spikenard, cloves, and a little camphor and musk diluted in rose water. Pound all these ingredients together in a wooden mortar until they are blended and the mixture is uniform. Then make with it kaks, small loaves and shapes of walnuts and hazelnuts. Let them stand for a while. Then dip them in a rose syrup (sarab al-ward) made with sugar, or in a thickened juleb (julab), then take them out, and dip them again for a second and third time. Let them dry off. Then offer them. They are royally good. They were made in Marrakesh.

The sabunya, according to the present recipe (7.36), is a seems to be a sweet made of marzipan, shaped in various ways, and glazed with syrup. However, other sources differ from this description, because honey, starch, sesame oil, besides pounded almonds and sugar, may enter into its composition. Cf. Dozy (I p.817) and al-Baghdad's cookbook (chap.IX; Chelebi p.75, Arberry's transl. p.210), who has a recipe. The Glossaire Mansuri (cf. no. 951, p.102) considers the sabunya the Western equivalent of the Eastern faludaj (cf. 7.48 below).

sabunya has gotten its name from Ar. sabun soap. Its unusual name for a sweet is explained by Dozy due to its color (la variete de ses couleurs l'a fait comparer ... au savon d'Egypte, qui est de rouge, de jaune et de vert (l.c.)) and by Rodinson due to its shape (patisserie moulee ... en forme des pains de savon parfume (Recherches, p.140)).

It may be interesting to note that Ar. sabun stems originally from an old Germanic root saipon (cf. Kluge, Seife p.699). This word appears in

Low Latin (sapo) in the 4 c. A.D. and is absent from the Classical language. (Cf. Sp.jabon, Old Sp. xabon, Fr. savon, E. soap, G. Seife). Reference:

Kluge, Friedrich. Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (19th ed.). Berlin, 1963.

7.38 The sanbusak.

They were made in Marrakesh at the home of the Commander of the Faithful Abu Yusuf al-Mansur, may God have mercy upon him.

Take white sugar, dissolve it in water, and cook it into a juleb flavored with rose water. Then add almonds, pounded like a dough. Stir the mixture carefully until it is well blended and it is like the stuffing for making the qahiryas. Then lower the pot from the fire. When the heat has subsided, add spikenard, cloves, a little ginger, and a little mastic, after diluting these ground spices (aqaqr) with some rose water, in which a little camphor, musk and nutmeg(?) have already been diluted. Mix all these ingredients and knead them until they are thoroughly blended. Make with this paste round loaves (qursa), the size of the palm of your hand, turnovers (fartalat), and balls shaped like oranges, or likenesses of apples or pears (n). Serve them as a dessert(?). They are delicious. They are called sanbusak in the East, and they are the sanbusaks of royalty.

Sanbusaks, or sanbusajs, are turnovers, that, strictly speaking, should have a triangular shape. The word stems from the Persian sanbusa, pronounced sambusa, which means anything triangular (cf. Steingass p.700).

There were two types of sanbusaks: savory and sweet ones. These last were usually filled with marzipan, and were held in great esteem. Recipes for both types appear in al-Baghdad's cookbook (chap.V; Chelebi p.58, Arberry's transl. p.201), and for savory ones in al-Warraq's cookbook (chapt. 36, pp.89-90) and in Part II.

Sanbusaks were very popular both in the East and in the West, where they were known as fartalat (see previous note 7.xx). They were eaten not only as a snack, but were added also to dishes, along with meatballs, sausages, isfryas and the like, to lend them variety (cf. Part II xx etc.). Sanbusaks are still very popular in India, where they are known as samosas, and are a vestige of Persian influence in Indian cuisine. The present recipe (7.37) differs from the traditional one in two respects: the sanbusaks seem to be made without a pastry envelope, and their shape is not triangular. A similar recipe derived from the same source as the present one appears in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.IX cap.3; p.171).

According to the Glossaire Mansuri (cf. no. 1072, p.115) fartalat, spelled also fardalat or fartalat, is the Western Arabic equivalent of the Eastern Arabic term sanbusak (see note below 7.xx), and hence it means turnover (Sp. empanadilla). That this is the meaning of this term is also obvious from the context of recipe 7.38.

The etymology of fartalat is not clear. Dozy (cf. II p.251 under fardalat) says au Maghrib, pate qui renferme de la viande hachee ... ; je crois avec M. Simonet que c'est un plural arabe de l'ancien espagnol farta (= farte, du lat. fartum, de farcio). It may also be related to Sp. fardel, Catalan fardell, or its synonym farcel, bundel, package, diminutives fardellet, farcellet. In contemporary Catalan a farcellet is

a small bundel of ground meat, wrapped in a cabbage leaf, a thin slice of meat, or the like.
It seems likely that fartalat is an hispanism. The word occurs in 7.37, 7.38 and in the present recipe 7.32.

7.39 Sanbusaks of the common folk.

They are made in three ways. Namely, either one may stuff ruqaqs with pounded garlic and seasonings, fold them in the shape of a triangle, and fry them in olive oil. Or one may make them with dough and with pounded meat, mixed with seasonings and beaten eggs. Make them in the shape of turnovers (fartalat), and fry them and serve them. Or one may make them with dough kneaded with samn or with melted fat (sahm). Make with it turnovers (fartalat), but do not fry them, but leave them raw. They are cooked when added to isfd-bajas and to stuffed dishes(?) (muhasuwat) (?).

7.40 Recipe for the Abbas

It is made with the perforated musahhada dough, which was previously described.

Take peeled almonds. Let them get dry (n), then pound them until they are like samd flour. Add to them the same amount of sugar, and also spikenard, cloves, and cassia.

Then take a round loaf (ragf) of the above mentioned musahhada dough, free of burns. Spread over it a good amount of this pounded almond and sugar mixture, and sprinkle over it some rose water, in which a little camphor has been dissolved. Fold it in half so that it becomes a half circle, and seal its edges with dough diluted with rose water. Put it in a pan filled with boiling fine olive oil, remove it immediately, and lift it in order to strain the oil. Let it float in rose syrup (sarab al-ward) or in juleb syrup (sarab al-jalab) or in honey free of impurities. One may make them by placing one loaf (ragf) on top of another loaf, stuffing its inside, and sealing the edges. Thus they can be made either round or in half circles.

7.41 The al-gasan dish.

Take one rat of fat sheep or goat's meat without bones. Cut it up, put it in a pot, and cook it as a white tafaya. When the meat is done, add four rats of filtered honey, one rat of peeled and pounded almonds, color it with saffron, and pour half a rat of olive oil. Stir the pot over a mild fire until the cooking is completed. Then pour it on a dish (sahfa), and sprinkle over it pounded sugar and ground cassia.

7.42 Recipe for a muassal with meat.

Take four rats of meat of young, fat sheep or goats, from the shoulder (sin), from the fat extremities without the bones, and from the fat tail (alya) as is. Put the meat in a new pot, adding the proper seasonings, the proper amount of water, also six uqyas of olive oil and six uqyas of filtered honey. Cook it until it is well done and the meat falls apart. Filter its grease (dasam), and keep it aside, and remove the meat from the pot.

Pour in the broth that remained in the pot three rats of filtered honey, free of impurities, one third of a rat of diluted starch, and split almonds. Stir the pot continuously until it is near of being firm. Then put back into the pot the removed meat, and pour in slowly the filtered grease (wadak) until the grease (dasam) seeps off, as in the muassal. Remove the pot from the fire, and let it stand until the heat has subsided.

7.43 Recipe for a muassal served as the last dish among us.

Take good quality, filtered honey, put it in a cauldron (tinj), and add starch diluted in rose water, in the proportion of four uqyas of starch for every rat of honey. If wanted one may color it with saffron. Stir this mixture continuously until it is near of being firm. Pour in it fine olive oil, an amount sufficient to cook it without burning. Sprinkle on it split almonds. Pour in it more olive oil until it seeps off. When the mixture has stiffened, and the cooking is completed, remove the cauldron from the fire, and empty it on a plate (sahfa). Take the oil, that may seep off. One may add to it (n) a small amount of peeled sesame seeds and of camphor dissolved in rose water. It is a marvellous dish.

7.44 The white muassal.

Take one rat of filtered white honey, three uqyas of starch, eggwhites of two eggs, the sufficient amount of fine olive oil, and peeled and split almonds. Cook this mixture over a gentle, weak fire, and stir it continuously without stopping, until it turns white, and boils, and has the consistency of the muassal. Flavor it with camphor dissolved in rose water. It is a marvellous dish.

7.45 The muassal served in Tunis at banquets.

Take filtered honey, and pour in it starch diluted in water and colored with saffron, in the proportion of half a rat of starch to one rat of honey. If starch is not available, one may use darmak flour, mixed in the same proportion. Put the pot on the fire. Pour in it a sufficient amount of olive oil, and continue stirring it until the oil seeps off and its thickness stiffens. Add also pepper, cinnamon, and a little camphor. It is ready to be served.

7.46 Making the zalabya.

Make a dough with darmak flour. Add water a little at a time until the dough is diluted. It should be lighter than the musahhada dough. Leave the dough in a pot near the fire until it has fermented. A sign, that it has, is to knock the pot from the outside with one finger: if one hears a deep sound, then it has fermented.

Then raise a pan with a lot of olive oil over the fire. When the oil boils, take some of this liquid dough, and pour it in a container (niya), that has a hole in its bottom. Stick your finger in the hole, then raise the hand holding the container over the pan, and remove your finger by turns, letting the dough flow through the hole into the pan. Move the hand holding the container, and design with the dough rings, grids, and the other figures that are usually made from it. Make sure that the oil is not lukewarm or in a short amount, because the dough will stick to the pan, but it should be abundant and boiling. When they are done, remove them carefully from the pan, and put them in a fragrant honey, free of impurities.

If one wants to color them with different colors, add to portions of the dough juice of brazilwood (Ar. baqqam), or lac (Ar. lakk), or juice of medder (Rubia tinctorum; Ar. fuwa), or saffron, or fresh green anis (...; Ar. razianaj), or juice of hound's berry (Solanum nigrum; Ar. inab al-talalab).

When the zalabyas are fully soaked in honey, put them on a rack of crossed wooden sticks (awad), placed on top of the bowl (sahfa) containing the honey, till they are drained, and no honey remains in them except what was absorbed inside. Then offer the zalabyas.

Then put it in fresh milk, and add to it eggs, the amount ...
in a pan with a lot of olive oil. When the olive oil boils, pour ...
with your hand, shaping a ring, ***, ...
immediately, and soak it in hot honey, free of impurities, ...
and offer it.

7.47 An Eastern layered kabs.

In a tajin and remove its foam and wash it with water until it hardens
...

half a rat, and olive oil half a rat. Stir it until it is done. Lower it
from the fire, and *** it on a bowl (gadar). Add half a rat of pounded,
sifted, white sugar.

7.48 The faludaj.

Take good quality, filtered honey, and put it in a clean cauldron (tinjr)
over a moderate fire. One should add for each rat of honey two uqyas of
starch. Dilute the starch in water, and mix it with the honey. If one
wants, one may color the starch with saffron. Continue stirring the
mixture, and draw it together with a spoon from all sides. When it is
near to thicken, add for each rat of honey four uqyas of olive oil, and
continue stirring it. Add also half an uqya of good quality yellow wax
for each rat and a half of honey. When the oil begins to seep off, remove
the seepage, since to the extent that one removes the oil, the sweet
(halawa) dries out, otherwise it would remain moist. Sprinkle on the
faludaj the necessary amount of peeled, split almonds. One may add to the
almonds a small amount of peeled sesame seeds. Leave it on the fire.
When it is properly cooked, pour it on a pastry board (salaiya), oiled
with oil removed from the sweet (halawa). Make with it large or small
loaves (ragf). Or you may make different kinds of round loaves (qursa)
with it. Then offer them.

7.49 Making the faludaj with sugar.

Dissolve in water one rat of sugar in a cauldron, and raise the cauldron
over a gentle fire. Add four uqyas of honey, so that it will retain some
moisture, and will not be brittle when it has hardened. Cook this mixture
until it has thickened, then add three uqyas of good olive oil, one uqya
of diluted starch, and three dirhams of gum arabic dissolved in rose
water. Continue stirring the mixture until it has thickened completely.
Sprinkle on it split almonds.

When it has thickened completely, pour it on a pastry board (salaiya),
oiled with sweet almond oil, and make loaves (ragf) with it. Then cut
them with scissors (miqrad), and offer them.

7.50 The sweet (hulwa) of pulled honey called qubbait.

Take honey ... and put it over a ... gentle fire. Continue stirring it
with your hand until it has thickened. Then remove the cauldron from the
fire ... Place the thickened honey over a large nail, nailed to the wall
... Pull the honey strongly against the nail, fold it, and continue
pulling it and folding it until the honey turns white. Then make kaks
with it.

7.51 A white sweet (alawa) made with sesame seeds.

Take honey, put it over a gentle fire, remove its foam, then add beaten
egg whites ... five eggwhites for each rat of honey, and stir it
vigorously with a big spoon. When it is near to thicken add the necessary
amount of sesame seeds, fold in its edges from every side with this
spoon, and increase the stirring until it thickens and turns white.

Then pour it on an oiled pastry board (salaiya). Make from it loaves (ragf). Cut them with a knife (sikkn) ***. When it cools off break them into sticks.

7.52 An Eastern white faludaj made with milk.

Take one rat and a half of fresh milk, and put it in a cauldron (tinjr) over a gentle fire. Add one fourth of a rat of diluted starch, and one rat of fine olive oil, and stir them. Then add two rats of pounded white sugar, and stir the mixture until it is done. Put it in a clean bowl (gadar), and serve.

7.53 A sweet (halawa) made with dates and honey.

Take saddak dates, remove their pits, and pound one rat of these. Dilute them with water in a cauldron (tinjr) over a gentle fire. Add also the same amount of honey, free of impurities. Stir the mixture until it has thickened. Then add a good amount of peeled almonds and walnuts, and also a little olive oil, so that the mixture will not burn, nor become extremely thick.

Then pour it over an oiled pastry board (salaiya), and make from it praiseworthy(?) round loaves (qursa), or cut it with a knife into large or small pieces.

7.54 Making wrist bracelets (misam).

This sweet used to be called in Marrakesh children's wrist bracelets. Pound peeled almonds with white sugar, and do not pound them excessively, but leave the mixture coarse. Then knead it with the palms of your hands, and shape it like a bracelet: circular and having as width the size of the wrist. Then roll out a loaf of moist fand, before it dries out, and place the bracelet in the middle of the loaf, and fold the loaf over it. Even up the fand loaf from all sides so that it sticks to the bracelet. Leave it aside.

Then put darmak flour in a tajin raised over a weak gentle fire. When the darmak flour has warmed up, put in it the bracelet, and turn it over until the darmak flour has stuck to it, and has covered it evenly from all sides. Then offer it.

Young children are fond of them.

7.55 A sweet (halawa) made with sugar.

Take one rat of pounded sugar, and two thirds of a rat of the core(?) of a darmak bread, grated until it is like sand flour. Add eggs, and mix them with these ingredients. Then raise a tajin over a gentle fire containing one rat of fine olive oil. When the oil boils, pour in it the breadcrumbs, sugar and egg mixture, and stir it over a gentle fire until it has thickened. When it has cooled off, sprinkle sugar, spikenard and cinnamon.

7.56 An Eastern sweet (halawa).

It serves as food for people with fever, and serves them, as well, as medicine.

Take peeled, sweet almonds. Pound them finely, add water, and extract their milk with a sieve (girba) or a clean piece of cloth (kirqa). It should be like milk. Add to this almond extract juice of sweet and sour pomegranates, sour apple juice, pear (n) juice, quince juice, and roasted calabash juice, insofar as they are available. The amount of all of these juices should be equal to the amount of the almond extract. Add, likewise, white sugar in an amount equal to the total mixture. Place it in a glazed, clay cauldron (tinjr), and have a gentle fire under it. Once

it boils, add a small amount of diluted starch. When it begins to thicken, add almond oil and (or) fine olive oil. Continue having a gentle fire under the cauldron, until the mixture has thickened completely. Then remove the cauldron from the fire, and offer the sweet. For those who have a weak stomach, one should add rose water flavored with camphor.

7.57 A sweet (halawa) called the common one (al-muawwada).

Take good quality sugar, and moisten it with fresh water in a cauldron. Raise the cauldron over a moderate fire until the sugar has thickened, then add split almonds.

Keep testing the boiling sugar on a marble slab (rukama). When you see that it is brittle, oil the marble slab, and pour the mixture on it and make loaves (ragf) with it. Cut these loaves with scissors (miqrad) in any shape you want, while they are still warm. Fashion from them shapes of dates filled with almonds or with pieces of fard, or images of figs ***, or images of grapes or raisins, and the like. Let the pieces cool off. Then offer them.

7.58 A Syrian sweet (halawa).

Take three rats of white sugar, and one rat of filtered honey. Put them together in a cauldron (tinjr) over a gentle fire, and stir the mixture> continuously. When it begins to thicken, add one rat and a half of diluted, colored starch, and (or) darmak flour, and continue stirring it. When it begins to thicken, pour fine, washed(?) olive oil, and sprinkle over it split almonds and pistachios. Take care while it thickens. When the thickening is completed, remove the cauldron from the fire, and flavor it with rose water, camphor, spikenard and cloves. Then pour it on a pastry board (salaiya), and make round loaves (qursa) from it. Place them in an oiled pot(?). Then offer them.

7.59 The rukamya (the marble slab(?) sweet).

Take white sugar, and dissolve it with a little water in a cauldron. Place the cauldron over a gentle fire, and remove its foam. When it is near to thicken, add two thirds the amount of sugar of peeled almonds, pounded coarsely until they are like sand wheat kernels?. When the thickening is completed, lower the cauldron from the fire, and flavor it with a little camphor, spikenard and cloves, diluted in rose water. Stir(?) it.

Pour the mixture over a heated marble slab (rukama), oiled with olive oil. Cover it with a smooth, oiled board (lauh) until its surface has smoothen out. Then cut it in stripes or in any shape you like. Then offer them.

7.60 Making tiny round loaves (qursa) of sugar.

Take good quality sugar and dissolve it in a little water in a cauldron. Raise the cauldron over a gentle fire, and let it boil until the water dries out. Then pour a drop of the boiling sugar on a marble slab (rukama) to measure its consistency. If the drop hardens, then lower the cauldron from the fire, add pounded and sifted ginger, galingale, spikenard, cloves and mastic, and stir the mixture. Then pour it on an oiled marble slab making tiny round loaves (qursa), and leave them until they cool off and harden. Then offer them.

If one likes them musky flavored, dissolve a little musk and camphor with good quality rose water, and flavor with it the sugar after lowering the cauldron from the fire and when the heat has subsided.

These sweets improve the smell of breath, warm up the stomach, and help digest the food.

(A retroactive note. In cooking sugar two technical terms seem to be used to describe the degree of doneness: ataraaqada. This requires further analysis).

7.61 Making the fand.

Take white sugar, and dissolve it in a moderate amount of water, not too little and not too much, and raise the cauldron over a gentle fire. Remove its foam, keep the liquid clean, and continue cooking it until it is medium thick. Then lower the cauldron from the fire. When it has cooled off a little, take the sugar in your hands, and pull it repeatedly in between them, as one does with the sweet called pulled honey, until it turns white, and its whiteness is to your satisfaction. If you see that it dries up in between your hands while pulling it, without turning into a satisfactory white, then bring it close to the fire until it softens, and continue doing so. And you will bring it close to the fire and pulling it, until its whiteness is to your satisfaction.

If you like it musky flavored, then add a little musk and camphor dissolved in a fragrant rose water, and sprinkle the sugar with it, and oil also the palms of your hands repeatedly with this rose water and musk solution when you pull the sugar, so that the musk and the camphor will be absorbed in it. It comes out marvelously.

Then make kaks, loaves (ragf), braids, bracelets, and any shape you like. Leave them on a board (lauh) exposed to a draft until they cool off and dry off. Then offer them.

(what follows has not been corrected!)

Fand is, what is usually called, pulled sugar, Fr. sucre tiré (tiré?). It has a certain similarity with Fr. fondant. To make it, sugar is dissolved in a little water and boiled down until it is thick. Then, by a special procedure described in the present recipe (7.61), made into a white paste. See also the note on qubbait.

Fand has yielded Sp. alfenique. A detailed XVI c. description on how to make it, and similar to the present one, appears in Baeza, cap.73 Del alfenique fino. After the sugar has been cooked to the desired consistency, this author says: Luego lo echaras sobre una losa limpia y llana untada con aceyte de almendras dulces para que se enfrie, que no se pone alli para otro efecto. Y enfriandose de suerte que se pueda tener en las manos para poderse tirar, y en una alcaiata (i.e.hook) de ierro, que este clavada en la pared y untada con el proprio azeyte de almendras dulces, [y] lo yras tirando hasta que este blanco, quanto ser pudiere de manera que no se enfrie (fols. 76r - 76v).

There is also a recipe for this sweet in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.IX cap.6; p.170-171), unfortunately the lines in this edition are mixed up. Fand stems from Persian pand (cf. Steingass p.233).

(explain the kinds mentioned in our text

Sukkariya.

Take one rat and a half of sugar, add enough rose water and water to cover it, and stir it. ...

pound(?), and sift it with a sieve on an unglazed(?) bowl (sahfa).

Add one uqya of honey for each rat of sugar?. Take one rat of peeled, white almonds, and chop them in three or four pieces. Return (!?) the

pot? to the fire, and cook it until it has thickened. Then return it to a bowl (sahfa) coated with almond oil. Then spread this sugar paste? on a marble slab, and cut it up in any shape you like. Sprinkle sugar on the cut up shapes.

It can be made in the same manner also with pistachios, pinenuts and almonds.

Test if it has the right consistency?, and pour it on the pastry board ... thin ..., and it is good. Then make from it whatever you like.

If one likes them(?) flavored with camphor and spices, grind what one wants from these, and sprinkle this powder over them. Serve, with the Will of Allah.

To cook sugar. Terminology.

If one keeps boiling a solution of sugar and water, it turns initially syrupy, then it starts to caramelize and to thicken, and finally it burns. These changes are accompanied by changes in the density and of the boiling point of the solution.

In this process

While these changes take place

The temperature of the solution keeps rising, and may serve as a precise gauge to determine ...

The precise temperature of the boiling sugar solution is often crucial to obtain the correct results, and in the past, lacking a tremometer, confectioners have developed a set of tests and an elaborate terminology to describe it precisely.

HISTORICAL NOTES PREFACE AND CHAPTERS

IN PREFACE

Cookbook authors

Ah Tmad ibn al-Mutas Tim

It is likely that the Abbasid caliph Abu Ish. Taq Muh BTammad al-Mutas Tim (b.795, reigned 833-842) is the one meant here. Al-Mutas Tim was a son of Harun al-Rasd by a Turkish slave, and the successor of al-Mamun (see below). He was the first to have a Turkish bodyguard, a custom, continued by succeeding caliphs, that turned out to be disastrous for the Abbasids. Several culinary recipes ascribed to al-Mutas Tim appear in al-Warraqs cookbook (pp.210, 265, etc.), which support the above view. There is another Muh Tammad al-Mutas Tim, a king of Almeria in the period of the party kings muluk al-Tawaf. During his reign (1051-1091), the city of Almeria became a great centre of culture. He had a son named Ah Tmad, who matches the above name of our manuscript. It is unlikely, though, that he is the one meant. The following names in this list refer to caliphs, viziers and governors of the golden age of the Abbasid caliphate, and, most likely, the present name refers to one of them too, as suggested.

This list, as the preceeding one on breads, seems to stem from an oriental source.

References: Philip K. Hitti. History of the Arabs (Ninth edition). New York, NY 1968. (p. 466).

Encyclopaedia of Islam (first ed., reprint) VI pp.765-786.

Ibrahim ibn al-Mahd (779-839)

A half-brother of Harun al-Rasd (reigned 786-809). During the c4il unrest of the early years of the caliphate of al-Mamun (reigned 813-833), who was a son of Harun al-Rasa Ibrahim ibn al-Mahd was for a while (817-819) a r4al caliph.

Al-Mahd acquired great fame as a musician and singer, as well as an epicure. He wrote a cookbook, that was one of the most celebrated in Arab culinary literature. It is mentioned in the Fihrist (or catalog) of al-Nad (X c.), but does not seem to have survived, at least in its integrity. Many recipes in al-Warra cookbook, as well as a section of our manuscript (cf. Part II) and 3.15 are ascribed to him. A famous dish named Ibrahim is due to him or in his honor (cf. 3.19, and al-Baghda Cookbook (Chelebi p. 10, Arberry transl. p.34)).

References: Philip K. Hitti. History of the Arabs (Ninth edition). New York, NY 1968. (pp. 303-304, 318, 426).

Dodge, Bayard (ed. and trnsl.) The Fihrist of al-Nad (2 vols.) New York, 1970. (p. II:742, see also I:254).

Waines, David. A Prince of epicures. The Arabs first cookbook. Ur (London) 1984/3 (pp 26-29).

Yah ya ben lid al-Barmak (d.805).

A son of the founder of the famous Persian Barmakid family of viziers. He was entrusted with the education of Harun al-Rasand became his vizier when Harun became a caliph. Jafar (see note xx) was one of his sons. Some recipes ascribed to him appear in al-Warraq (cf. pp. 199, 220, 224 etc). His -or his court- cookbook is, maybe, the earliest in Arabic, and

may have been influential in introducing Persian dishes into the Abbasid court.

References: Philip K. Hitti. History of the Arabs (Ninth edition). New York, NY 1968. (p. 294-295).

Mutamid

Abbasid caliph, a great-grandson of Harun al-Ras, (reigned 870-892). One of the most sanguinary episodes of his reign was the rebellion of the Zanj slaves, negroes imported from East Africa and employed in the salpetre mines on the lower Euphrates, that lasted fourteen years (870-883).

Some recipes ascribed to him appear in al-Warras cookbook (cf. pp. 83, 87, 210, 225, 236 etc). This seems to imply that this Abbasid caliph is the one meant here, and not his homonym al-Mutamid, the Abbasid monarch of Seville (reigned 1068-1091).

References: Philip K. Hitti. History of the Arabs (Ninth edition). New York, NY 1968. (p. 468).

Abd Allah ibn Talh

Probably Abd Alla ibn Tahir (798-844), a son of Tahir ibn al Tusain, the founder of a dynasty of governors of Khurasan. Tahir was succeeded in the governorship by his son Thal Ta(d.828), and he by his brother Abd Allah. A mix-up between his father's and brother's names may explain the name of our text.

Abd Allah ibn Tahir

Was a contemporary of the Abbasid caliph al-Mutas Tim. He was an able governor and general, and ruled Khurasan almost as an independent prince. He was also a man of great culture and an outstanding poet. According to the Encyclopaedia of Islam (first ed.) That he was not insensible to the pleasures of the table is clearly to be inferred from the fact that an excellent sort of Egyptian melon has been named after him Abd-alla in general the greatest luxury reigned in his palace (I p.31). He had also a magnificent palace in Baghdad.

References:

Encyclopaedia of Islam (first ed., reprinted, I p.31, VII p.614), (second ed. I p.52).

Dodge, Bayard (ed. and trnsl.) The Fihrist of al-Nadm (2 vols.) New York, 1970. (p. I:256).

Anuirwan

is the surname of Chosroes I (531-579 AD), the most famous of the Sassanian kings. The Persian word Anuirwan is usually interpreted as meaning possessed of an immortal (or, sometimes, sweet) soul. Since in the Near East there was by then a two thousand year old tradition of writting down culinary recipes (cf. Bottro), it is not unlikely that there existed a Sassanid cookbook stemming from Chosroes court and attributed to him. In support of this view I may note that there is a recipe in al-Warras cookbook due to Chosroes (p.69), and that Chosroes Anuirwan is mentioned there also in a gastronomic poem (p.140).

Other persons in Islam bore the name Anuirwan, however no author with this name is listed in Nadm's Fihrist (a X c. catalog of authors) nor in Carl Brockelmann's comprehensive Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur.

References: Encyclopaedia of Islam (new ed.) I (1960) p.522 (see Anuirwa id. V (1986) p.184 (see Kisra).

Jean Bottro. The culinary tablets at Yale. Journal of the American Oriental Society, 1987. (pp.11-19).

IN CHAPTER I

Abu Tassan Al

There are two Almohade princes with this name:

(i) One was a grandson of Abd al-Mumin and a cousin of Yaqu al-Mans Tur (see table). In 582/1186 he was appointed governor of Marrakesh by his cousin al-Mans Tur. Later he held other important posts in Africa. Having become sick he returned in 605/1206 to Marrakesh, and died there a few years later. He was considered to be indolent and interested in literature. (See Huici, p.616).

(ii) The other one was a son of Abd al-Mumin (see table). He held several governorships (Fez, Cordoba 571/1175?, Ifriqya 576/1180, Tlemcen 580/1184 etc.), and spent some time in Marrakesh with his family around 575/1179. (See Huici, pp. 619-620).

Probably the first prince is the one meant in recipes I.10 and 3.18, since he was a governor of Marrakesh, and the dates of his stay there could thus be the years around 1186 or 1206. The second date falls in line with the dates when Abu al-Ula was governor of Ceuta (see note xx on him). Since these events were probably of recent memory to the author of our cookbook, the second date is the most likely.

Reference: Huici Miranda, Ambrosio. Historia politica del Imperio Almohade (two volumes). Tetua 1956,1957.

Abu Bakr al-Ra

(Latinized Rhazes) (865-925)

Was one of the most illustrious Islamic physicians and medical authors. Some of his books, translated into Latin, became standard medical texts in Medieval European universities.

Of special importance for culinary history is his extant and extensive Kitab daf mad. Tarr al-agédyā (book to avoid the harms of nutriments), which does not seem to have been translated into any European language. In it he discusses in detail the dietetic properties of foods, dishes and beverages of his time.

Reference: Manfred Ullmann. Die Medizin im Islam (Handbuch der Orientalistik). Leiden 1970 (pp. 128-136, 200)

D. Waines. The gourmet's physician: Abu Bakr al-Ra Ur (1985).

IN CHAPTER 2

Abu al-la Idr

There are two Almohade princes with this name. The one who was governor of Ceuta, and thus the one meant here, was a son of Yusuf I and a brother of Yaquub al-Mans Tur (see table). He was governor of Ceuta around 607/1208 (check date!) and in this position he commanded the fleet that captured Majorca for the Almohades from the Almoravids in 599/1203. In 618/1220 he became governor of Seville, where he build the famous Torre del Oro. He died in 620/1223.

Recipe II.12 was thus prepared approximately between 1205 and 1215. (Check further!).

Reference: Huici Miranda, Ambrosio. Historia politica del Imperio Almohade (two volumes). Tetua 1956,1957. p.624.

IN CHAPTER 3

Tunain ibn Ish Tah (808 - 873 or 877).

A famous Nestorian physician, and one of the most productive translators of Greek medical texts.

Reference: Manfred Ullmann. Die Medizin im Islam (Handbuch der Orientalistik). Leiden/Kon 970 (pp. 115)

Jafar

Probably Jafar al-Barma (766?-803) is the one meant here. He was a contemporary of Harun al-Rasid (reigned 786-809), and a member of the famous Persian Barmakid family of viziers. He had a magnificent palace in Baghdad, and lived in grand style. He acquired great fame for his eloquence and literary ability, as a leader of fashion, and for his great generosity and munificence, that became proverbial.

Reference: Philip K. Hitti. History of the Arabs (Ninth edition). New York, NY 1968. (pp. 295-296).

Barmakid

An illustrious Persian family of viziers of the second half of the 8th century, during the golden age of the Abbasid dynasty. Yahya ben Ishaq (see note xx) and Jafar (see note xx) were Barmakids. Al-nad Fihrist mentions Tmad ibn Jafar al-Barmak (d.937/938) as a cookbook author. References: Philip K. Hitti. History of the Arabs (Ninth edition). New York, NY 1968. (pp. 294-296); Dodge, Bayard (ed. and trns.) The Fihrist of al-Nad (2 vols.) New York, 1970. (p. II:742, see also I:319).

IN CHAPTER 4

Zirya

A Persian tenor and artist from the court of Harun al-Rasid of Baghdad, who arrived in 822 in Cordoba, during the reign of Abd ar-Rahman II (822-852). Due to his magnetic personality, he became a most popular figure and an arbiter of fashion of Muslim Spain during his lifetime. Reference: Philip K. Hitti. History of the Arabs (Ninth edition). New York, NY 1968. (pp. 514-515, 598).

The marriage of Caliph al-Mamun (813-833), a son of Harun al-Rasid, to Buran, a daughter of his vizier al-Tasan ben Sahl, was celebrated in 825. It was an incredible extravaganza, well remembered and glorified in the Arab literature.

References: Philip K. Hitti. History of the Arabs (Ninth edition). New York, NY 1968. (p. 302); Thousand and one Night (V3, 288, ed. Habicht) (check!)

IN CHAPTER 6

Muhallab ben Abu Tafra (630?-702 AD).

A famous Arab general of the Umayyad period. He undertook many successful campaigns in the Eastern provinces of the Arab Empire.

References: Encyclopaedia of Islam (1st ed.) 3/2 p.640 &ss

Lamtuya

A leading tribe of the Almoravids, who ruled Spain between 1086 and 1121 (check dates!).

This dish bears the name of the Lamtuna tribe. Good description in Hitti

IN CHAPTER 7

Mudd of Ab Tafs.

We know two people of this period with this name: (i) Umar Abu Tafa al-Hinta an early mentor of Abd al-Mumin, the founder of the Almohade dynasty, and (ii) sayyid Umar Abu Tafa son of this Caliph (see table). We do not know if any of these two fixed or established a value for the mudd.

Reference: Huici Miranda, Ambrosio. Historia politica del Imperio Almohade (two volumes). Tetuan 1956,1957. p.???

The Commander of the Faithful Abu Yusuf al-Mans Tur.

The Almohade Caliph Abu Yusuf Yaqub al-Mans Tur (580/1184-595/1199) is best known for his victory at Alarcos (1195) over the Castillian king Alphons V3. (see table).

Since the present text considers him dead, this text was obviously written after his death in 1199.

Additional

Allah ibn Talh Tahir.

Probably Abd Allah ibn Tahir (798-844), a son of Tahir ibn al-Tusain, the founder of a dynasty of governors of Khurasan.

Tahir was succeeded in the governorship by his son Talh Ta (d.828), and he by his brother Abd Allah. A mix-up between his father's and brother's names explains the name of our text.

Abd Allah ibn Tahir was a contemporary of al-Mutas Tim. He was an able governor and general, and ruled Khurasan almost as an independent prince. He was also a man of great culture and an outstanding poet. According to the Encyclopaedia of Islam (first ed.) That he was not insensible to the pleasures of the table is clearly to be inferred from the fact that an excellent sort of Egyptian melon has been named after him Abd-alla; in general the greatest luxury reigned in his palace. (I p.31). He had also a magnificent palace in Baghdad.

References:

Encyclopaedia of Islam (first ed., reprinted, I p.31, VII p.614), (second ed. I p.52).

Dodge, Bayard (ed. and trnsl.) The Fihrist of al-Nad. (2 vols.) New York, 1970. (p. I:256).

PROPER NAMES

Proper names in Medical Cookbook

- Pref.1 Hypocrates, Galen
Pref.6 Among them are Ah Tmad ben al-Mutas Tim,
Ibrahim ben al-Mahd
Yah Tyaben lid, al-Mutamid
Abd Allah ben Tah Ta
Pref.7 In the days of Abd Rahn al-Nas Tir lidd
Allah and in those of his son al- Takam,
Pref.8 Anuirwan
Pref.10 From the days of Umar ben Abd al-Az and Ban Umayya to the
present.
I.10 It was served to the sayyid Abual - Basan and other people
in Marrakesh.
I.17 Al-Ra
II.12 A roasted calf done for the sayyid Abu al-Ua in Ceuta
II.24 Recipe for another roast, one of the dishes prepared for Abu
Talih al-Rahba in his kitchen.
3.1 Tunain bin Ish Taq
3.6 Jafar
3.15 Ibn al-Mahd
3.18 Sayyid Abu al- Tasan
4.10 Zirya
4.19 It is ascribed to Buran, daughter of al- Tasan ben Sahl.
4.34 Muzawwar dish made with eggplants prepared by ibn
Mutanna
6.7 This dish used to be served in Cordoba in the springtime to
the physician Abu al - Tasan al-Buna
6.14 Muhallab ben Abu Tafra
7.9 These mujabbanas were made for Abu Sad ben Jami and his
friends, and he loved them. It was an invention of Musa ben al-
Ya Inspector of Markets, Weights and Measures
in Marrakesh.
7.26 A mudd of Abu Taf
7.37 They were made in Marrakesh at the home of the Commander of
the Faithful Abu Yusuf al-Mans Tur, may God have mercy upon
him.

Spikenard (Nardostachys jatamansi) . This aromatic plant of the genus Valeriana has a root with long, straight filaments, that resemble an ear or spike of wheat, whence its Arabic name, sunbu, and its Latin one spica. It grows in the Himalayas.

In Ancient Greece and Rome, spikenard was used both as a medicine and in cooking. Thus, for instance, Dioscorides discusses its medical properties in book I (nardos) (cf. Dioscorides. De materia medica (ed. Max Wellman), 3 vols. Berlin 1906-14 (reprinted Berlin 1958)), and Apicius uses this spice in several of his culinary recipes (cf. Spica Indica in Apicius. L'art culinaire. (ed. Jacques Andre). Les Belles Lettres, Paris 1974. p.223)). See also Andre, Jacques. L'alimentation et la cuisine a Rome. Paris 1981. p.208 as well as Andre Jacques. Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique. Paris 1985. p.245.

After the fall of Rome spikenard continued to be used. Thus Vinidarius, an author writing at the end of the V or beginning of the VI century, in his *Apici Excerpta*, lists spikenard as one of the indispensable spices for a well furnished kitchen. (Cf. p.124 in the above mentioned edition of Apicius). In the Near Eastern cookbooks of al-Warraq (approximately X century) and al-Baghdad (early X3 century) spikenard is used regularly. (Cf. al-Baghdad, Muh Tammad al-Katib. *Kitab al-abkh.* (edited by Dr. D. Chelebi) Mosul, 1934. and al-Warraq, Ibn Sayyar. *Kitab al-Tabkh.* (edited by K. Oehrnberg and S. Mroueh). Helsinski, 1987). A hint of its trade and price ca. the year 1066 is preserved in the documents of the Cairo Geniza (cf. Goiten, S.D. *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders.* Princeton, 1973. p.294). For its use in Arabic pharmacy see Levey, Martin. *The Medical Formulary or Aqrabadhn of al-Kind*, translated with a study of its *Materia Medica* by. Madison, Milwaukee, and London 1966. (p.286-287).

Spikenard seems to have disappeared, though, in the late Middle Ages, due, maybe, to a disruption of the land trade routes caused by the Mongol expansion in the X3 century and the concomitant upheavals in Central Asia. Spikenard is nowadays practically unavailable in Europe and in the United States. Its name survives faintly in *aspic*, a dish originally spiced with it.

That this spice is actually the one meant by the term *sunbul* of our text, and not some other domestic herb, is clear from the fact that (i) it is grouped in our text with exotic spices (*aqagr*) (cf. a previous footnote) and used in conjunction with them. (ii) That it is often mixed with cinnamon, and sometimes sugar, and sprinkled over a dish as a finishing touch. No herbs are ever used in our cookbook in this fashion. (3) That it is often used in preparing sweets and pastries, where herbs are rarely used, if at all. (4) And that its use in our text is similar to its use in medieval Near Eastern cookbooks, where spikenard is clearly meant.

The Greek term *nardos* stems from the Semitic (Phoenician) (cf. Hebrew *nerd*, Aramaic *nirda*, Babilonian *lardu*). These semitic words stem in turn from old Indic. Cf. Frisk, Hjalmar. *Griechisches Etymologisches Worterbuch.* Band II. Heidelberg, 1969. (p.289).

STYLISTIC CHARACTERISTICS:

(i) The recipes are supplemented with comments, often of a dietetic nature.

(ii) The recipes are grouped thematically, often by categories of dishes, and not by the main ingredient.

(3) Recipes end frequently with ..., not with

(4) The text is clearly of Spanish origin. It has references to Spanish cities and has some hispanisms.

Characteristics of the vocabulary

- (i) إيقنلا is regularly qualified as برم
- (ii) Fresh coriander is called قطرلا قريزك, not ريزك روضخ.
- (3) The brazier is called نضر, not ضغ.
- (4) Cinnamon is commonly called تفرق, and not چنصراد.
- (v) Spices are called باوت, or رازبأ, and not اڤيواف.
- (vi) The name for egg yolks is usually حم and not وصف.
- (vii) Units of measure: ...

Culinary characteristics

- (i) The oven used is the رف, not the رونت.
- (ii) رنص and مك and تيوارك are often used.

VOCABULARY

Ahras .

Large Arabic dictionaries do not register under the root arasa any term related to food. There are four recipes for ahras in our ms. (I.9, I.10, V.12 (with fish) and Part II xx), and three more in ibn Razn's cookbook (p.97). They have this in common: the ahras are made from pounded meat, pounded and seasoned as for sausages (mirkas), including usually the addition of hacked fat; they are shaped as meatballs, patties or loaves; and they are fried in a pan. These characteristics remind us of contemporary hamburgers. The meatballs (banadiq), described above, were usually added to dishes, and not fried and eaten by themselves. The ahras may fill this gap.

We have left the term ahras untranslated.

Asda .

The asda is, basically, a dish made by cooking wheat flour in water. The amount of water should be such that the finished dish has a thick consistency. To avoid burning, the cooking flour should be stirred constantly. Often some kind of grease is added to the dish, and also some honey or sugar at the end. It may be seasoned too. (Cf. Lane p.2060). The Vocabulista translates asda as Lat. pultes, which meant in Spain at that time, as it is clear from its Spanish cognate puches, a dish of cooked flour. This dish was popular in medieval times all around the Mediterranean (cf. medieval Italian polenta, Cat. farines). Few old recipes survive, though. One appears in the medieval Catalan cookbook Sent Sovi (cap.111 p.138).

A recipe for asda appears in al-Baghdad's Cookbook (Chelebi p. 82, Arberry's transl. p.214) and in our text in 6.30. The present recipe VI.29 is not properly anasda, but a fancier dish that may be served instead.

Buranya .

The buranya, in its simplest form, is a casserole dish made of layers of fried eggplants and of half-cooked meat, the whole finished in the oven, in the West, or over the embers, in the East. The dish is of Eastern origin. al-Baghdad's Cookbook brings its recipe (cf. Chelebi p.39, Arberry's transl. p.191) and it is mentioned in the Thousand and One Night (see reference below).

There is also a buranya made with calabash, whose recipe is given in al-Baghdad's Cookbook (cf. Chelebi p.42, Arberry's transl. p.193.) and was probably prepared in Spain too, though the recipe is not extant in our manuscript.

This dish was renowned in Spain at that time and it continued to be prepared well into the XVI century and beyond. It is mentioned in Francisco Delicado's La lozana andaluza (cf. Mamotreto II, Pues borona no sabia hacer? por maravilla!) and in Miguel de Cervantes's La gran Sultana (cf. Jornada Primera ... gozar de la cazuela llena de borona y caldo prieto). However, the cookbooks of the period, Nola, Diego Granado, Hernandez de Maceras, and Montino, do not bring the recipe.

A dish called alborona is still prepared nowadays in Southern Spain, clearly a survival of the buranya. However, the present dish has been completely transformed by the addition of New World vegetables, such as tomatoes and bell peppers, and all that it has in common with the older dish is just the eggplants. One should be aware that the definition of alborona given in the Diccionario de la Real Academia España does not apply to the older usages of this word, as some scholars have done.

The term buranya is supposed to derive from Buran (cf. next note).

Reference:

Tausend und eine Nacht. Arabisch. Nach einer Handschrift aus Tunis herausgegeben von Dr. Maximilian Habicht. vol. V3. Breslau 1838. p.288.

Camphor kafur.

An aromatic substance contained in the wood of the camphor tree (*Cinnamomum camphora*) of the laurel (*Laurus*) genus. This tree is indigenous to China, Japan, Sumatra and Borneo. Camphor was unknown to the Ancient Greeks.

It is likely that this substance was available in the form of gum or resin, since it was usually dissolved in rose water, often in combination with musk.

Camphor seems to have been used very rarely to flavor savory dishes and sweets, and hardly any examples are to be found in the Arabic and Christian Medieval culinary literature published so far. It is surprising that in the present cookbook it is used in 25 recipes out of the approximately 220 it contains. No doubt a sign of the aristocratic nature of this cookbook. Camphor is not used in the recipes of Part II of this manuscript.

The word camphor stems from the Ar. kafur, and this in turn from Malay kapur.

Cassia (darsn) .

I have translated darsnas cassia (also called Chinese cinnamon), and qirfa as cinnamon^v. Both spices are very similar. In the United States, for instance, they are not distinguished commercially.

Darmak flour.

Darmak flour is a high quality wheat flour, that in contemporary Spanish would be called flor de harina. Darmak has yielded old Spanish adargama with the same meaning. (Cf. Dozy, Reinhart et Dr. W.H. Engelman.

Glossaire des mots Espagnols et Portugais de rives de l'Arabe. 2nd. ed. Leyden, 1869. p.41., and also Leopoldo de Eguilaz y Yanguas. Glosario etimologico de las palabras españolas de origen oriental. Granada, 1886. p.49).

Another high quality wheat flour used in our text is the samd flour (or semolina flour). Samd flour may have a higher gluten content, and the wheat may grow at higher altitudes and on drier land, but if this was the difference among these two types of flour at that time, we do not know. We have left both terms untranslated.

The term darmak is not of Semitic origin, and it is not registered in Lane, nor in Freytag (in the present sense), nor in the Persian dictionary of Steinga We ignore its etymology.

Dasam (grease) .

I have translated dasam as grease. The term is used, though, in a more restricted sense, namely, for liquid grease, like the one that surfaces in pots, while cooking fat cuts of meat. For solid fats the term sahm is used (cf. note below).

The term dasam appears only in the Medical Cookbook, in Part II the term wadak is used instead. We have noted in parenthesis all the occurrences of these words.

Duwwara.

Freytag translates *ea ventris pars in ove, quae intestina comprehendit* (i.e. that part of the belly of a sheep, that contains the intestines). Lane translates What winds or what has or assumes a coiled or circular form, of the guts or intestines of a sheep or goat. We have translated *duwwara* as gut.

Faludaj.

The *faludaj* is a famous sweet of Persian origin, made originally with honey, starch and water, that was popular for many centuries in the Islamic world. At the time of our author it was made either with honey (7.48) or with sugar (7.49, 7.52), and with other ingredients. The honey version of our text is similar to a *muassal*.

Al-Warraq's cookbook devotes a whole chapter to this sweet (chapt.93; pp.242-245 (11 recipes)). Most of his recipes are prepared with honey, some use milk instead of water, some rice instead of starch. Al-Baghdad's cookbook has only one recipe for this sweet (chap.IX; Chelebi p.76, Arberry's transl. p.211). This recipe, made with sugar, is reminiscent of *marzipan*. (Cf. also al-Raz chapt. 18; p.251).

Faludaj is, according to Steingass (p.905), the Arabized form of Persian *paluda* strained, filtered, a kind of sweet beverage made of water, flour and honey, ... (p.233).

Fand.

Fand is, what is called in confectionery, pulled or spun sugar, Fr. *sucre tir*. It has a certain similarity with Fr. *fondant*. To make it, sugar is dissolved in a little water and boiled down until it is thick. Then, by a special procedure described in the present recipe (7.61), made into a white paste. See also the note on *qubbait*.

Fand has yielded Sp. *alfenique*. A detailed XVI c. description on how to make it, and similar to the present one, appears in Baeza, cap.73 *Del alfenique fino*. After the sugar has been cooked to the desired consistency, this author says: *Luego lo echaras sobre una losa limpia y llana untada con aceyte de almendras dulces para que se enfrie, que no se pone alli para otro efecto. Y enfriandose de suerte que se pueda tener en las manos para poderse tirar, y en una alcajata (i.e.hook) de ierro, que este clavada en la pared y untada con el proprio azeyte de almendras dulces, [y] lo yras tirando hasta que este blanco, quanto ser pudiere de manera que no se enfrie (fols. 76r - 76v).*

There is also a recipe for this sweet in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.IX cap.6; p.170-171), unfortunately the lines in this edition are mixed up. *Fand* stems from Persian *pand* (cf. Steingass p.233).

(explain the kinds mentioned in our text)

Fartala.

According to the *Glossaire Mansuri* (cf. no. 1072, p.115) *fartalat*, spelled also *fardalat* or *fartalat*, is the Western Arabic equivalent of the Eastern Arabic term *sanbusak* (see note below 7.xx), and hence it means turnover (Sp. *empanadilla*). That this is the meaning of this term is also obvious from the context of recipe 7.38.

The etymology of *fartalat* is not clear. Dozy (cf. II p.251 under *fardalat*) says *au Maghrib, pate qui renferme de la viande hache ... ; je crois avec M. Simonet que c'est un plural arabe de l'ancien espagnol fartal (= farte, du lat. fartum, de farcio)*. It may also be related to Sp. *fardel*, Catalan *fardell*, or its synonym *farcell*, *bundel*, *package*, diminutives *fardellet*, *farcellet*. In contemporary Catalan a *farcellet* is

a small bundel of ground meat, wrapped in a cabbage leaf, a thin slice of meat, or the like.

It seems likely that fartalat is an hispanism. The word occurs in 7.37, 7.38 and in the present recipe 7.32.

Fatr.

fatr is used in two senses in our text: (i) as a generic for breads made with unleavened dough, as it is the case here and in 7.18, and (ii) for a ragf, that was a specialty of Tunisia and Algeria (cf. VI.15, VI.9).

Talqa kirshu.

The stomach of ruminants has four chambers or compartments: the rumen, a large pouch, the reticulum, an accessory chamber to the rumen, whose walls are lined with a criss-cross series of ridges (the honeycomb tripe), the omasum or psalterium, whose walls reminded our predecessors of the leaves of a psalter book, and the abomasum, which is the stomach proper. The first three chambers may be considered expansions of the esophagus.

When food is eaten, it enters the first two chambers, where it is subjected to muscular and bacterial action, and reduced to pulp or cud. Then it is regurgitated and chewed again. Finally it descends into the third and fourth chambers, where digestion is completed.

halqa kirshu means, literally, the ring, or maybe the throat, of the stomach. It is not obvious what this expression may mean, possibly the rumen or the reticulum. It has been translated tentatively as tripe. The expression occurs again in VI.1.

Hantam.

This word qualifies clay pots, but its exact meaning is not clear. It does not seem to mean glazed nor varnished, since a hantam pot:

(i) is porous and particles of food may remain embedded in it after cooking (cf. the Arabic text of al-Arbul (ed. Diaz Garcia) p.65).

(ii) it is used in our text in cases where the clay vessel is heated in an oven or under strong fire without containing any liquid, though its surface may be smeared with oil (cf. 3.13, 7.14, 7.15, 7.16, 7.19). It is unlikely that a varnished clay vessel may be appropriate for this purpose.

(3) recipe 7.16 for the murakkaba has a parallel in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.I cap.4, p.40). Our text requires for its preparation a hantam pan, Razn's text requires a clay tajin without glaze (gair muzajjaj). Both requirements, I suppose, are identical.

(4) Dozy translates hantam as vernisse en dedans. The two texts he mentions of ibn al-Awwam are, in my view, inconclusive.

I have translated hantam as unvarnished, and kept the Arabic word next to it in case this translation is found to be unsatisfactory.

Reference: Diaz Garcia, Amador. Un tratado nazar sobre alimentos: al-kalamal-agiya de al-Arbu. Edicion, traduccion y estudio, con glosarios (II). Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales X-XI, 1982-83, (p.65).

Harsa.

The harsa, in its simplest form, is a mixture of whole grain wheat and meat, preferably sheep or goat's, cooked in water with a little salt and for a long time until the ingredients are homogenized. Some fat is added at the end.

This plain dish, made with two of the most basic products of the Mediterranean basin since the Neolithic, namely wheat and sheep or goats, is likely to be ancient. A sign of this is that the harsa is known over a large area of the Near East, including Armenia, and that it is well

recorded and documented. Arto der Haroutunian says that this dish is traditionally prepared in Armenia at the feast of St. Mary, and the recipe he gives is similar to the one in this text (cf. Haroutunian, herissah, p.56).

The harsa may be prepared also with rice instead of wheat.

There are recipes for the harsa in al-Warraq's cookbook (chapt. 50, pp. 138 ss); in al-Baghdad's Cookbook (Chelebi p. 52, Arberry's transl. pp.198, 199); and in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.II cap.6; p.98). The dietetic properties of the harsa₂ are discussed in al-Raz (cap.10; p.145).

The Vocabulista translates harsa as Lat. frumentum, a similar staple dish of the Roman Empire.

Reference:

Haroutunian, Arto der. Middle Eastern cookery. London, 1982.

Hasu.

The noun hasu means, normally, in Arabic stuffing, i.e. a mixture of ingredients that one inserts in the cavity of an animal or some other enclosure before it is cooked. In our manuscript, and especially in Part II, there are many instances where hasu is not used in this sense, but as a synonym of maraqa, sauce. Such instances have been translated as sauce with hasu added in parenthesis, as in the present case.

Ijjas.

Ar. ijjas is an ambiguous term, it may mean prunes or pears. It is clear, though, that prunes are meant here. Cf. recipe 3.5 for maruzya, where the Hispano-Arab name for prunes uyun al-baqar is used. Cf. also recipe 3.26, where the title of the recipe has ijjas, but prunes, uyun al-baqar, are used in the body of the recipe. For this ambiguity see Dozy.

Insallah.

I have left this expression, which means, roughly, with the Will of Allah or God willing, untranslated. It is often used in Part II to mark the end of a recipe.

Isfrya.

Isfryas are patties (ragf), that can be made of a variety of basic ingredients: pounded meat (I.12, Part II xx, yy), eggs (I.13, Part II zz), chickpeas (I.14), eggplants (4.33), etc. The basic ingredient is usually seasoned, mixed with a binding element, then shaped, and fried in a pan. The term is still used nowadays in northwest Africa in a similar sense, but spelled sfrya (cf. Hadjiat, Salima. La cuisine d'Algerie. Paris, 1983. pp.59, 61, 71, 109).

The term is registered in Dozy (I,22), but described vaguely. It is probably unrelated to the Semitic root safara.

Isfdbaja. A Persian dish. A recipe is extant in al-Baghdad's Cookbook (Chelebi p.32, Arberry's transl. p.46). There are similarities between this Eastern recipe and the white tafaya. There is only another occurrence of this word in our ms., namely in 7.38. The Persian term is composed of isfd, white, and ba, gruel or spoon-meat (cf. F. Steinga Persian-English Dictionary. London, 1892).

Itrya, noodles, vermicelli.

To make itrya, basically, one kneaded a dough with wheat flour, preferably samd, salt and water. The dough was rolled out thin and cut into thin strips or threads, and hence their cross sections were rectangular. The threads were usually left to dry in the sun. The procedure is described in some detail in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.I cap.5; p.52) and it is illustrated in the *Theatrum Sanitatis* (vol.II, p.31, trij). itrya were also produced commercially.

By the time of our author, itrya were consumed over a vast geographical area, and had been known for centuries in the Near East. A sign of their antiquity in that region is that the word itrya is attested in Syriac (cf. itriun, pl. itria in Brockelmann p.14, and in Payne Smith, J. (Mrs. Margoliouth) p.12) and in Talmudic Hebrew. For instance, in the Palestinian Talmud it is written that On the Holy Days it is forbidden to make vermicelli, if for drying them (cf. Jastrow, itri, p.43).

In the Eastern Arabic literature, ibnna (Avicenna) (980-1037) discussed the dietetic properties of itrya in his influential *Qanun*. He said that they are cooked by boiling them in water, with or without meat, and considered them nourishing but difficult to digest because they were made from unleavened dough. (cf. vol.I, p.264; (Book II)). A recipe for preparing itrya is given in al-Baghdad's Cookbook (cf. Chelebi p. 29, Arberry's transl. p.45).

Itrya were brought to Sicily by the Arabs, and the word has left some traces in the Sicilian dialect, such as, vermicelli di tria, and in some old cookbooks, such as the *Anonimo Toscano* (XV c.), *De la tria genovese per li infermi* (quoted from Faccioli's edition vol I, p.55).

In Spain itrya, probably pronounced atrya, were widely consumed, not only among Moslems, but also among Christians. Thus the medieval Catalan cookbook *Sent Sovi* brings two recipes Capitol 170. Qui parla com se cou alatria Capitol 171. Qui parla con se cou carn ab alatria (pp.182-183), and Arnaldus of Vilanova discusses their dietetic properties in his well-known *Regimen Sanitatis*. The Arabic word is still in use in the Castilian dialect of Murcia.

Vermicelli were consumed in medieval Persia too, and known as rishta, a word also used in Arabic.

Etymology. Fraenkel, in the last century, suggested that Ar. itrya is a loan word from the Aramaic (Syriac) itriun (cf. Fraenkel p.37).

Payne Smith, in turn, thought that Syriac itriun was derived from Greek itrion, pl. itria. However, in Classical Greek, itrion is a kind of cake, and not vermicelli (cf. Liddell & Scott). There is no evidence that vermicelli were known in Ancient Greece or Rome.

References:

Ububchasy de Baldach. *Theatrum Sanitatis*. Codice 4182 della Biblioteca Casanatense di Roma. Franco Maria Ricci editore. Parma, 1970. (3 vols.)

Brockelmann, C. *Lexicon Syriacum* (2nd. ed.). Halis Saxonum 1928.

Fraenkel, Siegmund. *Die aramaischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*. E.J. Brill, Leiden 1886.

Jastrow, Marcus Ph.D. *A dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic literature*. The Judaica Press, Inc. New York, 1985.

Payne Smith, J. (Mrs. Margoliouth). *A compendious Syriac dictionary, founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus by R. Payne Smith*. Oxford, 1903.

Payne Smith, R. *Thesaurus Syriacus*. Two vols. Oxford, 1868-1897.

Liddell & Scott. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Ninth edition. 2 vols. Oxford, 1940.

Faccioli, Emilio. *Arte della Cucina* (Libri de ricette, testi sopra lo scalco, il trinciante e i vini, dal X4 al XIX secolo) (2 vols.) Milano, 1966.

Ibn na al-Qanunf al-tibb. 3 vols. Bulaq, Cairo AH 1294.

(Temporary note. I have been interested to know if the word itrya occurs in Syriac or Hebrew texts, that can be dated before the Arab conquest of these regions. There is not a single copy of Payne's Thesaurus in New York. Brockelmann's Lexicon has only late sources. If I can find out, I will add some dates.)

Jaldya.

This dish is prepared by cooking a chicken in a syrup with seasonings, and then thickening the sauce with pounded almonds, etc. It has probably a stiff texture. The present recipe uses a syrup made with raisins, but a similarly titled recipe in Part II (cf.xx) uses honey, thus the raisin syrup does not seem to be an essential ingredient.

The name of this dish derives, probably, from the noun jald, whose root jalida means to become solid, to gel, to turn into ice, etc. The Arabic term jald is similar, phonetically and semantically, to the Latin term elidus, stiff, cold, from gelare, to freeze. The two roots seem, though, to be independent, and not a borrowing.

The name of this dish may remind one of the gelatine dishes, made by extracting gelatine from bones, skins, etc., and much in vogue in the elegant circles of late Medieval Christian Europe. But it is not clear if there is any relation among the two.

The present recipe and the next two appear almost verbatim and in the same sequence in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.3 cap.2, p.111).

Jiml.

The jiml is a meat -or fish- stew, prepared in a way similar to the tafaya, but flavored differently: vinegar and mur (usually in the proportion of two to one) are the essential ingredients, cummin or caraway are often present, and green coriander is lacking. For examples cf. I.20, V.5 (made with fish), and Part II xx, yy, zz. Some of these later recipes are prepared with innards. There are also recipes in ibn Razn's cookbook. While the tafaya is considered a feminine dish, the jim may be considered as masculine. The dish does not seem to have survived to the present.

Lexicographers have not registered this term. We ignore how it should be vocalized, the present vocalization is conjectural.

Julabya or juleb dish.

The present dish consists of a caramelized, whole chicken, obtained by boiling a cooked chicken in sugar syrup flavored with rose water. The method used is clearly a borrowing from the confectioner's trade.

The word julab stems from the Persian gul, rose and ab, water. judaba, judab.

The judaba is a dish that is cooked in a tannur. One places at its base, say, a pile of ragfs, with sugar and spices spread in between its layers. One hangs a fat chicken, a rack of lamb, or the like, on top of them. While the meat is roasting, their juices drip on the ragfs underneath, and are absorbed by them. Once the meat is roasted, one serves the meat and the ragfs soaked with its juices.

This dish allows for many variations by changing the composition of the dish placed under the meat, however the hanging, roasting, dripping meat is a characteristic of this dish and without it there is no judaba, as the Glossaire Mansuri clearly states (cf. judaba, no.267, p.29; also Dozy

I p.231). This festive and notorious dish was clearly very popular in the Near East. Al-Warraq's cookbook devotes a whole chapter to it with 19 recipes and a poem (cf. chapt. 92, pp.236-241), and al-Baghdad's cookbook brings 5 recipes (chap.V3; Chelebi p. 70 & , Arberry's transl. p.208 & ss). There is also a recipe along these lines in Part II xx.

The judaba was also called umm al-faraj i.e. the mother of relaxation, because it removes one's anxiety for seasoning or condiment, according to Lane p.395.

This dish is of Persian origin. The word judaba, judab stems from Persian gudab. Steingass (p.1101) gives as one of its meanings food dressed under roast meat.

The title of the present recipe (7.1) is perplexing, since this dish does not fit the description of the judaba given above. Maybe trying to prepare the Eastern dish in an oven, instead of a tannur, caused the change. Maybe it was named this way by the desire to give it an Eastern pedigree. In any case, the present dish has the shape of a covered pie, Sp. pastel or empanada, old Fr. pet, a type of dish very common in Medieval Christian Europe, however, it has a much more delicate crust than its Christian counterpart, and it is baked in a pot. Pedro de Alcala (XVI c.) translates Sp. pastel de carne by Ar. bastl, clearly a transliteration of the Spanish word into Arabic. The present dish is known nowadays in Morocco as bastila, and is one of the hallmarks of its cuisine.

Ibn Razn's cookbook carries also the present recipe (cf. sect.I cap.4; p.32 (for the ruqaq) and sect.3 cap.3; p.112 for the pie)), and titles it also judaba. However his recipe stems either from the present cookbook or from the same source.

Reference:

Ibn al-Hachcha (X3e siecle J.C.). Glossaire sur le Mansuri de Raze's. G.S. Colin and H.P.J. Renaud (eds.). (Collection de textes arabes. Publiee par l'Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines). Rabat, 1941.

Kinafa kunafa (a pastry leaf).

kinafa is used in two senses in our text: as a synonym for ruqaq, and as the name of a pastry made with kinafas. See 7.4, where the recipe is given.

Etymology. This word stems from an ancient Hamitic root, that is attested in several Berber languages and in Old Egyptian. The basic meaning is bread. The Old Egyptian root qfn is discussed in Verhoeven: Grillen, Kochen, Backen p.159. From this root stems by metathesis Coptic kenefiten pain cuit sous la cendre, from kenef pain and iten cendre, cf. Vycichl p.83.

References:

Verhoeven, Ursula: Grillen, Kochen, Backen im Alltag und im Ritual Alta egyptens. Ein Lexikographischer Beitrag. (Fondation egyptologique Reine Elisabeth). Bruxelles, 1984.

Vycichl, Werner. Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue copte. Leuven, 1983.

Kinafa kunafa (a pastry).

The kinafa pastry of our text is made by frying kinafa leaves, the size of rose petals, and covering them with honey.

This pastry is still prepared in Morocco in a way similar to the present recipe (7.4). It is made with kinafa leaves, now called waraq, that are

cut with scissors into circles of a uniform size, and that are fried. However the leaves are nowadays piled up, with some kind of cream often added in between them. (Cf. Wolfert, *keneffa* p.322, and Carrier, *keneffa* p.202, where it is illustrated).

This pastry is also very popular in the Near East, where it is usually pronounced *kunafa*. In the Eastern version the *kinafa* leave have been replaced by some kind of fried vermicelli or shredded wheat. These are covered with honey, cream, nuts etc.

This pastry is already documented in the V3 c. according to Dozy (II, p.494).

References:

Wolfert, Paula. *Couscous and Other Good Food from Morocco*. New York, 1973.

Carrier, Robert. *A taste of Morocco, a culinary journey with recipes*. London, 1987.

Kuskusu (couscous).

Couscous was well-known at the time of our author, and the *couscouisiere*, the special pot to cook it, is made use of in 4.16 and in VI.4. However, few couscous recipes appear in our text. The assumption seems to be that *tard* recipes can easily be adapted for couscous.

Instructions for making couscous grains appear in *ibn Razn's* cookbook (sect.I cap.5; p.48), in Montino (1611) (*Como se haze el cuzcuz* fol.221r.-223r, very detailed) and in Guinaudeau (*Le couscous*, pp.61). Mme. Guinaudeau remarks *Pour confectionner des grains reguliers et fins, il faut beaucoup de patience et un tour de main qui ne s'vacquiert qu'apres une longue pratique*.

Couscous remained popular in Spain for several centuries. It is mentioned in the classical literature, and Montino (1611) describes how to cook it (*Como se guisa el cuzcuz*, fol.223r-223v).

Couscous is of Berber origin, and may have been brought to Spain at the time of the great Berber invasions.

Magnum.

magnum is a participle of the verb *gamma*, to cover, to cover with a veil, to conceal, etc. As a culinary term it seems it was used in the East for those preparations whose pots were covered with a thin loaf (*ragf*) while cooking (cf. *al-Warraq's* cookbook, who devotes a chapter on them, chapt. 74, pp. 184-186). In Hispano-Arabic this term suffered a change of meaning and was usually applied for those preparations whose pots were covered with a lid, whose rim was sealed with dough (cf. Part II several recipes, see also 3.15 and 3.18 below). This procedure, which is often used in our manuscript but not always under the above technical term, keeps, obviously, the moisture and aromatics inside the pot, allows for a longer cooking period, and yields usually a more tender and tastier dish. The *Vocabulista in Arabico* (pp. 597-598), a work written in Spain, translates *sufocare*, with the added note *coperire calidum ne vaporet*, as *gamma*, and Dozy translates the second form of this verb as *touffer*, *gàner la respiration*, *suffoquer*. It is worth noting that this culinary procedure was called in Catalan *ofegat*, in Spanish *estofado* and in French *touff*, and was used in these countries in older times in a way similar to the one described here.

The present recipe 3.3 appears almost verbatim in *ibn Razn's* cookbook (sect.3 cap.2, p.43).

Maruzya.

One of the characteristic features of the maruzya at the time of our author was the presence of prunes. Other recipes of this dish and of that period are given in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.II cap.1, pp.58,59; sect.3 cap.2, p.106).

This dish is still prepared nowadays in Morocco (cf. Guinaudeau, Z. Fes vue par sa cuisine. Rabat, 1966. p. 98 Mrouziya). This author says that this dish is a traditional one for al-d al-kabr (the Major Feast). Her recipe does not include prunes, but contains large amounts of raisins, almonds and honey, and it is prepared with lamb.

Dozy II pp. 185-186 contains further information.

This dish was mentioned in the Preface 3 as typical of Egypt.

Meatballs (banadiq)

It is important to note that the meatballs used in our text, in contrast to the ones made nowadays, were made of lean cuts of meat, which were pounded in a wood or stone mortar into a smooth paste, then seasoned and shaped into small balls. It is unfortunate that the present recipe is broken off. The list of ingredients, though, seems complete. The other recipe present in our ms. lists basically the same ingredients (cf. Part II, xx). Once shaped, they could be added as a finishing touch to a simmering dish, or be fried and then added, etc.

Meatballs were used extensively as additional ornaments or tibbits to dishes, and, in a large, wealthy household, were probably prepared daily and early in the morning, ready to be used in any dish that called them for.

The Arabic term for meatball, sg. bunduq, means literally hazelnut. The term stems from the Pontus, a region of Greece, where hazelnuts came from (cf. Lat. nux pontica). It is a remainder that the meatballs used at that time were of small size. The Spanish albondiga, meatball, stems from the Arabic. Albondigas have been a feature of traditional Spanish cuisine.

Mirkas (sausage)

Sausages were very popular at the author's time, not only as regular fare or additional tibbits in a dish, but also as street food, sold to passers-by in the suq. (Cf. E. Levi-Provencal y E. Garcia Gomez. Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII. El tratado de ibn Abdun. Madrid, 1948. p.140). Our ms. has other sausage (mirkas) recipes, namely I.16 (made of cheese), 4.30 (made of eggplants), Part II. xx (spelled mirqas), and Part II.yy. Mirkas are still popular nowadays in northwest Africa, and known as merguez.

Mirkas does not have a Semitic root, and may be of Iberian origin, related to Spanish morcilla, cf. J. Corominas DCELC (under morcilla). Cf. also G.S. Colin et E. Levi-Provencal. Un manuel hispanique de hisba. pp.33-34.

Muaffara, dipped in batter and fried.

Muaffara is a participle of the verb afara. afara, as a culinary technical verb, is used in our text for the procedure of dipping a piece of meat, fish or vegetable in batter and frying it. The batter is usually made of beaten eggs, breadcrumbs or flour, and seasonings. Cf. 4.31 and V.11.

Mudd.

A mudd is a measure of capacity, usually employed for grains.

(TEMPORARY) According to Lane, p.2697, one mudd was equal to a rat (pint) and one third. However, the same author, in p.1102, states that one rat

(pint) was equal to half a mudd. Hence, one mudd was equal to two rats. It is not clear what was the correct equivalence.

Not seen:

Valle, J. Pesos y medidas. Al-Qantara V (1984).

Mudd of Abuafs?

Pedro de Alcala one mudd = one celem 625 cc. DRAE)

Appears also in 7.30.

Levey Al-kind p.25 mudd00 = g (baghdad) (also ref.)

Muhallabya.

The muhallabya is a kind of pudding, made basically with milk, a starch and/or eggs, and sugar or honey.

This dish is of Eastern origin, and is historically well documented.

Several old recipes are extant (Cf. al-Warraq's cookbook, chapt. 98, pp. 260. (five recipes); and al-Baghdad's Cookbook (cf. Chelebi p. 31, Arberry's transl. p.46) (one recipe)). The dish is still popular in Arab lands.

Most recipes, past and present, use milk as a base, an exception is the al-Baghdad's recipe, that uses a broth. The starches used are rice, rice flour, itrya (al-Warraq), ruqaqs (the present recipe), starch(contemporary ones), etc. Many additions are possible: butter, almonds, broth, meat, seasonings, etc. The recipe of our text is by far more complex than the ones mentioned above.

Mujabbana (Sp. almojabana).

Mujabbanas are small pastries made with cheese. There are basically of two types: (i) cheese fritters (Ar. isfanj), i.e., ball-shaped doughs, filled with cheese, and deep fried (cf. 7.8-7.11), and (ii) small cheese pies, i.e., circular pies, filled with cheese, partially covered with dough, and baked in the oven (cf. 7.12).

These pastries were extremely popular, both in Muslim and in Christian Spain. Thus they appear in the first printed Catalan cookbook, Mestre Rupert de Nola (1520), where we find recipes for both types: cheese fritters (cf. Bones toronges de Xat4a p.83) and cheese pies (cf. De flaons p.85). Xat4a, or Jat4a, is a city near Valencia. Similar pastries appear in the culinary literature of Medieval Europe.

It seems likely that mujabbanas, in spite of their Arabic name, are an indigenous pastry. They do not seem to have a counterpart in the Near East. However, the Arabic name mujabbana, which means made with cheese, (Ar. jubn, cheese), prevailed in Castilian Spanish well into the XVII century (cf. Montino almojavananas, fol. 123.).

Ibn Razn's cookbook has also several mujabbana recipes (cf. sect.I cap.4; p.44.)

References:

Mestre Robert. Libre del Coch (ed. Veronika Leimgruber). Barcelona, 1977.
Montino, Francisco Martinez. Arte de Cozina, Pasteleria, Vizcoheria y Conserveria. Madrid 1611.

muhs (Sp. cazuela mojo).

The muhs is a dish that can be prepared with cooked chicken, small fowl, fish or eggplants. This dish is usually made by mixing a good amount of breadcrumbs with beaten eggs and/or broth in a tajin_00 or casserole, and then inserting the fowl, fish or eggplants into this breadcrumb mixture. The tajin is then covered with olive oil, and sometimes grated

cheese or almonds, and baked in an oven. Cf. 3.20, 4.26, 4.27, 4.28, 4.29, V.10.

This dish became very popular also in Christian Spain, where it was called called cazuela mojo (or moxo a word derived from its Arabic ancestor, and lasted well into the XV³ century. Cf. Nola 1529, Cacuela moxi, fol.41r. Montino, Cacuela mogi de berengenas, fol. 150r.

For the word moxo cf. Dozy (Glossaire) p.321.

References:

Nola, maestro Ruberto. Libro de guisados. Logroño, Miguel de Eguia, 1529.

Montino, Francisco Martinez. Arte de Cozina, Pasteleria, Vizcocheria y Conserveria. Madrid, Luis Sanchez, 1611.

Dozy, Reinhart et Dr. W.H. Engelman. Glossaire des mots Espagnols et Portugais de rives de l'Arabe. (deuxieme edition) Leyde et Paris, 1869.

Mur.

Mur is a dark, liquid seasoning with a salty, meat-like flavor, made by fermenting either fish or bread. It was often used instead of salt. Our author uses mainly macerated mur, considered the best, and obtained by fermenting bread in a salty solution over several months. A detailed recipe for its elaboration appears in ibn Razn's cookbook (cf. section X, chap. 8, p. 175 &). Comparing this recipe with recipes for making soy sauce, it is clear that both procedures are very similar (cf. Steinkraus, Keith H. (ed). Handbook of Indigenous Fermented Foods. New York and Basel, 1983. Section 4).

This seasoning has been used since very ancient times. It appears in Ancient Mesopotamia as siqqu (cf. Gewurze in Reallexikon der Assyriologie, Band 4 (1957-1971) p. 340), in Ancient Rome as muria muries or garum and in Ancient Greece as almurs. Its usage seems to have disappeared in Christian Europe during the Middle Ages, but it continued to be used in the Near East.

Musk.

Musk is an odoriferous substance secreted into a vesicle situated below the navel of the male musk deer (Muschus moschiferus). Musk deer live in Tibet and contiguous parts of China. In the Middle Ages the best musk came from far away Tibet, and was very expensive and a luxury item.

Mutallat.

mutallat is, according to our author, a dish made with meat and non leafy vegetables, and flavored with vinegar and saffron. These seasonings are masculine in the terminology of our author, and a characteristic feature of this dish. Besides the present recipe 4.1, other recipes for mutallats are given in this chapter (cf. 4.4 (end), 4.6 and 4.11 (end)) and there is one also in Part II.xx. This dish is mentioned in the Preface as one of the dishes served at formal meals (cf. 10).

mutallat, as a dish name, is registered in Dozy, but not in the above sense. This noun stems from the root t-l-t, that connotes three. The dish may have had originally three main ingredients.

Muzawwara.

This term means fake or counterfeit, but it has an additional medical connotation in our text. It is applied to foods, prepared for the sick, that try to simulate dishes they cannot eat. Several recipes of this type appear in our cookbook, for instance 4.34, 4.37, 4.38 etc. Cf. also Dozy.

Qataif.

The qataif is a famous Eastern dessert made with crepes, that are similar to the musahhada crepes described before (cf. 7.15). This dessert is probably of Persian origin, and it is still made nowadays.

According to al-Baghdad's cookbook (chap.X; Chelebi p.80, Arberry's transl. p.213), qataif si used to be prepared in his time in three ways: (i) plain, i.e. the crepes were served plain, and sauced with syrup, sesame oil, rose water, ground nuts, or the like, (ii), the crepes were rolled up with a stuffing of marzipan, and then sauced also, and (3) the crepes were stuffed with marzipan, sealed and deep fried, and served also with a syrup.

There is a chapter devoted to this sweet in al-Warraq's cookbook (chapt. 102, pp.274-275). For a modern version see Weiss-Armush. Arabian Cuisine atayif pp.313-314).

not seen:

Lane, The Arabian Nights Entertainments, cap.5 n.99 where the composition of this pastry is fully described.

not used: Razi

Reference:

Weiss-Armush, Anne Marie. Arabian Cuisine. Beirut, 1984.

Qursa.

Qursa is an object that has a thin, flat, circular shape, like a disk, and, when applied to food, refers to items that have this shape. In our text, qursas are made of many different edibles: pastry doughs (7.13, 7.16, etc.), a mixture of pounded dates, honey and almonds (7.53), a mixture of sugar, honey and starch (7.58), flavored sugar (7.60) etc., and their diameter may vary too, they may have the size of tiny candies (7.60) or of doughnuts (7.37) or of casseroles (7.23).

The qursas of our text are either sweet or eaten with honey, syrups, and the like, and thus may be considered as a kind of desserts.

English does not seem to have a term that is equivalent to Ar. qursa.

French has the term galette, that like Ar. qursa, refers to a dessert that is shaped like a disk of variable diameter, and made of diverse edible substances: pastry, preserved fruits, marzipan, etc. Late Lat. torta may also be an appropriate equivalent.

Ar. qursa has yielded Sp. alcorza, that means in Spanish a sweet made of sugar and starch (cf. 7.58).

(See Fraenkel for etym.)

Radaf.

This term, in the sense used in our text, is not registered in standard Arabic dictionaries. From the numerous occurrences of this word in our ms. it is clear that the radaf was a mild source of heat, where pots could be placed to be kept warm without drying out or burning, or where a sauce, in which beaten eggs had been added, could be left to set without curdling. It is also clear that pots were lowered to the radaf, i.e. the radaf was close to the ground. From a recipe in Part II (cf. xx) it is also clear that the radaf was filled with dying embers (jamr). Although embers set aside in the kitchen floor could fulfill the above requirements, and actually in some of the recipes of Part II that was actually the case, it is more likely that the radaf mentioned in the present cookbook was a low footed utensil, made of metal, and filled with embers, something similar to a footed brazier covered with a grid. If this is so, probably only wealthy households had one.

The term radaf may stem from the old Semitic root radafa: to warm up milk, or water, by throwing heated stones into the liquid, to roast meat

upon heated stones. (cf. Lane, Freytag). The term is not registered in Dozy.

Ragf.

Ragf is a thin, round loaf of bread, made usually with unleavened dough. The dough may be baked in a variety of heated surfaces or enclosures. Since there is no appropriate English word for this term, it has been left untranslated.

Rahab.

The rahab is, basically, a dish of finely cut onions, cooked, usually, in an oven with meat and plenty of grease until they turn golden and caramelized. A similar dish existed in Christian Spain. In Catalan it was called puriola or poriola. (Cf. Sent Sovi, cap.72 p.113). A related dish is the saqalabya or Slaves dish, of which several recipes are preserved in Part II. Rahab means in Arabic monastic. The dish is likely to be of Spanish ancestry even though onion dishes were known also in the East. Our text spells the name of this dish as dahab, but the Moroccan text, who carries recipes similar to the ones of our text, spells it rahab, and so does Dozy, who registers this word in the present sense, but not the former. The Arabic d... and r... look similar, and a confusion can easily arise. We have adopted Dozy's spelling.

References: Grewe, Rudolf (ed.). Libre de Sent Sovi. Barcelona 1979.

Ruqaq.

Ruqaqs are paper thin wafers, and are made from a liquid dough. A detailed description on how to make them is given in 7.1, and they are discussed in note 7.xx. They should be distinguished from thin ragfs (Ar. ragf raq, pl. ruguf ruqaq). These are made from an unleavened or a moderately leavened dough, that is rolled out thin, shaped into round loaves, and then cooked.

In the present dish the ruqaqs are probably absorbed by the liquid while cooking, act as a thickener, and leave almost no trace.

Ruqaq.

Ruqaqs, in our text, are paper thin wafers (Sp. oblea, Fr. oublie) as it is clear from the present recipe (7.1). To make them a round, polished metal surface and a thin batter are required.

The ruqaq batter. This batter is made by kneading flour and water into a dough, without adding leaven, and then diluting it with water into a thin batter. One may compare it with the musahhada or the zalabya batters, described below (cf. 7.15, 7.45).

Ruqaqs are usually piled up into a bunch or multilayered sheet, that has, as a result, a flaky structure. This is one way of making a leafy pastry sheet (Sp. hojaldre, Fr. pate feuilletée). In this case the leaves are individually made, and one can add spices, sugar, ground nuts, etc. in between them. The other way of making one is by folding repeatedly a dough layered with fat, and it is described below in the note: musammana. For ease of reference these two ways may be called the individual leaf method and the folding method of making a leafy pastry.

Ruqaqs are used in this cookbook in the following recipes: the present one and its variant 7.2, recipe 7.4 for kunafa, recipe 7.14 for qjata, recipe 7.38 for sanbusaks and recipe VI.14 for muhallabya.

Similar paper thin wafers are made nowadays in Morocco, and called waraq, leaves.

Grammatically, Ar. ruqaq is a collective noun, the singular is ruqaqa.

Safarjaya.

Cf. Part II.xx, yy.

al-Baghdad's Cookbook (cf. Chelebi p.36, Arberry's transl. p.189).

ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.II cap.2, p.74).

Sahm (fat).

I have translated sahm as fat, but it means, more precisely, fresh, raw, solid, white animal fat, most often from sheep (and, of course, not from pork). The finest fat is supposed to be the one surrounding the kidneys ya..., the fat from the fat tailed sheep, used normally in the East, seems to have been rarely used in Spain, if at all.

Since a proper understanding of some recipes using fat, specially in pastry making, depends on the precise meaning of this term, we have kept its Arabic name in parenthesis wherever it occurs in our text.

Sakbaj. A dish made with vinegar. Two recipes appear in Part II.

Samd flour.**Samn.**

Arabic distinguishes between butter (zubda) and clarified butter (samn), both of which can be made not only from cow's, but also from sheep or goat's milk. In present day Morocco, samn, pronounced smen in Morocco, is left to age, acquiring a heightened taste, that is much appreciated. (See Guinaudeau, Z. Fes vue par sa cuisine. Rabat, 1966. pp 78, also Wolfert, Paula. Couscous and other good food from Morocco. New York, 1973. pp. 36.). One may guess that this practice is old, and that the samn used in some recipes of our text may have had a more pungent flavor than freshly clarified butter does. In some recipes, though, fresh samn is required. (Cf. for instance VI.5, VI.9, VI.11, VI.29 etc.). Since clarified butter does not have the nuances that samn has, we have left this term untranslated.

Sanbusak.

Sanbusaks, or sanbusajs, are turnovers, that, strictly speaking, should have a triangular shape. The word stems from the Persian sanbusa, pronounced sambusa, which means anything triangular (cf. Steingass p.700).

There were two types of sanbusaks: savory and sweet ones. These last were usually filled with marzipan, and were held in great esteem. Recipes for both types appear in al-Baghdad's cookbook (chap.V; Chelebi p.58, Arberry's transl. p.201), and for savory ones in al-Warraq's cookbook (chapt. 36, pp.89-90) and in Part II.

Sanbusaks were very popular both in the East and in the West, where they were known as fartalat (see previous note 7.xx). They were eaten not only as a snack, but were added also to dishes, along with meatballs, sausages, isfryas and the like, to lend them variety (cf. Part II xx etc.). Sanbusaks are still very popular in India, where they are known as samosas, and are a vestige of Persian influence in Indian cuisine.

The present recipe (7.37) differs from the traditional one in two respects: the sanbusaks seem to be made without a pastry envelope, and their shape is not triangular. A similar recipe derived from the same source as the present one appears in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.IX cap.3; p.171).

Ssaqalabya or Slaves dish.

Spikenard (*ardostachys jatamansi*).

This aromatic plant of the genus *Valeriana* has a root with long, straight filaments, that resemble an ear or spike of wheat, whence its Arabic name, sunbu, and its Latin one *spica*. It grows in the Himalayas.

In Ancient Greece and Rome, spikenard was used both as a medicine and in cooking. Thus, for instance, Dioscorides discusses its medical properties in book I 7 (*nardos*) (cf. Dioscorides. *De materia medica* (ed. Max Wellman), 3 vols. Berlin 1906-14 (reprinted Berlin 1958)), and Apicius uses this spice in several of his culinary recipes (cf. *Spica Indica* in Apicius. *L'art culinaire*. (ed. Jacques Andre. *Les Belles Lettres*, Paris 1974. p.223)). See also Andre, Jacques. *L'alimentation et la cuisine a Rome*. Paris 1981. p.208 as well as Andre, Jacques. *Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique*. Paris 1985. p.245.

After the fall of Rome spikenard continued to be used. Thus Vinidarius, an author writing at the end of the V or beginning of the VI century, in his *Apici Excerpta*, lists spikenard as one of the indispensable spices for a well provided kitchen. (Cf. p.124 in the above mentioned edition of Apicius). In the Near Eastern cookbooks of al-Warraq (approximately X century) and al-Baghdad (early X3 century) spikenard is used regularly. (Cf. al-Baghd, Muhammad al-Katib. *Kitab al-Tabkh*. (edited by Dr. D. Chelebi) Mosul, 1934. and al-Warraq, Ibn Sayyar. *Kitab al-Tabkh*. (edited by K. Oehrnberg and S. Mroueh). Helsingfors, 1987). A hint of its trade and price ca. the year 1066 is preserved in the documents of the Cairo Geniza (cf. Goiten, S.D. *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*. Princeton, 1973. p.294). For its use in Arabic pharmacy see Levey, Martin. *The Medical Formulary or Aqrabadhn of al-Kind*, translated with a study of its *Materia Medica* by. Madison, Milwaukee, and London 1966. (p.286-287).

Spikenard seems to have disappeared, though, in the late Middle Ages, due, maybe, to a disruption of the land trade routes caused by the Mongol expansion in the X3 century and the concomitant upheavals in Central Asia. Spikenard is nowadays practically unavailable in Europe and in the United States. Its name survives faintly in *aspic*, a dish originally spiced with it.

That this spice is actually the one meant by the term *sunbul* of our text, and not some other domestic herb, is clear from the fact that (i) it is grouped in our text with exotic spices (*aqagr*) (cf. a previous note) and used in conjunction with them. (ii) That it is often mixed with cinnamon, and sometimes sugar, and sprinkled over a dish as a finishing touch. No herbs are ever used in our cookbook in this fashion. (3) That it is often used in preparing sweets and pastries, where herbs are rarely used, if at all. (4) And that its use in our text is similar to its use in medieval Near Eastern cookbooks, where spikenard is clearly meant.

The Greek term *nardos* stems from the Semitic (Phoenician) (cf. Hebrew *nerd*, Aramaic *nirda*, Babilonian *lardu*). These semitic words stem in turn from an old Indic language. Cf. Frisk, Hjalmar. *Griechisches Etymologisches Worterbuch*. Band II. Heidelberg, 1969. (p.289).

Tafaya.

The *tafaya* in its simplest form is a meat -or fish- stew, flavored basically with fresh coriander or coriander seeds, onions, salt and pepper, and never with vinegar, *mur* or saffron. The meat, cut up in pieces, together with all the other ingredients, is placed, cold, in a pot, which is then brought to a simmer and cooked until done. Meatballs are a common addition. The dish can be made more complex by thickening the sauce with eggs, or by adding sausages, *sanbusaks*, etc., but not vegetables. The *tafaya* made with fresh coriander or coriander juice is usually called green, and white the one made with coriander seeds, in

which case almonds are often added. Our author considers the tafaya a feminine dish, served at the beginning of a formal meal (cf. Preface 10). For examples cf. the present chapter I, chapter V (V.2, and V.4, made with fish), and Part II. Ibn Razn's cookbook has tafayas made with chicken (cf. Benchebkroun, Mohamed B. A. La cuisine andalou-marocaine au 13eme siecle d'apres un manuscrit rare. Rabat, 1981.) (p.101). This dish is still alive today in Morocco. (Cf. Guinaudeau. p.112 Tajine tfaia). The author says of this dish est venu dit-on d'Andalousie. The word tafaya seems to have been used only in Spain and northwest Africa. It does not have a Semitic root. It is registered in Dozy, but not in Lane or Freytag. We ignore its etymology.

Tajin.

A round, shallow earthenware cooking container, similar to a casserole or a Spanish cazuela. We have left the term untranslated. The word stems from the Greek tagenon (also tganon), frying-pan, saucepan.

Tannur.

An oven in the shape of a truncated cone and made of clay. The top circular opening is covered with a removable lid. A charcoal fire is lighted at its floor. A small door at its base is used to remove the ashes and to control air circulation. Food to be baked or cooked is introduced through the top circular opening: doughs are usually attached to its slanting sides, roasts are usually left hanging. Very ancient specimens of tannurs have been found in archaeological excavations in the Near East, probably its ancestral home. The Indian tandoor is related to it.

The Roman beehive shaped oven or furnus, common in Europe, has a different shape and cooking methods, since doughs and dishes are placed on its level, flat floor. In medieval Muslim Spain this was probably the most commonly used oven, and it is the most commonly mentioned in our text. Its arabized name furn has been translated as oven.

Tard turda.

A tard is a dish that is made with two independent components: (i) breadcrumbs and (ii) a liquid to moisten them. In most cases this liquid is a rich broth obtained from cooking a stew. The tard is prepared by moistening the breadcrumbs with this broth, piling them up, and placing the solid parts of the stew on top of them.

Let's examine these components in more detail.

(i) The breadcrumbs. Two main types of bread were commonly used at that time, namely, bread proper (kubz), made usually with leavened dough and baked in an oven, and flat breads (ragf). Both types of bread were used to prepare tards. Thus breads proper (kubz) are used in recipes 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 19, 20 and 21 of this chapter, and several varieties are noted, while ragfs are used in recipes 9, 13, 15, 17 and 26. To this last group belonged the Tunisian fatr, that had a flaky, layered crumb, and also extremely thin ragfs. The bread to be used in a tard was often baked especially for that purpose.

To make the breadcrumbs the bread was usually broken down into bite size pieces, though this point is rarely made explicit (cf. VI.17). In some rare cases the bread may not have been crumbled at all (cf. Part II.xx; maybe VI.26).

(ii) The liquid to moisten the breadcrumbs. Some tards were moistened with milk (cf. VI.13) or with a thin custard (cf. Part II.xx). But the most common liquid to moisten them was a broth or sauce. To make it one cooked a stew. The ingredients to prepare it did vary widely, but often

fat cuts of meat were used, so that the resulting broth had a lot of grease (dasam). An extreme case of this method is recipe VI.21, that uses ten chickens to make the broth.

(3) Moistening the breadcrumbs. Our author insists constantly that the breadcrumbs should be properly moistened. What this meant, was obvious to his contemporaries, but not to us. It seems that to moisten them properly, the breadcrumbs needed to be rubbed by hand and with grease, and be left neither too dry nor too soggy. To do this well required probably some practice or a tour de main. The tard was eaten with the fingers. An expatriate poet from al-Andalus muses nostalgically "will I have again a tard, that I long for, and plunge my fingertips in it, as food lovers do?". (cf. Garcia Sanchez: Ibn al-Azraq. lines 55-56 of the Arabic poem.).

From the numerous recipes preserved in our manuscript it is clear that the tard was one of the most popular dishes at the time of our author, more so than the couscous, a similar dish. From the recipes present in al-Warraq's cookbook (cf. chapt. 83, pp.204-209) it is also clear that it was popular in the East. According to M. Rodinson it was one of the favorite dishes of the Prophet (cf. Rodinson. Ghidha, especially p.1081). The dish may have originated in Arabia, one of the very few dishes in our manuscript that stems from this region. The dish is still prepared these days in Arabic speaking lands (cf. Guinaudeau Atrid pp.57-58; Weiss-Armush. Arabian Cuisine fette pp.257-258).

With the same components of the tard, bread and broth, a dish used to be prepared by the end of the Roman Empire, and for many centuries after, namely, *sopa*. (Low Latin *sopa*, has yielded Sp. *sopa*, Engl. *soup*). It consisted in placing slices of bread or broken down bread in a bowl, and covering them with broth, and was eaten with a spoon. The similarity of these two dishes was apparent to Pedro de Alcala (XV c.), who translated in his dictionary *sopa de pan* by *turda*, a variant spelling of *tard*. The *tard* survived in the cuisine of the Golden Age of Spain sometimes under names like *sopa* or *ensopado*. The Spanish dish called *migas*, which means literally breadcrumbs, belongs, also, to this tradition.

In this Almohade cookbook this dish is usually called *tard*, while in Part II it is more commonly called *turda*. Both words are synonyms and stem from the same root, the difference in spelling and pronunciation may reflect regional or temporal differences.

Since there is no English equivalent for *tard*, the word has been left untranslated.

References:

Garcia Sanchez, Expiracion. Ibn al-Azraq: uryuza sobre ciertas preferencias gastronomicas de los granadinos. Andalucia Islamica. Textos y estudios. vol I. Granada, 1980. pp.141-162.
Rodinson, Maxime. Ghidha. Encyclopedie de l'Islam (deuxieme ed.) t.II, pp.1081-1097. Paris, 1965.
Weiss-Armush, Anne Marie. Arabian Cuisine. Beirut, 1984.

Tuffahya.

Cf. Part II.xx.

al-Baghdad's Cookbook (cf. Chelebi p.15, Arberry's transl. p.37).
ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.II cap.2, p.73).

Turda.

Zalabya.

The zalabyas of our text are, what may be called, free-form fritters. To make them a special container for the batter is required, one that has a

hole at the bottom. One makes them by releasing the batter through the hole over boiling oil, and moving at the same time the container, designing the shapes one fancies: rings, lattices, and so on. Once these designs are fried, they are dipped in warm honey.

These zalabyas were also known as musabbak, i.e. latticed, in view of their shape. They are similar to the Spanish churros.

Zalabyas were very popular during the Middle Ages in the Islamic world, including Persia, where they probably originated. However, over such a vast area there were several types of them. Cf. ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.I cap.4; p.42); al-Warraq's cookbook (chapt. 100, pp.267-270 (seven receipes)); Glossaire Mansuri (no.527, p.56); al-Raz (cap.18; p.253).

The zalabya batter. This batter is made by kneading flour, leaven and water into a dough. This dough is then diluted with water into a light batter, and is left to ferment. This batter should be thinner than the musahhada. Both batters have the same composition.

This batter may also be made by mixing together flour, eggs and milk. However, the receipe (7.46) for this batter is mutilated, and the exact procedure is not sure.

The zalabya batter may be dyed with saffron or with the other vegetable dyes mentioned at the end of the present receipe 7.45. A further extensive list of such dyes appears in al-Warraq's cookbook (chapt. 3, p. 15).

Zrbaja or zrbaj.

A dish of Persian origin and one of the most famous and well-known in the Near East during the Abbasid period. From the extant Eastern recipes it can roughly be described as a stew, made usually with chicken, often containing chickpeas, and with some vinegar (or vinegar and sugar), which is an indispensable ingredient. The sauce is thickened at the end with pounded almonds, breadcrumbs, or other starches.

The dietetic properties of this dish are discussed in al-Raz (op. cit.) p.143.

The word stems from the Persian zrbaa means gruel or spoon-meat (cf. F. Steinga Persian-English Dictionary. London, 1892). For similar Persian terms with the same ending cf. isfdbaja (note I.xx) and sakbaj (Part II note xx).

References:

al-Warraq's cookbook, chapt. 57, pp. 152. (seven recipes).

al-Baghdad's Cookbook (cf. Chelebi p. 13, Arberry's transl. p.36) (one recipe).

(temporary note. Mille et une Nuits, edition Albin Michel I p.280. seems to have an amusing story on zrbaja that I would like to see).

Weight measures.

In the Medical Cookbook three measures of weight are generally used, namely: the dirham, the uqya and the rat.

Their equivalences are:

1 dirha = grams? approximately.

1 uqya = dirham grams? approx.).

1 rat = uqya grams? approx.).

A table displaying these and other measures, and the values assigned to them by several authors, appears in Alvarez, Camilo. Libro de la Almohada de ibn Wafid de Toledo. (Recetario medico arabe del siglo XI). Toledo, 1980. (p.475).

MAHDI

Cookbook due to Ibrahim ben al-Mahdi.

Mahdi text

How the Mahdi text has been pieced together:

In reading the Colin ms., as it stands, one realizes that there are quite a few recipes that are incongruent, that is, that the beginning and ending of a recipe do not match together. For instance, a recipe may start by cutting up a chicken and end up with instructions on how the baked fish should be served (for this example cf. ...). Clearly in some cases a recipe may be incongruous, or nonsensical, because the amanuensis has missed some words of it or misread them. But in some cases the incongruity may be due to a discontinuity of the text. Suppose that in a ms. a folio is missing, or misplaced, after folio n, and that the amanuensis copies faithfully the ms. as it stands. Suppose also that the text of the last recipe of folio n is incomplete, i.e. it continued in the missing folio. Clearly in such a case the amanuensis will copy the text of the incomplete recipe followed by the text of the folio he finds next, and the resulting recipe will clearly be incongruent and nonsensical. In such a case I will say that there is a break, or discontinuity, of the text. In other words, a break, as used in this work, always implies that disjointed texts have been put together, for whatever reason, and, hence, that a substantial portion of the text in between is missing. I think, however, that most of the breaks in the Colin ms. arise from the fact that it was copied from a misbound ms.

INTRODUCTION

The present cookbook has been practically obliterated in the Colin manuscript. It appears scattered in eleven fragments, and to piece them together has been a considerable effort.

The initial words of the text claim it to be a selection of recipes from a cookbook of Ibrahim ibn al-Mahd (779-839), a half-brother of the legendary caliph Harun al-Rasid, whose reign was the most splendid of the Abbasid caliphate. Al-Mahd's cookbook, probably the most famous in the Islamic world of the Middle Ages, seems lost, though some individual recipes are still extant.

The present cookbook, as it stands, is clearly not al-Mahd's. It contains some hispanisms and many features, that are typical of Muslim Spain.

However it has so many ostentatious and complex recipes, and it is so lavish with exotic spices, that it is clearly a cookbook meant for the highest social class. Besides, it has signs of being an early text antedating the Berber invasions. Thus it may well have been inspired, or derived, from al-Mahd's work, when this text became known in Spain.

The present collection of recipes, with some additions and subtractions, and under al-Mahd's authorship, may have been a well-known cookbook in Spain and the Maghreb, since some of its recipes appear in Ibn Razin and the Almohade cookbook. For this reason the original title, though incorrect, has been preserved.

A detailed analysis follows.

That the following recipes were part of a cookbook, written by an author with a specific vocabulary and culinary style, is clear from a terminological and culinary standpoint, as it will be shown next. However there are also clear signs that the original text has been tampered with.

Terminological unity.

The text has some terms and expressions, that do not occur in the other two cookbooks of this manuscript, and seem proper and characteristic of this one. Among these are:

(1)Until the grease appears on the surface of the pot. This unusual expression, constructed with the verb *baraza* to appear, come into view, emerge and the noun *wajh* face, surface, occurs often in the text (cf. M1, M2, M5, M6, M8, M10, M13, M15, M23, M40) and nowhere else in the manuscript. It is used to describe a certain stage in the process of cooling down of a pot, when the heat subsides, once it is removed from the hearth. This stage is described occasionally in the other cookbooks of this manuscript, but the terms used are different (cf....).

(2)*Gada* This uncommon term, that denotes some kind of container filled with hot ashes, and used, basically, to keep foods warm after being cooked, occurs seventeen times in this text and nowhere else in the manuscript (cf. indices). Our scribe does not seem to have understood this term well, and it appears occasionally misspelled. It is probably synonymous with *radaf*, a term that occurs often in the *Almohade Cookbook*.

(3)*Al-ta bil al-raf*, fine seasonings. To sprinkle fine seasonings on a dish just before serving it, using these terms *al-ta bil al-raf*, occurs often in this text (cf. M1, M2, M4, M7, M8, M9, M10, M13, M15, M17, M19, M23, M26, M28, M31, M37, M45, M49, M50, M51, M54, M65), and nowhere else in the manuscript.

(4) *Afawh* spices. The only term used for spices in this text is *afawh*, and it occurs very often. This differs from the *Almohade Cookbook*, which uses the term *aqagr*. In the *** *Cookbook* the generic term spices is almost absent (cf....).

(5) Seasonings and spices. This is a common expression in this text, specially in the later recipes (cf....), that is absent in the other cookbooks (to be completed!).

(6)*Gidar*, large serving plate. This term occurs often in this text, it is absent in the *** *Cookbook*, and rare in the *Almohade* one.

(7)*Fusus*. egg yolks. The term *fusus* is the one regularly used in this text for egg yolks, in contrast with the *Almohade Cookbook*, which uses exclusively the term *muhTah* for them.

(v3)*Ibarid*, stale. This term in conjunction with bread occurs often in this text (cf. M2, M8, M10, M14, M15, M18, M19, M19, M25, M30, M37, M45, M58) and nowhere else in the manuscript.

(ix) There are several terms, not strictly culinary, that appear only in this text. Examples are: *dassa* to introduce (cf. ...); *gabar*, fine flour (cf. ...); *salih*, of good quality (cf. ...); etc.

Recipes from this book:

[M.1] Hummusya (A dish of chickpeas).

Cut meat into medium size pieces, and put it in a pot. Add enough water to cover the meat, and a sufficient amount of olive oil, but do not add salt initially, because it will spoil the dish. Add also all the seasonings. The amount of water for this dish should be small, since it will be replaced by vinegar later. Then put the pot on the fire. Then grind chickpeas. Sift them, clean them, and add them to the meat. When all the ingredients are cooked, pound a head of garlic, mix it with a flavorful vinegar, and add the mixture to the pot. Only then add salt, and stir the pot until all the ingredients are blended. When the pot is done, lower it from the fire, and let it stand until the grease appears on the surface and it is clear. Then sprinkle fine seasonings over it. It is ready to be served.

The best way to prepare chickpeas for this dish is that at first one should soak them in fresh water for one night. Then one should peel them, and put them in a pot. When they are done, one should remove them from the pot, and mash them in a mortar (mihras). Then one should return them to the pot, and finish cooking them, insallah.

[M.2] stuffed buranya (a dish with stuffed eggplants).

Take meat, cut it in small pieces, and, after washing it, put it in a *** (fn) pot. Cover the meat with water, and add a sufficient amount of olive oil, as well as vinegar, mur, salt, twigs of fennel, citron leaves, a head of garlic and a whole onion. Then put the pot over a moderate fire. Then take meat from the thigh (fakid), pound it thoroughly, and remove all the tendons. Add a little darmak flour (gabar), and pepper, cinnamon, and whatever spices (afawh) are available, and also egg whites and enough salt. Mix all these ingredients thoroughly. Make from this mixture medium size meatballs. Then add them to the pot until they are done. When done, remove them, and fry them. Boil also one egg. Remove its outer shell, and wrap it with this meatball meat. Fry it also until it is browned. Then prepare the eggplants, which should have been cleaned and boiled beforehand. Remove the pulp of their interior, and mix it in a mortar (mihras) with the remainder of the meatball meat. Stuff the eggplants with it, and cover also their exterior with it. Then fry them in a pan until they are browned. Then, once all these items have been fried, put all of them in a pot after having added also the meat cooked initially. Pour also in the pot the rest of the oil, in which these items were fried. When all this has been done, put the pot on the gada until the grease appears on the surface, and thicken it with stale (barid) pieces of bread and the whites of four eggs. Cook also their yolks (fusus) whole in the pot. Then spoon out the dish into a plate (sahfa). Decorate it with the meatballs. Cut in fourths the egg wrapped with meat, and decorate the plate with it and also with the yolks (fusus) left over from the thickening (kamara). Cook also one egg, peel it, and chop it very finely with a few fresh leaves of rue (fajan). Sprinkle it over the dish. Sprinkle also fine seasonings. If one wants to prepare this dish with saffron, let him do so, insallah.

[M.3] Recipe for a muassal.

Take meat from the tail (danab magris) (fn), flank (surra), and breast (sadr), or a fat chicken (dajaja), and, after having washed either of the two, put it in a pot. Cover it with water, and add a sufficient amount of salt, a spoonful of olive oil, another one of honey, split, peeled almonds, and enough saffron, about two dirhams. Put the pot over a charcoal (fahm) fire, and, when it is done, remove the meat and filter the broth.

Then take six rats of white honey, with its scum removed, and add it to the broth. Raise the pot over the fire, and be sure to stir it constantly.

When the honey is cooked, take three quarters of a rat of starch, this is the amount for the six rats of honey, if it were less, or more, use a proportional amount of starch-, and add water to the starch. Lower the pot from the fire, and let it stand until the heat has subsided, then pour the starch in it, and stir it very well until all the ingredients are blended. Then pour into this mixture four rats of fine olive oil, and put the pot back over a moderate fire. Do not ignore to stir it extremely well, since this determines, if it turns out well or if it spoils.

When this mixture is on the verge of having the consistency of the faludaj, lower the pot from the fire to the gada, after having poured the rest of the oil (fn) in it, and also returned the meat to it.

Then take darmak flour, knead it into a dough, and make very small turnovers (sanbusak) with it, stuffing them with a paste made with pounded sugar and almonds, flavored with cinnamon, spikenard, cassia and pepper, and kneaded with rose water. Fry them in a pan.

Spoon out the muassal into a plate (gidar), put those turnovers over it, stick some cleaned pine nuts in it, then sprinkle pounded sugar and cinnamon, insallah.

[M.4] Making a saqalibya (the dish of the Slaves).

Take sheep's (kabs) meat, namely the trotters (dira), the shank (saq), and the breast (sadr). Wash the meat, and put it in a pot with two spoonfuls of olive oil, a spoonful of a flavorful mur made from bread, coriander seeds, caraway, ground pepper, twigs of thyme, citron leaves, two whole heads of garlic, and enough water to almost cover the meat, adding also a sufficient amount of salt. Then take ten onions, chop them finely, and add them to the pot after washing them.

Then make meatballs like the ones for the tafaya. Stuff also a large intestine (mabar) with this meatball meat, inserting a boiled egg in it. Cook all these items with the meat.

When everything is done, lower the pot to the gada. Then begin to decorate it using the meatballs, egg yolks (fusus), and slices of the stuffed intestine with the egg in it, placing the slices between the meatballs. Sprinkle fine seasonings over the dish, and serve, insallah.

[M.5] Green faba beans (ful) with meat, a dish called fustuqya.

Take meat from a young sheep (kabs) or from a lamb (karuf), namely the trotters (dira), udder (dirra kus) (fn) and lights (gurnuq). Put the meat in a pot after washing it, adding two spoonfuls of fine olive oil and enough water to cover the meat. Raise the pot over the fire.

Then prepare green faba beans (ful). Peel them, and add them to the meat. When the two ingredients are done, remove the meat from the pot, and mash the beans very well with a spoon (migrafa) until none remains whole. Then pour in the pot a spoonful of vinegar and a spoonful of mur made from fish, add also a little salt, in a sufficient amount. Then put back the

meat to the pot, and let it boil for a little while. Then lower the pot to the gada until the grease appears on the surface. Spoon it out. It is ready to be served.

[M.6] Recipe for a delightful dish.

Cut up lamb (karuf) meat, and, after washing it, put it in a clean pot. Add coriander seeds, caraway, two spoonfuls of olive oil, three spoonfuls of fragrant wine (kamr), enough salt and water, twigs of fennel, and citron leaves. Chop five heads of medium size onions, and clean also five heads of garlic, and add them to the meat together with a small amount of chickpeas. Raise the pot over a moderate fire until it is done. Then lower the pot to the gada. Insert a spoon (migrafa) in those onions and garlic, and mash them thoroughly until they have the consistency of marrow. Then thicken the pot with a little flour and four or five eggs, and cook their egg yolks separately (fusus) in the pot. Grind a little cumin and pepper, and add them to the pot with a little flavorful mur. Let it stand for a short while until the grease appears on the surface. Then spoon it out, sprinkle seasonings over it, and decorate it with the egg yolks (fusus), then serve.

[M.7] Recipe for a chicken (dajaja) dish known as the sabah (fn).

Clean a chicken (dajaja) after having been left unplucked with its feathers on for a night, and put it whole in a pot. Add four spoonfuls of strong vinegar, one spoonful of a flavorful mur, and in case it is not flavorful, add two spoonfuls, add also the same amount of water as of vinegar, one spoonful of olive oil, enough salt, a twig of fennel, citron leaves and good quality pepper. Raise the pot over the fire until the chicken is done. Then lower the pot to the gada. Remove the chicken from the pot, and make incisions in the breasts of both sides, and break its back. Then fry it in a pan with fine olive oil, [*] frying it well until it browns. Be sure not to put the chicken in the pan until the oil is well heated. When the chicken has been browned, return it to the pot, and pour in it the remaining oil, in which the chicken was fried. After a while, place it on a plate (sahfa), and sprinkle fine seasonings over it.

[M.8] Recipe for a partridge (hajala) dish made with honey.

Leave a slaughtered partridge unplucked with his feathers on for a night, and clean it the following morning. Then put the partridge in a pot with half a spoonful of vinegar, three uqyas of a flavorful honey, peeled almonds, enough water and salt, three spoonfuls of fine olive oil, and half a dirham of saffron. Then raise the pot over the fire. When everything is done, lower the pot to the gada, and thicken it with a stale (barid) piece of bread, two eggs and no flour. Add the two yolks (fusus) separately to the pot. Let it stand until the grease clears up and appears on the surface. Then transfer the dish to a plate (gidar), cut up the yolks (fusus), and decorate the plate (sahfa) with it. Sprinkle fine seasonings over it, and serve.

[M.9] Recipe for a dish known as the magmum (covered) (fn).

Pick up the shoulder katif of a lamb (karuf), or the neck (qasara), or the *** (magris) of the kidney (kulya) (fn), and if you use the shoulder or the ***, do not cut it up in exce Then wash the meat, put it in a pot, and add one spoonful of a flavorful mur, two spoonfuls of fine olive oil, a twig of fennel, and citron leaves. Take five onions, chop them, and put them in the pot with a little salt and a little water. Then raise the pot over the fire.

When it is done, break in it four or more eggs, and add also pepper. If it should be sent to the oven, and not cooked at the hearth (dar), then it is well. But if it should be cooked at the hearth, then, after the cooking is completed, fill a potsherd (saqaf) with live coals (jamr), and place it on the mouth of the pot to brown what is in it.

When one has finished doing these instructions, transfer the dish to a plate (sahfa), sprinkle it with fine seasonings, and it is ready to be served, insallah.

[M.10] Recipe for a dish made with a young chicken (farruj) or a partridge (hajala).

Clean any of the two birds that is at hand, after being left unplucked with its feathers on for a night. Put the bird in a pot with ground coriander seeds, caraway, a pounded onion, a sufficient amount of salt for the pot, and two spoonfuls of fine olive oil. Take the breasts of any of the two birds that is at hand, before they are touched by water. Pound them, make well-made meatballs from them, and put them in the pot, when the pot is almost done. Then complete the cooking.

Then lower the pot to the gada. Extract a small amount of juice from mint (nana), and mix it with a stale (barid) piece of bread, a little flour, and also with five or six eggs, after removing some of the yolks (fusus). [[*]] Thicken the pot with this mixture, and let it stand for a while until its grease appears on the surface and it is clear.

Then transfer the dish to a plate (sahfa). Break the yolks (fusus), and decorate with them and with the meatballs the dish. Sprinkle fine seasonings, and serve.

If, instead of mint juice, you prefer to use rue (fajan) juice or parsley (karafs) juice or basil (habaq qaranful) juice, you should know that you will obtain in each case a different kind of a dish.

[M.11] Similar dish made with saffron.

Clean a young chicken (farruj), put it in a pot, and remove its breasts as has been described before. Add two spoonfuls of strong vinegar, two spoonfuls of fine olive oil, four spoonfuls of a flavorful mur, half a dirham of saffron, cleaned almonds, a whole onion, salt as needed, and enough water to cover the meat, and add also citron leaves and twigs of fennel. Raise the pot over a moderate charcoal (fahm) fire until it is almost done. At that time put the meatballs made from the breasts into the pot, and complete the cooking.

Lower the pot to the gada. Prepare a thickening exactly in the same way as was said before, inshaalla, the Mighty and Supreme.

[M.12] Another dish similar to it.

Clean a young chicken (farruj) or a partridge (hajala), and prepare it in the same way it was said before, except that the saffron should be omitted. Add instead chickpeas and a head of garlic to the pot. Cook the meatballs and meat, and thicken it in the same manner described above.

[M.13] Recipe for a young chicken (farruj) or a partridge (hajala) dish made with quinces or apples.

Whatever of the two birds is at hand, leave it slaughtered, with its feathers on, for a night. Then clean it, and put it in a new pot. Add two spoonfuls of rose water, half a spoonful of a flavorful mur, two spoonfuls of olive oil, salt, a twig of fennel, a whole onion, a quarter of a dirham of saffron, and enough water to cover it. Then take quinces or apples. Peel their exteriors, clean their interiors, cut them in

medium size pieces, and add them to the pot. Raise the pot over a moderate fire.

When it is cooked, place the pot on the gada. Thicken it with pieces of bread, a little sifted flour, and five eggs after removing some of the yolks (fusus). Cook the yolks in the pot. Once the thickening is completed, sprinkle the pot with rose water, and let it stand until the grease is clear and appears on the surface. Then spoon it out, sprinkle fine seasonings over it, and serve.

[M.14] boiled dish of stuffed eggplants.

Split medium size eggplants, and stuff the halves with salt to remove the bitterness they have. Then boil them until done. Remove them from the pot, and put them in cold water.

Take a head of garlic, peel it, and pound it in a mortar (mihras) with a little salt, stale (barid) pieces of bread, a little sifted flour, a little mur, and a small amount of green coriander juice. Then drain the eggplants of the water, extract the pulp and seeds inside them, and add them to the mortar with good quality pepper, cinnamon and spikenard, all these ground. Add also six eggs, or what the mixture will absorb. Beat all these ingredients very well, leaving aside some egg yolks (fusus). Then stuff with it the eggplants shells, leaving aside some of the stuffing. Roll up the stuffed eggplants in flour, and fry them in fine olive oil until they are browned. Boil the egg yolks, and also fry them a little.

Then arrange the eggplants on a plate (gidar) covered with citron leaves, and sprinkle the stuffing (hasu) all over it. Cut up the yolks, and decorate with them the plate (sahfa), as well as with sprouts of citron, mint and rue (fajan). Then sprinkle delicious seasonings, and serve.

[M.15] A dish of eggplants with saffron.

Peel eggplants, and split them. Salt them, and leave them for a while to remove their bitter juice. Then boil them in water, and when they are done, put them in cold water.

Then put in a pot two spoonfuls of vinegar, half a spoonful of mur, ground coriander seeds, pepper, caraway, cumin, a whole onion, twigs of fennel, a little peeled garlic, half a dirham of saffron, salt, a spoonful of olive oil, and a little water. Put the pot over the fire until everything in it is cooked. Then lower the pot to the gada. Take six eggs, stale (barid) pieces of bread, and a little sifted flour. Beat all these ingredients with green coriander juice, leaving aside some egg yolks (fusus), and thicken the pot with it. Cook the yolks in the pot, and let it stand until the grease appears on the surface.

Then take the boiled eggplants, cut their stems (bujjun) off, and split the eggplants so that you have four pieces from each. Dust them with flour, and fry them until they are browned.

Then arrange the eggplants on a plate (gidar) covered with citron leaves. Add all the seasonings and ingredients that have been cooked in the pot. Split the egg yolks, and decorate with them the plate (sahfa), as well as with sprouts of rue (fajan), mint and citron. Then sprinkle whatever fine seasonings you like, and serve.

In exactly the same way calabash (qar) is prepared, however saffron should be omitted, and instead twigs of thyme be added, insaallah.

[M.16] A dish made with a fried chicken dajaja.

Leave an extremely fat chicken with his feathers on for a night, then clean it well, and put it in a pot. Add sufficient water and salt, two spoonfuls of olive oil, half a spoonful of mur, one spoonful of vinegar, a whole onion, twigs of fennel, citron leaves, peeled almonds, and also pepper, cinnamon, a little cumin, caraway and coriander seeds, all of them ground. Raise the pot over a moderate fire. When the chicken is done, remove it from the pot, and fry it in fine olive oil until it is golden brown. Remove the chicken from the pan.

Take the broth, in which the chicken was cooked, and beat it in a plate (sahfa) with six or eight eggs thoroughly, leaving aside four whole yolks (muhah). Pour this mixture in the pan until it is set and well browned. Then put the chicken on a plate (sahfa) covered with citron leaves, and put this egg stuffing (hasu) (fn) around and over the chicken. Decorate the dish with the egg yolks (fusus), after having fried them too, and sprinkle seasonings over it.

[M.17] Recipe for a chicken (dajaja) with a hump.

Take a large and fat chicken (daja), as large and fat as possible, and clean it very well. Break its back in the middle, so that it will have a hump.

Then peel three heads of garlic. Pound them very well, adding pepper, cinnamon, spikenard, cassia, and a little mur. Break four eggs in this mixture, and beat it thoroughly.

.....

Insert this stuffing in between the meat and the skin of the chicken>(fn)

.....

Then boil eggs, peel them, and split them in halves. Clean a head of garlic, and peel it. Insert the pieces of eggs and of garlic in the back of the chicken in between the skin and the meat, and do it carefully so that the skin is not pierced. Do it until you have used up the pieces of eggs and garlic, and the hump of the chicken is huge. Then sew all the spots through which the stuffing may come out.

Put the chicken thus shaped in a pot. Add a little water, two spoonfuls of olive oil, a spoonful of mur, and a little thyme crumbled by hand.

Break two eggs into the pot, and send it to the oven.

When the chicken is done and browned, cover a plate (gidar) with citron leaves. Put the chicken over those leaves, after removing the threads (kait), and put it with its back pointing upward so that the hump will be seen. Decorate it with chopped egg yolks (fusus). Chop rue (sadab) over it, and sprinkle fine seasonings. It is ready to be served.

[M.18] A stuffed rack (janb) of lamb (karuf), roasted in the oven.

It is prepared thus: Place the stuffed rack of lamb in a large pot, and cover it with water, adding a spoonful of vinegar, half a spoonful of mur, two spoonfuls of olive oil, a whole onion, twigs of fennel, citron leaves, and also pepper, cinnamon, caraway, a little cumin, and coriander seeds, all of these ground. Cook it in the oven until everything is evenly cooked.

Then lower the pot to the gada. Thicken it with stale (barid) pieces of bread and five eggs. Cook in the pot some egg yolks (muhah), whole (najama).

When finished, transfer the dish to a plate (gidar), arrange the egg yolks (fusus) on it, and sprinkle it with seasonings. Serve, insaallah, the Supreme.

[M.19] A dish made with a large fish (hut).

Take pieces from a large fish, clean them, and put them in a pot, leaving a piece aside to make fish balls with it. Add to the pot a spoonful of strong vinegar, a spoonful of mur made from bread, a spoonful of olive oil, a whole onion, a peeled head of garlic, twigs of fennel, citron leaves, pepper, cinnamon, coriander seeds, a little cumin, a little water and a sufficient amount of salt. Raise the pot over the fire and cook it until done.

Make in the meantime fish balls in the manner described in the meatball recipe, and put them in the pot.

Then take, in order to thicken the pot, a stale (barid) piece of bread, a little flour, and eight eggs, leaving aside some yolks (fusus) to be cooked whole (najama). Beat the thickening (kamra) with pepper, and thicken the pot with it.

When the grease clears up on the surface of the pot, spoon out the dish into a plate (sahfa). Decorate it with the fish balls and egg yolks, and sprinkle fine seasonings over it. It is ready to be served, insaallah.

[M.20] Recipe for making ahras.

Pound meat from the thighs (fakid), the shoulder (sin), and similar cuts thoroughly. Add a little sifted flour, a head of peeled garlic pounded together with salt, pepper, cumin, coriander seeds and caraway, -pepper should dominate the mixture, and a little flavorful mur. Mix all these ingredients very well, adding five eggs or any amount the mixture will absorb. Then take a thick piece of fat (sahm), in the same amount as the meat or more. Cut it small, and mix it with the pounded meat. If one adds chopped rue (fajan), it will come out good too. Then make meatballs from this mixture, and fry them.

In the same way one prepares the meat for sausages (mirqas), but then the eggs should be omitted, insaallah.

[M.21] Recipe for making mustard (sinab).

Clean flavorful mustard seeds, wash them with water several times, and dry them. Then pound them until they become like kohl (kuh), and sift them with a sieve (girba) made of hair. Next pound peeled almonds, add them to the mustard, and stir the two together. Then squeeze out their oil, and knead it with pieces of bread added a few at a time. Be sure not add the pieces of bread all at once, but gradually. Then pour on this paste strong, white vinegar, in which a sufficient amount of salt has been dissolved, and dilute this paste well, until it has the desired consistency. Then filter it thoroughly with a clean cloth (kirqa), and add, just after filtering it, a small amount of honey to reduce its pungency. This is a fine recipe, insaallah.

[M.22] A young chicken (farruj), covered with hail (mubarrad) (fn).

Wash a young chicken, clean it, salt it with salt and pepper, and put it in a pot.

Pound a handful of almonds, and add them to the pot. Break on it six eggs, whole pine nuts, pepper, cinnamon, cassia, pepper, ginger, spikenard, and a spoonful of mur. Stir all these ingredients with three spoonfuls of fine olive oil and a little water. Put the pot over a moderately heated radaf, and stir it carefully all the time.

When done, put the chicken on a plate (sahfa), sprinkle pepper and cinnamon over it, chop also rue (adab) over it, and decorate it with egg yolks (muah). Then serve.

[M.23] Recipe of a dish made with olives.

Clean a partridge (hajala), and put it in a pot with salt, coriander, pepper, chickpeas, cassia, all the spices (afawh), as well as two spoonfuls of olive oil, a little water, citron leaves and twigs of fennel, and cook it.

Make small meatballs from its breasts, and cook them also in the pot, and, when it has boiled more or less three times, lower the pot to the radaf.

Then take stalks of chard (silq) or of *** (baqarram), cut them in quarters, roll them up into a bundle, tying them up with a thread (kait), and throw them into the pot, as well as ten olives. Peel cheese, cut it small, fry it in olive oil until it browns, and throw it also into the pot.

Then take out from the pot two or three meatballs, and pound them in a mortar (mihras). Break on them three eggs, and cook the yolks (muhah) separately in the pot. Beat the whites with a little darmak flour and the pounded meatballs, and thicken the pot with this mixture. Stir it from the sides until the thickening (kamra) is cooked, and the grease of the pot appears on the surface.

Then put it in a plate (sahfa), decorate it with meatballs, egg yolks (fusus), the pieces of cheese, the chard, and the olives. Sprinkle fine seasonings over it, and serve, insaallah, the Supreme.

[M.24] A dish made with a young chicken (farruj) and wine (kamr).

Clean a young chicken (farruj), and put it in a pot. Add two spoonfuls of olive oil, onion juice, a spoonful of green coriander juice, ten peeled and pounded almonds, one clove of garlic, and a sufficient amount of salt and water. When the pot is boiling well, add one spoonful each of strong vinegar, mur, and fragrant wine (nabd). Tie up into a bundle leaves of citron, basil (habaqaranfu), lemon balm (Melissa officinalis, Ar. turunjan) and green i.e. fresh rue (sadab), and throw it into the pot. When the chicken is done, take a dirham, each of cassia, pepper and cinnamon, and half a dirham each of clove and spikenard. Grind these spices, mix them with eggs, and thicken the pot with the mixture. Cook also in the pot yolks (fusus), whole (najama). Spoon the dish out, and serve, insaallah.

[M.25] Recipe for a stuffed chicken (dajaja) without bones.

Slaughter a chicken (dajaja), as large and fat as possible, and blow it up as much as you can, while still warm, after tying up its neck. Then pluck its feathers carefully so that the skin will not be torn. When the plucking is finished, split the skin along the back from the neck to the tail. Be sure to skin it as carefully as possible so that the whole chicken is skinned, except for the tips of the wings, which will remain attached to the skin.

Then take all the meat of the chicken including the breasts, and pound it very well in a mortar (mihras). Pound with it peeled almonds, walnuts and a stale (barid) piece of bread soaked in coriander juice. Then take the innards of the chicken, boil them in water and salt until done, chop them small on a board (auh), and add them to the pounded stuffing.

Then put all this in a pan. Add green coriander juice, a sufficient amount of mur, good quality pepper, cinnamon, cassia, spikenard and galangal. Boil eggs, peel them, remove the yolks (muhah), chop the whites small, and add them also to the stuffing. Break eight or ten eggs on this mixture. Then raise the pan over a moderate fire. Stir it with a spoon (milaqa) until the liquid has disappeared and the stuffing has set. Then

return the stuffing to the mortar, and pound it so that it will not ...
(fn).

Then stuff with this stuffing the skin, that has been skinned, after having sewn every spot, except the one through which the stuffing will be introduced. Insert also egg yolks (fusus) at the wings and thighs. Even up the stuffing in the skin so that it has the shape of a chicken as far as possible. Do not fill it up too much. Then sew the spot through which the stuffing was introduced.

Put a copper pot with water over the fire until it boils. When it boils put in it the chicken carefully. The amount of water should be sufficient to cover it. Then pierce the chicken with a pin (kila) all over, so that it will not burst open while cooking. Pierce it only after placing it in the water.

When you think that the stuffing is firm, remove the chicken from the water, and put it in a pot or tajin. Smear it with mur and olive oil. Clean the mortar, where the meat of the chicken was pounded, and put this remainder of the stuffing on the chicken too. Rub it also with a little thyme. Then send the chicken to the oven until it is browned on both sides. Make sure it does not burn.

Then spread citron leaves on a plate (gidar). Remove the chicken from the oven. Make two incisions on the sides from top to bottom, but leave ...
(fn). Pound a small amount of clove, aloes (ud), pepper, cassia and cinnamon, and sprinkle them over the chicken and in the two incisions. Decorate it with toasted almonds, and serve.

[M.26] A delicious chicken (dajaja) dish.

Clean a young and fat chicken (dajaja), and roast it over hot coals (jamr). Watch out that it does not burn, and baste it constantly with olive oil and mur until it is golden brown.

Take its innards, and chop them small. Put them in a pot (burma), and add two spoonfuls of olive oil, two spoonfuls of vinegar, a spoonful of mur, thyme, rue (fajan), four cloves of garlic, pine nuts, almonds, coriander seeds, a little cumin, pepper, cinnamon, cassia, spikenard and onions pounded with salt and some green coriander. Cook all these ingredients over a moderate fire.

Make meatballs with lamb's (karuf) meat. Put them in the sauce until they are cooked, then remove them, and roast them until they are browned. Cook also in the sauce four egg yolks (fusus), whole (najama).

Then put the roasted chicken in the sauce, the meatballs, also cut up patties (isfiry), and sausages (luaniq), cut in round, medium size pieces. Let the pot boil until the chicken has absorbed the sauce.

Then place the chicken in a plate (sahfa). Decorate it with the meatballs, sausages, patties and egg yolks. Sprinkle fine seasonings over it, then serve, God willing.

[M.27] A sataryal (a dish made with thyme).

Cut up meat into small pieces, and put it in a pot with three whole onions, a spoonful of mur, a dirham and a half of pepper, a little water, twigs of fennel, almonds and pine nuts, both peeled, twigs of thyme (satar), and a sufficient amount of salt. Put the pot over a moderate fire. If you see that the pot dries up, add a spoonful of vinegar. Cook in it four egg yolks (fusus), whole (najama).

When the cooking is completed, spoon out the dish. Sprinkle finely chopped fresh rue (fajan) over it, and half a dirham of clove ground with pepper, then serve.

[M.28] The rasdaya.

Take pieces of meat without bones, cut them up as for roasting, and put them in a pot. Add a spoonful of a flavorful vinegar, a spoonful of mur, a handful of pine nuts, and all the seasonings and spices (afah). When the meat is done, remove it, fry it in a pan until it browns, and return it to the pot. Chop finely some rue (fajan), and thicken the pot with it and with four eggs.

Prepare for this dish small turnovers (sanbusak) and tiny meatballs, and fry them also. Cook also in the pot some egg yolks (fusus), whole (najama).

Then spoon out the dish. Decorate it with the turnovers, the meatballs, and the yolks. Hard-boil an egg, chop it finely, and scatter it over. Sprinkle fine seasonings over the dish, then serve, God willing.

[M.29] A flavorful dish.

Cut up meat into medium size pieces, the size of a mouthful. Put it in a new pot with salt, a pounded onion, coriander seeds, two dirhams of pepper, the same amount of cinnamon, one dirham of cassia, two spoonfuls of fine olive oil, a spoonful of a flavorful mur, two spoonfuls of fragrant rose water, a spoonful and a half of strong vinegar, a handful of toasted almonds and pine nuts, and a sufficient amount of water. Raise the pot over a moderate fire.

Prepare meatballs, turnovers (sanbusak) and stuffed eggs for this dish, and add the meatballs and eggs to the pot.

When the meat is done, remove the stuffed eggs from the pot, and put them aside. Fry the meat and the meatballs. Then return the meat and the meatballs to the pot, and pour in it the rest of the frying oil.

Then lower the pot to the gada. Thicken it with four eggs, some darmak flour and crumbled pieces of bread. Cook in it also egg yolks (fusus), whole (najama). Do not stop stirring the pot carefully until all the liquid has disappeared and only the oil remains, and the thickening (kamr) has set.

Then grind half a dirham of aloes (ud) and a little musk. Spoon out the dish, and decorate it with the turnovers. Split the stuffed eggs in half, and place them on top of the plate (sahfa). Sprinkle the aloes and musk over it. Then serve, God willing, the Supreme.

[M.30] A chicken (dajaja) dish.

Clean a fat and tender chicken (dajaja). Put it in a pot with two spoonfuls of olive oil, the same amount of vinegar, the same amount of mur, a handful of almonds and pine nuts, all the seasonings and spices (afawh), three spoonfuls of coriander juice [[*]] and rose water. Prepare meatballs from lambs (karuf) meat or from chicken breasts for this dish. Cook the chicken with a sufficient amount of salt and water, and with a pounded onion, citron leaves, and twigs of fennel until it is done.

When the chicken is done, thicken the pot with six eggs, stale (barid) pieces of bread, and darmak flour. Prepare also four stuffed eggs. Cook in it also egg yolks (fusus), whole (najama).

When one has finished cooking the chicken and the thickening (kamra) has set, raise a pan over a gentle fire with a little olive oil in it. Beat an egg with a little pepper and salt, and spread the beaten egg on the gently heated pan so that it fries, and turns into an extremely thin ragf. Remove it from the pan, and place it at the bottom of the serving plate (sahfa). Fry another egg in the same manner.

Then spoon out the dish, and place it on rag. Decorate it with the meatballs, and the stuffed eggs, after splitting them in quarters. Put the thickened sauce (hasu) in between these. Cover the dish with the

second rag, so that nothing of the dish may be visible. Insert mint buds, toasted almonds, toasted pistachios in it, and serve, God willing.

[M.31] A partridge (hajala) dish.

Cut up a partridge after cleaning it, and put it in a pot. Add half a spoonful of vinegar, a spoonful of olive oil, one eighth of a dirham of saffron, pine nuts, a pounded onion, seasonings, pepper, a dirham of cassia, and a sufficient amount of salt and water. Raise the pot over a moderate fire. Make also for this dish meatballs from another partridge. When the partridge is done, thicken the pot with four eggs and a little darmak flour (gabar). Lower the pot to the radaf until the thickening (kamra) is set. Cook also two eggs until they are hardened.

Spoon out the dish. Decorate it with the meatballs and the egg yolks (fusu). Chop finely the two hard boiled eggs, and spread them over the top of the dish. Sprinkle it also with fine seasonings. Then serve, God willing

[M.32] Making a stuffed water wheel bucket, qadus.

Take an amount of one fourth of a rat of kid's (jady) meat, chosen from the *** (r-d), the stomach (malida), a small piece from the flank (surra) and the kidney (kulya), and from other tender cuts of meat. Cut up the meat into small pieces, and put it in a pot. Add everything one adds to make the j-m-ya, word by word, and let the amount of broth be small. Cook it until the meat is done.

When the meat is done, transfer it to a board (auh), and chop it finely, as it is chopped for turnovers (sanbusak), or even finer. Put the chopped meat in a plate (sahfa). Add a few spoonfuls of the oil (duhn) in which it was cooked, and season it with aromatic spices (afawh), like pepper, cassia, galangal, spikenard, and the like. Then break three eggs on it, mix all these ingredients very well, and add also a proper amount of salt.

Then take a water wheel bucket (qadus). Put olive oil in it, and rotate it until it has absorbed all the oil. Take a whole, raw egg yolk (fass), and put it at the bottom of the water wheel bucket. Then take the above stuffing, as is, and put it in the water wheel bucket on top of the egg yolk, and do so carefully, so that the yolk will not break.

Make ready the gada, and bury the water wheel bucket in it. It should boil continuously until you estimate that the stuffing is set, and that all the surfaces have been well browned. Watch out carefully that it does not burn, otherwise the taste will be spoiled, and it will be hard to loosen it from the water wheel bucket.

Then remove it from the gada. Pour on the surface of the water wheel bucket about a spoonful of strong vinegar. Let it boil slowly until the boiling subsides. Then place the water wheel bucket in water until it cools off a little. Turn the water wheel bucket on its mouth on a plate (gidar), and shake it so that the stuffing will loosen from the water wheel bucket, and it will stand upright in the middle of the plate with the yolk on its top. Then serve, God willing.

(1) qadus. This word seems to have, in our context, its usual meaning of a water wheel bucket. This word has yielded Cast. alcaduz, arcaduz, and stems from the Greek kados (cf. Dozy, Glossaire). The recipe seems to imply it is made of clay. It is unlikely it has a lid.

(2) gata (?). This word appears twice in this recipe and once in the next. It seems clear that it does not mean lid, that it is a source of heat, containing probably coals. I have found no clue for this word, and likely misspellings, in Arabic dicc. Maybe it should be identified with

gata but the presence of the word radaf a few recipes below makes this identification more difficult.

(3) We have change the order of these sentences in accordance with the order of the procedure.

[M.33] A water wheel bucket (qadus) stuffed with meatballs.

Prepare meatball meat as for making meatballs, with onion juice, a little coriander juice, mur, and seasonings, and mixing it all with egg whites. Then take a new, small pot, and put in it an onion pounded with green coriander and salt, two spoonfuls of strong vinegar, a spoonful of ras mur, pine nuts, a dirham of cassia, pepper, cinnamon, seasonings, and some water. Put the pot over the fire until it boils well. Then make meatballs from the above pounded meat, and add them to the pot. Let the pot continue boiling until very little liquid is left. Then thicken it with two eggs and pieces of bread. Put the pot on the gada until the sauce (hasu) has thickened.

Then take a water wheel bucket (qadus), and put some olive oil in it. Have ready some well pounded meat, like the one prepared for meatballs, with coriander juice and onion juice. Mix it with water, two or three eggs, and a little darmak flour (gabar). Put some of this pounded meat in the water wheel bucket. Remove the meatballs from the pot, and put them in the water wheel bucket over the pounded meat. Then add the rest of the pounded meat. Bury the water wheel bucket in the gada, and watch out that it is properly cooked.

When it has browned, place the water wheel bucket in cold water until it cools off a little. Then turn it upside down on a plate (sahfa). Add on and around it the sauce and hasu that remained in the pot that had the meatballs. Chop rue (fajan) over it. Sprinkle pepper, cassia and spikenard on it, and serve.

(1) pounded meat instead of meatballs seems the proper start of the recipe. See few lines below.

(2) In the second paragraph the terms used for pounded meat are different. Keep this in mind.

[M.34] A lamb (karuf) stuffed with cheese.

Remove from the cavity of a lamb all the viscera that are in it, and clean them up. Then cut off its extremities and head (ras), and leave them aside.

Then take the cleaned tripes (duwwara), and make with them small, neat strips. Turn the large intestine (mabar) inside out, clean it up, and chop it into small pieces. Then take an appropriate amount of cheese for the size of the lamb. Crumble a portion of the cheese, and prepare it as one does for the mujabbanas. Flavor it with a lot of pepper, cinnamon, cassia, green coriander juice, onion juice, and mint buds, and add a sufficient amount of eggs. Mix all these ingredients thoroughly. Split the other portion of the cheese like biscuits (bismat) or even wider. Insert this stuffing in the cavity of the lamb together with the strips and the chopped large intestine. Add a proper amount of salt. Make cuts on the sides of the lamb, and insert in them pieces of cheese and around them some stuffing. Mix the remainder of the stuffing with eggs, and also with spices (afawh) and coriander juice, and put it on the lamb, after having placed it in a large tajin.

Heat up the tannur. When it has heated up, remove the coals (jamr) and put them in the radaf. Sprinkle the inside of the tannur with a little water, then put a vessel (ina) inside the tannur, and place the tajin in

it. Seal the tannur with clay. Open the small aperture at the bottom of the tannur, and inspect the lamb. If it is browned and done, remove it. Place the lamb on a large bowl (jafna), and serve. If the lamb is cooked in the oven, it will turn out just as good.

[M.35] Making a dish known as jassa

Take fat meat, such as the neck (unq), the breast (sadr), the *** (qasr) or the shoulder (katif), and chop it small. Take a thick piece of the stomach (kirs), the large intestine (mabar), and the small intestine (musran), and chop them small also. Put them in a pot with onion juice, [[*]] pepper, seasonings and spices (afawh), two spoonfuls of vinegar, if it is without strength (fn), two spoonfuls of fine olive oil, a handful of cleaned almonds, and a sufficient amount of water and salt. When it is done, thicken it with pieces of bread, a little flour, and three or four eggs. There should not be too much sauce. Spoon out the dish, sprinkle pepper, cinnamon and spikenard, and serve, insaallah.

(1) The name of the dish is spelled with a h, but it is likely it should be spelled with a j. See M text.

(2) qasr (?). This word appears also in ...

[M.36] A sun-like stuffed roast.

Cut up fat meat, and put it in a pot with small, whole onions, about eight or ten (fn).

Pound also meat, and make with it nice meatballs with pepper and cinnamon.

Add to the pot four spoonfuls of olive oil, two spoonfuls of mur, coriander juice, and about eight beaten eggs. Stir the pot gently from every side to distribute the components (hasul) evenly in the pot, and season it. Then send the pot to the oven until done and well browned. Before serving decorate it with the above meatballs. Sprinkle pepper and cinnamon over it, and decorate it also with buds of mint, then serve, God willing

[M.37] A dish made with a young chicken (farruj), covered with sauce.

Cut up a young chicken (farruj) after cleaning it, and put it in a pot with salt pounded with green coriander, all the seasonings except cumin, two spoonfuls of mur and two spoonfuls of olive oil. While it is cooking, add chopped rue (fajan) and buds of thyme. It should have a moderate amount of sauce.

When it is done, thicken it with stale (barid) pieces of leavened bread and with four eggs. Cook the yolks whole (najama). Then spoon it out, and decorate it with the yolks, chopped rue (fajan) and a chopped boiled egg. Sprinkle fine seasonings, and serve.

[M.38] A pie (mukabbaza) made with lamb's (karuf) meat.

Make meatballs with lamb's meat and with all the seasonings and spices (afawh), and mix it with egg whites. Put the meatballs in a pot and add a spoonful of olive oil, green coriander juice, a spoonful of onion juice, half a spoonful of mur, pepper, cinnamon, cassia, a handful of pine nuts, coriander seeds, a little caraway, and a spoonful of water. Cook it until until the meatballs are firm, and the sauce is done. Cook also in the pot two eggs. Then thicken the pot, and lower it to the radaf until set. Make a dough with darmak flour, and with water and olive oil, and make with it a pie. Put in it the meatballs, the boiled eggs after splitting them in halves or quarters, and, after those, put also the thickened

sauce (hasu) over them. Cover the pie with a ragf made of the same dough, and seal it. Send the pie to the oven to bake. Then serve, God willing.

[M.39] A pie (mukabbaza) made with young birds (fark).

Clean the birds, cut them up, and put them in a pot with pepper, cassia, spikenard, coriander seeds, onion juice, coriander juice, a spoonful and a half of mur, and a sufficient amount of water and salt. Cook them until done. Add also pine nuts and peeled almonds.

Then pound very well the innards of the birds. Add darmak flour (gabar), pieces of leavened bread and eggs: four for two birds, and two for one. Beat all these ingredients, and thicken with them the pot. Boil also eggs, and split them in halves or quarters.

Make the pie exactly in the same way as the first one.

[M.40] A stuffed rabbit (qunain).

Wash a rabbit very well. Take meat from another rabbit, and pound it finely with onion juice, a little coriander juice, mur, and seasonings and spices (afawh). Mix this pounded meat with three eggs and a sufficient amount of salt. Stuff with it the inside of the rabbit, and sew the opening.

Roast the rabbit in a spit (saffud), for those who like it roasted, or, cook it in a pot without roasting it, as follows:

Put in the pot two spoonfuls of vinegar, the same amount of olive oil, a spoonful of mur made with bread, a spoonful of mur made with fish, a whole onion, a garlic clove, whole almonds and pine nuts, citron leaves, twigs of fennel, and a spoonful of the meat prepared for the stuffing. With the rest of the stuffing meat make medium size meatballs. If the rabbit is roasted, roast the meatballs. If it is not roasted, cook the rabbit in the above sauce, fry it once it is done, and fry also the meatballs, and return both to the pot.

Then pound almonds or walnuts, add sour leavened dough (kamra), three eggs, chopped rue (fajan), stir in it some of the sauce of the pot, and thicken with it the pot. Then lower the pot to the gada until the sauce evens up and the grease appears on the surface.

Then take out the rabbit, and put it on a plate (sahfa) after removing the thread (kait) with which it was sewn. Place around it in a star-like manner (najama) egg yolks, cooked beforehand, and the meatballs, and sprinkle it with seasonings.

[M.41] A chicken (dajaja) roasted in the oven

Clean a fat, young, tender chicken (dajaja), and salt it with salt and thyme. Peel four or five garlic cloves, and introduce them in between the thighs and also inside the cavity. Pound pepper and coriander seeds, and sprinkle them over the chicken. Smear it with mur, olive oil and a little water. Then send it to the oven God willing

[M.42] Recipe of a royal roast.

Take half a lamb (karuf) split lengthwise, and sprinkle over it three dirhams of pepper, the same amount of caraway, three spoonfuls of water, a twig of fennel, two spoonfuls of olive oil, the same amount of mur, a little cassia, crushed thyme, four beaten eggs and a sufficient amount of salt. Cover the pot, and send it to the oven. When it is done and browned, serve it. It is, indeed, extremely good.

[M.43] An omelette (tajan) made with gizzards of birds (tair).

Clean the gizzards, and cook them with olive oil, water, and two cloves of garlic pounded with some green coriander.

When the gizzards are done, pound them with a small amount of the inner core of onions, and flavor this mixture with fine spices (afawh) and seasonings, a spoonful of mur, a little darmak flour, and chopped rue (fajan). Break six eggs in it, and mix all these ingredients well, adding the sauce that remained in the pot.

Fry this mixture in a pan with olive oil until it has the consistency of an omelette (tajan). Then serve, and scatter chopped rue (fajan) over it, sprinkle a little mur, and decorate it with pine nuts.

[M.44] Delicious lights (qanura ?) of rabbit (qunain) made in a pan.

Cut up the lights, that is, liver, lungs, heart and kidneys into small pieces, and boil them in water and salt, then fry them in olive oil. Pound walnuts and garlic finely, dilute them with vinegar and water, and pour them over the lights of rabbit in the pan. Cook them until done. Then serve.

[M.45] A delicious stuffed rabbit (qunain).

Cut a rabbit at its joints. Remove the meat of the thighs (fakid) and of the lower back (zahr), known as the lunba (loin), and take also meat from another rabbit. Pound in a mortar (mihras) all this meat thoroughly, and add onion juice, mur, clove, spices (afawh), and everything that is added in making meatballs.

Take the bones and the rest of the limbs, and put them in a pot. Add two spoonfuls of vinegar, the same amount of olive oil, a spoonful of mur, peeled almonds, pine nuts, citron leaves, twigs of fennel, an onion, peeled garlic cloves, sprigs of thyme, buds of rue (fajan), and a dirham weight of saffron. Cook these pieces with a sufficient amount of water until done.

Then remove all the pieces from the pot. Take the bones of the thighs and the bones of the lunba (loin), and cover them with the pounded meat, and with the rest of the pounded meat make medium size meatballs. Place all of this carefully in the pot. Then take two egg yolks (fusus), after they have been boiled, and cover them also with this pounded meat, and place them also in the pot.

When all of this is cooked and most of the sauce has dried up, crumble pieces of stale (barid) bread, and take a little darmak flour, and mix them thoroughly with a spoonful of the remainder of the stuffing and with eight or ten eggs. Sprinkle on it a sufficient amount of salt and spices (afawh).

Fry the limbs, that were removed from the pot, until browned, and return them to the pot. Fry also the meatballs and the bones covered with pounded meat, and return them to the pot also.

Then thicken the pot with the egg mixture, prepared above. Add also to the pot the remainder of oil in the frying pan. This needs to be done over a moderate fire. Stir the pot from all sides carefully until the sauce (hasu) is cooked and thickened, and the broth disappears.

Then remove the limbs from the pot and set them up on a plate (gidar) on which citron leaves have been spread. Distribute over them the thickened sauce (hasu). [Then place the remainder of the limbs on the plate (gidar) and the remainder of the thickened sauce (hasu)]. Decorate the plate (sahfa) with the fried meatballs. Split in half the egg yolks covered with meat, and place them among the meatballs. Distribute the rest of the thickened sauce (hasu) among them, as well as almonds, pine nuts and cut up cloves of garlic. Scatter chopped rue (fajan) over it. Sprinkle fine seasonings, and serve.

If in this dish one omits the saffron and the garlic, and instead one adds a spoonful of coriander juice and a little mur, one will obtain a different dish.

[M.46] A chicken (dajaja) dish.

Slaughter a chicken, and skin it, after blowing it up, as it has been described before.

Then take the breasts and the innards, and pound them with one quarter of a rat of almonds. Flavor it, and add almonds, pine nuts and pistachios, without pounding them, and also two spoonfuls of rose water, twenty eggs, two spoonfuls of olive oil, a spoonful of mur, and coriander juice. Mix all these ingredients, and fill the skin of the chicken with them. Insert also boiled egg yolks (fusus) in the stuffing. Then sew up the spot through which the stuffing was introduced.

After boiling the stuffed skin in boiling water, place it in a pot with seven spoonfuls of olive oil. Then place the pot in the oven, after having sealed it with dough. When it is browned on both sides, remove it from the oven.

Then take the rest of the meat of the chicken, and put it in a pot with half a spoonful of vinegar, the same amount of macerated mur, one third of a spoonful of olive oil, pepper, cinammon, spikenard, cassia, coriander juice, onion juice, citron buds, a twig of fennel, and a sufficient amount of salt and water. Raise the pot over the fire until it is cooked.

When it is done, thicken it with an uqya of pounded almonds, breadcrumbs, flour, and four eggs. Cook two yolks, whole (najama) in the sauce also.

When the thickening (kamra) has set, spoon out the dish into a plate (sahfa). Decorate it with the yolks, cut up, and sprinkle spices (afawh) and rue (fajan) over it. Place the stuffed skin on another plate (sahfa), and decorate it, after making two incisions, with fried ... (fn).

Sprinkle spices (afawh) and spray rose water over it. Then serve.

One can make the stuffing in a different way, namely:

Pound the breasts and innards. Flavor them as has been described above, and add the yolks of twenty eggs, but without the egg whites. Then take a small pot (qudara), put in it coriander juice, let it boil, and remove the foam. Add the stuffing, and mix it with the coriander juice. Then stuff with this mixture the skin, and sew it.

Cook the stuffed skin and the second dish of chicken meat exactly as was done with the first.

[M.47] A recipe for preparing lights (qalya) in a thickened sauce.

Cut up the lights (gurnuq) that is, liver, lungs, heart and kidneys of a sheep (kabs), and put them in a pot. Add seasonings, pepper, cinnamon, onions pounded with salt, citron leaves, twigs of fennel, vinegar, an amount according to its strenght, mur, also an amount according the degree of its blackness, and a sufficient amount of olive oil and water. Add also buds of thyme, and twigs of rue (fajan). Cook them until done.

Then remove the lights, fry them in olive oil until they browned, and return them to the pot. Cook them until the water disappears, then thicken the pot with darmak flour (gabar), crumbled pieces of bread, and eggs. Cook in it yolks (fusus) whole (najama).

When the dish is spooned out into a plate, chop rue (fajan) over it, and split up the yolks, and decorate the dish with them. Serve, God willing.

[M.48] A partridge (hajala), Jewish style.

Pluck a partridge, and season it with salt. Then pound its innards with almonds and pine nuts, and add to this mixture macerated mur, olive oil, a little coriander juice, pepper, cinnamon, cassia, spikenard, five eggs, and a sufficient amount of salt. Boil also two eggs. Stuff the partridge with this stuffing, and include also one boiled egg in it. The stuffing should also be introduced between the skin and the meat, besides the cavity.

Then take a new pot, and put in it four spoonfuls of olive oil, half a spoonful of macerated mur, two spoonfuls of water, and salt. Place the partridge in it, and raise the pot over the fire after tightening the cover (gita) to the pot with dough. Keep shaking the pot constantly, so that it will cook evenly.

When the broth has dried up, remove the cover, and add half a spoonful of vinegar, buds of citron, and buds of mint. Break also two or three eggs in it. Then place on top of the pot a pot sherd (saqaf) or a copper pot filled with burning coals (jamr) until the top of the partridge is browned. Then turn the partridge around so that the other side will turn brown, and all of it will be roasted.

Then place the partridge on a plate (sahfa), and place around it the sauce (hasu). Decorate it with egg yolks (fusus), cooked, whole (najama), in the pot beforehand, or, instead, with toasted pistachios, almonds, and pine nuts. Sprinkle pepper and cinnamon after pouring some sugar over it. Then serve, God willing

[M.49] Making a young chicken (farruj), covered with hail (mubarrad).

Clean a young chicken (farruj), and remove its innards. Put it in a pot with two spoonfuls of olive oil, two spoonfuls of water, a spoonful of juice of onions, that have been crushed with green coriander, seasonings and spices (afawh), and a little mur.

Then pound the innards with almonds, a piece of bread and flour. Beat four eggs and mix them with these pounded ingredients. Stuff the chicken with this mixture and with two boiled eggs, inserting one in its cavity and the other one in the neck. Raise the pot over a moderate fire, after having sewn the chicken.

When the broth has dried up, and the chicken is cooked, place it on a plate (sahfa). Boil two eggs, chop them with buds of rue (fajan), and spread them over the chicken. Pour the grease, that is on the surface of the pot, over it too. Sprinkle fine seasonings. Then serve, God willing, praised be He, no God beside Him.

[M.50] A Jewish dish made with a young chicken (farruj).

Clean a young chicken (farruj). Remove its innards, cut off the extremities of the thighs, the extremities of the wings, and the neck. Salt it, and leave it aside.

Take the extremities, the neck and the innards, and put them in a pot adding fine seasonings, all the spices (afawh), green coriander juice, onion juice, whole pine nuts, a small amount of vinegar, a small amount of mur, good quality olive oil, citron leaves, and twigs of fennel. Raise the pot over a moderate fire. When the chicken parts are done, and most of the sauce has vanished, thicken the pot with three eggs, crumbled pieces of bread, and darmak flour (gabar). Pound the liver, and add it also to the thickening (kamra). Then cook the pot carefully until the liver and the thickening are done, and the sauce is thick.

Then take the young chicken, and roast it carefully. Beat two eggs with olive oil and mur, and do not stop basting the inside and outside of the chicken with this mixture until it is golden brown and roasted.

Then take a second, small pot (qudara), and put in it two spoonfuls of olive oil, half a spoonful of mur, half a spoonful of vinegar, two spoonfuls of fragrant rose water, onion juice, seasonings and spices (afawh). Raise the small pot over the fire until the sauce is well cooked. When it is cooked, cut up the chicken and put it in the small pot, and leave it there until it has absorbed the sauce. Then spoon out the chicken on a plate (sahfa), and pour the rest of the sauce over it. Chop egg yolks (fusus) over it, and sprinkle it with seasonings. Spoon out also the previously described dish on a second plate (sahfa), and decorate it also with egg yolks, and sprinkle it also with fine seasonings. Then serve them both, God willing

[M.51] Recipe for a dish, consisting of a roasted, stuffed skin of goose (iwazza) and a stew (hasu) of the same.

Slaughter a goose (iwazza) and blow it up. Pluck the goose carefully, and skin it as was described before for the chicken.

Take the innards and the intestines, after cleaning them well, and pound them thoroughly. Add to them seasonings and all the fine spices (afawh), macerated mur, green coriander juice, pounded almonds, onion juice, twenty five eggs, whole pine nuts, a sufficient amount of salt, pounded mint, chopped fennel (nafi), pistachios, and two spoonfuls of olive oil. Mix all these ingredients, and stuff with them the skin of the goose. Then take the breasts of the goose, and pound them. Add leavened dough (kamra), five egg whites, pepper, cinnamon, and salt. Mix all these ingredients, and cover with this mixture the breastbones of the goose. Place the reconstructed breasts in boiling water until they are firm. Then insert them in the proper place of the skin, in the middle of the stuffing. Sew every spot of the skin, after having inserted boiled egg yolks (fusus) inside the stuffing. Place the stuffed skin on a large tajin or in a pot. Add half a rat of olive oil, a little water, and mur. Send it to the oven, and watch it, while it cooks, until it turns golden brown.

Then take the rest of the meat of the goose, and put it in a pot. Add seasonings and all the spices (afawh), two spoonfuls of vinegar, four spoonfuls of olive oil, two spoonfuls of coriander juice, a spoonful of mur, twigs of rue (fajan), and onion juice. Cook it until done. When the meat is done, pound lamb's (karuf) meat, season it, and add egg whites. Make medium size meatballs, and add them to the pot.

When everything is cooked, mix the pounded meat, that was set aside, with four eggs, crumbled pieces of bread, and darmak flour (gabar), and thicken with it the pot. Lower the pot to the radaf until the thickening (kamra) is well set.

Then spoon out the dish to a plate (sahfa). Place in it cut up egg yolks in a star-like manner (najama), and sprinkle over it fine seasonings. Put the stuffed goose on a second plate (sahfa), and decorate it with toasted pine nuts and toasted almonds. Make two incisions on the stuffed goose. Sprinkle it with fine seasonings, and spray rose water on it. Serve both plates.

In the same way one can prepare a duck (buraka), except the dish made with the limbs. Since in this case, once they are cooked, one should take half a rat of coriander juice, boil it in a small pot (qudara), and remove the foam. Add to it five egg yolks, mix it with a crumbled piece of bread, and a little leavened dough (kamr) (fn), and thicken the pot with it. Let the pot stand until it is set. Then spoon it out, as was described above for the goose, God willing

[M.52] A Jewish dish made with a partridge (hajala).

Clean a partridge, and cut it up. Put it in a pot with all the seasonings and spices (afawh), green coriander juice, onion juice, mur, half a spoonful of vinegar, three spoonfuls of olive oil, a sufficient amount of salt, buds of mint and citron, and whole pine nuts.

When the partridge is done, and most of the sauce has vanished, pound well the gizzards and the liver of the partridge, mix them with three eggs and leavened dough (kamra), and thicken the pot with it. Stir the pot from all sides until the sauce has thickened. Cook in it the egg yolks (fusus), whole (najama).

Spoon out the dish into a plate. Decorate it with the yolks, buds of mint, toasted pine nuts, and pistachios. Spray it with rose water, and serve, God willing

[M.53] Recipe for a roasted partridge (hajala).

Clean a partridge, and insert a spit (saffud) in it. Pound its innards, and mix them with two eggs, pepper, cinnamon, cassia, spikenard, two spoonfuls of olive oil, and one spoonful of mur. Roast the partridge on a moderate fire and at a distance from it, and baste it constantly with this sauce (hasu), inside and outside, until the partridge has absorbed the sauce completely and is well browned.

Place it in a plate (sahfa). Chop rue (fajan) over it, and sprinkle also pepper and cinnamon. Serve, God willing

[M.54] Recipe for a young chicken (farruj), covered with hail (mubarrad).

Clean a young chicken (farruj), and put it in a pot. Add seasonings, pepper, cinnamon, all the spices (afawh), two spoonfuls of olive oil, and a moderate amount of water and salt. Cook it with care. Wash two eggs with their shells, and put them also in the pot.

When everything is cooked, take the gizzards and the liver of the chicken, peel the two eggs, and chop all these ingredients very finely with a knife (sikkn) on a board (auh), then fry them in a pan. Beat two more eggs, add macerated mur, and pour them in the pan until browned (fn).

Then put the young chicken on a plate (sahfa). Place on top and around it the thickened sauce (hasu), and pour the rest of the grease (wadak) left in the pot over it. Chop a boiled egg with rue (fajan), and sprinkle it on top of the plate. Sprinkle fine seasonings over everything, and serve.

[M.55] A dish made with a stuffed chicken (dajaja), cooked in the oven.

Clean a fat chicken (dajaja). Pound its gizzard, liver and heart very well. Add ten eggs to this paste, flavor it, and salt it moderately. Stuff the chicken with it, and sew it up.

Put the chicken in a pot, and add seasonings, pepper, salt, and three spoonfuls of olive oil. Remove one spoonful from the stuffing used to stuff the chicken, beat it with three egg whites, and thicken the pot with it. Cook also the yolks (fusus) in it, whole (najama). Send the pot to the oven until the chicken is golden brown and the sauce (hasu) has thickened.

Take out the chicken from the oven, and put it in a plate (sahfa). Place the thickened sauce (hasu) around it, and decorate it with the egg yolks. Chop rue (fajan) over it, and sprinkle with fine spices (afawh). Serve, insaallah, praised be He, no God beside Him.

[M.56] A Jewish dish made with a young chicken (farruj).

Clean a young chicken (farruj). Pound its innards with walnuts, a piece of bread, some flour, salt, and fennel (nafi) and coriander, both chopped. Beat this paste with six eggs and a quarter of a rat of water. Expose the chicken to the fire for a short while. Then put it in a clean pot with five spoonfuls of fine olive oil, and keep turning it in the oil and over the fire until it is well browned. Then thicken the pot with the above prepared sauce (hasu), and let it stand until the sauce has thickened and set.

Then spoon out the chicken to a plate, put the thickened sauce (hasu) around it, decorate with chopped fennel (nafi) and rue (fajan), buds of mint, and toasted walnuts. Serve, God willing

[M.57] A young chicken (farruj), Egyptian style.

Clean a young chicken (farruj), cut it up, and put it in a pot. Add seasonings, pepper, cinnamon, cassia, spikenard, three spoonfuls of olive oil, half a spoonful of mur, one spoonful of vinegar, some coriander juice and onion juice, three spoonfuls of water, and pine nuts and almonds. Raise the pot over the fire until the chicken is done, then fry it on a pan until it is well browned.

Put the chicken in a plate (sahfa). Pour over it the sauce. Chop egg yolks (fusus) and rue (fajan) over it. Sprinkle it with spices (afawh). Serve, God willing

[M.58] A chicken (dajaja) known as a small wine skin (zukara).

Slaughter a chicken (dajaja). Skin it carefully, as was described above, and sew the skin like a small wine skin. Pound its breasts and innards with a stale (barid) piece of bread, and almonds and walnuts. Break on it fifteen eggs, and add a spoonful of mur, a spoonful of coriander juice, all the spices (afawh), and a sufficient amount of salt. Stuff the chicken skin with this mixture, and put it in hot water until the stuffing becomes firm.

Then take the rest of its meat, and put it in a pot with three spoonfuls of olive oil, five spoonfuls of water, half a spoonful of mur, one spoonful of vinegar, two spoonfuls of rose water, and a spoonful of coriander juice. Cook it until done. Then thicken it with four eggs, a piece of bread and pounded almonds.

When the stuffed chicken skin has become firm, remove it from the water. Warm up a spit (saffud) until it is hot. Then introduce it into the chicken skin, and roast it over a moderate fire until it browns.

Put the roasted chicken skin on a plate (sahfa). Empty on it the dish made with the rest of the chicken. Decorate it with egg yolks (fusus) and toasted pine nuts, sprinkle spices (afawh) over it, and serve.

[M.59] Recipe for a delicious chicken (dajaja) dish.

Slaughter a fat chicken (dajaja). Clean it up, take out the innards, and put aside its intestines. Pound the innards, not excessively, and add to them one quarter of a rat of almonds and pine nuts, also coriander juice, a little mur, seasonings and spices (afawh), ... (fn), and pistachios. Beat this paste with six eggs. Boil also four eggs. Stuff the chicken with this mixture, and insert the boiled eggs in it. Sew the chicken. Then put water and a spoonful of olive oil in a pot, and place the chicken in it. Cook the chicken, but without exce

Then put in another pot six spoonfuls of olive oil, half a spoonful of vinegar, half a rat of water, and a rat and a half of honey. When this honey solution boils, place the chicken in it. When the cooking of the chicken is completed, thicken the honey solution with five uqyas of

starch, with two dirhams weight of attar (itr), and with rose water. Stir the solution carefully until it has thickened. Then remove the chicken from the pot.

Take the intestines of the chicken, and turn them inside out and clean them. Pound a piece of meat from the breast, beat it with two eggs, and make patties (isfryas) with it. Pound a piece of lamb's (karuf) meat, and add all what is added to make sausages (mirqas), as well as a clove of garlic, a little mur, coriander, and one egg, and mix all these ingredients. Stuff the intestines of the chicken with this mixture with the help of a fennel stick, and make from it sausages (mirqas). And fry them.

Then spoon out the dish. Decorate it with the patties (isfrya) and sausages (mirqas), and with pine nuts and pistachios. Then serve, God willing

[M.60] A turda (sic) of kabs made with two chickens (dajaja).

Slaughter two chickens (dajaja), and remove their innards. Pound them, adding seasonings, and flavoring them with all the spices (afawh) and with macerated mur. Pound them together with a piece of bread, almonds, pine nuts, and pistachios. Mix all these ingredients with fifteen eggs, and boil some of the yolks (fusus). Stuff with this stuffing one chicken, and sew it up.

Put the stuffed chicken in a pot with a rat and a half of water and with half a rat of olive oil. Boil it over a moderate fire. When it is nearly done, add two rats of honey and four dirhams of saffron. Once the chicken has been dyed, remove it from the pot. Add kabs to this honey solution, and cook it until it has thickened.

Then take the breasts of the second chicken, and make with them patties (isfrya), adding pepper, cinnamon and two eggs, or any amount of eggs that they will absorb. Pound also the meat of the thighs of the second chicken, adding the seasonings and ingredients, that are necessary to make sausages (mirqas), as was described in the preceeding recipe. Clean the intestines of the chickens, stuff them with this mixture, and make sausages.

Then put the kabs on a plate (sahfa), and insert the chicken in the middle of it. Decorate it with the patties and sausages. Sprinkle pepper, cinnamon, and sugar over it. Stick pine nuts and pistachios in it, and serve.

[M.61] A Jewish dish of a stew (mahsu), that has been concealed.

Cut meat in round pieces, and be sure they do not contain bones, and put them in a pot. Add all the seasonings and spices (afawh), except cumin. Add also four spoonfuls of olive oil, two spoonfuls of fragrant rose water, a small amount of onion juice, and a little water and salt. Cover the pot with a heavy cloth (kirqa), and raise it over over a moderate fire. Cook it carefully. Then pound meat, like the one used for making meatballs. Season it, and make small meatballs with it. Put them in the pot until they are cooked.

When everything is cooked, beat five eggs with salt, pepper and cinnamon, and make a thin omelette (tajan) in a pan. Beat five other eggs, and make likewise another omelette. Then take a new pot. Put in it two spoonfuls of olive oil, and let it boil a little. Put in the bottom of the pot one of the omelettes. Empty the above dish on it, and cover it with the second omelette. Then beat three eggs with a small amount of darmak flour (gabar), pepper, cinnamon, and a little rose water, together with the rest of the pounded meat, and put this mixture on the surface of the pot.

Then cover it with a potsherd (saqaf) with fire until the surface is browned. Watch out that it does not burn. Then break the pot. Put the dish, whole, on a plate (sahfa). Insert in it mint buds, pistachios and pine nuts, and sprinkle spices over it.

One may make another dish by using the same ingredients, as described above, but omitting the rose water, and replacing it by a spoonful of juice of coriander pounded with onions, and a half a spoonful of macerated mur, and by doing everything else that is done in preparing the first dish, insaallah, the Supreme.

[M.62] A green dish, thickened (mahsu) with almonds.

Cut up meat, and put it in a pot with seasonings and spices (afawh), half a rat of coriander juice pounded with an onion, three spoonfuls of olive oil, and salt. When the meat is done, thicken the pot with six eggs, and with coriander juice, an uqya of ground almonds and a piece of bread. Cook also four yolks (fusus), out of the six eggs, whole (najama) in the pot.

When the thickening (kamra) has set, spoon out the dish, and decorate it with the yolks. Sprinkle spices, and serve, insaallah, praised be He.

[M.63] A tard of fish (hut).

Pound very well pieces of a large fish (hut). Add egg whites, in the amount that the pounded fish can absorb, a sufficient amount of pepper, of cinammon, and of all the spices (afawh), as well as a little leavened dough (kamr). Mix all these ingredients until they are well blended. Then take a pot, and put in it one spoonful of vinegar, two spoonfuls of green coriander juice, one spoonful and a half of onion juice, one spoonful of macerated mur, seasonings and spices, almonds and pine nuts, six spoonfuls of olive oil, and a sufficient amount of water and salt. Put the pot over a gentle fire. When the liquid starts to boil, shape the pounded meat in the form of a fish, and insert in its inside one or two boiled eggs. Place the fish carefully in the liquid, while it is boiling. Make from the remainder of the pounded meat nice fish balls, and take also boiled egg yolks (fusus), and cover them with this meat too. Put all of them in the pot.

When everything is cooked, take out from the pot the fish and the egg yolks covered with meat. Fry them in a pan until they are browned. Thicken the pot with six eggs, pounded almonds and a piece of bread. Cook in the pot [[*]] the yolks, whole (najama).

When the thickening (kamra) has set, make a tard with rugaq made of darmak flour. Pour the sauce on the tard until it is well and evenly moistened. Place the fried fish on top of the tard, after having made an incision in the center of the fish in order to split the eggs, that were inserted in the inside, and to expose them. Pile up the fish balls on the tard, and decorate it with them, and with the almonds and pine nuts. Serve, insaallah.

[M.64] A Jewish dish of eggplants stuffed with meat.

Boil eggplants, remove their seeds, but leave the eggplants shells whole. Then take meat from a thigh (fakid) of lamb (karuf), and pound it with salt, pepper, cinnamon, cassia, and spikenard. Mix it with the whites of eight eggs, leaving aside six egg yolks (fusus). Stuff the eggplants with this stuffing.

Take three pots. Put in the first pot four spoonfuls of olive oil, onion juice, seasonings and spices (afawh), two spoonfuls of fragrant rose water, pine nuts, buds of citron, buds of mint, and a sufficient amount

of salt and water. Boil these ingredients well, and put half of the stuffed eggplants in it.

Put in the second pot a spoonful of vinegar, a spoonful of mur, a grated onion, seasonings and spices, sprigs of thyme, sprigs of rue (fajan), citron leaves, twigs of fennel, two spoonfuls of olive oil, almonds, soaked chickpeas, half a dirham of crushed saffron, and three of chopped garlic. Cook these ingredients with a sufficient amount of water until the pot starts to boil continuously, then put the rest of the stuffed eggplants in it.

Put in the third pot a spoonful and a half of olive oil, a spoonful of coriander juice, half a spoonful of strong vinegar, a grated onion, almonds, pine nuts, twigs of rue (fajan), and citron leaves ... (fn) ... Spray it with rose water, and sprinkle it with spices.

Decorate the second pot with chopped egg yolks and chopped rue (fajan), and sprinkle spices on it.

On the third pot chop a boiled egg with rue (fajan), and sprinkle with pepper. Serve. [[*]]

[M.65] Making a kabs with meat.

Cut up meat from the breast (sadr), lower back (?) (kulan ?), the ribs (dill), and similar cuts, and put them, after washing them, in a pot. Cover them with water, and add two spoonfuls of olive oil, and one rat of honey. Put the pot over the fire. Crush a dirham of saffron, and add it to the pot.

When the meat is done, lower the pot to the gada. Then take the kabs, crumble it, throw it in the pot, and stir it slowly.

When the kabs is done, transfer it to a plate (gidar), sprinkle fine seasonings on it, and serve, insaallah

1) ***. The text is faulty. The proper correction is dependent on the type of text

(2) I am not clear if kab means here starch waffers^v, or the sweet made with them. The word is ambiguous.

[M.66] Making qahiryas.

Take sugar, and pound thoroughly sweet almonds. Take one part of sugar and an equal part of almonds, mix them, and knead the mixture with fragrant rose water. Flavor it with fine spices (afawh), like cinnamon, cassia, spikenard, pepper, galangal and nutmeg, adding them in the right amount relative to the sugar and almonds used. Mix all these ingredients thoroughly, and let the consistency of the dough be rather firm. Then make from it small rings in the shape of kaks.

Then take one rat, or half a rat of darmak flour, or what will be sufficient for the rings made from the pounded sugar and almonds. Add leaven (kamr) and salt, knead it into a dough, and leave it to ferment. Then take a little starch, add it to the dough, and dilute it with water.

Take a pan, clean it well, and pour in it fine olive oil, if you use sweet almond oil, it would be even better. Raise the pan over the fire. When the oil boils, take those prepared rings one by one, dip them in that batter, and put them in the boiling oil. When you remove them from the oil, they should be cooked, and they should have started to brown very lightly.

Pile them up and arrange them nicely on a plate (sahfa). Then pour over them honeycomb honey, with its scum removed, or well thickened rosewater

syrup (sarabjulab), and sprinkle ground sugar over them. Serve, God willing the Supreme.

[M.67] Making braids (dafair).

Take any amount of either darmak or of samd flour you wish, but the samd flour is in this case preferable. After sifting the flour, moisten it with hot water, add a small amount of darmak flour, leaven (kamr) and salt, and knead it very well, and keep soaking it with water repeatedly until it will have an average consistency. Then add for each rat of samd flour five eggs and one dirham of saffron. Mix everything thoroughly. Then put the dough in a plate (sahfa), cover it, and leave it to ferment. The sign that it has properly fermented was described before.

After it has <properly fermented, clean a pan, fill it with fine olive oil, and raise it on the fire. When it starts to boil, make braids (dafair) with this fermented dough, like the ones made with strands of hair, the size of the span of a hand, or a little smaller, and smear them with olive oil while making them. Then put them in the oil, and fry them until browned.

When one has finished frying them, arrange them in a plate (gidar), pour over them honey, with its scum removed, and flavored with pepper, cinnamon, cassia and spikenard. Sprinkle also ground sugar over them. Then serve, insaallah.

In the same manner one makes isfanjs (i.e. fritters), except that the dough for the isfanjs should be lighter, saffron should be omitted, and they should be shaped into balls, and fried in this shape, insaallah. If you wish to fill the braids or the isfanjs, fill them with a filling made from almonds and sugar, in the same manner as described in preparing the qahiryas.

This recipe has several crosreferences that yield important clues.

[M.68] Making a monkey's head rasmaimun.

For making it, handle the samd flour in exactly the same manner as described in the preceeding recipe. One should add a little samn, as well as four or five eggs for each rat of flour, as we said before. Keep mixing the flour mixture with water and samn continously until it becomes fluid.

Then take a new, glazed (muzajjaj) pot, having a belly and a neck, and soak it with olive oil and samn until the walls of the pot have evenly absorbed them. Then pour in it the batter only up to the level of the neck. Take a segment of a cane (qasab), hollow at both ends, and insert it in the middle of the pot after oiling it with samn. Let the batter stand until it has properly fermented. The sign that it has properly fermented is that bubbles are formed in it, as we said before. [[*]] Once properly fermented, send it to the oven, placing it away from the fire. Leave it there until the batter is browned and baked.

When it comes out of the oven, shake the pot well but with care, and remove the top from it. Then break the pot piece by piece so that the shape of the baked batter will come out intact. If you find difficulty to loosen a spot, pour on it a little honey and samn. Continue doing so carefully until you take it out whole, because the most important point is to take out the batter intact in the shape of a human head. Be careful also when you remove the cane segment, and fill the hole it leaves with honey, samn and olive oil.

Place the head, as is, on a plate (sahfa), stud it with cleaned pine nuts and pistachios, pour over it melted samn, and sprinkle on it ground sugar. Then serve, insaallah

Description of the requirements for making loaves and sweets (fn).

[M.69] Making thin qursas with honey.

Take a rat of darmak flour, and knead it with twenty egg yolks (fusus), a little water and olive oil. Then make from it small, very thin qursas (i.e. flat, circular loaves). Once finished making them, fry them in plenty of olive oil until they are almost browned.

Place them in a plate (sahfa). Boil honey for a little while, remove the scum, chop in it walnuts and almonds, and pour it over the plate.

Sprinkle sugar over it, and also whole pine nuts. Then serve.

There was an analogous and very popular pastry in Christian lands, known as Cat. crespes, Fr. crepes, etc.

[M.70] A stuffed monkey's head rasmaimun.

Take rat of darmak flour, and knead it with a little water and leaven until it is slightly moistened. Then continue kneading it with half a rat of samn, water and ten eggs, mixing it well with all these ingredients, until it is well moistened.

Then take a squab (farkhamam), and clean it. Remove its innards, pound them with a small amount of onions, a piece of bread, and peeled almonds, and beat this mixture with five eggs, pepper, cinnamon, cassia, spikenard and a small amount of coriander juice. Stuff the squab with this mixture, and insert a boiled egg inside the stuffing. Sew the squab, and put it in a pot with salt, water and olive oil, and cook it.

When it is done, take a second pot having a belly and a neck. Put olive oil in it, [[*]] and rotate it until it has absorbed the oil. Then take some of the dough, put it at the bottom of the pot, place the squab on it, and put the rest of the dough over it. Let it ferment for a while, then send it to the oven.

When it is done, break the pot after shaking it several times in order to loosen the dough from the pot. Place the monkey's head whole, as is, on a plate (sahfa). Boil samn and honey, and pour them over it, decorate it with toasted pine nuts, and sprinkle sugar over it. Then serve, insaallah.

[M.71] The above dish can be made in another way.

It is made thus: Cut up the squab (fark), put it in a pot with salt, a grated onion and olive oil, and cook it until done. Then transfer the squab to a pan with juice of green coriander pounded with chopped onions, seasonings, cinnamon, spikenard, cassia, clove, aloes (ud), and a little musk and rose water. Mix these ingredients with eight eggs, and let them cook until they are set and browned. Add also ras mur. Then remove the pan from the fire.

Next, take peeled almonds, pistachios and sugar, and pound them. Flavor this mixture, and knead it with rose water and musk.

Next, prepare a dough as was described above.

Then put some of the dough at the bottom of a pot. Put on it half of the first stuffing. Then put over it a little dough. Then put the stuffing made with sugar and almonds, and put over it a little dough as well. Then put over it the rest of the first stuffing, and fill the pot with the rest of the dough.

Although it is easy to supply the remnant steps of this recipe, it seems that they would have been written down, but they are missing, i.e. the recipe seems incomplete. Check Moroccan text.

[M.72] Making stuffed qursas.

Knead two rats of darmak flour with water, olive oil and leaven (kamr), kneading it thoroughly until it is moistened with as much moisture as the above described (fn) dough, or slightly le Then make a stuffing of sugar and almonds, made the same way as for stuffed kaks.

Stretch half of the dough and stuff it with half of the stuffing, smear it with olive oil, make a loaf from it, and leave it until it has fermented. Then put it in a new glazed muzajja tajin, oiled with olive oil, and cook it in the oven. When it has browned, place it in a plate (gidar). Warm up honey, and pour it over the qursa after having perforated it everywhere with your fingers. Let it stand until the honey has been absorbed. Then chop pine nuts over it, sprinkle it with sugar, and it is ready to be served.

Next, make from half of the dough, that remained, thin qursas. Stuff them with the rest of the stuffing, and fry them with fine olive oil. Place them in a bowl (gidar). Crush walnuts, boil them with honey for a short while, and pour the mixture over the qursas. Sprinkle sugar over them, and serve.

This recipe appears in the Moroccan text almost verbatim. The added line stems from that text.

[M.73] Recipe for other qursas.

Take darmak flour, five eggs and also half a rat of fresh cheese. Take some of the cheese, and mash it until the texture of the cheese is not discernible anymore, then knead it with egg whites and a little ... (fn). Make very thin qursas, and fry them in plenty of olive oil so that they stay white.

Boil pounded walnuts with honey, pour the mixture over the qursas, and add pistachios and pine nuts. Sprinkle sugar over them, and serve.

This recipe was not properly copied down.

[M.74] A turda (sic) made with ragfs in a tajin.

Knead two rats of darmak flour, make from it very thin ragfs, and bake them for a little while in the oven.

Then take a pitcher (qadah) and a half of milk, stir in it eight beaten eggs and a little flour, and cook the mixture over the fire.

Then take a new tajin and a rat of butter. Put some butter at the bottom of the tajin and some milk, and put over it a ragf. Continue doing so until the ragf and butter are used up. Then put on top of the tajin a thick ragf to cover it all. Then send it out to the oven. When it has cooked a little, have it sent back, and soak it up with the rest of the milk so that the milk is used up and be completely absorbed. Then return it to the oven to complete the cooking.

Then have it sent back. Place the turda in a plate (sahfa), after breaking carefully the tajin to take it out whole. Cut it with a knife (sikkn) in a crisscross pattern (fn), sprinkle sugar over it, and serve, insaallah

This recipe is interesting because it uses milk tickened with eggs and flour, which is what we may call a pastry cream or custard. It does not seem to be sweeten, though. I do not think it occurs elsewhere in the ms.

[M.75] A turda sic made of isfanjs (fritters) with milk.

Make isfanjs (fritters) with darmak flour, be judicious in making them, and fry them. Add to the dough, when it is kneaded, the amount of eggs that it will absorb.

When one has finished making them and frying them, cook the required amount of fresh milk, adding egg whites and darmak flour (gabar), and stir the mixture carefully until it is cooked.

Then cut the isfanjs with scissors (miqass) in small pieces, put them in a plate, and soak them with the milk until they are drenched. Melt butter and pour it over the tard, sprinkle sugar over it, and serve, God willing.

Should one translate beat eggwhites and darmak flour, and add them to the milk? Beaten eggwhites will add texture, unbeaten eggwhites will just curdle and sink.

[M.76] Making horns aqrun.

Knead darmak flour with a little olive oil. Stretch it, and make thin loaves (qursa) with a cane segment (qannut), making them as thin as possible, and let their shape be round. Fold them like sanbusaks, and watch out that all of them turn out of equal size. Then fry them carefully in a lot of olive oil, so that they will not open up.

When one has finished frying them, one should place them on a plate (sahfa), whose shape is square, and arrange them in the same way. Do so until all of them are used up and the plate is filled. Mix honey as one does to make white thickened honey, and add sugar to it. Sprinkle it over the horns, and sprinkle it also in between them, when you arrange them on the plate. They are ready to be served, God willing.

Aqrun. This form, with the initial aliph and present spelling, I have been unable to track down. From the recipe, it seems that the squarish or cornered shape is the distinguishing feature of this pastry. The recipe is very condensed, almost unintelligible on a first reading.

Note also that two rectangular triangles joined by the diagonal or four rectangular triangles joined by the sides adjacent to the right angle form a square. Note also that a circle folded in half yields a halfcircle, which can be considered as two adjacent quarter circles. By folding the arcs of these two quarter circles one obtains a rectangular triangle. This is just a suggestion.

[M.77] Making ears (adan).

Knead darmak flour with water and olive oil, without leaven (kamra). Then stretch the dough into thin, small, round loaves (qursa), like the ones for horns aqrun. They should have the width of the palm of the hand or larger. Fold the loaves in two, and avoid the folds from folding in, so that their interior remains open. Then fry them, after inserting in them thin, little sticks (dan) to prevent the opened edges to close up.

After they are fried, make a stuffing of pistachios or almonds and sugar, kneading the stuffing with rose water, and stuff the ears with it. If one wishes to flavor the stuffing, one may do so. Then arrange the ears in a plate (sahfa), and soak them with thickened juleb syrup (sarab al-julab), after spraying them with rose water. Sprinkle also ground sugar, aloes (ud), clove and cassia over them. They are ready to be served.

[M.78] Making jardas.

Clean wheat, and toast it until it is moderately browned. Then grind it like flour, and sift it.

Then heat up honey, remove the scum from it, and increase its consistency by boiling it down until it approaches the consistency of an asdal (fn).

Watch out that it does not burn. Add fine olive oil, and let it cool off a little. Then add the toasted flour, and stir it until it has cooled off well.

Then insert your hand into this mixture, and knead it until the oil has seeped out, and its consistency tends to be firm. Mix in it only pepper in a proper amount, but if one wants, one may flavor it with fragrant spices (afawh) as well. Make from this mixture balls, and let the balls be of medium size. Offer them in a clean, small plate (zarf) when serving them, God willing.

Hadda. No clue. From the contents it is clear that it is a kind of hardened honey, like the kab, etc. In this case it is made with toasted wheat flour, and not with starch. See next recipe also.

Thickened sweets (halwa).

[M.79] Recipe to thicken honey with egg whites.

Boil flavorful honey over a moderate fire. When it has melted, filter it with a woolen cloth (mand). Return the honey to the pot, and stir it with a thick cane (qasab) having a brass tip so that it does not burn.

If it is comb honey, take the whites of six eggs, and, if it is not, take the whites of ten. Beat the whites without the yolks (muhah) by hand until they become foamy. Let the honey cool off well, then add the beaten egg whites to it. Return the pot to the fire, and stir it with the cane continuously until the honey mixture has become completely white. Then lower the pot from the fire.

[M.80] Recipe to thicken honey with kabs.

Put a large pan or a medium size pot over the fire, filled with fine olive oil, until it is well heated. Then add kabs, and remove it quickly with a perforated spoon (migrafa). If the leaves of the kabs are whole, add them one after the other to the oil, then remove them, and put them on a board (auh) until they have cooled off. When they have cooled off, break them in small pieces.

Then add the fried kabs to the honey to be thickened [[*]], and mix the two. The amount one adds is: two rats of kabs for each ka of honey. Leave the pot until it has thickened, cooled off, and the oil has seeped out. Then it is ready to be served, God willing

One could husk sesame seeds, and toast them a little, and add them to the honey instead of the kabs. In this case thicken the honey with a lot of egg whites, about twenty or more, God willing

[M.81] Recipe to thicken sugar.

Dissolve one rat of sugar in two rats of fragrant rose water over a moderate fire, and, when it is dissolved, filter it through a woolen cloth (mand). Then return the solution to the fire, and stir it until it is well cooked. Then lower the pot from the fire, and let it cool off well.

Beat thoroughly the whites of twelve eggs in a bowl (sahfa) until they become foamy, and add them to the dissolved sugar. Return this mixture to the fire, and beat it with a confectionary's cane (qasab) until it becomes white and has the consistency of an asda.

Then lower the pot from the fire, and add half a rat of pistachios, if possible, and half a rat of peeled almonds. It is ready to be served, God willing.

[M.82] Making a faludaj.

Melt one ka of honey over a weak fire until it dissolves and becomes fluid. Then filter the honey through a woollen cloth (mand), return it to the fire, and add to it one ka of olive oil. If it is comb honey, thicken it with one rat of starch, and, if it is not, thicken it with one rat and a fourth. While thickening it, stir in it six dirhams of ground saffron. When it has thickened, add half a rat of almonds. Transfer the mixture to a marble slab (rukam) to cool off, and work it with your hands until the oil seeps out of it. Then shape it with your hands into thin ragfs. They are ready to be served, God willing.

[M.83] To thicken honey.

Raise over a moderate fire one ka of comb honey until it becomes fluid. Then filter it, and return it to the fire. Beat twenty five egg whites in case it is comb honey, otherwise beat thirty egg whites. Add them to the honey, and mix them with a confectionary's cane (qasab) until the mixture becomes white and thick. Then add one rat of walnuts, cleaned of their peel. It is ready to be served, God willing.

[M.84] Making a sweet known as sweet canes (al-qasab al-hulw).

Take one ka of kabs milk (fn), add two rats of sugar, and filter the mixture through a cloth (mand). Then put the pot over a moderate fire. Pay attention to the cooking and to stir it carefully until it has thickened and combined. Then place it on a pastry board (salaya) to cool off. Then stretch out and cut from it pieces, the size of each should be four fingers, and fold them as if they were cane segments. Roll them in sifted darmak flour (fn), and make their edges equal with a knife (sikkn) so that they are uniform in size. Place them in a plate (tabaq). Then serve, God willing. I have been unable to find out what a ka is equivalent to. I guess it is larger than a rat. If so, the above solution without further ingredients will not thicken. Something is wrong. It is odd, too, to roll something in flour without further cooking, since raw flour is unpalatable.

[M.85] A stuffed muqawwara.

Sift one rat and a half of darmak flour thoroughly. Knead it with fifteen egg yolks (muhah), and with the amount of fresh milk, that it will absorb. Add also a little leaven (kamra). The dough should be rather firm. Make from it a round loaf (qursa), like a ragf, and leave it to ferment. Then fill a pan with fine olive oil, and put it on the fire. When the oil is hot, put in it the ragf, and move it around from time to time, taking care that it does not get damaged, then turn it over. When the ragf has browned a little, remove it, and place it on a plate (sahfa). Scoop out the ragf, as when one makes a muqawwara, removing all the pieces of bread in it, and crumble them very finely with your hands. Then take peeled walnuts and almonds, as well as sufficient amount of sugar, and pound them thoroughly. Put in the muqawwara a layer of this mixture and a layer of crumbs, until you have filled up the muqawwara, adding also ground sugar in between layers and a sprinkling of rose water. Then boil fine samn and good quality honey very well, and pour them in the muqawwara. When it is soaked to the top, put the cover back, that was removed from its top, and pour the remainder of the honey and samn over the cover. Sprinkle the muqawwara with sugar, and serve. Muqawwara (?). The basic meaning of the root: to scoop out, etc., fits well with the name of the dish. See Dozy, who mentions also under this

root the name of a bread. This recipe appears also in the Moroccan text. Both recipes stem from the same source.

[M.86] A dish known as the turdal of the emir.

Knead thoroughly darmak flour with water, a little olive oil and leaven (kamra). Make from it four thin ragfs, and fry them in a pan with plenty of fine olive oil until they are well browned. Then remove them from the oil, and pound them very well. Make from the rest of the dough cups, shaped like small, hollow mujabbanas, and make also covers for them. Fry the cups in fine olive oil, and be careful and see to it that they stay white and do not brown. Fry the covers likewise.

Then take peeled pistachios, almonds and pine nuts, and the necessary amount of sugar, and pound them coarsely. Flavor and knead these ingredients with a fragrant rose water. Then add the pounded ragfs, and stir this mixture until it is well blended. Fill with it the prepared cups (mujabbanas), and cover them with their covers, making sure that the covers will not become loose.

Then arrange them in a plate (sahfa), adding the rest of the stuffing in between them and a sprinkling of fragrant rose water, until the plate is filled with them. Sprinkle with a lot of ground sugar, and serve.

If one pours over them thickened, honeyed juleb (julab), it will turn out as good, God willing.

This recipe appears almost verbatim in the Moroccan text, and in the pastry section, and not among the tard. The Moroccan text calls it a matruda (?).

[M.87] Making kabs.

To make wheat starch:

Grind wheat to make coarsely ground wheat (jas), sift away its bran, and leave it to moisten during the night. In the morning knead it with your feet, and squeeze out the milk, that comes out of it. Do this several times. Then let it stand until all the milk sinks to the bottom of the container (ina). Then remove from it all the water. [[*]] Do this three or four times, until all the water has been removed and what remains is uniformly white.

To make kabs:

When it is white, add a little water to it, and mix it with your hand to the point that the mixture sticks to your hand.

Then raise a pan over the fire to heat it up. Then lower it from the fire, grease it with a small amount of wax, wipe it off with a clean cloth (kirqa), and return the pan to the fire to heat up again. Then pour in it the wheat milk, in an amount that will spread over the bottom of the pan and cover it completely. The fire should be weak. When the leaf (waraq) has hardened, pull it out and place it on a blanket (milhafa). Make more leaves, until all the milk has been used up, and arrange them on the blanket. Then expose them to the sun until they are dry, and try, if possible, to have the side adjoining the pan to face upward, insaallah.

If one wants to dye the leaves, add ground saffron to the milk, and fry them in the same manner, God willing

If one wants to make kabs from rice, let him wash it several times with hot water, and then remove it from the water. Then spray it lightly with water, and cover it until it is well moistened. When the rice is moistened, knead it very well until the grains are completely mashed. Then sieve it into a basin (qasrya), and proceed as described initially.

Thicken sugar with rose water and egg whites, as was described before.
Fry the leaves (waraq) of the kabs made of rice in olive oil, and make sweets from it, as was described before.

NOTES:

(fusus)
(kamra)
(afawh)
check raise/lower
check egg whites/ eggs ("after removing some yolks" see later B.10)
(muhah)
(hasu)
gada
(gabar)

(added later):

A Sicilian(?) dish.

Take the amount of a rat and a half of fat meat, from the breast, the shoulder (sin), the fat(?) ribs, or the rest of the limbs, and put it in a pot with a little water and salt, and with the amount of three rat's of onions. Put the pot over a moderate fire. When the onions are done and all the meat is ..., add(?) to it four spoons of olive oil, pepper, cinnamon, Chinese cinnamon, and spikenard, and also meatballs, and complete the cooking. When the meat is done, thicken the dish with eggs, beaten with saffron. It may be left without thickening. If desired, it may be prepared in the communal oven, or at home.

A chicken cooked in the oven.

Take a fat (plump?) and cleaned up chicken, and put it in a pot. Add to it a spoon of fine olive oil, half a spoon of macerated mur, a lot of pepper, a piece of Chinese cinnamon, and whole egg yolks, as they are found inside the chicken. Then cover the pot, and put it into the oven. When you know that it is cooked and done, remove its cover, and transfer it to a serving plate at the time of serving it.

INGREDIENTS

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INDEX FRAGMENT TEXT A

A.1- Making a turda with two chickens, one being stuffed with the meat of its companion.

Slaughter two chickens by slitting their throat. Blow up one of them at the time it dies, blowing through the place it was slaughtered, and tie securely the spot where you blew through, so that no air will escape from it. Pluck this chicken carefully to avoid piercing it, and let the air remain in it while it is being plucked. When it has been cleaned, remove its inners, and add to them the meat of the second chicken as well as its inners, except the breast meat, since this is put aside to make with it meatballs.

Pound all the meat until it is like brains, and clean it of its tendons (veins, senews?). Add to it, while in the mortar, seasonings, mur, onions pounded together with green coriander and salt, two eggs, and whatever wallnuts, almonds and pinenuts you may afford, leaving some whole. Mix it all together, and, after adding some water, put in it some fine olive oil. Then stuff with it the chicken. If there should not be enough stuffing, increase the amount of meat at the time you prepare it. When the stuffing of the chicken has been completed, place it in a pot. Add two spoonfuls of honey, the same amount of olive oil, a little saffron, and salt. Cover the chicken with water, and put it on the fire until it begins to boil(?). Then place it on a charcoal fire until it is almost done. Then throw in it meatballs and sanbusak, I will describe how they are made after finishing with the turda, God willing, and likewise I will describe the mixing of seasonings-, and break eggs (plural?) in the sauce of the chicken. When the chicken is done, thicken it with two eggs.

Make ragéfs with the finest(?) possible darmak flour (as thin as possible?). Place each cooked ragf on top of another in a platter

(sahfa). Cover them until you have the required amount. Pour the sauce little by little, and you will cover them with a kerchief or with another platter. And when you have the required amount of rag , pour (filter?) over them plenty(?) of sauce. Place the chicken over the turda, and decorate it around it and on top of it with the meatballs, sanbusak and the eggs (plural?) broken in the sauce. Sprinkle on top of it pepper, Chinese cinnamon and cinnamon, God willing.

(1) turda. Lane considers it as a synonym of tard. Since in the present case the loaves do not seem to be crumbled, it may not be a tard in the proper sense. Maybe it is a Latinism or Hispanism for torta, tarta, turta, turda. Cf. Niermeyer. Not in Simonet or Dozy. The vocalization taken from Lane. Cf. also a few recipes below.

(2) The initial blowing procedure, and similar recipes, suggest that the chicken was stuffed also under the skin, even though the present recipe does not say it explicitly.

The title and the end suggest that we are dealing with a single recipe, though one may be suspicious.

A.2- Mixing of seasonings.

Pepper one part, caraway two parts, coriander seeds three parts. Pound all these ingredients and sift them. It is ready to be used.

Dishes, where the seasoning occurs single, should be added (thrown in?) singly, God willing.

A.3- Making meatballs from any meat one wants.

Take meat, free of tendons(?), add some fat sah), and pound these ingredients until they are like brains, and remove the tendons(?) from the mixture. Then throw in (add?) mur, olive oil, seasonings, onions pounded with green coriander and salt, or their juice, a small amount of flour, a little water, and the required amount? of eggs. Pound all this together until it is blended.

Put a pot over the fire. When the water? boils, throw the meatballs in it, and cook them? until they are done. Remove them, and serve them in a pot(!?), God willing. If wanted?, they may be fried in a pan with olive oil, God willing.

A.4-Making meatballs from chicken breasts.

Pound the meat until it is like brains, and remove its tendons(?). Then throw in (add?) mur, olive oil, as well as eggs, salt, spikenard, cloves, pepper, and almonds and pistachios. Pound all this until it is more or less(?) blended with the meat. Then make meatballs with this mixture. Place the meatballs in boiling water, and leave them there until they are done. Then they are ready to be served.

A.5-Making the sanbusak.

Take stuffing meat or any meat you like, pound it well, and remove its tendons. Add to it fat (sahm), cut up small, one third the amount of meat. Add(?) to all this a lot of seasonings, increasing the amount of pepper, onion juice, green coriander, rue (sada), and salt. Mix it smoothly. Add(?) olive oil and a little water until (???).

Take samd flour, and make it into a dough, and(?) balance(?) it with samn, kneading it very well with a little pepper. Take a walnut sized portion of this dough, and spread it to the extend of half a span. Then take a walnut sized portion of the stuffing, and put it in the middle of

the dough, and join its edges. Fry them in fine olive oil. Use(?) them as you like, God willing.

A.6-A turda of chicken.

Put the chicken, after cleaning it, whole in a pot. Add(?) to it a spoonful of olive oil, a like amount of honey, the required amount of seasonings, a little of cut onions, and of water what will cover the chicken. Cook the chicken.

Then make ruqaqs. Fry them in plenty of olive oil, and put them whole in a platter (sAhfa). Empty (transfer?) the sauce over them and the chicken. Take care of doing it as was said before.

A.7-Making the tafaya.

Put the meat in a pot, and put with it seasonings, cut up onions, olive oil and a twig(?) of fennel, and cover it with water. Cook it until it is near to be half cooked. Then pound a large handful of green coriander, squeeze its juice, and throw it in the pot. Stir the pot continuously, and do not be negligent in stirring it, so that it does not ...(?). When it is close to be done, throw in the well-known(?) meatballs and the sanbusak. Transfer the dish to a serving plate, and sprinkle over it pepper and cinnamon?, God willing.

A.8-A tafaya thickened with eggs

Put the meat in a pot, and put with it seasonings, pounded onions?, olive oil and a twig(?) of fennel, and of coriander juice what will cover the meat. Cook it until it is near ... being done. Then throw in meatballs, and break in eggs, and thicken the sauce with their whites mixed with juice of green coriander. Leave it on the radaf until it is set(?). Stuff with the meatball stuffing large intestines (mabar), and put in them whole almonds and pinenuts. Slice them, and decorate with the slices the dish, as well as with the well-known(?) sanbusak. Transfer the dish to a serving plate, and sprinkle over it pepper and cinnamon.

(1) For the suggested insertion of onions cf. the previous and the next recipe.

(2) mabar. See section 2 text M. Also Lane.

A.9 A tafaya made with stuffing meat.

Remove the meat from the bones, and prepare the meat as if one were to make meatballs. Put the bones in a pot with salt(?), pounded onions, a twig(?) of fennel, and of green coriander juice what will cover the bones. Cook them until they are done. Then remove the bones from the pot, and dress them with the pounded meat. Put these dressed bones in a pot, and boil them gently, and let them cook until the stuffing is set(?). Break some eggs in the pot. Make with the meat also some meatballs, according to what was said before, with almonds and pinenuts. Transfer the dish to a serving plate, and decorate it with stuffed large intestines (mabar), with fardalat, and with the eggs. Sprinkle over it pepper, cinnamon and spikenard.

1 fardalat. Hispanism. Small turnovers. See ... etc.

A.10-A mukallal made with chicken, or other meats.

Put the meat in a pot, and add seasonings, onions pounded with green coriander and salt, a spoonful of olive oil, three spoonfuls of vinegar, a little mur, and two heads of garlic. Pour enough water to cover it, and

cook it until the meat is done and browned (thicken the sauce with eggs?). Then sprinkle over the dish pepper and cinnamon, and serve it. If one eliminates the mur, it is also good. If one makes the mukallal with fat meat, put in it boiled eggplants. browned makes better sense. Cf. two recipes below.

A.11-A Sicilian(?) tafaya.

Take for each rat of fat meat, tender tripes, and breasts, eight onions, cleaned and cut in fourths. Cover these ingredients with water, and boil them, and keep removing the foam until the liquid is clear. When it is clear, add pepper, coriander seeds, and place the pot over a charcoal(?) fire. Stir the pot constantly, until the onions and meat are done. When they are done, pound four cloves of garlic on a marble slab, and throw them in the pot together with a twig(?) of rue (sadab). Transfer the dish to a serving plate, and sprinkle over it pepper, cinnamon and spikenard.

A.12-The murdish, made from any kind of meat.

Put the meat in the pot. Throw in it seasonings, and onions pounded with green coriander and salt, and add also three spoonfuls of mur, a single spoonful of vinegar, and the same amount of olive oil. Fry the meat, then cover it with water, and cook it until it is done and browned. Transfer the dish to a serving plate, and sprinkle over it pepper and cinnamon. If one eliminates the vinegar, it is also good. If one adds(?) soaked chickpeas and a little rue (sada), it is good also, God willing.

A.13-The buraniya.

Cut up the meat, and put it in a pot. Pound(...?), and put with it a spoonful of vinegar, the same amount of olive oil, and some rue (sadab) leaves. Fry the meat, then cover it with water, and cook it. When the meat is nearly done, add meatballs and finish the cooking. Then take boiled eggplants, and remove the pulp from its interior. Add to the pulp the same amount of the well-known(?) meatball meat, and pound all this together with one egg. Stuff with this mixture the eggplant shells, then dust them with flour, and fry them until they are browned. Then place them in the pot until you know that the stuffing is set(?). Transfer the dish to a serving plate, and sprinkle over it pepper.

A.14-An excellent dish containing patties (sifriya) made of eggs.

Dismember any meat you want, and put it in a pot. Add to it three spoonfuls of vinegar, a single spoonful of mur the required amount of seasonings, two pounded onions, salt, the amount of coriander juice that is squeezed out (extracted from?) of a large handful(?), the amount one wants of pounded meat, likewise of almonds, a handful of whole pinenuts, and enough water to cover it all. Cook the meat until it is done, and thicken the sauce with two eggs.

Then break the eggs one wants. Brown them lightly, and make with them a thin omelette (Tajin). Turn it upside down in the pan, so that it browns from both sides. Then cut it like patties (isfriya), and place them in the pot. Transfer the dish to a serving plate, and sprinkle over it pepper and chopped rue (sada). Serve it, God willing.

A.15 A dish made with inners(?) of a fat ram.

Cut up the meat small and put it in a pot. Put with it a spoonful of vinegar, two spoonfuls of mur, a spoonful of olive oil, an onion pounded with green coriander and salt, pepper, a little cummin, likewise whole dill(?), leaves of rue (sadab), and three heads of garlic. Cook all this until it is done. Then remove some(?) of the meat, and pound it with

breadcrumbs and two eggs, and thicken with it the dish. Sprinkle over it spikenard, Chinese cinnamon and pepper, and serve it.

A.16-A dish with eggplants.

Cut up the meat small and put it in a pot. Put with it half a spoonful of vinegar, a spoonful of mur, the same amount of olive oil, seasonings, and an onion pounded with green coriander. Fry it, then cover it with water, and cook it until done.

Then boil the eggplants on the side, and cut them in thirds or fourths. Dust them with flour, and fry them in olive oil. Put them in the pot with the meat. Thicken the dish with eggs. Transfer the dish to a serving plate, and sprinkle over it cinnamon, spikenard and pepper. Serve it.

A.17-jimya.

Cut up small the meat from the inners(?) or of other type, and put it in a pot. Put with it salt, cut up onions, a little vinegar, good mur, pepper, spikenard, cinnamon, almonds and fine olive oil. Cook it until done. Then break in it some eggs, and thicken the dish. Sprinkle over it pepper and cinnamon. Serve it.

A.18-A green dish.

Cut up the meat small and put it in a pot. Put with it two spoonfuls of vinegar, a spoonful of olive oil, a spoonful and a half of mur salt, seasonings, and a cut up onion. Fry the meat, then cover it with coriander juice, and cook it until it is almost done. Then throw meatballs into the pot, and thicken the sauce with meatball meat, mixed(?) with the inner core of bread, a little rue (sada), and two eggs. Boil an egg, split it in fourths, and serve the dish, God willing. This dish appears also in the Jewish section.

A.19-A dish of meat made with wallnuts and mastic.

Cut up the meat, after boiling (scalding?) it, and put it in a pot?. Put with it half a dirham of mastic, pepper, cinnamon, spikenard, garlic, rue (sada), a little vinegar, olive oil, salt, whole onions, green coriander(?), and a little water. When the meat is done, pound walnuts and, and throw them in the pot, and stir the dish until they release(?) their oil. Serve it in leaves of walnut(???). Thicken it with one egg. Transfer the dish to a serving plate, and sprinkle over pepper and seasonings(?). Serve it, God willing.

The recipe, as it stands, is corrupt. A break?

Serve it in leaves of walnut may mean serve it in a plate covered with leaves of walnut. There are other examples of this custom, that I should compare with. If this interpretation is correct, the order of the last lines is odd or superfluous.

A.20-A dish of meat with coliflower.

Cut marbled (larded, butcher's?) meat, and put it in a pot?. Put with it white of onions(?), salt and olive oil. Fry the meat, then pour in it a little water. After it boils, add coliflower, cut like fingertips, after boiling it half way through. Break eggs in the pot, moisten it with vinegar and mur, thicken the sauce with eggs, and spinkle over the dish chopped coriander, God willing

A.21-Making a safarjaliya (a dish with quince).

Take meat, cut it into pieces(?), and put it in the pot. Put with it two spoonfuls of vinegar, a weight of a dirham and a half of pepper, caraway

and coriander seeds, and a pounded onion. Cover it with water, and put the pot over the fire.

Clean three, four or five quinces, and chop(?) them with a knife as fine as possible. Cook them in water, and when they are cooked, remove them from this water.

When the meat is done, put these boiled quinces in it, and let them have two or three boils. Then thicken the dish with two or three eggs, remove the pot from the fire, and let it stand for a while. When the dish is transferred to the plate (Ahfa), sprinkle over it a small amount of pepper, and put in it a small amount of saffron, and serve it.

A.22-Making a green chicken.

Cut the chicken from joint(?) to joint, clean it, and put it in a pot. Throw in it two spoonfuls of vinegar, a likewise amount of coriander juice, three spoonfuls of olive oil, green coriander pounded with half an onion, coriander seeds, cummin, pepper, cinnamon, stalks(?) of fennel, sprouts(?) of citron, peeled almonds and pinenuts, and the necessary amount of water. Cook the chicken over moderately hot embers.

Then take lamb's meat, pound it well, and put in it all what is put in making meatballs according to what preceeds. Make with it small meatballs, and cook them with the chicken, leaving aside some of this meat to thicken with it the pot. If one wants to fry some of the meatballs, do so.

Then break the number of eggs you want, beat them with the meatball meat, that was left aside, together with a little flour, a spoonful of green coriander juice, and a little pepper, and thicken with it the pot. Then decorate the dish placed in a plate Ahfa with the meatballs and with egg yolks, and serve it, God willing.

A.23-A dish of a duck called basaq (check ms.).

Cut each joint(?) of the duck in two, and put them in a pot. Take chicken gizzards and the gizzard of the duck, clean them, cut them as fine as possible, and put them in the pot together with a spoonful of mur, a head of garlic, two spoonfuls of fine olive oil, a branch of rue (fa jan), a branch of thyme, pepper, caraway, coriander seeds, green coriander, a small amount of onion and whites of four eggs, and beat them very well, and put in the pot a spoonful of it and make meatballs from the rest of the meat, leaving aside some of the pounded meat for thickening (kamra) the sauce. Cook the meatballs in the pot, and stir the pot from the sides carefully, so that the fat (Bwadak) evens up.

Then take the whites of four eggs, and beat them with the rest of the stuffing, together with breadcrumbs ..., and a small amount of pepper. Thicken with it the pot. You should have cooked the yolks (muhah.) of those eggs beforehand. Then arrange the dish in a plate (sahfa), and decorate it with the meatballs and the egg yolks (fusu), and serve it, God willing.

Clearly this recipe is corrupt. Actually it is not clear to me, that the beginning and the end hang together. The previous and following recipes deal with fowl, which suggest that there is no major break in the text.

A.24-jimya made with the thighs and breasts of a pigeon(?) (bujun) (?) .

Take the thighs and breasts of a pigeon(?), and put them in a pot. Add to them two(?) spoonfuls of olive oil, a spoonful of ras mur, a proper amount of vinegar, onions pounded with salt and coriander seeds, caraway, pepper, twigs of thyme, and a sufficient amount of water. Cook until the sauce and the grease (wadak) are balanced(?) and the meat is done.

Star(?) it with four egg yolks (fusu), and thicken it with two. Put it in

a plate (Ahfa), sprinkle over it pepper, and decorate it with the egg yolks. Serve it.

A.25-Making a stuffed goose.

Clean a tender goose, and do not dismember it.

Boil(!?) its gizzard, and cut it as fine as possible together with its liver, and also with livers and gizzards of chickens. Mix them with pepper, cinnamon, coriander seeds, green coriander, crushed(?) thyme, a little vinegar and mur, eggs, salt, and a pounded onion. Cook these ingredients?, and taste them.

Then stuff the goose with it, and tie it. Then place the goose in a new pot, add a little water, olive oil and mur, and put the pot in the oven. When the top of the goose has browned, turn it around to brown the other side, and complete the cooking. Then remove the goose into a plate (Ahfa), put around it fresh citron leaves, and make incisions on it, pouring over it its grease (wadak). Then serve it, God willing.

A.26-A partridge dish.

Cut the partridge at each joint(?), clean it, and put it in a cauldron (burma). Add to it salt, a pounded onion, a spoonful of mur, two spoonfuls of olive oil, chopped green coriander, pepper, a little caraway, and a sufficient amount of water. Cook it until done. Then take a handful of coriander seeds, pounded like kuh, and break on it four eggs, and thicken with it the pot(!?). Put over the dish whole pinenuts, and serve it, God willing.

kuhkohl, a preparation of pulverized antimony used for darkening the eyelids.

A.27-A dish of sliced pullet (young chicken?).

Slice the breast of a pullet after cleaning it, and fry the slices in a pan with fine olive oil until they are browned. Then put them in a cauldron (burma) together with salt, onion juice, a spoonful of mur, two spoonfuls of olive oil, four spoonfuls of water, pepper, rue (fajan), thyme, chopped green coriander, pinenut kernels, and broken up(?) almonds. Let the slices boil with these ingredients over the fire. Make for this dish meatballs from lamb's meat, and cook them with the slices. Thicken the pot(!?) with some of this stuffing i.e. pounded meat together with some eggs. Then boil eggs on the side, and cut them in fourths. Decorate with them the dish placed in a plate (Ahfa), and chop over it a little rue (fajan). Serve it, God willing.

A.28-A dish of whole turtle doves.

Open their interiors and clean them, and put them in a pot. Add to them salt, half a spoonful of vinegar, a spoonful of mur, three spoonfuls of olive oil, a small amount of chopped green coriander, pepper, coriander seeds, caraway, and water as needed. Cook them until done. Then pound very well a piece of meat together with two or three walnuts. Thicken with it the pot together with whites of eggs. Serve it, God willing.

A.29-A cut up chicken cooked in a sealed pot (mugé amuma).

This dish made with partridge is also excellent.

Cut up the chicken, and put it in a pot. Add a lot of onions, like five or six cut up in fourths, and add also all the seasonings, mur, good olive oil, a branch of fennel, citron leaves, a little rose water, twigs of thyme, pinenut kernels, peeled garlic cloves, and almonds. Beat eggs very well, either by themselves, or together with the seasonings of the pot, and pour(?) them over the chicken. Put also egg yolks (muhah) in the

pot. Cover the pot, and seal the cover with dough. Send the chicken to the oven until it is done. Then serve it, God willing.

A.30-A dish of chicken with stuffed eggplants.

Boil the eggplants, and remove their cores. Beat eggs and pounded meat with all the seasonings, mur, onion juice, salt, and chopped rue (fajan). Stuff with it the eggplants, and fry them in fine olive oil until they are browned and the stuffing is cooked.

Then roast a chicken on the spit, basting it constantly with olive oil and mur mixed together until it is browned. Beware that the fire touches the chicken and burns it.

Then put the chicken in a plate (Ahfa), arrange (distribute?) around it citron leaves and the stuffed eggplants, adorn it with split boiled eggs, and chop some rue (fajan) and sprinkle it over?. Serve it.

A.31-A fragrant(?) dish of chicken

Roast the chicken in the way it was roasted in the preceeding dish. Take a new pot, and put in it two spoonfuls of vinegar, a spoonful of mur, three spoonfuls of water, two spoonfuls of fine olive oil, citron leaves, branches(?) of fennel, an onion pounded with salt and green coriander, twigs of rue (fajan), twigs of thyme, and peeled almonds. Put the pot over a gentle fire. If one should make meatballs for it from lamb's meat, and fry them, and put them in the pot, it is also good. When the onion is cooked, and the pot has made a few boils, put in it in a starlike manner eight egg yolks (fusus), and thicken it with their eggwhites mixed with a little darmak flour and pepper. Then put in the pot the roasted chicken until it has absorbed the sauce, and sprinkle some mur over it. Put the chicken in a plate (Ahfa), pour the sauce on it, and chop some rue (fajan) and sprinkle it over?. Then serve it, God willing.

A.32-A winish(?) dish of chicken.

Slaughter a fat chicken, and leave it during the night with his feathers on. Then pluck it, and boil it whole slightly. Then roast it over the charcoal medium(?) roasted and cut its gizzard and its liver without boiling the chicken and cut it very finely together with a little salt, a whole onion, twigs(?) of thyme, four branches(?) of fennel, four leaves of citron, a rat. and a half of good wine(?), two uqya of mur, two uqyas of fine olive oil, a dirham of Chinese cinnamon, the same amount of cinnamon, four dirham of pepper, and a scattered(?) head of garlic for those who like to eat it.

When this sauce is cooked, cut up the chicken, and throw it in the pot. Thicken the pot with the yolks (muhah) of four boiled eggs beaten with a little sauce from the pot. Then serve it, after letting it settle(?) for a while, God willing.

(1) wine(?). There is another recipe, that has the same title (see ...). Among its ingredients is kamr. The present one has sarab in its place. It seems that wine is meant.

(2) The text of the recipe is slightly corrupt, but the general idea seems clear.

A.33-Making the qasrya (?) chicken with mustard.

Cut up(?) a chicken, and put it in a pot with salt and onions pounded with green coriander, as well as with olive oil, coriander seeds, pepper and caraway. Put the pot over the fire until it boils, and when it boils gently(?), add green coriander juice, vinegar and mur, the amount of

vinegar being greater than the amount of mur. When the chicken is done, pound finely peeled almonds, and mix(?) them with eggs, a little pepper, coriander seeds and green coriander pounded together, and a spoonful of made(?) mustard, and pour this mixture in the pot. Break in it three eggs, and place the pot in the radaf until it settles(?), and serve it, God willing.

A.34-A green dish, which was reported(?) by Umm Takma.

Boil briefly a tender chicken let it have just one boil, then cut it up, fry it with fine olive oil until it browns and turns ..., and leave it in the pan. Then take a plate and put in it green coriander pounded with an onion, finely chopped rue (fajan), a spoonful of mur, pepper, caraway, two spoonfuls of green coriander juice, two peeled cloves of garlic, thyme crushed(?) by hand, and as much as four spoonfuls of water. Mix all these seasonings, pour(?) them over the chicken, and keep stirring them constantly until the liquid(?) becomes delicious(?) and the seasonings are cooked. Then take four eggs, break them on the dish, and stir it(?) until the eggs are set and most of the sauce has vanished. Then serve it, God willing.

A.35-A pullet(?) (fark) dish.

Cut the pullet(?) in three pieces after cleaning it, and put it in a new pot. Add to it an appropriate amount of salt and pepper, an appropriate amount of coriander seeds, a spoonful of mur, and a spoonful of olive oil. Put the pot over the fire until it gives the first boil. Prepare for it onion juice, put in the pot enough juice to cover the pullet?, and let it boil until the pullet? is done. Then boil eggs, clean them of their shells, and pound them with an appropriate amount of green coriander. Break raw(?) eggs over this mixture, mix it, and thicken with it the pot. Taste it until its strenght(?) is evenly good(?).

A.36-A dish known as the mulahuj (?).

Cut tender(?) meat into medium sized(?) pieces, and put them in a pot. Take four or five onions, this amount is for one rat of butcher's meat, and split(?) them in fourths, and put them in the pot. Peel eggplants, and cut each into eight pieces. Boil them slightly, wash them with fresh water, and put them in the pot. Add pepper, coriander seeds, cummin, caraway, branches(?) of fennel, citron leaves, a head of garlic, four spoonfuls of vinegar, three of olive oil, two spoonfuls of mur, and a sufficient amount of water and salt. Cook it until the meat is almost done. Then take saffron in the amount of a half dirham, and pound it and grind(?) it in a mortar with a little water until it is dissolved, and put it in the pot, and complete the cooking of the pot. Make sure that the amount of sauce is small. Then take four eggs, break them at the edge of the pot, and pour them over the meat. Stir(?) it with a spoon until they are broken(?), and leave the pot over the fire until they are set. Then remove it from the fire. It is, indeed, a good dish.

A.37-Another good dish.

Cut up the meat into small pieces, and put them in a pot. Add to them two spoonfuls of olive oil, the same amount of mur, a little of coriander seeds, thyme and pepper, and an onion pounded with green coriander. Let the pot boil with these ingredients, and stir them constantly until nothing remains except the oil. Then pour enough water to cover the meat, and complete the cooking. Take pounded meat, grated cores of bread, pepper and eggs, mix them together, and thicken with it the pot. Remove

the pot from the fire, and let it stand until its fat (wadak) has evened up. Then transfer it to a serving dish, God willing.

A.38-Recipe for a good dish thickened with pinenuts.

Cut up the meat into medium sized(?) pieces, and put them in a new pot. Stir them with a spoon, stirring continuously and uninterruptedly without water or olive oil, and do not cease stirring it until the meat is smoothly browned. The fire for doing this should be weak. Then add a pounded onion, the needed amount of salt, three spoonfuls of vinegar, two spoonfuls of ras mur, a spoonful of coriander juice, citron leaves, twigs(?) of fennel, all the seasonings: pepper, cinnamon, coriander seeds and cummin, but the amount of cummin should be less than the others, a little caraway, twigs of rue (fajan), peeled almonds and pinenuts, and a sufficient amount of water. Cook it until done.

Make meatballs for this dish, and fry them also until they are browned. Then take a small amount of meatball meat, and mix it with a small amount of green coriander juice, grated breadcrumbs, and the whites of four eggs, the yolks (muhah) should have been put in the pot in a starlike manner beforehand-. Pound as much as half a handful(?) of pinenuts. Mix all these ingredients together, and thicken with it the pot. Place the pot in the radaf until its grease (wadak) comes out. Then transfer the dish to a serving plate and serve it, God willing.

A.39-Making the yellow dish.

Cut up the meat into medium sized(?) pieces. Add to it half an onion pounded with salt, a spoonful of vinegar, half a spoonful of mur, the same amount of fresh(!) coriander juice, do not add more mur nor more coriander juice to avoid coloring the sauce, two spoonfuls of fine olive oil, all the seasonings mentioned before, the amount of cummin being as before less than the others, and a sufficient amount of water, but not plenty. Then take as much as fifteen whole walnuts kernels(?), this amount is for one rat of butchers meat, and peel them and break them in half and in fourths, and perboil(?) them. Add two thirds of this amount to the pot, and reserve one third of it for thickening the pot. Add also peeled almonds and pinenuts. Make small meatballs for this dish and do not fry them, but who loves them fried, let him do so. Then take a dirham and a half of saffron for this amount of meat, and pound(?) half of it with water in a mortar until it is dissolved, and pour it into the pot at the start of cooking. Put the pot over the fire.

When the meat is done, put(?) four egg yolks (muhah) into the pot, and take their whites and beat them with a little darmak flour. Pound the remaining walnuts until they are like marrow. Dissolve(?) also the remaining saffron. Beat all these ingredients together, and thicken with it the pot. Stir the pot carefully from the sides until the thickening (kamra) is cooked. Place the pot in the radaf for a while to rest and so that its grease (wadak) comes out. Then transfer the dish to a plate (s... fa) and decorate it with pieces(?) of walnuts, with the meatballs and with the egg yolks. Then serve it.

If one makes for this dish very small sanbusak, and decorates the dish with them, it is also beautiful, God willing.

A.40-Another dish? of partridge.

Cut the partridge, clean it, and put it in a pot. Pour in it a single spoonful each of fresh water, fine olive oil, vinegar and mur. Add also rue (sada), leaves of thyme, a thinly cut onion, two cloves of garlic, pounded walnuts and a dirham and a half of pepper. Cook the partridge until done. Break eggs into the pot, and thicken it, God willing.

A.41-Another dish? of partridge.

Put a casserole (qasula) over the fire, and put in it a spoonful of mur, a spoonful of fine olive oil, a spoonful of vinegar, seasonings, a whole split(?) onion, twigs of thyme, and two eggs with their shells after boiling them. Cook all these ingredients until they are done. In the meantime a partridge will have been roasted. Cut up the partridge, and put it in the sauce after dissolving in it the yolks (safra) of the two eggs. Chop the whites, and sprinkle them together with pepper and cinnamon over the meat placed in a plate...). Serve it, God willing.

A.42-A judaba with qataif.

Take a new casserole qasua), and wash it. Pour in it fine olive oil, and put in it? qataif or ruqaq the size of the mold(?) (at the bottom of the casserole?). Then break over them four eggs and a handful of pounded sugar or some honey. Add again two? more qataif or two ruqaq, and break over them four eggs and a handful of pounded sugar, and continue doing this Then cover all of this with fresh milk and a small amount of fine olive oil. Place(?) the casserole in the tannur or in the oven, and put over it a chicken, a fat side(?), or whatever fat meat one likes, and leave them in the tannur until done. Put the judaba on a marble slab(?), sprinkle sugar over it, and serve it, God willing.
If one wants to put sugar and(?) pounded almonds instead of eggs, it is also extremely good.

A.43-An excellent stuffed omelette (mut Tajjan).

Cut the meat into small pieces, and put them in a pot. Add to them seasonings, a little cummin, an onion pounded with green coriander and salt, a spoonful of vinegar and a little mur. Cook them until done. Then remove the meat pieces from the sauce, and fry them in a pan with olive oil until they are browned. Then take as many eggs as needed, and throw them into the pan after beating them very well in a plate (sahfa). Let the eggs get set and browned(?). Then put the sauce into the pan, and lift the omelette with a knife from every direction so that the sauce will penetrate under it and be in contact(?) with all of it. Fry it until it is set. Some moisture should remain in the omelette. Then transfer it to a plate (sahfa), sprinkle over it rue (sadab), and serve it, God willing.

If it is made with meatballs it is also good.

(1) (mut Tajjan). This term means literally fried^V, but it is clearly used in the more restricted sense of omelette. A similar phenomenon occurs in Italian where frittata^V has acquired the specialized meaning of omelette^V. Similar remarks apply to tajan. This meaning does not seem to be registered in dicc. Check further!

The term mut ajjana appears also in Razi (p.144) in conjunction with tabahaja.

(2) It does not seem that the omelette is flipped over and browned on both sides. It is odd, though, to require twice that the eggs be set.

A.44-Another omelette (mut. ajjan) similar to it made with meatballs.

Make the meatballs as was described before, and fry them in fine olive oil until they are browned. Then stir the eggs, pour them over the meatballs, and let them get set. Sprinkle over it rue (fajan), after having poured over the omellete a spoonful of mur, a spoonful of vinegar and a spoonful of water, and after having had a boil all these in the pan.

It is also good, if one makes the omelette (tajan) separately, arranges the meatballs with the sauce in a plate (sahfa), and spreads the omelette over them. Sprinkle over it rue (sadab), God willing.

A.45-An excellent omelette (taijan).

Beat the eggs with salt, coriander seeds(?), pepper, caraway, coriander juice and onion juice, and pour them in the pan. Fry them until they are browned. Sprinkle over the omelette pepper and rue (sadab), God willing. taijan. This variant spelling for tajin appears again ten recipes below.

A.46-A tabahaja, which is fried meat.

Take three rat. s of slices obtained from kid's meat, and put them in a pot. Add five uqyas of fine olive oil, a quarter of a rat... of water and the necessary amount of salt. Put the pot over the fire, and wait until the heat dries up the water that is in it. Then pour in it a third of a rat... of water, and sprinkle on it a mitqa of each ginger and pepper. Ladle off one third of it, and, indeed, from it one eats an excellent Tabahaja.

After having laddled off this, add to the pot an uqya of vinegar. . . . Then ladle off half of what remains in the pot. Sprinkle over it chopped rue (sadab). And, indeed, from it one serves an excellent, tasty(?) dish. Sprinkle a little assa foetida (anjudan) on what is left in the pot, and break on it five beaten eggs. Then ladle this off, and from it one serves an excellent anjudaniya.

Tabahaja. Lane describes it as Flesh-meat cut into thin slices and broiled, as a food composed of flesh-meat and eggs, as a food of pieces of flesh-meat, eggs, onion and water and as a kind of fry of flesh-meat. Other recipes follow in our text as well as in some later folios. The term appears also in Razi (p.144) in conjunction with mut. Tajjana. Baghdadi has the recipe too (no. 8 in my numbering). Also in Moroccan text (p.76). Registered in Dozy, Steingass, etc. Lane says it is an arabized word stemming from the Persian tabah. Etc. Judging from our recipes ...

A.47-Another Tabahajiya.

Slice the meat, and sprinkle over it salt and pepper. Fry it in fine olive oil until it browns and its juice(?) dries out in the frying oil. Take a handful of almonds, pound them very well, dissolve them with a little vinegar, and moisten with them the pan. Sprinkle over it chopped celery (parsley?) and cinnamon.

A.48-Another Tabahajiya.

Cut the meat up into small pieces, and put(?) (1) them in olive oil and salt(?), adding pepper, cummin, salt(?) and a little vinegar, and leave them for a while. Then(?) fry them in fine olive oil until they are browned. Take an egg, and add a spoonful of vinegar, the same amount of mur, and the same amount of green coriander juice. Stir all these ingredients together, and pour this mixture over the meat in the pan. Remove the pan from the fire, and stir it until it is fine(?). Empty the dish on a serving plate, and sprinkle on it pepper, rue (sadab) and cinnamon.

(1) It is unlikely that fry is meant, since the meat pieces are fried afterwards. It is not clear, though, if they are marinated, i.e. immersed, in a mixture of oil and seasonings, or just sprinkled with them. Something went astray, it seems, since salt appears twice.

A.49-Another Tabahajiya.

Cut the meat up into small pieces, and fry them in olive oil and salt. When the meat is browned, sprinkle on it vinegar. Pound a handful of almonds or walnuts, and add them to the pan, and let them(?) boil for a while. Take pomegranate juice, and dissolve in it a solid piece of sugar to remove its sourness, and add it to the pan. Sprinkle on the dish cinnamon

A.50-Another Tabahajiya with pistachios and sugar.

Slice the meat, and fry it. Sprinkle on it coriander juice. Pound pistachios, and dissolve them with a little water, mur and sugar, and pour this mixture over the meat in the pan. Sprinkle on the dish cinnamon and rue (sadab), and serve it.

A.51-A dish of meatballs.

Make meatballs according to what was said previously. Put a pot over the fire, and add a spoonful of vinegar, the same amount of mur, seasonings, an onion pounded with green coriander and salt, a little thyme, a clove of garlic, and the necessary amount of rue (sadab) and fresh water. Cook these ingredients until they are almost done. Then add to the pot the meatballs. Place in it some egg yolks (fusus.) in a starlike manner, and thicken the pot with their egg whites. Add some whole pinenuts and almonds. Empty the dish on a serving plate, and sprinkle on it pepper, cinnamon and rue (sadab).

A recipe with the same title appears in the medical text.

A.52-Another dish like it made with meatballs.

Make meatballs according to what was said previously, and let them be like small balls. Roast them in a spit over a nice charcoal fire until they are browned. Then put them in a plate Ahfa). Cut in a plate slices(?), and put over them a good (flavorful?) mur. If desired, increase.

If one wants to fry them, it is also good, God willing.

The recipe, as it stands, is defective, it seems.

A.53-Stuffed asparagus.

[Boil the eggs and clean]

Take superb asparagus. Pound tender meat until it is smooth, and add to it what one adds in making meatballs. Cloth the asparagus one after the other with this pounded meat, and pay attention that the two adhere to each other. Put an earthenware cauldron (burma) over the fire, and put in it water, salt, a spoonful of mur, the same amount of olive oil, green coriander juice, onion juice, pepper, caraway and coriander seeds. Let it boil(?) softly. Then drop in it the asparagus, doing it carefully(?), and let them boil(?) until they are done. Add meatballs made from this pounded meat. When finished, thicken the dish with eggs, core of bread and a little RM98 pounded meat. Place in it egg yolks (fusus) in a starlike manner, God willing.

This recipe appears almost verbatim a few folios later. The crossreference is missing though. Note that hilyaun stems from the Persian. Other sections of our text use the Romance root.

A.54-Stuffed eggs.

Boil the eggs and clean them of their shells. Split them halfwise, remove the yolks (fusus), put them together in a plate (.....), and add green coriander, onion juice, seasonings and cinnamon. Make this mixture into a dough, and stuff with it the eggs. Put the two halves back together. Tie them with a string and hold them together with a small wooden stick. Dissolve a small amount of eggwhite in water?, dye(?) it a little saffron, and paint with it the eggs. Dust them with darmak flour, and fry them in fine olive oil over a gentle fire. Once finished, sprinkle over them chopped rue (sadab), and serve them. Prepare for them also a sauce made with their stuffing, and sprinkle on the sauce? spikenard and cinnamon, God willing.

A.55-A dish of eggs in a Taijan.

Take a quarter of a...of vinegar, the same amount of mur and the same amount of water, and put it in a Taijan. Grind an onion, add to it leaves of thyme, and the necessary amount of salt. Put the Taijan over the fire until the onion is done. Then break in it ten eggs or the amount you like, and flavour(?) it with a dirham and a half of pepper, God willing.

Taijan. This variant spelling for tajin appeared ten recipes before.

A.56-Another dish like it with eggs.

Put a pot over the fire, and add a spoonful of mur, the same amount of vinegar, the same amount of olive oil, seasonings, and an onion pounded with green coriander and salt. Cook these ingredients until they are done. Then star it with eggs, thicken(?) the sauce, transfer it to a serving plate, and serve it, God willing.

A.57-A meat roast.

Cut tender meat into small pieces. Throw on them the necessary amount of salt, seasonings, a little cummin, a little thyme, pounded garlic and vinegar, and let them stand for a while. Then roast them, basting them with olive oil and mur, and eat them. If one wants to sprinkle over them chopped rue (sadab), it is also good, God willing.

A.58-A meat roast.

Roast marbled (butcher's?) meat, cut? like fingertips, Put in a pot together with seasonings, onions, salt and soaked chickpeas, and cook these ingredients until done. Then add the roasted meat. Thicken the pot with green coriander and eggs?. Sprinkle over it pepper and cinnamon. If one adds whole pinenuts and almonds instead of chickpeas, it is also good.

A.59-Making fresh fish with eggs.

Scale the fish, salt it, and place it in a casserole (qasua). Have ready filtered green coriander juice, and a little garlic, and pour it over the fish without covering it. Add olive oil and seasonings. Put the casserole in the oven. When the fish is done, break some eggs in a plate (.....), add chopped rue (sadab), sprinkle a small amount of pepper and of spikenard, and pour this mixture over the fish near the door of the oven. When it is done, eat it with white(?) bread (ragf).

A.60-A tortoise or fish pie.

Boil gently the tortoise in water and salt, then remove it from the water. Take a little mur, pepper, cinnamon, a small amount of olive oil,

onion juice, green coriander and a little saffron, and beat all these ingredients together with eggs. Line up the tortoise and the fish in the pie. Throw on it the stuffing. The dough of the pie should be strong, and kneaded with a little pepper and olive oil. Once finished, paint(?) it with eggs and saffron.

A.61-... .. of leaven.

Dissolve the leaven in water, and put it in a pot ...

... cook it until done. Thicken it with eggs.

This recipe is at the top and at the start of folio 43, which is damaged. The recipe is two lines long. Presently I have no idea what it is about.

A.62-Making isfiriya.

Pound meat of the thigh until it is like brains, and clean it of its tendons (veins?). Add pepper, half a spoonful of honey, a little olive oil as much as needed, and a little water. Mix well all these ingredients together with flour. Do not neglect the pounding, and do not do it at intervals, since it dries out(?) and spoils. Oil the pan with olive oil or fat (sah.). Make loaves with the pounded meat, and fry them in the pan.

If almonds, walnuts or apples are included in the pounded meat, it is extraordinary, God willing.

A.63-Isfiriya as made by people of the suq.

Pound very well meat of the thigh, -as soon as the animal has been skinned, before the meat? dries out(?) and after it is sliced (cut up?), and? as soon as its vapor(??) comes out, and clean it of its tendons (veins?) until none are left. Add a little salt while pounding it. When the pounding is finished, take the necessary amount of sifted flour, mix it with water, and knead it by hand until the flour and water are blended. Add to this flour and water paste olive oil, also a little honey, and break into it an egg. Stir in gently. Add this paste to the meat in the mortar, and stir the mixture thoroughly with the pestle, adding water little by little until it becomes light. Use it promptly, so that it does not dry out(?) and spoil.

Then clean a pan, and oil it with olive oil. Take meat from the mortar, and put small patties(?) made with it on the pan. Put the pan over the fire. When the heat in the pan is on the point of being strong, add in between the patties a little olive oil, and rotate the pan, so that the oil will be in between them and will also penetrate under the patties. Be mindful to stir them by the sides with a spit, so that they will not burn. Then turn them upside down(?), so that they will be done and browned. If one wants to brown (fry, roast?) and make the rest of them, or(?) most of them, then wipe(?) the pan with cold water, and oil it with olive oil as was done the first time. They may be served as you like.

A.64-Making sausages (lukanik (?)).

One makes sausages luka nik (?) as one makes Isfiriya, but one reduces the amount of water, and increases the amount of eggs while the meat is prepared in the mortar. Remove the pounded meat from the mortar into a plate, and leave it until it gets firm(?). Then add of fat (sah) one third of the amount of the meat. Add also pepper and chopped rue (sadab). Mix all these ingredients together until they are blended. Clean and prepare(?) the intestines, stuff them with this meat and fat, and tie them according to the size you like. Place them in hot water until they are firm(?). Then remove them, and place them in cold water , after this fry the sausages, God willing.

The title of this recipe has been added for the sake of the reader. This recipe is attached to the previous one.

A.65-Making sifanj (?).

Take sifted samd flour, and clean it. Add water to moisten it, and knead it as one kneads the kak. Add olive oil and mix it gently until it becomes light. Add, next, a good amount of eggs and also leaven, and put it in a pot or plate (sahfa) until it has fermented. Then fill a pan with olive oil. Throw in it morsels of the dough. When their cooking is completed, remove them, and add more, until you have the amount you need. If one wants, one may add pounded almonds, pinenuts and pistachios, and it is also good, God willing.

The title of this recipe was on a segment of folio 43, which is presently missing. The present title is suggested by its contents. The word sifanj does not occur in the recipe, and may be wrong.

A.66-A dish made? with chicken, once(?) it has been roasted.

Roast a fat chicken, and baste it with salt, olive oil and thyme until it is browned and done.

Then cut it up, and put it in a pot. Add two tablespoons of mur, the same amount of vinegar, a spoonful of olive oil, an onion pounded with green coriander and salt, seasonings, leaves of thyme, and chopped rue (sadab). Put all these ingredients over the fire, until it boils nicely and the seasonings are cooked. Then pound walnuts, almonds and pinenuts, -leaving some whole-, mix them with three eggs, and thicken with it the pot. Place in it egg yolks (fusus) in a starlike manner, and leave the pot over the embers until the dish is set and finished(?). Sprinkle over it pepper and cinnamon, God willing.

A.67-A dish made? with chicken, or with any meat you like, provided it is tender.

Take meat from the breasts of chickens or partridges, or meat from the legs of lambs?. Pound it very well, clean it of tendons, and pound it with almonds, walnuts and pinenuts until all the ingredients are blended. Add the necessary amount of pepper, caraway, cinnamon and spikenard, a little honey, and eggs, and mix all these ingredients until they become a single body. Then make from it what resembles the bundle made from the inners of lamb, by placing the mixed ingredients in a net of a lamb or a sheep. Mount(?) the bundle on a previously heated spit, and roast it carefully over a charcoal fire until it is browned. Then remove it, cut it up, and eat it, if you want with mur or if you want with mustard, God willing.

A.68-A rural (peasant's?) chicken.

Cook the chicken with water, pepper, pounded onion and a lot of olive oil. Thicken it with eggs. Sprinkle over it, and serve it, God willing. If one adds a little vinegar, it is also good. Likewise if one adds green coriander.

A.69-A stuffed pullet(?) (fark) dish.

Slaughter two pullets, and make from one of them a stuffing for his companion, as was described on making the stuffing. When the stuffing of the pullet is completed, put it in a pot or in an earthenware cauldron (burma). Add a spoonful of olive oil, a spoonful of mur and an onion pounded with green coriander and salt. Put the containe over the fire until it browns, then moisten it with water, and finish the cooking.

Make meatballs from lamb's meat. Boil them in water until they are firm(?). Then mount(?) them on a spit, and roast them, basting them with egg yolks (afra) with a branch of thyme, little by little, until they are yellow and rosy(?). Then put them in the pot with the pullet. Thicken it with four egg whites(?), breadcrumbs and a little rosewater, and place in it egg yolks (fusus) in a starlike manner. Transfer it to a serving plate, and sprinkle over it spikenard, cinnamon and pepper, God willing. The cross reference refers probably to the first recipe of this fragment.

A.70--Another dish.

Take a leg of lamb, cut it up small, and put it in a pot. Add a spoonful of mur, a finely(?) pounded onion, green coriander, coriander seeds, pepper, and a spoonful of olive oil. Put the pot over the fire. Then take lamb's meat, and pound it finely. Add pepper, coriander seeds, green coriander, caraway and an onion, -all these ingredients pounded, and added to the pounded meat-, add also half a spoonful of mur and half a spoonful of olive oil. Make meatballs with this mixture, and put them in the pot. Put also three eggs, in a starlike manner(?). Then take the remnant pounded meat, take also a net of a lamb, and put the stuffing in it, and make a large bundle with it. Pound finely green coriander, break two eggs in it, and thicken with it the pot. Put the pot in the radaf, and when it is cooked, transfer it to a serving plate, and serve it, God willing.

A.71-A dish with eggplants known as the Arabic.

Take pieces of meat, ... (?) (previously fried on a?) Taijan, and put them in a pot. Add three spoonfuls of vinegar, a spoonful of mur, two spoonfuls of olive oil, two dirhams each of pepper, cummin, and coriander seeds, also green coriander, buds(?) of rue (fajan) and almond nuts. Add also water to cover it by two fingers above. Put the pot over the fire. When it is done, put it over the embers. Thicken it with a large amount of green coriander, which should be conspicuous in the thickening, and beat it with three eggs and a little darmak flour. Then add to the pot peeled, boiled and cut eggplants, which complete the dish. A side remark. It seems that Taijan is the only name used so far for the Taijin. Check further!

A.72-A dish cooked with fried eggplants.

Take the meat, cut it up small and put it in a pot. Add half a spoonful of vinegar, a spoonful of mur, the same amount of fine olive oil, pepper, coriander seeds and green coriander finely pounded together and salt. Let the pot boil well until the meat and the seasonings are cooked. Do not add water. When the meat is browned and done [...], stir it and pour a sufficient amount of water, but do not cover the meat, and let it have another boil. Then boil the eggplants on the side, after salting them and having extracted their bitter juice(?). Cut them in thirds or fourths, and peel their peels off. Dust them with good darmak flour, and fry them in a pan with a little fine olive oil. Then put them in the pot with the meat. Thicken the dish with two eggs and crumbs of a leavened bread. Send the dish(?) to the oven, and let it boil lightly. Remove the pot from the fire for a while, and serve it.

(1) This is a fancied up version of a recipe, that appeared before. Clearly the shorter version was used in writing the present one, since some sentences and the order are identical. It is a revealing hint on the aims and outlook of the writer of this and similar recipes. Not all the improvements are so.

(2) The last two sentences, here placed in a separate paragraph, may not be part of the recipe. There could be a discontinuity.

A.73-A dish with truffles(?) and meat.

Cut the meat in small pieces, and put them in a pot. Add water, salt, a spoonful of mur, the same amount of olive oil, pepper, coriander seeds and caraway. Place the pot over the fire, and cook it with all these ingredients. Remove the peel from the truffles(?), cut them, and add them to the pot with the meat(!). When the dish is done, thicken it with eggwhites and breadcrumbs, and add the yolks (muhah) to it. When it is placed on(!) the plate (sahfa), sprinkle over it pepper and chopped rue (fajan), God willing, praise Him, He is our only Lord.

Note that in Moslem Spain truffles were known as tarfaçs, a word of Romance origin that appears in a later folio. In the present recipe maybe only mushrooms are meant.

A.74-Making a liftiya with walnuts and sugar.

Take fat meat, and cut it in medium sized pieces. Wash it, and put it in a pot. Pour enough olive oil, salt and water to cover the meat. Put the pot over the fire until the water has dried out. When it has dried out, add to the pot three spoonfuls of vinegar, two spoonfuls of mur, pepper, coriander seeds and a small amount of sugar. Take carrots, peel them, cut them like dirhams, and put them in the pot. Let it boil until it is cooked. When it is cooked, pound pepper and cleaned walnuts, and add them to the pot. Remove the pot from the fire, and serve it.

liftiya. A well-known dish, prepared usually with turnips (lift), that have given the name to the dish. It appears in the Medical text, etc. (Check further!). The present version is prepared with carrots, unless there is a scribal or textual error somewhere. A similar dish made with carrots (narjisija) is well-known too.

A.75-A soup(?) made with meat and cabbage.

Take meat and cut it as small as possible.

Take whatever good, aged cheese is available, and chop it. Add to it an onion, and pound it with green coriander. Take sprouts(?) of tender cabbages, boil them, and pound them together with all these ingredients in a wooden mortar. Add this mixture to the pot after it has made one or two boils. Add also a little mur, a small amount of vinegar and a little pepper and caraway. Thicken the soup? with leaven(??) as well as with eggs.

To make sense of this recipe, I think one needs to assume that the hacked meat is put in a pot with plenty of water, in other words, one needs to assume that it is handled separately from what follows. The pounded cheese and cabbage is added to this broth, as a flavoring and thickening agent, etc.

I do not recall another soup recipe in our collection to compare it with.

A.76-The Persian mutalata.

Take fat(??) meat, like the (?) or the breast, cut it up, and put it in a pot. Pour four spoonfuls of vinegar, a weight of one dirham of each pepper, caraway and coriander seeds, two spoonfuls of fine olive oil, a little rue (fajan), a few almonds and the amount of water that will cover the meat. Add also to the pot six cloves of garlic. Put the pot over the fire.

When the meat is well cooked, thicken the pot with four eggs, add also leaven(?) and chopped rue together with a little flour. Remove the pot from the embers(?) after having added to it but before adding the leaven(?) twigs of citron and a little mint.

Then take eggplants, that have been peeled, boiled, placed in cold water and sprinkled with vinegar. Add these eggplants to the thickened pot, and leave the pot for a while over the embers until its fat (wadak) comes out, God willing.

mutalata. See Medical text. Note that the vinegar is present, but not the saffron.

The second paragraph is clumsily written. Something wrong?. The recipe is a little awkward. Why are the eggplants added so late?

A.77-Making a dish with artichokes.

Take meat, and cut it up, wash it and put it in a pot. Add water to cover it, and add also a spoonful of olive oil, two spoonfuls of mur, a spoonful of samn, soaked chickpeas, a pounded onion and coriander seeds. Peel the artichokes, boil them, cut them up, and throw them in the pot with the meat(?). When it is cooked, take two eggs and the inner core of bread, and thicken with it the pot nicely(?). Leave the pot over the embers until its fat (wadak) comes out, God willing.

A.78-Making a dish of artichokes with meat.

Take meat, and cut it up. Put it in a pot with water, salt, two spoonfuls of mur, a spoonful of vinegar, a spoonful of olive oil, pepper, caraway and coriander seeds. Put the pot over the fire. When it is cooked, clean the artichokes, boil them, cut them up small, and throw them on the meat. Let it boil a little. Thicken the pot with two eggs and breadcrumbs. Sprinkle pepper over it in the serving plate (sahfa), God willing.

A.79-Making a baqliya with asparagus.

Take meat, cut it up in pieces three fingers in size, wash it and put it in a pot. Add a spoonful of olive oil, a spoonful and a half of mur, coriander seeds, a handful of soaked chickpeas and a chopped onion. Raise the pot over the fire.

Take asparagus, cut them up small, boil them, and add them to the pot with the meat. When the meat and the asparagus are done, take the inner core of bread, two eggs and pepper, and thicken with it the pot. Leave it on the radaf for a while, God willing.

(1) baqliya. It means, it seems, vegetable dish. I do not think that the term is more specific. It occurs often in our text, also in the Medical text. It does not seem to be registered in my dicc.

(2) Note that the asparagus are named with an Eastern term.

A.80-Making asparagus with stuffing meat.

Take exceptional asparagus, clean them and boil them. Take tender meat, pound it finely, and add pepper, caraway, coriander seeds, juice of pounded green coriander, a little olive oil and eggwhites. Take the boiled asparagus, one after the other, and cloth them with this pounded meat, and do this carefully. Put an earthenware kettle (burma) over the fire after adding water, salt, a spoonful of mur, the same amount of olive oil, green coriander juice, pepper, caraway and coriander seeds. Be careful, when the water is boiling in the kettle, in placing the clothed asparagus in it. Let them boil in the kettle. Add meatballs made from this pounded meat. When the cooking is done, thicken it with eggs, breadcrumbs and a little of the above mentioned pounded meat. Place eggs on it in a starlike manner, God willing.

This recipe has appeared above almost verbatim. Note that the present recipe stands in a fajan section, unlike the preceding one.

A.81-Making a baqliya with asparragus.

Cut the meat into medium sized(?) pieces, and put them in a pot with a large onion, water, pepper, salt, coriander seeds, caraway, two spoonfuls of mur, and the same amount of fine olive oil. Put the pot over the fire. When the meat is done, cut the asparragus into small pieces(?) after boiling them, and add them to the meat. Thicken it with eggwhites. Note that the title is identical to the one two recipes above.

A.82-Making a baqliya with eggplants.

Take the breast of a sheep with its ribs, and cut it in small pieces, say three fingers wide?. Cut onions in round sections. Take also green coriander, and pound coriander seeds, caraway and Chinese cinnamon. Cut the eggplant in round sections, and likewise the calabash(?). Then take a pot, and put at the bottom a small amount of olive oil. Arrange on it a layer(?) of meat and of eggplants, and a layer of calabash, and do this several time. Add in between layer and layer some seasonings. Then put the pot over the fire after having added a sufficient amount of salt. Do not add water. Cook it until done, God willing.

A.83-Making a jaziya (??) with jerked meat.

Take jerked meat, and let it be fresh. Cut it, wash it, put it in a spit and roast it. Then put it in a pot, cover it with water, and add soaked chickpeas, a chopped onion, coriander seeds, pepper, a spoonful of olive oil and salt. Put the pot over the fire. When the ingredients are cooked, take leaves of ***, and clean them of dust and dirt. Then cut them very small, add some salt and stir them by hand. Then take them, put them in a sieve made of hemp, and pour water over them until no trace of dirt or dust remains in them. Then add them to the pot with the meat. When they are cooked, remove the pot from the fire. Take a little flour and two eggs, and beat them with the flour in a plate (sahfa) ...

... until its fat (wadak) comes out, God willing.

(1) No clear clue on the vegetable used, nor on the title.

(2) The dish does not contain much fat. The last sentence may not belong to it. A break?

A.84-Making a dish dictated by Abushq.

Take meat and pound it finely until it becomes like marrow, put it in a pot, and add olive oil and salt. Clean onions(?), cut them, boil them, remove them(?) from the boiling water, and add them to the pot together with(?) coriander seeds, the needed amount of pepper, soaked chickpeas, and a handful of peeled almonds, pounded like kohl(?). Pour eggwhites. Leave it until its fat (wadak) comes out, God willing.

The present text is clearly corrupt. A break?

In trying to save the text, I would suggest to interpret it as a kind of soup, and assume that water has been added at the beginning. A dish for convalescents?

A.85-Making gasaniya.

Cut up the meat, and put it in a pot together with four dirhams of each pepper, cinnamon and spikenard, also half a tumn (?) of honey, one fourth of a tumn (?) ..., an uqya of saffron, half a rat of almonds and three spoonfuls of olive oil. When all the ingredients are done, take two rat of sam flour, dissolve it in a bowl (sahfa) with water, add it to the pot, and let it boil with all the ingredients. Take care to stir(?) the pot. Then put it in a bowl (sahfa) and sprinkle sugar over it, God willing.

(1) gasaniya. I would suggest that this is the correct reading, but it requires further research.

(2) tumn. The meaning one-eighth does not seem to yield good sense. tumniya could mean a small pot, etc. The expression occurs a few recipes below. I do not know if somewhere else. If my title is correct, the amount of honey is rather large.

A.86-A complete(?)jimlya.

Take ram's meat, like its vulva, its liver, its heart and its kidneys. Cut it up round(?), wash it, and put it in a pot with a spoonful of vinegar, two(?) of good mur, fine olive oil ..., coriander seeds, caraway and pepper. Cook it, adding? to it a little water, until it is done, and serve it.

Note that a similar recipe has appeared before in the sadab section. Attributing a vulva to a ram, may be an inadvertent mistake of the author in making explicit the inners mentioned in the original recipe.

A.87-Roasting(?) meat over the embers.

Cut the meat as you like, and add to(?) it a spoonful of olive oil, one of mur, salt, coriander seeds, pepper and thyme. Leave the meat for a while until it has absorbed the seasonings. Have ready a fire without smoke, and roast the meat on a spit over it, protecting it from the smoke.

Note that a similar recipe has appeared before in the sada b section.

A.88-A roast(?) of starlings.

Clean the starlings, and sprinkle over them a little dust of darmak flour. Roast them over a gentle fire on a spit, basting them constantly with a branch of thyme with a little olive oil and good mur. When their roasting is done, add over them a little of good mur.

A.89-A dish made with a side(?) of a lamb, previously roasted in an oven.

Take a wide pot, and put in it a little water, half a spoonful of vinegar ...

The recipe is left incomplete, and the rest of the recto side of folio 46, almost two lines long, is left blank.

Note also that lately the recipes have mistakes, maybe the source ms. was in bad condition.

A.90-Making a boiled dish? from Sicily(?).

Take meat, and cut it up, wash it and put it in a pot. Take fat intestines and cleaned tripes, cut them up round, and put them in the pot. Add to the pot whole onions, fennel, branches of rue (fajan), citron leaves, a small amount of pounded coriander seeds, salt and a spoonful of good olive oil. Then pour water into the pot until the meat is covered, and put the pot over the fire. Cook it until the meat is shredded. Take a head of garlic, clean the cloves of its peels, and add them whole to the pot. Add also pepper. Let all this boil. Then put the pot on the radaf for one hour(?), God willing.

Note that a similar recipe has appeared before in the sadab section.

A.91-Turda of gasan.

Take fat meat, cut it up, and put it in a big pot. Add coriander seeds, a chopped onion, green coriander, caraway, pepper, soaked chickpeas, three whole eggs, water to cover the meat, and salt. When the meat is done, reduce the fire under the pot, and add two dirhams of saffron. When one sees that the pot has been dyed, remove the broth from it, leaving only

enough to cover the meat, and let the meat boil with the saffron. Then take away the pot? from the fire. Filter the broth, and leave it in the pot, taking one kail of broth for three of honey. Put the pot on the fire, and let the mixture of honey and broth have three boils. Then take the core of a samd bread, crumble it, sift it, and thicken with it the pot. Add also samn and pepper. Transfer it to a bowl (sahfa) over a bread, that has been crumbled as for a urda. Then serve it, God willing.

-A.92 zabarabada (?) made with fresh(?) cheese.

Take fresh(?) cheese, clean it, cut it up, and crumble it. Take green coriander and an onion, pound them together, add them to the cheese, and stir the mixture. Add seasonings and pepper, ... (2) ..., two spoonfuls of olive oil, the same amount(?) of water, and salt. Add this mixture to the pot, place the pot on the fire, and cook it. When it is cooked, remove the pot from the fire, thicken(?) it with an egg and a little flour, and serve it.

(1) zabarabada. ???

(2) I find odd (inconsistent) to stir the pot, and, afterwards, to add this mixture to the pot, since it was already there. I find odd, too, that this melted cheese needs to be thickened.

A.93-A turda of zabarabada (?) .

Take a clean pot, and add water, two spoonfuls of olive oil, pepper, green coriander and a pounded onion. Put the pot on the fire. When the seasonings are boiling, take a bread, crumble it, and add it to the pot. Stir it gently, when you add it to the pot. Empty the pot on a bowl (sahfa) and knead with it a urda. Pour over it samn, for the one who does not like olive oil.

Tentative. To make sense of this recipe, I would suggest that, basically, this is a dish of breadcrumbs fried in a seasoned olive oil. Such humble dishes still exist in Spain. The amount of water added initially should be very small.

The meaning of zabarabada may be related to the seasoning. Note that in this and in the previous recipe the seasoning is similar. Either used with cheese, or with breadcrumbs.

A.94-Making a abahajiya the(?)buraniya.

Take fifteen small eggplants. Boil slightly the whole eggplants, with their stems, without splitting them. Remove them from the pot, and put them in another pot, adding a sufficient amount of salt and olive oil. Fry them over a mild fire, until they are very well done.

Then take a rat of ram's meat, slice it as was described before, and put it in a pot with one fourth of a rat of olive oil and a little water. Let it boil until it sheds its water, then let it fry in the oil until the meat is browned and done.

Then add the fried eggplants to the meat. Add one fourth of a rat of good vinegar. Let it boil until the vinegar is done (evaporated?). Then add one third of a rat of mur, flavored(?) with weights(?) of three dirhams of caraway, the same amount of coriander seeds, and a dirham and a half of pepper. Let it boil until it is done (evaporated?). Leave it until the heat subsides. Then laddle it off and serve it.

Note the reference to a previous recipe.

It seems that abahajiya implies that the meat is sliced.

A.95-A dish made with chestnuts and lamb's meat.

Take lamb's meat or tough(?) meat. Cut it small, the size of chestnuts, from a piece of thighs. Put them on a pot. Add salt. Place it on the embers. When ...in a bowl (sahfa) and serve it, God willing. Clearly a disaster.

A.96-Making a * of chestnuts.**

Take a piece of meat, cut it, and introduce it into a pot. Add salt, coriander seeds, chopped onion and samn, and fry it gently. Add equal amounts of vinegar and mur, and a little saffron. Take chestnuts. Clean them, pound them very well, mix them with water, and add of its juice an amount that will cover the meat. When it is done, beat three eggs with pepper and chopped coriander, and add them to it. Place the pot on the embers. When the heat subsides, laddle it off, serve it, and eat from it, God willing.

A.97-Making a sealed (magmuma) abahajiya.

Take a rat...and a half of meat. Slice it and cut it as was described before. Pound a rat of onions for it. Take for these amounts(?) three dirhams of caraway and one dirham of pepper. Then put in a pot a layer of meat and a layer of onions until the pot is filled(?). Sprinkle seasonings in between the layers. Then pour on it a third of a rat...of vinegar and a fourth of a rat of olive oil. Seal the pot, and tighten its top with dough. Let it boil (cook?) over a gentle fire until it is done. Then remove it from the fire until the heat subsides and its grease (wadak) *** (comes out?). It is now ready to be served.

A.98-A dish made with meat and pistachios.

Cut the meat, and let it be from the ***. Put it in a pot with seasonings, chopped onions, salt, olive oil and juice of green coriander. Fry(?) it, then cover it with water. When it is done, thicken it with pistachios, and likewise with spikenard, God willing.

A.99-A dish made with lamb's meat and truffles.

Cut up the meat small, and boil (cook?) it with onion juice, pepper and salt. When the salt(?) and water in it disappears(?), add to the pot washed and chopped truffles. When the truffles are done, sprinkle the pot with a little mur after having broken in it the desired amount of eggs. Transfer the dish to a serving plate, and sprinkle on it cinnamon and chopped rue (sadab).

A.100-A chicken thickened with walnuts and saffron.

Cut the chicken for it(?) in two halves, and put it in a pot. Add an onion pounded with green coriander and salt, seasonings, a spoonful of vinegar and half a spoonful of mur. Fry it until its smell becomes good, then cover it with water, and cook it until it is nearly done. Make meatballs from its breasts as was described before, and add them to the pot. Place in it egg yolks (fusus) in a starlike manner, and thicken the pot with the egg whites and with walnuts and saffron, both pounded. Transfer the dish to a serving plate, sprinkle on it pepper and cinnamon, and serve it, God willing. I wonder if the beginning words are meant to imply that the breasts are removed.

A.101-Another chicken thickened with pounded almonds.

Cut up the chicken, and put it in a pot. Add an onion pounded with(?) green coriander and salt, seasonings, a spoonful of olive oil, whole almonds, spikenard, Chinese cinnamon, cinnamon, a spoonful of vinegar and half a spoonful of mur. Let it fry (boil?), then cover it with water, and cook it until it is nearly done. Then add the meatballs without the(?) egg yolks (safra), and thicken the pot with the eggwhites and with pounded almonds. Sprinkle on it seasonings.

A.102-Another chicken thickened with green coriander juice.

Put chicken's meat in a pot. Add an onion pounded with(?) green coriander and salt, a spoonful of olive oil, a fourth of a spoonful of mur, the same amount of vinegar and seasonings. Cook it until done. Add meatballs. Thicken the pot with green coriander juice and eggs. Sprinkle on it seasonings.

A.103-A dish with pinenuts.

Put chicken's meat in a pot. Add to it what was added in the preceeding recipe of meatballs, seasonings and the like. Thicken it with pounded pinenuts and with eggs. Add also whole pinenuts. Sprinkle on it seasonings and pepper.

A.104-Another chicken thickened with pistachios.

Put chicken's meat in a pot. Add to it what was added in the preceeding recipe of seasonings, meatballs, and eggs. Thicken it with rose water, Chinese cinnamon, spikenard, pounded pistachios, eggs and crumbs from the inside of a bread (with its crust removed?). Sprinkle on it seasonings and pepper. Transfer the dish to a serving plate, and serve it.

A.105-A jalidiya made with chicken.

Take a fat chicken, and remove(?) the wings and extremities of the thighs. Wash it and put the chicken in a pot with one third of a tunn of honey, salt, four dirhams of pepper, the same amount of cinnamon, one dirham of spikenard, one dirham of galingale, three dirham of saffron, half a of a rat of almonds and a fourth of a rat...of pinenuts. Put the pot over a moderate fire. Let it have four boils, and let it be done, and leave it on the embers.

Take three eggs. Place the egg yolks (fusu) in a starlike manner in the pot, and thicken it with the eggwhites. Add to the pot round safanj previously mixed(?) with honey. Transfer the dish to a serving plate, sprinkle on it seasonings and sugar.

There is a recipe with this name in the medical text, using raisin juice.

A.106-A chicken dish made with wine.

Take a fat chicken, clean it, and put it in a pot. Add ten onions(!), cut as one cuts eggplants, one rat of wine, one fourth of a rat of mur, the same amount of vinegar, the same amount of olive oil, two dirham of pepper, one dirham of cummin, branches of thyme and a sufficient amount of salt. Put the cover on the pot, and seal their junction with dough, leaving a breathing hole.

Break a lot of eggs in it, and cook it until it is done over a charcoal fire. Transfer the dish to a serving plate, sprinkle on it pepper, and serve it.

If it is thickened with eggs and flour, it is also good.

It is not clear to me, if the last three lines belong to the initial recipe. Usually this type of dish is cooked in the oven. Adding eggs to the pot after sealing seems odd. Also eggs do not seem appropriate. A similar recipe appeared before.

A.107-Another dish.

Cut up the chicken, and put it in a pot. Add two spoonfuls of olive oil, one spoonful of vinegar, one spoonful of fresh water, seasonings and juice of pounded onion. Let it fry(?), then cover it with green coriander juice, and cook it until done. Thicken it with a spoonful of samd flour. Split two eggs, and cut them in fourths(?) after decorating(?) them with saffron. Transfer the dish to a serving plate, decorate it with the cut eggs on top of it, and sprinkle over it pepper and seasonings.

A.108-Making a dish of the servants (kadam).

Cut in small pieces the liver, the lungs, the heart and the spleen. Cut also eggs(?) very finely, after boiling them. Cut also a lot of fat (sah) from it (the animal?), and a lot of onions, like one third of the total. Add all the seasonings, being generous with pepper. Add also ras mur, pinenut kernels and thyme with your hand(?). Beat all these ingredients with as much as five or six eggs, and mix them with a little water and good olive oil. Put all of this in a Tajin. Send it to the oven until it is cooked and set. Then serve it, God willing.

Recipes text A from A.109 to A.147

A.109 A turda made with meat

Cut up meat, and put it in a pot together with olive oil, salt, and an onion pounded with green coriander and seasonings. Cook it until done. Add to the pot the above mentioned meatballs. Stuff a large intestine (mabar) with meatball meat, adding also whole almonds and pinenuts. Break also eggs into the pot. After having made the turda , slice the large intestine, and put it over the turda together with the meatballs and eggs. Sprinkle pepper and cinnamon. If you should boil eggs, cut them in thirds or quarters, and decorate with them the turda, it would be excellent too, insaallah .
NOTA: Maybe eggs are both added to the pot, when one adds the meatballs, and to the large intestine.

A.110 A turda made with meat and eggplants(ba dinjan) .

«Cut up meat, and put it in a pot together with onions, seasonings, salt, olive oil and vinegar. When the meat is fried(?), pour enough water to cover it and to soak the turda . Take eggplants, and remove the stems (burnus), and also as much of the interior and pulp as you can. Take this pulp, add a little meat, and chop them together with onions. Add seasonings, green coriander, a little salt, rue (sadab) and mur , and pound all these ingredients finely together. Stuff with this mixture the eggplant skins, and place back the stems (burnus) securing them with thin sticks (ud). Put the stuffed eggplants in a pot over the fire until they are done. When the eggplants are done, decorate with them a crumb of bread, and do the rest. Sprinkle over the turda pepper and cinnamon.

[A.111] A turda made with meat and with turnips (lift) and carrots (jazar).

Cut up meat, and put it in a pot together with white of onions, seasonings, salt and olive oil. Pound raisins, put them in vinegar, and pour them into the pot. When the meat is close to be done, pour a little water, and add a lot of(?) cut up turnips and carrots, and some saffron. (next paragraph to be corrected!)

When the turda is made, arrange the meat appropriately. Interlace(?) also boiled eggs, as one interlaces(?) apples, and arrange them on the plate (ahfa) with the meat on top of the turda . Serve, insa alla h .

[A.112] A turda made with lamb and chickpeas (hummus).

Cut meat of lamb in large pieces, and put it in a pot with seasonings, soaked chickpeas, olive oil and salt. When the meat is fried, pour enough water to cover it. When it is almost done, add orach (Atriplex hortensium , Ar. sarmaq).

When the dish is done, add fresh cheese, cut like fingertips. Break also eggs in it. Make a turda , as was described before, in sa alla h .

[A.113] A turda made with boiled heads of chard (salq).

Cut meat in large pieces, and put it in a pot with green coriander, seasonings, olive oil and salt. When the meat is fried(?), pour enough water to soak a turda with it. When it boils, add boiled heads of chard, and break also eggs in it. Add also rue (fajan) and garlic. When the dish is done, make a turda, and sprinkle pepper and cinnamon over it, insaallah .

Nota: I suppose this dish is made with boiled heads and not with heads of Swiss chard.

[A.114] A similar dish made with sparrows (as Tafr).

Take cleaned up meat, boil it with water until it falls apart, and filter the broth. Clean sparrows, put them in a pot with this broth, and add olive oil, honey, onion juice, pepper and salt. Cook them until they are done.

.....

Thicken the pot with a lot of eggs and with pounded ginger and galingale, and flavor it with musk. It is now ready to be served, insaallah.

NOTA: I think there is a clear break here. The ending does not match the beginning. This is corroborated by the next two recipes. I am not sure, though, where exactly the break occurs.

[A.115] Another dish called the crowned one (mukallala) .

Take one rat . of honey, or, if you prefer, sugar. Put it in a tanjr , and add pepper and saffron. When it boils, sprinkle little by little darmak flour on it, and stir it until it has thickened. Then pour fine olive oil, add one rat . of peeled almonds, and stir it again. When the dish is removed from the fire and its surface has been evened up, put on top chopped almonds, sugar and pistachios, colored with safflower (Carthamus tinctorius) or with indigo, insaallah .

NOTA: This seems to be a kind of assa. The title, at present, is not clear.

[A.116] Another dish called the gilded one .

Take one rat of honey, and pour it in a pot. Add half a rat of samn , and the necessary amount of saffron, pepper and cinnamon. Put the pot over a charcoal fire. When it boils and starts bubbling, take eggs, break

them in a bowl (ahfa), add almonds, walnuts and pistachios, and mix them with the eggs. Pour this mixture into the pot. Stir it until everything is mixed and cooked.

When it has thickened, remove it from the fire, turn the pot over on its face, and serve.

One of the few sweets in our text made with eggs. Here, they replace the flour of the previous recipe.

Note. For [A.198] cf. [A.8], [A.9]

A.117-An excellent faludaj.

Pound sweet almonds like brains, and mix them with fresh water. Extract this liquid with a sieve until it is like milk. Then take an amount, equal to the extracted liquid, of sweet and sour pomegranate juice, or of sour apple juice, or pear(?) juice, or quince juice, orusk(?) melon juice, whatever is available of these. Then take sugar and white honey in an amount equal to both of these, and put all these ingredients in a cauldron (burma). Ignite a gentle fire under it, and, when it boils, add a little starch. When it begins to thicken, drip some almond oil in it. The fire(?) under it should be light until it has thickened and become like(?) the tickened kabisa. Then remove it from the fire. It is now ready to be served, God willing.

This recipe appears almost verbatim in the Medical text, but with a different title.

A.118-Making an elegant isfanj.

You will take cleaned, sifted samd flour, and knead two doughs with lukewarm water and leaven. When it has fermented, repeat the kneading and become engrossed in it, and pour the water little by little so that the dough will be light(???) after the second kneading. Let it stand until it has fermented, or is close to be fermented for a second time?.

Then you will take a new, small jug (qula), and you will fill it up with water, and then with samn or fine olive oil until it is soaked up. Pour the dough in the jug almost to the neck. Then you will take a thick cane, and cut it to a length that will reach the bottom of the jug. Then grease the cane with olive oil, and dip it in the dough in the jug. Seal with clay the jug with the cane on, and put it in the oven together with the bread. Place the jug in the center with the bread. When the bread is done, you will know that the isfanj is also done. Then you will remove the jug from the oven, take away the clay, and remove the cane. Then you will take butter or samn and honey, warm them up, and pour them in the inside of the jug through the spot from which the cane was removed. Wait until the isfanj has absorbed them, then you will supply more butter and honey, until it does not absorb any more. Then you will break the jug, place the isfanj on a plate (sahfa), and cut it like a watermelon. Pound almonds, walnuts, pinenuts, pistachios and sugar candy(?), and sprinkle them over the isfanj ... together with cinnamon, Chinese cinnamon, or the like, God willing.

This recipe appears in a shorter version in the Moroccan text, from which we have borrowed the added sentence of the second paragraph. The second dough mentioned at the beginning may be meant for making the bread, with which the jug is baked, and used to gauge the doneness of the isfanj. The recipe has similarities with the one for monkey's head.

A.119-Making a qursa.

You will take the best and purest flour (huwwara), and knead it with milk, salt and leaven. After kneading it extremely much, leave it to ferment. Then you will take one or several eggs, according to the amount

of dough, and you will break them in a plate (sahfa) and beat them. Pour them in the dough little by little, and knead the dough with them until it it is soft (flacid, limp?).

Then you will take a new pan, and soak(?) it with samn nor fine olive oil. Take a handful of the dough, and spread it on the pan. Then put on top of it a layer of almonds and pistachios or whatever is available of the two. When the almonds have covered the dough, put a layer of dough, like the first one, over the almonds. Then put layers over layers in this fashion until the pan is filled two fingers high. Send the pan to the oven together with the bread.

When it is done, you will pierce the qursa with a knife, and remove(?) it from the pan, as is. Warm up honey and samn, and pour it over. When the qursa has absorbed them, place it on a plate (sahfa), and you will sprinkle over it Chinese cinnamon and cinnamon, and serve it(?), God willing.

A.120-An elegant qursa.

Knead samd or(?) darmak flour into a kak dough with samn⁰⁰ or olive oil. Its weight should be one rat approximately (more or less?). Take ten eggs, beat them in a bowl (sahfa), add them little by little to the dough, and knead the dough with them until it becomes soft (flacid, limp?). Then look for a casserole (qasula), whose top is as wide as its bottom, impregnate (soak?) it with samn or(?) olive oil, and empty the dough in it. Let it ferment. Then send it to the oven.

When it is done, shape(?) tubes in its top, like a surfat, cutting the tubes one after the other with a small amount of the body of qursa, so that they will be like a cover. Then pierce many times the qursa with a knife. Warm up honey and butter, and sprinkle on them spikenard, cloves, Chinese cinnamon, pounded almonds, walnuts, pinenuts, pistachios, either two(?) of them, or whatever one wants of them. Then soak the qursa with this mixture, place its cover back, and serve it, God willing.

The first sentence of the second paragraph is not clear to me. surfat, is translated by Lane as an acroterial ornament, forming a single member of a cresting of a wall or of the crown of a cornice, generally of a fanciful form, and pointed, or small, at the top, and considers it a plural of paucity. Dozy translates surfa as balustrade, galerie autour d'un minaret. It may seem that the cake may be shaped like a Medieval fortress tower with merlons. On the other side, it is cut so that it forms a cover, which is placed back. I can't figure out how to make sense of all this.

A.121-Stuffed canes (qanan).

Pound extremely well almonds, wallnuts, pinenuts and pistachios. Knead a dough with damak flour and olive oil, make thin loaves (ruqaq) from it, and fry them in olive oil. Then pound the loaves finely, and mix them with the almonds, walnuts and the rest. Add to the paste pepper, cinnamon, Chinese cinnamon and spikenard, and knead it with the necessary amount of honey, whose waxy foam has been removed. Add to the paste whole pinenuts, cut up pistachios and almonds, and mix all these ingredient. Then stuff with it the canes, made beforehand from sifted damak flour. The canes are made in the following manner: Knead the dough with olive oil and a little saffron smoothly(?). Stretch out from it thin loaves, and stretch these loaves on cane segments, cutting them small or large, as desired. Then fry(!) them after ...(?) removing the canes. Then stuff them with the stuffing, and put in each of their endings whole pistachios and a single pinenut kernel. Offer them.

If one wants, one may make the stuffing with pounded sugar and almonds, and they are most exquisite, God willing.
A similar recipe appears in the Moroccan text. This text fries the canes after removing (naza) the cane segments. Our text is not clear at this point.

A.122-Making jarda.

Take a bread of white samd flour, remove its crust?, and expose it to the sun until it dries. Then pound it, sift(!) it, mix(?) it with olive oil, and let it stand for one day and one night. Then add thickened honey to it, after sprinkling pepper and seasonings on the honey? and kneading the honey? with them. Add honey in the amount that one may be able to form balls from the resulting mixture, God willing.

A similar recipe appears also in a previous folio under the name hadda. I ignore, which name is the correct one.

A.123-kak stuffed with sugar.

Knead the amount you want of darmak flour, kneading it extremely well, and let it ferment. Then pound almonds extremely much until they are like brains, and grind with them the same amount of white sugar. Knead this mixture with a little rose water, and flavor it with fine seasonings. Then spread lenghtwise the dough, place in it the stuffing, and roll the dough together. Then bend it into a circle, making a kak from it, and send it to the oven. If you want, you may fry it in a pan with olive oil. Sprinkle sugar on the top. If you want it plain, do not add the seasonings.

A.124-A white kak of sugar.

Take two parts of sugar and two parts of almonds, cleaned of their peels. Pound the almonds extremely well, and sift on them the sugar. Add water in the amount that one may knead the mixture, and add the spices(?) one prefers, like cloves, musk, nutmeg. Make a kak from this paste.

Dissolve lightly starch in water without salt, and let it remain under fermentation(?) until it has fermented. Then throw away(?) the dregs(?), and beat the solution smoothly (until it is smooth?). Then dip the kak in it many times. You will have already prepared in the meantime a pan with hot olive oil or almond oil. Fry the kak with care, remove it hot from the pan, and immerse it in a juleb syrup (sarab) or in honey. Coat the kak after removing from the syrup with pounded sugar, God willing.

(1) The beginning of the second paragraph is not clear. Clearly honey^v makes no sense. Compare it to a similar case. The general idea is clear, namely, to make a starch coating, the details are not.

(2) pounded sugar^q. (A retroactive observation). This expression probably means what nowadays is called confectioner's sugar, or powdered sugar (check!). In Spanish XVIIc. paintings one can see cookies covered with it, and not with granulated sugar, no doubt a custom of old tradition.

A.125-Designs molded from sugar.

Add to sugar the same amount of water or of rose water, and you will cook it until it has a good consistency. Pour it on molds, and you will make sceneries of rocks(?) and fountains from the molded figures, and(!) reproduce them with the colors you like, since they turn out in the figures nicer than the correct ones. Then decorate them with guildings(?) or whatever you like of these. If you like to make trees or a castle (palace?) design, then set up joint after joint (piece after piece?), and decorate it with building after buiding, and you will paste them together with mastic, until you have completed the design you want, God willing.

This recipe is historically quite interesting. Sugar sculpture became the rave of Europe during the Renaissance. This early recipe is noteworthy.

A.126-Fruits made of sugar.

Add two parts of sifted sugar to a single part of pounded, peeled(?) almonds, and knead the mixture with rose water. Coat your hands with almond oil, and make from it whatever fruits or designs you want, God willing.

A.127-Making a sweet with pistachios known as the fustuqya.

Take half a rat of sugar, three uqyas of almond oil, two uqyas of darmak flour, and three uqyas of pounded pistachios. Cook all these ingredients over the fire until the mixture is thick. Flavor it with musk and cloves, God willing.

A.128-Making the kaskab (a ptisan).

Take a samd bread, and place it in a pot or in an earthenware cauldron (burma). Send it to the oven, and leave it there until it has fermented. Then add water, and honey according the degree of sweetness you prefer, and leave it until it is well(?) moist. Then squeeze it extremely well with your hands until all the moistness has been extracted, and put it aside. Filter the liquid through a thick cotton cloth, and put it in a beating(?) container. Add chopped rue (sadab), God willing.

A.sukkariya.

Take one rat and a half of sugar, add enough rose water and water to cover it, and stir it. ...

6 pound(?), and sift it with a sieve on an unglazed(?) bowl (sahfa). Add one uqya of honey for each rat of sugar?. Take one rat of peeled, white almonds, and chop them in three or four pieces. Return (!?) the pot? to the fire, and cook it until it has thickened. Then return it to a bowl (sahfa) coated with almond oil. Then spread this sugar paste? on a marble slab, and cut it up in any shape you like. Sprinkle sugar on the cut up shapes.

It can be made in the same manner also with pistachios, pinenuts and almonds.

Test if it has the right consistency?, and pour it on the pastry board ... thin ..., and it is good. Then make from it whatever you like.

If one likes them(?) flavored with camphor and spices, grind what one wants from these, and sprinkle this powder over them. Serve, with the Will of Allah.

The middle section seems to be the end of a recipe. Note also the difference in terminology: marble slab, pastry board hantam appears, I think, only in the Medical text.

[A.129] Making a drink with raisins (zabb).

Remove the stems and dirt of good quality raisins (zabb), and wash them with water until they are clean.

If you want to prepare them soaked, add to each kail of raisins two kail of hot water. Then place them in a churning vessel (a niya) until they bubble. Then filter the juice and add to it honey.

If you want to prepare them cooked, then add to each kail of raisins three kail of water. You will take the measure with a stick (ud). Add water as much as you like, and cook it until the water subsides to the measure you have on the stick. Then filter the juice, add honey, and leave it until it bubbles. Then drink it, insaallah.

Likewise you may cook honey to drink it in this manner.

[A.130] Making stuffed isfanj (fritters) .

Take samd flour and sift it. Take this flour, put it in a bowl (Ahfa), and take also water, and spray the samd flour lightly with it. Then pack it all together with your hands, and cover it with a second bowl, and leave it until it is moistened (?). Then uncover it, and knead it until it has the consistency of brains (?). Add olive oil, and knead it. Add leaven (kamra) and eggs, adding to each mudd of flour five eggs, and knead the dough with the eggs. Finally put the dough in a new pot after oiling the pot with olive oil, and leave it until it has fermented.

Next, take almonds, walnuts, pine nuts and pistachios, -all of them cleaned-, and pound them together in a mortar (mihras) until they are like salt(?). Take also pure(?) honey, put it on the fire, and let it boil until it begins to thicken. Then take the almonds, walnuts, pine nuts and pistachios, that were pounded, throw them in the honey, and stir the mixture until it has completely thickened.

Next, take some of the samd dough, that was put in the pot, and make a small rag f with it. Put on it some of this thickened paste made with honey and pistachios and so forth. Then fold the ragf with your hand, folding it roundly and evenly like a ball. Use the dough in the same manner until all the stuffing has been used up. The dough should not be too light but moderately so.

Take a pan. Put in it olive oil. When it begins to boil, put in it the isfanj balls. Fry them in a gentle fire until finished.

If you want to thicken the paste with sugar, do so. If you want to add ground sugar and rose water to the paste of almonds and the rest, do so. It will come out good and delightful.

[A.131] Mujabbana made with ruqaq (kind of cheese cake)

Knead flour with a little water, and finish kneading it by adding olive oil. Then make with some of the dough about fifteen small ragfs, stretched thin with a cane (qasab). When making the mujabbana , place them at its bottom. Then join them at the edges together, seal them, and blow in them. Then do it again, and blow in them, so that they will become like a pile of leaves (auraq).

When you add the cheese in it, put one layer of it and one ragf, then another layer and another ragf, and put of these ragf about three in its interior. When preparing the cheese, break about two or three eggs, beat them, and mix them with the cheese.

Make (?) also ten ruqaq in the same manner as was described in making the bottom of the mujabbana. Then cover it, paint it all over with eggs, and send it to the oven in a large earthenware (turab) plate (Ahfa) to be baked.

After it has been baked, add butter and samn , and leave it for a while until they are absorbed. Eat it with joy and good health.

[A.132] A pie (mukabbaza) made with young birds (fark) or starlings (zarazr) .

If you want the pie to be leafy (?) (muwarraqa), make the dough like the dough of the mujabbana described above. If you want it to be plain, make a pie with a dough as we described in making the (mukabbaza).

Take young birds (fark), or any other birds you want, clean them, and cook them in a pot with water and salt without overcooking them. Then pound an onion with green coriander, coriander seeds and pepper. Put all of these ingredients in an earthenware pan with a little salt, a spoonful of mur and two spoonfuls of olive oil on the fire and bring it to a boil. Then take two eggs, break them in the pan, that is on the fire, and

stir them until the sauce has thickened. Then lower the pan from the fire.

When it has cooled off, take the birds and cut them in half, and put them on the pie, that was made beforehand. Take egg yolks (fusus), and add them too. Cover the pie with a cover made of of dough, paint it with egg yolks (muha)(!), and send it to the oven in a plate (Ahfa), insaallah.

[A.133] A pie (mukabbaza) made with fish (hut), either from the sea or river.

Knead dough in the manner that was described for the mujabbana .

Next, take fish, clean it from inside and outside, wash it, and squeeze out the water. Then take onion juice and green coriander juice, and mix them with seasonings, pepper and myrobolan (salt?), and with four eggs, beaten in a bowl (ahfa), in which a spoonful of mur and the same amount of olive oil had been added.

Arrange the fish on the pie with this sauce. Cover the pie with a cover of dough, and send it to the oven.

If one wants to make the pie without seasonings (sauce?), then let him make the pie in the length of the fish, put the fish in it, and add a lot of pepper after smearing the fish with olive oil. Then cover the pie as above and send it to the oven, insaallah.

[A.134] leafy (?) (muwarraqa) loaf .

Take flour, and knead it with water until it is well moistened. It should have some olive oil so that it is soft. Add also leaven to the dough.

Then take the dough, stretch it out, and make thin its edges. Then fold the dough, crimp the edges, and blow in it so that the air will reach up to the sides. Then close the edges through which you blew with your hand, and make a loaf out of it. The loaf should be thick.

Put it in an earthenware pan, and pour in the pan two spoonfuls of olive oil. Press your fingers on the loaf so that the face of the loaf looks like funnels, and put the loaf in the oven. When the loaf is baked, place it on a glazed dish (Ahfa). Take honey, boil it with a little pepper, and pour it over the loaf, insaallah.

[A.135] A loaf kneaded with butter .

Take three rat of darmak flour, and knead it with one rat of butter. When the kneading is completed, leave it until it has fermented (?) .

Then make a loaf with the dough. Send it to the oven on a plate (Ahfa).

When it is baked from one side, turn it over, put it in another plate, and send it back to the oven. When it has been baked evenly on both sides, take it out from the oven, cover(?) it for a while, then serve.

[A.136] A sweet made of honey thickened with darmak flour.

Sift darmak flour three times, and select from it the choice part. Blend it with samn , and knead it with an egg yolk (muh). Add also to the dough a little saffron and salt.

Then put samn in an earthenware (turab) pan, and let it boil. Take one kail of honey and another one of the above dough, and add them to the boiling samn until they are done. Add also cleaned almonds and pine nuts before the mixture becomes firm. Sprinkle pepper over it, and serve.

[A.137] Making an asda. [qataif]

Put a pot filled with water over the fire until it boils. Then add coarsely ground samd wheat, and cook it over the fire until it becomes an asda .

Then remove the asda from the pot and put it in a bowl (Ahfa). Boil honey, and pour it on it, adding also pepper. Serve, insaallah.

[A.138] A candy (sukkarya) recorded by Abu Al al-Bagdad

Take one rat of sugar, and pour on it two uya of rose water. Boil this mixture in an earthenware pot (burma) until it begins to thicken, and this is ascertained, if it sticks between the fingers.

Then take one third of a rat of split almonds, toasted lightly and not burnt. Pound them finely, and add them to the boiling sugar. Stir the mixture over the fire until it has thickened. Then spread it on a plate (Ahfa), and sprinkle ground sugar over it.

[A.139] Another candy (sukkarya) recorded by him .

Take one rat of sugar, pound it and sift it. Take also one third of a rat . of fine olive oil, and put it in an earthenware pot (burma). When it begins to boil, add one third of a rat . of darmak flour and two uqyas of crumb of darmak or samd bread. Stir the pot two or three times, and add the sugar and also two uqya of rose water. Continue stirring it until the oil raises to the surface (?), and the faludya (?) appears to be thickened and firm. Then lower the pot from the fire, pour out the oil, and present it, insaallah.

[A.140] A kabs recorded by him.

Take half a rat . of sugar and one third of a rat of crumb of darmak bread. Pound the sugar, mix it with the crumb, and add three eggs. Heat half a rat or less of fine olive oil in an earthenware pot (burma). When it boils, add the mixture of sugar, crumb and eggs, and stir it over the fire until it is cooked and thickened. Then leave it for a while to cool off, and sprinkle pounded sugar over it.

[A.141] Another kabs made with pomegranates.

Take half a rat of sugar, and put it in a pot or kettle (burma). Pour on it three rats of juice of sweet safr (?) pomegranates and half an uqya of fragrant rose water, and let it boil gently. After bringing it to a boil twice, add half a mudd of samd flour, and continue boiling it until the flour is cooked. Add also a quarter of a dirham weight of pounded, sifted saffron, and three uqya of almonds. Then put this mixture in a bowl (Ahfa), sprinkle over it pounded sugar in the same amount as of almonds, and make from it tiny balls like hazelnuts.

[A.142] A fourth(?) kabs.

Take half a rat of sugar, add three uqya of water, and boil the solution over the fire. Then add three uqya of starch, and one third of a rat of fine olive oil, and boil this mixture until the oil seeps off(?).

Then remove this oil, pour a little almond flour over it, and present it, insaallah, the Supreme.

[A.143] A dish made with kabs.

Take good quality fat meat, and put it in a pot with a whole onion and pepper. Dissolve some honey in water, and cover the meat with it. Then put the pot on the fire, and cook it to exce Break up the kabs , add it to the pot, and boil it with a little saffron.

When it is done, remove the pot from the fire, and leave it aside until its fat (wadak) has risen to the surface. Do not add a thickening (kamra) to this dish.

[A.144] A dish made with eggplants .

Boil eggplants. Remove the pulp from their outer peel, and pound it all. Put in a pot (burma) a spoonful and a half of olive oil, two spoonfuls of mur, pepper, caraway and some onion, pounded extremely fine, and also some salt. Raise the pot over the fire, and when it boils, add the pounded eggplants, and stir it well. When it is done, cook in it egg yolks (muhah), whole (najama), and thicken it with their egg whites and with breadcrumbs and walnuts. When it is placed on the plate (Ahfa), sprinkle pepper and chopped rue (fajan) over it.

[A.145] Making stuffed eggs .

Take as many eggs as you wish, boil them whole in hot water, then put them in cold water. Remove their shells, split them in two with a string (kait), and take out the yolks (muhtah). Then, pound green coriander, and add onion juice, pepper and coriander seeds, and mix all these ingredients in a bowl(!) with mur, olive oil and salt. Knead the yolks (fustus) with this mixture until it becomes a paste. Then stuff with it the egg white halves, and attach them together by inserting a tiny stick (ud) through each egg. Sprinkle pepper over them, God willing.

[A.146] A dish beneficial in the spring for people who are corpulent and have hot blood.

Take a young chicken (farruj) or a pheasant(?) (taihu) or a francolin (durraj) or *** of veal (ijl), whatever is available of these, and cut it up, and put it in a pot. Add green coriander juice and cover it with distilled vinegar. Add also sour apples, with the peel and pits removed, and cut up in medium size pieces, as well as some cassia, clove, ginger and white pepper. Put the pot on the fire, and cook it. Then take as many egg yolks (safra) as you like, beat an amount that will thicken the cooked young chicken, and thicken with it the pot. Spoon it out, sprinkle a few spices (afawh) over it, and serve, insaallah.

[A.147] A sakbaj (an escabèche) dish, commendable for its nourishment .

Take tender meat, cut it up, and put it in a pot. Add enough vinegar to cover the meat, and add raisins (?) according to the degree of acidity in the dish you like, and let them boil in it. Then add an appropriate amount of pepper and coriander seeds, as well as an onion pounded with green coriander, salt and a clove of garlic. Cook it until completed and done. Then take yolks (muhah) of boiled eggs, mash them with a soaked crumb of a choice bread (naqy), and thicken with them the pot. Let it stand until it properly done, then spoon it out, and serve.

Recipes without order

Recipes for the sick

26/42 How to extract meat juice for a sick person.

Pound very well a piece of meat on a board. Put the meat in a pot together with onion juice, with seasonings and spices(?) in the amount of and according to the hotness of the sick person, and with half a spoon of olive oil, if the meat is fat, and with one spoon, if it is not. Place the pot over a moderate fire, and stir it from time to time. When the juice has come out, boil water in a small new pot, and pour it over the meat, and cook it until it turns like a harra (?) and the water has diminished a lot. Then remove the pot from the fire, and let it cool off. Then knead the contents of the pot with your hand, and after it has become thickly uniform(?) filter it through a light cloth. If the sick person eats little, then soak with the meat dried(?) breadcrumbs until they are dissolved, then filter it, and dissolve in it a moderate amount of salt. If the sick person is old, or of cool temperament, or the sickness is not intensely hot, then flavor it with Chinese cinnamon, cinnamon, cloves, cardamon and aloes, and aromatize(?) with a little musk. It is now ready to be served, God willing
The harra does not appear in our ms., I think. Could the harsa be meant?

26/43 A dish that opens the appetite(?) and strenghtens the stomach.

Take a young, pubescent chicken, clean it, and place it in a pot. Add the necessary amount of olive oil, the weight of one dirham and a half of salt, two uqyas of onion juice and of green coriander juice, ten peeled and ground almonds, six garlic cloves, and of water what will cover the chicken. When the pot boils, add strong vinegar, mur, and a fragrant wine. Tie into a bundle basil, citron leaves and fresh(?) rue (sadab), and add it to the pot also. When the chicken is done, take Chinese cinnamon, pepper and ginger, and add them too?. Serve it, God willing.
The end is not clear. Is the chicken transfered to a plate, or served in the pot with the broth? A few words seem to be missing.

26/44 A dish made with meat juice.

Take one rat of meat juice, one fourth of a rat of onion juice, two uqyas of each of the following: fresh coriander juice, wild(?) chicory juice, and boiled, filtered *** (anethum foeniculum?) juice, and also half a rat of fresh water. Put these ingredients in a pot. Take also a clean cloth with half a mitqa of each of the following: cummin, Chinese cinnamon, caraway and dried dill(?) (rue?) tied in it, as well as one uqya of mur of good quality. Cook all these ingredients together until the liquid has been reduced by half. Remove the cloth, and add three uqyas of breadcrumbs. It is drunk as a soup on a day of fever.

26/45 A dish made with meat juice, wholesome for the medication on a day of fever, shortly(?) after having taken the medication.

Take one rat of meat, clean it, and put it in a pot. Pour water to cover it, and increase the amount by four fingers. Kindle a fire under the pot until the meat is done. Then take one rat of this meat juice, two uqyas of coriander juice, half a rat of onion juice and one uqya of mur. Take also a clean cloth, and put in it coriander seeds, caraway, and two mitqas of Boil all these ingredients together in a pot until the amount of liquid is one rat. Add to it the necessary amount of breadcrumbs(?). Serve it before and after the medication.
I wonder if the medication is an euphemism for phlebotomy.

26/46 Making a summery dish with verjuice and calabash, praised for its nourishment.

Take a young chicken, and leave it with its feathers on, hanging by its feet, for three hours. Then scald(?) it with fresh water, wash it extremely well, and boil it lightly. Add(?) to it an appropriate(?) amount of almond oil, and boil (cook?, fry?) it until its juice loosens up(?). Then pour on it verjuice, covering the young chicken with it, and take a small amount of cloves, and likewise of galingale, and flavor(?) with them the pot. Take small pieces of calabash, and a little mint, and add them too. When it is done, thicken it, transfer it to a serving plate, and serve it.

Do likewise with chicken or partridge, God willing.

26/47 Another summery dish like it, which cools the body.

Slaughter a young, pubescent chicken. Clean it, wash it, place it in a cauldron (burma), and cover it with spring water. Then take sour apples, peel them, remove the seeds, cut them up in thirds, and place them in the cauldron. Add(?) verjuice, almond oil, and sulaman sugar to the pot (cauldron?). Add also? pieces of peeled, sweet calabash. When it is done, thicken it, and serve it.

26/48 Another dish, which strenghtens a stomach weakened? by hot weather.

Take a young, pubescent chicken, clean it, and place it in a pot. Add the squeezed juice of sour pomegranates, quinces, apples, olive oil, onions, and fresh coriander. When it is almost done, add a small amount of mint, a little Chinese cinnamon, and coriander seeds. Thicken it with ten peeled almonds, and serve it.

26/49 Making a dish with apples (tuffahya).

Cook sour apples with meat in water until it (they?) is shredded. Then soak apples and filter them, and add olive oil, salt, pepper, soaked and crushed chickpeas, and boil (fry?) them until the meat is browned. Pour on it apple juice, and when it boils add mint, celery, rue (sadab), twigs of purslane(?), thyme and fried eggplants. Thicken it, and transfer it to a serving plate.

(1) The recipe does not seem to make sense. A break?

(2) A recipe with the same title appears in the Medical text.

26/50 A dish made with quinces (safarjaya), good for the stomach.

Slaughter a young chicken. Clean it, and put it in a pot. Add crushed chickpeas and chopped onions. Put the pot over the fire, and boil(?) it until the food? is done. Squeeze pomegranates and quinces, and pour the juice into the pot. Thicken it with breadcrumbs. Sprinkle over it basil(?). Transfer it to a serving plate, and serve it.

A recipe with the same title appears in the Medical text.

26/51 A sakbaj made with veal prepared in the summer for young people.

Take the best meat of veal, and its stomach and extremities, and cook them with vinegar mixed with water according to degree of sourness one likes, adding of this liquid an amount that will cover the meat by an additional four fingers. Add an onion pounded with green coriander and salt, in the amount needed. Make a bundle with pepper, caraway, coriander seeds, peeled walnuts, citron leaves, rue (sadab) and celery, and put it in the pot, as well as aloes(?) and(?) galingale. When it is half done, add one uqya of sugar, one dirham of Chinese cinnamon, the same amount of saffron, pieces of boiled calabash, a(?) garlic clove, and a small

quantity of fragrant wine. When it is done, thicken it, transfer it to a serving plate, and serve it.

A typical S type recipe. Some of the expressions used may help to identify further recipes of this text.

26/52 A dish, which is wholesome in the fall.

Take top quality meat of animals one year old (yearlings?). Cut it up, and place it in a cauldron (burma). Add Chinese cinnamon, long pepper, spikenard, sweet almond oil, soaked chickpeas, a small amount of boiled, cut up Swiss chard, and pounded breadcrumbs(?). Cover all these ingredients with water, and put the pot over the fire until it is close to be done. Then add mur, which was made from wheat with *** (Nigella sat4a), long pepper and spikenard, and complete the cooking. Then sprinkle(?) it with Chinese cinnamon and ginger. Transfer it to a serving plate, and serve it, God willing.

26/53 A dish made in the winter for people having cold diseases.

Take fat, tender meat, and put it in a pot. Add mur, olive oil, salt, pepper, galingale, cinnamon, an onion pounded with green coriander, and pounded and peeled almonds, walnuts and pistachios. Cook it until it is done. Then take ten egg yolks (muhah), beat them with the same amount of honey, and add spikenard, cloves and saffron to it. Thicken the pot with it, and transfer the dish to a serving plate, God willing ...

26/54 A dish made with young birds (squabs?) wholesome for old people and for those having moistnesses.

Clean a fat, young bird (squab?), and put it in a pot. Add white of onion, soaked chickpeas, pepper, cummin, caraway, anis, olive oil and salt. When it boils, add rue (sadab) and cinnamon. When it is done, thicken it with a lot of egg yolks (muhah) and peeled and pounded almonds, cloves and spikenard. Transfer it to a serving plate, and serve it. It is not too clear what is meant by the expression white of onion. It appears again a few recipes below.

NOTES:

Z.1

The harra does not appear in our ms., I think. Could the harsa be meant?

Z.4

I wonder if the medication is an euphemism for phlebotomy.

Z.8

(1) The recipe does not seem to make sense. A break?

(2) A recipe with the same title appears in the Medical text.

Z.9

A recipe with the same title appears in the Medical text.

Z.10

A typical S type recipe. Some of the expressions used may help to identify further recipes of this text.

Z.13

It is not too clear what is meant by the expression white of onion. It appears again a few recipes below.

UTENSILS

pot (qidr)
pan (miqlah) (?)
oven (furn)
mortar (mihras)
gada
plate (sahfa)
plate (gidar)
spoon (migrafa)
home (?)
potsherd (saqaf)
threads (kait)
sieve (girba) made of hair
cloth (kirqa)
radaf
board (lauh)
spoon (milaqa)
pin (kila)
tajin
pot (burma)
water wheel bucket (qadus)
tannur
vessel (ina...)
large bowl (jafna)
spit (saffud)
small pot (qudara)

MEAT CUTS

the neck (unq)
the breast (sadr)
the ... (qasr)
the neck (qasara)
the shoulder (katif)
the stomach (kirs)
the large intestine (mabar)
the small intestine (musran)
lights (gurnuq)
lights (qalya) (Heading)
trotters (dira)
shank (saq)
flank (surra)
tail (danab)
udder (dirra)
(kus) (?)
(g-r-s)
thigh (fakid)
shoulder (sin)
rack (janb)
stomach (maida)
(k-ya) 172, 449, 158

tripes (duwwara)
 lunba (loin)
 head (ras)
 fat (sahm)
 rib (dil)
 innards (hasan)?
 rack (janb)
 tripe (duwwara)
 the breast (sadr)
 caul (minsaj) (text not clear!, not definitive!)
 leg, thigh (fakid)
 *** (muqassr) (?)
 rib (dil)
 lungs (bida)
 liver (kabid)
 heart (qalb)
 kidney (kulya pl. kulan)
 the small intestine (musran)
 tripe, stomach (kirs)
 the ... (qasr) 301
 lungs (ria)
 spleen (tiha)
 tripe (duwwara)
 large intestine (mabar)
 breast (sadr)
 innards (check once more, it is there!)
 tendons (uruq)
 thigh (fakid)
 the small intestine (musran)

SICK
 stomach (batn)
 extremities (atraf)

(x) **Breads.** Except for the ruqaq, a flat loaf of bread often mentioned in our text, none of the breads in this list appear in our cookbook, and most of them are poorly documented. Almost none of their names appear in the medical literature that discusses the dietetic properties of different kinds of bread, and almost none of their names are registered in the large Arabic dictionaries.

This list seems to derive from an oriental source. Some comments follow.

Labiq. A kind of ruqaq, more refined and smaller than the usual. (Cf. Al-Warraq pp.35-36, where it is discussed).

Musattab. Probably a bread, whose loaf before baking was slashed with a sharp knife.

Murayyas. Probably a bread, whose loaf before baking was pricked with a feather. This term murayyas appears in al-Warraq (pp. 35, 36) in the process of bread making, and this seems to be the intended meaning.

Kubz al-ma or water bread. Al-Warraq (pp.33-34) gives a detailed recipe for making this bread. One may say, briefly, that this bread is made from fermented dough. The loaves before baking are smeared with sesame oil, then baked in a tannur. When almost done, water is added to the tannur to steam them. Once baked, they are moistened again, piled up, and wrapped in a cloth.

Tabun is a bread baked in a *abuna*. This is a small jar-shaped oven, sunk in the ground, open on top, and used for this purpose. The loaves are baked by attaching them to its sides. (Cf. Dozy).

Magmum. Maybe a bread baked in a sealed pot.

Musawwak. Maybe a bread made of *sawk*, a wheat of outstanding quality, from which delicious bread was made (cf. Dozy).

Matlu is a bread cooked on a flat surface or slab (*tabiq*). It is considered to be lighter than the one baked in a *tannur*, especially if the dough has been fermented (Cf. Dozy II p.56). According to Dozy the term is used also in Syriac (cf. Dozy II p.25; Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* p.1505).

Notes without order

(n) *Ard* is a dish that is made with two independent components: (i) breadcrumbs and (ii) a liquid to moisten them. In most cases this liquid is a rich broth obtained from cooking a stew. *ard* is prepared by moistening the breadcrumbs with this broth, piling them up, and placing the solid parts of the stew on top of them.

Let's examine these components in more detail.

(i) The breadcrumbs. Two main types of bread were commonly used at that time, namely, bread proper (*kubz*), made usually with leavened dough and baked in an oven, and flat breads *rag*. Both types of bread were used to prepare *ard*. Thus breads proper (*kubz*) are used in recipes 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 19, 20 and 21 of this chapter, and several varieties are noted, while *ragfs* are used in recipes 9, 13, 15, 17 and 26. To this last group belonged the Tunisian *fat*, that had a flaky, layered crumb, and also extremely thin *ragfs*. The bread to be used in a *ard* was often baked especially for that purpose.

To make the breadcrumbs the bread was usually broken down into bite size pieces, though this point is rarely made explicit (cf. 6.17). In some rare cases the bread may not have been crumbled at all (cf. Part II.xx; maybe 6.26).

(ii) The liquid to moisten the breadcrumbs. Some *ards* were moistened with milk (cf. 6.13) or with a thin custard (cf. Part II.xx). But the most common liquid to moisten them was a broth or sauce. To make it one cooked a stew. The ingredients to prepare it did vary widely, but often fat cuts of meat were used, so that the resulting broth had a lot of grease (*dasam*). An extreme case of this method is recipe 6.21, that uses ten chickens to make the broth.

(3) Moistening the breadcrumbs. Our author insists constantly that the breadcrumbs should be properly moistened. What this meant, was obvious to his contemporaries, but not to us. It seems that to moisten them properly, the breadcrumbs needed to be rubbed by hand and with grease, and be left neither too dry nor too soggy. To do this well required probably some practice or a *tour de main*. The *ard* was eaten with the fingers. An expatriate poet from al-Andalus muses nostalgically will I have again a *ard*, that I long for, and plunge my fingertips in it, as food lovers do?. (cf. Garcia Sanchez: Ibn al-Azraq. lines 55-56 of the Arabic poem.).

From the numerous recipes preserved in our manuscript it is clear that the *ard* lBI 00 was one of the most popular dishes at the time of our author, more so than the *couscous*, a similar dish. From the recipes present in al-Warra's cookbook (cf. chapt. 83, pp.204-209) it is also clear that it was popular in the East. According to M. Rodinson it was one of the favorite dishes of the Prophet (cf. Rodinson. Gh, especially p.1081). The dish may have originated in Arabia, one of the very few

dishes in our manuscript that stems from this region. The dish is still prepared these days in Arabic speaking lands (cf. Guinaudeau pp.57-58; Weiss-Armush. Arabian Cuisine pp.257-258).

With the same components of the ard, bread and broth, a dish used to be prepared by the end of the Roman Empire, and for many centuries after, namely, sopa. (Low Latin sopa, has yielded Sp. sopa, Engl. soup). It consisted in placing slices of bread or broken down bread in a bowl, and covering them with broth, and was eaten with a spoon. The similarity of these two dishes was apparent to Pedro de Alcala (XV c.), who translated in his dictionary sopa de pan by urda, a variant spelling of ard. The ard survived in the cuisine of the Golden Age of Spain sometimes under names like sopa or ensopado. The Spanish dish called migas, which means literally breadcrumbs, belongs, also, to this tradition.

In this Almohade cookbook this dish is usually called ard, while in Part II it is more commonly called urda. Both words are synonyms and stem from the same root, the difference in spelling and pronunciation may reflect regional or temporal differences.

Since there is no English equivalent for ard, the word has been left untranslated.

References:

Garcia Sanchez, Expiracion. Ibn al-Azraq: sobre ciertas preferencias gastronomicas de los granadinos. Andalucia Islamica. Textos y estudios. vol I. Granada, 1980. pp.141-162.

Rodinson, Maxime. Ghidh. Encyclopedie de l'Islam (deuxieme ed.) t.II, pp.1081-1097. Paris, 1965.

Weiss-Armush, Anne Marie. Arabian Cuisine. Beirut, 1984.

(n) Fatr is used in two senses in our text: (i) as a generic for breads made with unleavened dough, as it is the case here and in 7.18, and (ii) for a ragf, that was a specialty of Tunisia and Algeria (cf. 6.15, 6.9).

(n) Probably the vegetables should be served with teh ard also.

(n) I.e. the bread should be lukewarm. This requires that the bread be baked on the premises. Similar requirements, that may baffle a contemporary reader, appear occasionally in the text.

(n) For the ard version of this dish see 6.19.

(n) Kubz naqy (choice bread).

kubz naqy is probably a leavened bread made from the finest darmak flour, free of bran, and hence with a white crumb.

This bread is mentioned again in 6.20. It is mentioned also in Razs Isagoge (chap.5, 4; p.36 (Arabic text)). The editor translates it as Sp. pan de flor.

kubz naqy is not registered in Arabic dictionaries. Ar. naqy means both choice and free of impurities.

Reference:

Al-Razi Abu Bakr. Libro de la introduccion al Arte de la Medicina o Isogoge. (ed.) Maria de la Concepcion Vaquez de Benito. Salamanca, 1979.

(n) Abu al-Tasan al-Bunan.
Unknown.

(n) The turban of ibn al-Wad.

No historical person seems to be meant. A similar recipe appears in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.I cap.2; p.12), and there the turban is called of ibn al-Raf Wad. ... means low, and raf means high in Arabic.

(n) This dish is still popular in Algeria. Cf. Obeida,..., crepes fines en sauce, p.114. The author remarks plat celebration a loccasion des fetes traditionnelles.

Reference:

Obeida, Khadidja. 253 recettes de cuisine algerienne. Paris, 1983.

(n) How to make this fatr is explained with more detail in 6.15.

(n) Muwarraqa.

English lacks an adjective to translate Ar. muwarraqa, Sp. hojaldrado, Fr.feuilleté. These adjectives describe a crumb that resembles a pile of leaves, whence the above names. For lack of a better word muwarraqa has been translated as flaky or leafy, with the Arabic word added in parenthesis.

(n) Rukkad.

What kind of object a rukkad is, is not completely clear. Freytag says of this word adhibetur de tripodibus ollarum, i.e. it is applied to the tripods of pots, and Lane (p.1145) translates it as the three pieces of stone upon which a cooking pot is set. It may also be an earthenware brazier with three knobs on its rim to hold the pots and to be filled with charcoal.

(n) Tummais are large size couscous grains. The word means, literally, little chickpeas. They were also known as muh. Tammas and are described in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.I cap.5; p.5.). They are still used nowadays in Morocco (cf. Guinaudeau (Gros couscous mhammsa lBI 00 AF, p.68).

(n)

The third type of pasta was probably called tulaitil or tulaitn (the vocalization is uncertain) (cf. Dozy I.150, under root t-l-t-l-, and ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.I cap.5; p.54)). Ibn Razn's cookbook says that this pasta consisted of very thin squares, two fingers wide, and that they were added, in the winter, to a pot where chopped calabash was cooking, or, in the summer, to a pot where chopped cabbage was prepared. The dish was finished with butter or olive oil.

It could be that these pasta squares were occasionally filled with savories and sealed. This would explain the word qat. Taif, which means turnover. In other words, they may have been dumplings or ravioli. For the word qat. Taif see note 7.xx.

(n) Itrya, noodles, vermicelli.

To make itrya, basically, one kneaded a dough with wheat flour, preferably samd, salt and water. The dough was rolled out thin and cut into thin strips or threads, and hence their cross sections were rectangular. The threads were usually left to dry in the sun. The procedure is described in some detail in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.I cap.5; p.52) and it is illustrated in the Theatrum Sanitatis (vol.II, p.31, trij). itrya were also produced commercially.

By the time of our author, itrya were consumed over a vast geographical area, and had been known for centuries in the Near East. A sign of their antiquity in that region is that the Word itrya is attested in Syriac (cf. itriun , pl. it 08. Tria in Brockelmann p.14, and in Payne Smith, J. (Mrs. Margoliouth) p.12) and in Talmudic Hebrew. For instance, in the

Palestinian Talmud it is written that on the Holy Days it is forbidden to make vermicelli, if for drying them (cf. Jastrow, *itri*, p.43). In the Eastern Arabic literature, Avicenna (980-1037) discussed the dietetic properties of *itrya* in his influential *Qanun*. He said that they are cooked by boiling them in water, with or without meat, and considered them nourishing but difficult to digest because they were made from unleavened dough. (cf. vol.I, p.264; (Book II)). A recipe for preparing *itrya* is given in al-Baghdad's Cookbook (cf. Chelebi p. 29, Arberry's transl. p.45).

Itrya were brought to Sicily by the Arabs, and the word has left some traces in the Sicilian dialect, such as, *Avermicelli di tria*, and in some old cookbooks, such as the *Anonimo Toscano* (XV c.), *De la tria genovese per l'infermi* (quoted from Faccioli's edition vol I, p.55). In Spain *itrya*, probably pronounced *atriya* were widely consumed, not only among Moslems, but also among Christians. Thus the medieval Catalan cookbook *Sent Sovi* brings two recipes *Capitol 170. Qui parla com se cou alatria*, *Capitol 171. Qui parla con se cou carn ab alatria* (pp.182-183), and Arnaldus of Vilanova discusses their dietetic properties in his well-known *Regimen Sanitatis*. The Arabic word is still in use in the Castilian dialect of Murcia.

Vermicelli were consumed in medieval Persia too, and known as *rishta*, a word also used in Arabic.

Etymology. Fraenkel, in the last century, suggested that Ar. *itrya* is a loan word from the Aramaic (Syriac) *itriun* (cf. Fraenkel p.37).

Payne Smith, in turn, thought that Syriac *itriun* was derived from Greek *itrion*, pl. *itria*. However, in Classical Greek, *itrion* is a kind of cake, and not vermicelli (cf. Liddell & Scott). There is no evidence that vermicelli were known in Ancient Greece or Rome.

References:

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ibna al-Qanuf al-tibb. 3 vols. Bulaq, Cairo AH 1294.

(Temporary note. I have been interested to know if the word *itrya* occurs in Syriac or Hebrew texts, that can be dated before the Arab conquest of these regions. There is not a single copy of Payne's *Thesaurus* in New York. Brockelmann's *Lexicon* has only late sources. If I can find out, I will add some dates.)

(n) Muhallab ibn Abu. *Tafra* (630?-702 AD).

A famous Arab general of the Umayyad period. He undertook many successful campaigns in the Eastern provinces of the Arab Empire.

References: Encyclopaedia of Islam (1st ed.) 3/2 p.640 &

(n) Ruqaqs are paper thin wafers, and are made from a liquid dough. A detailed description on how to make them is given in 7.1, and they are discussed in note 7.xx. They should be distinguished from ragfs (Ar. ragf raq, pl. ruguf ruqa). These are made from an unleavened or a moderately leavened dough, that is rolled out thin, shaped into round loaves, and then cooked.

In the present dish the ruqaqs are probably absorbed by the liquid while cooking, act as a thickener, and leave almost no trace.

(n) Tunisian fat, a type of ragf.

This ragf is made from unleavened dough. One takes a ball of dough, and one stretches it out. The surface is oiled and floured, then folded and rolled up. Then one repeats this process several times. One shapes, finally, a flat, round loaf to be baked in the oven or in a Tajin over charcoal.

Some points are not clear: (i) The grease used to oil the surface of the dough. The text uses the verb dahana, to oil, which implies that the grease was liquid. There are three likely candidates: melted butter, melted samn and olive oil. (ii) How the dough is stretched out. It could be done by hand or with a rolling pin (saubak), a well-known utensil at that time, and it could be stretched into a circle or a rectangle. (3) How the stretched out dough is folded. These points affect the outcome. This ragf had a flaky, multi-layered crumb, and may be considered a precursor of contemporary puff pastry, Sp. hojaldre, Fr. pâte feuilleté. The fat has been popular in North Africa for centuries, and Dozy (II.268) has a long list of references on it.

The fat has a certain similarity with the Indian griddle bread paratha.

(n) Muallak.

This dish is probably named this way, because it has the consistency of glue. The Arabic root alaka means to glue. The muallak is described also in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.II cap.3; p.85).

(n) Maqlu.

Ar. maqlu means fried. This dish may have been named so, because in its last stage of cooking, when all the water has evaporated, the lamb fries in the grease present in the cauldron.

This dish has a certain similarity with French rillettes.

(n) Riksab.

Unknown word, probably not semitic, tentatively translated as stick.

(n) The bat, a type of a rag.

The bat, since it is baked in a tannur or under hot ashes, is probably shaped into a thin, round loaf. It is made with leavened dough according to our text.

Recipe 7.6 describes a different version of the bat made with fat. Melted fat (sah) diluted with olive oil is added to the dough. The dough is then shaped into a thin loaf, and deep fried in melted fat.

This bread, spelled bat, is also mentioned in ibn Razn's cookbook (sect.I cap.2; p.14), where it is described as a rag made of unleavened dough and cooked in a tannur or oven.

Neither bat nor bat... are registered in Dozy, Freytag or Lane in a sense appropriate in the present context. The first vowel of bat is unknown. The word may be of Berber origin.

(n) Razn.

The adjective razn, applied to wheat grains, occurs also in ibn al-Awwam (cap. XV3 1; vol. II p.17). Following Freytag, Irazn has been translated as heavy.

n) The text seems to be defective at this point. Maybe barley (sar) or lentils (adas) is meant.

(n) Qasa.

(A technical culinary term, that occurs often in chapt. 7. Note to be completed).