

Culinary Abundance

Rich Recipes with Medieval Variations

an extract of
Fadālat al-Jiwān fī tayyibāt al-ta 'ām wa-l-alwān

Translated by Susan Lord-Williams into English from
Fernando de la Granja Santamaría's Hispano-Arabic to Castellan translation,
published by the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras

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Introduction

Oriental and North African forces stormed the Iberian Peninsula beginning in 711, conquering most of the land from the Visigoths and staying for over 700 years, establishing the most advanced civilization in Europe. Cordova became the capital which surpassed the refinement of Baghdad in the 9th C promoting intellectual life, establishing the first music conservatory in the world and the art of eating, among many other cultural advances. This was possible during long years of peace. Little by little Muslim dynasties, however, overthrew one another, burning thousands of volumes of manuscripts of defeated caliphs and other rulers. Christian kings slowly built kingdoms and expanded them by overthrowing each other and Muslims. Christians, too, burned what they claimed to be "heretical." Often a document was tossed into the blaze just because it was written in Arabic. Unwittingly, throughout the centuries, evidence of Muslim contributions to Spanish and European society was swept away in a pile of ashes.

Fadalat is one of the two surviving medieval Andalusian [[1]]-Muslim cookery manuscripts. It was written in Murcia, a province south of Valencia and Alicante on the Mediterranean coast, after the conquest of the Hispano-Muslims in Valencia by Jaime I of Aragon in 1238 and 1243, when Fernando III of Castile conquered Murcia. The author was ibn Razin al-Tuŷibī. Other than that he was Andalusian, nothing else is known about him. The other manuscript, called <http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Andalusian/andalusian3.htm>">An Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook of the 13th Century (cited as Anon Andalus), was first translated from Hispano-Arabic to Castellán by Ambrosio Huici Miranda and later from Hispano-Arabic to English by Charles Perry. (Perry's edition is available online.)

In 1959, Fernando de la Granja Santamaría (1928-1999) presented his translation from Hispano-Arabic into Castellán of Fadalat as his doctoral thesis, which consists of 80 pages and 441 recipes (some 20 or 30 are thought to be missing). As he and Huici worked on their translations at the same time, they were able to consult each other and compare notes as many recipes in the two manuscripts are similar. The Faculty de Fine Arts of the University (Complutense today) of Madrid published an extract of Granja's thesis in 1960 copies of which are currently available online in Spanish. Both works contain recipes served to the Hispano-Muslim nobility, not to other social classes.

Granja studied the Arabic language, history and literature as a student at the University of Madrid. After graduating, he was able to spend a few months during his military service in Morocco and received a scholarship for graduate studies at the University of Cairo from 1953-1955 after which he was hired as a professor in the Arab Department at the University of Madrid. In 1964 he was named the chair of the department of language and literature at the University of Zaragoza. In 1969 he returned to Madrid to create the Arab Department at the recently founded Autonomic University and resumed his work at the Complutense. Between 1995 and 1996 he was admitted to the Royal Historical Society of Spain. He retired as a professor in 1998 after publishing six books and some 56 articles concerning the Arabic language, Hispano-Muslim history and literature. He was perhaps one of Spain's most beloved

professors for his thoroughness and contagious compassion to help fill the gaps in history unveiling mysteries so vital to Spanish and European heritage.

He decided to translate Fadalat for the various references to foods and formulas found in medicinal treaties, dietary books, poetry and literature which were inadequately defined in dictionaries, if at all. Two copies of the Fadalat MS exist. The first is in the library of the Spanish Royal Academy of History in the Gayangos Collection located in Madrid and the second is at the University of Tübingen in Germany. Both are most difficult because of the grammatical and syntax errors, numerous repetitions and/or omissions of words by the various scribes who contributed to the work and the obvious failure of the author to edit them. Further, the first manuscript is so deteriorated that some words are not legible.

Granja compared other Arab manuscripts in the National Library of Spain and the Royal Academy of History and also spent a summer in Tangiers, Rabat and Tetouan City, where natives helped him study all phases of North African cookery, types of flours used in bread, pastas and pastries, types of vessels and ovens, etc.

He found that Fadalat provides important information concerning what Hispano-Muslims ate and what other Hispano-Muslim manuscripts refer to as foods and prepared dishes. It also sheds light on the origin of many dishes in today's North African cookery and on the influence of Hispano-Muslim cuisine on Spanish-Christian cookery: the anonymous Catalan manuscript Sent Sovi from the 14th C; the archpriest of Hita's Libro de Buen Amor from the same period; Ruperto de Nola's Libre del Coch published in the 16th C (but believed to have been written in the 15th); and even Cervante's Don Quixote, who ate legumes every day of the year, loved veal, lamb, hares, rabbits and hens and the 600 eggs used to revive him at the end of the first part of the novel. What did Don Quixote not love that is included in the Fadalat recipes?

The recipes below are those found in the extract of Granja's thesis in Castellán, followed by the English versions.

NOTE: Reoccurring words which might be unfamiliar to the English reader are described in the Glossary and are italicized in the recipes. They are listed under the original word in Spanish.

Recipes

[1] Pan cocido en el horno

Se toma la sémola, se remoja, se le echa sal, se deja ablandar y se *soba bien sobada*. Se añade la levadura y se va amasando con agua, poco a poco, hasta que la masa queda a punto y aparece trabada. Se le pone un poco de harina fina, se reboza con ella y se hacen tortas

conforme se deseen, que se colocan en el dobléz de un trozo de lino o de lana, que se recubre con pieles de cordero o cosa parecida, y se dejan que se leuden. La señal de que están leudas es que se levanta la masa y que al golpearla deja oír un ruido. En seguida se cuecen con cuidado en el horno. Una vez cocidas, se limpian, se ponen en una *vasija* y se *comen* cuando haya necesidad.

Si se emplea harina de flor o de cualquier otra clase no hay necesidad de remojarla, sino ponerle desde el principio la levadura y amasar en seguida. En uno y otro caso se empleará el agua bastante caliente.

Baked Bread

Soak semolina, add salt and let it soften. *Dip hands in lard or oil and knead* it well. Add yeast and water little by little until the dough reaches the desired consistency. Coat it by sprinkling fine flour over it and divide dough to make the desired shapes for loaves. Fold a piece of linen or woolen cloth and place these in it, cover this with lamb skin or something similar and let the mass rise. When it has risen sufficiently, it will emit a noise when struck. Immediately bake with care in the oven. Once baked, clean the loaves and put them in a *bread basket* for consumption.

If using fine quality flour or other types, there is no need to soak it. Add the yeast and knead it. In either case use hot water.

[6] Migas de cabezas de ternero

Se coge la cabeza de un ternero gordo o de una ternera, y se pone a la lumbre una marmita de cobre con agua suficiente para que cubra la cabeza, Cuando la marmita rompe a hervir se mete en ella la cabeza y se deja un rato. Después se hace una prueba, y si se puede arrancar fácilmente el pelo con la mano, se saca del agua y se quita el pelo aprisa. Si queda algo, se vuelve a echar en agua caliente hasta que quede limpia y sin resto de pelo. Si no se puede escaldar en agua, se chamusca a la lumbre y después se pone cubierta de agua en una *vasija* grande, y se deja, a fin de que se ablande; se lava y se raspa hasta que se le quita el olor a chamusquina. Luego se divide en pedazos, que se limpian y lavan. Se ponen los trozos en una olla grande con sal, aceite, pimienta. cilantro seco, una cebolla cortada o picada, y se derrama en ella bastante agua para cubrir todo, y se pone la olla a la lumbre hasta que termina de cocer. Se miga pan leudo, lo más fino que se pueda; se quita la grasa de la olla y se pone en una *vasija*, se riega el pan migado con el resto del caldo, y se deja un poco, procurando que las migas tengan todo el caldo que necesitan. Si no es bastante, se le añade más, para que las migas queden claras. Luego se vierte la grasa por encima y se ponen los trozos de la cabeza, se espolvorea con canela y se *come*.

Si se quieren estas migas con pan gramado, se amasa la sémola como se dijo y se deja que se leude. Cuando se leuda se amasa de nuevo, se hacen tortas delgadas con agujeros, y se les frota las caras con agua. Cuando hayan cocido, en el horno o en el *tannūr*, se migán lo más finas que se pueda y se riegan como antes.

Si se quieren con *hojaldre* de buñuelo se corta el hojaldre en trozos grandes y se riegan en abundancia hasta que el caldo sobre en la sopera.

Breaded Veal Heads

Select a large tender head. Heat a copper marmite containing enough water to cover it. When the water begins to boil, add the head and leave it for a while. Test it to see if the hair can be easily removed if so, immediately remove the head from the water and quickly pull out the hair. If any is left, pour hot water on it until it is clean and there is no hair left. If it does not come out by scalding, singe it and then cover it with water in a large *bowl* to let it soften, wash and scrape it until the odor from the singeing disappears. Divide it into pieces and clean and wash them. Put the pieces in a large pan with salt, oil, pepper, dried cilantro, and a chopped onion. Cover this with water and cook until done. Make very fine breadcrumbs with leavened bread; remove the grease from the pan, place it in a bowl, sprinkle it with the breadcrumbs with broth and let sit, making sure that the breadcrumbs have enough broth. If not enough, add more to moisten them sufficiently. Then pour the grease on top and place the pieces of the head on this and sprinkle them with cinnamon and serve.

If breadcrumbs from fine white bread are preferred, prepare semolina dough as explained above and let it rise. Knead it again and make flat loaves with holes and rub the tops with water. After baking in the oven or a *tannur*, make breadcrumbs as fine as possible and moisten them as above.

If *leaf-pastry* for fritters is preferred cut it into large pieces put them in a soup bowl and fill it to the brim with broth.

[35] Sopas de levadura

Se coge una *olla nueva* y se vierte en ella bastante cantidad de agua y sal, con un poco de hinojo, anís, alcaravea y un diente de ajo sin mondar, y se pone a la lumbre. Luego se toma levadura muy fermentada, y se deslíe con agua caliente en una sopera, con ayuda del cucharón. Cuando el ajo está casi cocido, se vierte la levadura desleída en la olla y se remueve sin cesar con el cucharón hasta que llega al grado de cocción consabido, y no más, porque este guiso es agradable cuando queda claro. Luego se vuelca en la fuente y *secome*. El que quiera puede quitar el diente de ajo, y dejarlo el que lo quiera *comer*.

Yeast Soppes

Fill a *new pot* with water and add salt, a little fennel, anise, caraway, and a whole unpeeled garlic clove and heat it. Dissolve fermented yeast in hot water in a soup bowl using a serving spoon. When the garlic is almost cooked, pour the dissolved yeast into the pot and stir continuously with a serving spoon until cooked as usual. Do not overcook because it is nice when clear. Pour it into a bowl and serve. The garlic clove may be left or removed.

[44] Rosquillas rellenas de miel

Se toma bastante cantidad de miel y se hierve a fuego lento, después de quitarle la espuma. Se machacan rosquillas hechas sin relleno y almendras mondadas, y se añaden a la miel, con agua de rosas y las especias necesarias, con lo que se espesará la miel. Cuando esté bien cocida se retira de la lumbre y se deja enfriar; luego se untan las manos de aceite, se hacen de la pasta tiras moldeadas entre las manos y se ponen en un plato. Se amasa harina como se dijo antes, y se extiende en trozos sobre la mesa, rellenándolas con las tiras de pasta mencionadas, se moldean sobre la mesa y se hacen roscas de la misma manera de antes.

Si se quiere hacer con relleno de dátiles en vez de miel, se machacan dátiles de los llamados šadā'ij hasta que queden como sesos, después de haberlos limpiado y deshuesado. Luego se les añaden las especias dichas y se acaba la tarea como ya se dijo. La mayor parte de la gente prepara las roscas con dátiles.

Honey-Filled Doughnuts [[2]]

Boil a good quantity of honey over low heat. Skim off the scum. Mash doughnuts without filling and peeled almonds. Add honey with rosewater and necessary spices to thicken the honey [[3]]. When well-cooked, remove it from heat and let it cool. Grease hands with oil. Make strips of this paste, shape them by hand and put them on a plate. Knead the dough as explained above and extend the pieces on the table, fill them with the strips of paste and shape them on the table making rings as above.

If a date filling is desired instead of honey, mash Shaddâkh dates [[4]] until they are like brains, after cleaning them and removing the pits. Then add spices and complete the preparation as explained above. Most people prepare doughnuts with date filling.

[48] Confección de "bocaditos del Cadí"

Se machacan bien tres partes de azúcar y una de almendras mondadas y se añaden las consabidas especias. Luego se amasa harina como se hace para las roscas, se estira a la larga y se rellena con la pasta preparada, dándole forma de almendras. Se fríen en *aceite dulce*, se espolvorean con azúcar y se *comen*.

"Morsels for the Judge"

Crush well three parts of sugar and one part peeled almonds and add the usual spices [[5]]. Then knead flour as prepared for doughnuts, stretch lengthwise, and fill it with the prepared paste in the shape of almonds. Fry them in *extra virgin olive oil*, sprinkle them with sugar and serve.

[52] Alcorzas rellenas

Se amasan dos *arrel*des de harina de flor con agua, levadura, aceite y sal, de modo que quede una masa blanda. Luego se hace con azúcar y almendras lo mismo que antes y se extiende la mitad de la masa con la mitad del relleno y se sigue dándole palmadas con aceite, se hace una empanada y se deja que se leude. Se cuece luego al horno en una *cazuela nueva* vidriada, que se habrá untado con aceite. Cuando se dora se pone en una fuente y se vierte en ella miel caliente, después de hacer agujeros en la empanada con los dedos, para que absorban bien la miel. Se ponen encima piñones y se perfuma con almizcle. Se hacen luego con la mitad que queda de la harina tortas delgadas, que se rellenan con el resto del relleno, se frien en *aceite dulce* y se ponen en una fuente, vertiendo encima miel hervida con nueces majadas; se perfuman con almizcle y se *comen*.

Stuffed Qursas [[6]]

Knead eight *pounds* of flour with water, yeast, oil and salt to make soft dough. Then take sugar and almonds as above and roll out half the dough with half of the filling and continue patting it with oil, make a turnover and let it rise. Bake it in the oven in a *new glass pan* greased with oil. When lightly browned put it on a serving plate and pour hot honey over it. Then make holes in the turnover with fingers to absorb the honey. Sprinkle pinenuts on top and perfume it with musk. With the other half of the dough make flat cakes and fill them with rest of the stuffing. Fry them in *extra virgin olive oil* and place them in a serving dish and pour boiling honey with chopped walnuts over them. Perfume with musk and serve.

[60] Confección del *hojaldre*, que son las mantecadas

Se amasa la sémola o la harina de flor con agua y sal y se *soba bien sobada*. Luego se derrite *manteca*, se extiende un pedazo de masa en la amasadera lo más fina posible, se dobla después de haberla untado por dentro con *manteca*, se extiende otra vez, se golpea con la palma de la mano y se pone en la sartén o en *lapaila* a la lumbre, después de haberla untado con un poco de manteca, para que no se abrase. Cuando está cocida, se retira de la lumbre y se la golpea con las dos manos para que se rompan y separen unos trozos de otros. Luego se ponen en una sopera y se tapan con un pañuelo y se hace otro tanto con el resto de la masa, hasta el final. Se riegan luego con miel caliente espumada, se espolvorea con canela y azúcar, y se *come*.

El que quiera puede hacerlo en panes pequeños y untarlos con manteca, poner uno dentro de otro y extender todos ellos con el rodillo o con la mano, que queden sumamente delgados, y cocerlos en la *paila*, lo mismo que antes. Se riegan con miel y se *comen*.

Larded Leaf-Pastry

Dip hands in lard and knead semolina or fine flour with water and salt. Melt *lard*, extend a piece of dough as thin as possible in the kneading trough. Pour lard over it, fold it over, extend it again, hit it with the palm of the hand, fry it in a *frying pan* or *paellera* greased with lard to

prevent burning. When done, remove it from the heat and hit it with two hands to break and separate some pieces from others. Then put them in a soup bowl and cover with a cloth and continue making pastries with the rest of the dough until finished. Pour hot skimmed honey over the pieces and sprinkle cinnamon and sugar on top and serve.

If preferred small loaves can be made. Grease them with lard, place one inside the other and extend all with the rolling pin or by hand leaving them very flat and fry them in the *frying pan* as above. Pour honey over them and serve.

[72] Preparación de la Zulabiyya

Se toma un buen pedazo de levadura y se pone en agua hasta que queda como leche cuajada. Se cuele en una olla y se echa encima harina de flor cernida. Cuando se ha desleído se añade la harina hasta que queda como un solo cuerpo, entre claro y espeso. Luego se llena con ella un vaso en cuyo fondo haya un agujero pequeño en el que quepa el dedo meñique y se tiene puesto a la lumbre una *sartén* con mucho aceite. Se tapa el agujero con el dedo, y cuando se tiene el vaso encima de la *sartén*, se quita el dedo del agujero y cae en la *sartén* de lo que contiene el vaso. Se mueve el vaso con la mano y se hacen a modo de enrejados y figuras diversas de forma circular. Cuando se endurece por la fritura en la *sartén*, se saca rápidamente, se deja escurrir el aceite y se empapa en miel hirviendo una vez espumada, y se deja en ella hasta que absorba toda la necesaria. Se saca de la miel y se pone en una tabla o en una rejilla de caña para que escurra y se seque. Si quedase demasiado blando se le añade harina, se deja que levante y se hace del mismo modo.

Sulaibiyān [[7]] Bunuelos

Dissolve a large piece of yeast in water until it has the consistency of casein. Strain it into a pot. When dissolved, add fine sifted flour until it has a medium, semi-liquid consistency. Put it in a glass with a small hole over which a baby finger can stop the batter from running out. Place it over a *frying pan* on the heat. Remove the finger from the hole and move the glass letting the mixture run out making a circular lattice pattern in the pan. When it solidifies rapidly remove it. Let the oil drain off and soak it in boiling skimmed honey until it absorbs all needed. Remove it from the honey and place it on a board or cane rack to drain and dry out. If too soft, add flour, let it rise and repeat the frying process.

[79] Almojábanas

Se amasa la cantidad necesaria de harina de flor, una vez con agua y otra con aceite, y se le añade levadura y leche hasta que queda de la misma consistencia que la masa de los buñuelos, y se deja hasta que se vea que ha fermentado. Luego se unta de aceite una cazuela grande, extendiendo en ella un trozo de masa, y sobre ella un trozo de queso, y sobre el queso un trozo de masa, y así un poco de uno y otro poco de otra hasta dar fin de la masa y del queso. Luego se cubre con masa, como se hizo en la receta anterior, y se guisa del mismo modo al horno. Se riega luego con miel, se espolvorea con canela y pimienta y se *come*.

Cheese Fritters [[8]]

Knead the quantity of fine flour required first with water and then with oil. Add yeast and milk until it has the consistency of bunuelos and let it rise. Grease a large pan with oil. Extend a piece of dough in it. Over that place a piece of cheese and over that another piece of dough; repeat making one fritter after another until all the dough and cheese is used up. Cover the dough as per the previous recipe and bake in same way in the oven. Pour honey over the fritters and sprinkle them with cinnamon and pepper and serve.

[86] Otro plato de *Alcuzcuz*

Se toma un cordero grueso. se desuella y se le raja el vientre, sacándole las entrañas; se limpia y se unta por dentro con grasa machacada con las especias que se emplean en la preparación de las albóndigas. Cuando se tiene cocido el *alcuzcuz*, se soba con *manteca*, espicanardi, canela y un poco de almáciga, y con él se rellena el vientre del cordero, que se cose, y también la degolladura. y se pone en el *tannūr* hasta que está tierno y suficientemente asado. Luego se vierte el alcuzcuz en una sopera, se despedaza por encima la carne del cordero, se espolvorea todo con canela y espicanardi y se *come*.

Couscous with Lamb

Slit the throat of a robust lamb and cut open the stomach. Remove the entrails, clean it and smear the inside by hand with plenty of mashed *lard* mixed with the spices used to prepare meatballs[[9]]. When the couscous is steamed, mix it with plenty of lard, spikenard, cinnamon and a little mastic by hand. Stuff the lamb's stomach and the slit neck with this and sew them up. Place them in a *tannur* until tender and sufficiently roasted. Put the *couscous* in a tureen, place cut pieces of meat over this, sprinkle with cinnamon and spikenard and serve.

[88] Preparación y guiso de los fideos

Se amasa un cuarto de *arrede* de sémola con agua y sal, reciamente amasada, y se *soba bien sobada*. Luego se pone en una *vasijatapada* y se va poco a poco frotando entre los dedos en forma de granos de trigo, pero muy delgados, con las puntas más delgadas que el centro; se ponen los que se vayan moldeando en un tabaque que se tendrá delante. Cuando se acabe con la masa, se ponen a secar al sol, se amasa más sémola y se hace otro tanto hasta completar la cantidad necesaria.

Cuando se quiere guisarlos se toman los mejores trozos de carne de cordero, del pecho, lomo, rabo y demás; se cortan en trozos medianos, que se limpian y se ponen en una olla grande con mucha agua, sal, aceite, pimienta, cilantro y un poco de cebolla cortada, y se lleva la olla a la lumbre.

Cuando está cocida la carne se saca de la olla y se deja tapada en una sopera, se cuela el caldo, se limpia la olla y se vuelve a echar en ella el caldo. Si es suficiente, se cuecen en él los fideos con cuidado y se pone a fuego lento hasta que han cocido lo bastante; entretanto, se coloca una ollita sobre la boca de la olla llena de agua, para que se vaya calentando. Si se saca el agua de los fideos se añade

de la de la ollita. Cuando los fideos están cocidos se les echa, en la misma olla, *manteca* fresca o salada y se deja que hierva un rato, moviendo con el rabo de la cuchara, teniendo cuidado de no echarlo a perder. Entretanto, se fríe la carne ya cocida en una cazuela con *manteca* fresca o salada hasta que se dora. Cuando los fideos se han acabado de cocer, se sirven en una sopera, se coloca sobre ellos la carne, se espolvorean con canela y jengibre y se *comen*.

El que quiera los fideos con gallinas gordas, prepárelos del mismo modo que queda dicho.

Homemade Noodles and Dish of Noodles (with Chopped Lamb)

Dip hands in *lard* and vigorously knead one pound of semolina with water and salt. Place it in a covered *bowl* and little by little rub [little pieces of dough] between the fingers to shape it like very thin wheat grains with the tips thinner than the center; when done place them in a basket. When all the dough is shaped, dry the noodles in the sun. Make more semolina dough and more batches of noodles to have the quantity necessary.

When ready to cook them select the best parts of lamb from the breast, loin, tail and other areas; cut them into medium size pieces. Clean them and put them in a big pan with plenty of water, salt, oil, pepper, cilantro and a little chopped onion and heat. When cooked remove the meat from the pan and cover it in a tureen. Strain the broth. Clean the pan and pour the broth back into it. If there is enough, gently boil the noodles over low heat; in the meantime place a small pan over it filled with water to warm it. If water is removed from the noodles add it to the small pan. When the noodles are cooked, remove them. Put fresh or salted *lard* in the same pan and let it boil a little, stirring it with the handle of a spoon but taking care not to overcook it. In the meantime fry the boiled meat in a pan with fresh or salted lard until browned. When the noodles are done serve them in a tureen and place the meat on top. Sprinkle cinnamon and ginger on top and serve.

If noodles with a robust chicken are preferred prepare as above.

[95] Harina de trigo

Se pone a remojo trigo bueno cernido y se deja un rato. Luego se muele en un almirez grande de piedra o de madera hasta que se le quita la cáscara. Se cierne otra vez, se sacude, se pone en una olla grande y se vierte en ella mucha agua, más de la que necesita para cubrirlo, y se le deja pasar una noche en el horno. Al día siguiente se saca del horno, se ve si está cocido y se mete el cucharón en la olla y se remueve reciamente para que se mezcle con el agua que queda, sazonándose con sal molida. Se sirve en una sopera y se pone en el centro una *vasija* con miel. Se *come* con cucharas de boj. Si se quiere, puede tomarse con aceite o con *manteca*.

Wheat Flour Pottage

Soak well-sifted wheat awhile. Then pound it in a large stone or wooden mortar to husk it. Sift it again, shake it, put it in a large pan and add a large quantity of water, more than

necessary to cover it, and leave it in the oven overnight. The following day remove it. If cooked, stir with a serving spoon to absorb the leftover water and season with ground salt. Serve it in a *tureen* and place honey in the center in a *dish*. Eat it with boxwood spoons. If desired, add oil or *lard*.

[108] Plato llamado Tafaya Blanca

Se coge carne de borrego, de la que se prefiera; del pecho, las manos o los ijares. Se corta, se limpia y se pone en una *olla nueva* con agua y aceite; se toma un trapo nuevo y se pone en él jengibre, sal lavada, cilantro seco y un poco de cebolla cortada; se ata el trapo y se echa en la olla con la carne. Cuando se ve que la olla ha tomado ya el sabor del condimento, se saca el trapo, para que no se estropee el caldo, y se deja que siga cociendo la carne. Pueden ponerse en la olla, si se quiere, albóndigas. Cuando la carne está guisada se deja un poco a fuego lento para que hierva suavemente y quede por encima la grasa. Luego se sirve y se *come*.

Si quieres, puedes hacer este guiso con carne de cabrito lechal, o con pollos y gallinas, del mismo modo que queda dicho.

White Tafâyâ (with Lamb)

Select favored parts of a yearling lamb such as the breast, trotters or flanks. Cut, clean and place them in a *new pot* with water and oil. Make a spice bag with ginger, washed salt, dried cilantro and a little chopped onion. Tie it and add it to the pan with the meat. When the broth becomes flavorful from the seasoning remove the bag to avoid spoiling it and continue cooking the meat. Meatballs may be added if desired. When the meat is done, simmer it, letting the broth boil gently and the grease to rise to the surface. Then serve it.

If preferred, the recipe may be made with suckling lamb or chicken and hens in the same way as the above.

[120] Otro plato llamado Riyliyya

Se toma la carne necesaria de borrego, y se prepara como la anterior. Cuando se ha puesto la olla a la lumbre se coge verdolaga tierna y nueva, que no tenga semillas, cortándose lo más fina posible. Se lava cuidadosamente con sal y se frota con las manos para quitarle la viscosidad. Luego se pone en la olla con la carne, y cuando está todo cocido se cogen huevos, se cascan y se echan en la olla, como se dijo antes, en esta misma parte del libro; se remueve con cuidado y se deja al rescoldo para que siga cociendo suavemente y se cuajen los huevos. Luego se sirve en una fuente y se *come*.

Riyliyya, a Lamb Dish

Select meat required from a yearling lamb and prepare as above. While cooking take young tender seedless purslane and cut it as finely as possible. Wash it carefully with salt and rub by hand to remove the mucilage. Then add it to the pot

with the meat and when all is cooked crack eggs and add them to the pot as above; gently stir and leave them on the heat to cook gently for the eggs to poach. Serve in a dish.

[140] Otro plato, que se guisa con habas secas trituradas llamado Baysar

Se coge carne y grasa de un borrego gordo y de los tripicallos. Se cortan, se lavan, se limpian y se ponen en una *olla nueva* con sal, aceite, pimienta, cilantro seco, comino, cebolla cortada y se pone la olla a la lumbre, moviéndola de cuando en cuando hasta que el agua de la carne se evapora y va a quedarse seca. Entonces se le echa agua caliente para el caldo y se deja cocer la olla a la lumbre. Luego se cogen las habas machacadas y se lavan varias veces con agua caliente.

Seguidamente se untan de aceite y se ponen en una olla untada de aceite, con agua caliente, una cebolla entera, una cabeza de ajos entera, comino e hinojo, y se pone la olla a cocer a la lumbre, sin dejar de mover hasta que las habas están tiernas. Si antes de estar cocidas se seca el agua, se les añade agua caliente, hasta que quedan bastante cocidas. Luego se toma sal y se disuelve en un plato; se coge una cuchara, se mete en la olla, se echa la sal y se remueven las habas, estrujándolas con la cuchara, hasta que se deslíen. Se cuele, se sazona de sal y se deja. Luego se mira la carne, y si está ya cocida, se le añaden las habas poco a poco para que se mezclen con la carne, dejando la olla sobre el rescoldo, durante un rato, para que vaya enfriándose, Se sirve en una fuente y se *come*.

Baysar, Pureed Fava Beans (with lamb)

Cut, wash and clean meat, fat and tripe from a yearling lamb. Put the pieces in a *new pot* with salt, oil, pepper, dried cilantro, cumin, chopped onion and heat, stirring occasionally until the moisture from the meat evaporates and it is dry. Then add hot water for the broth and let it cook over the fire. Wash mashed fava beans several times with hot water.

Immediately grease them with oil and put them in a pot greased with oil, with hot water, a whole onion, a whole head of garlic, cumin and fennel. Cook stirring constantly until favas are tender. If water evaporates before done, add hot water. Dissolve salt in a dish. Add this to the favas and mash them with the spoon. Strain them. Season with salt and set aside. When meat is done, slowly mix the favas with the meat, leaving the pot on the embers for awhile to let it cool. Serve it on a platter.

[156] Otro Plato

Coge de las mejores partes de cordero, las que más te gusten; las limpias, las pones en una cazuela de hierro y le hechas agua, sal, aceite, pimienta. cilantro seco, un poco de cebolla

cortada y la cantidad que quieras de *almorí macerado*, y la pones a la lumbre. Cuando va a estar cocido puedes teñirlo, si quieres, con un poco de azafrán desleído y lo llevas al horno para que termine de hacerse y se dore. Entonces lo sacas, dejas que se le vaya el calor y lo *comes*.

Si quieres puedes hacerlo con *almorí de pescado*, que le va muy bien, en vez de *almorí macerado*.

Boiled and Roasted Lamb

Select the best parts of lamb, clean and place them in an iron casserole, fill it with water and add salt, oil, pepper, dried cilantro, a little chopped onion, and *murri naqi* to taste and heat. When it is boiling, color it with dissolved saffron if desired and when the meat is cooked put it in the oven to brown. Let cool and serve.

Fish murri is recommended if preferred instead of *murri naqi*.

[171] Guiso de carne de animales salvajes

Coges carne de ciervo, de vaca salvaje, de onagro, de cabra salvaje o de gacela, de cualquiera de estos animales, del pecho, costillas, manos y partes grasientas. La cortas, la lavas, la limpias y la pones en una cazuela grande. Echás agua, sal, aceite, pimienta, cilantro seco, un poco de cebolla cortada, ajo majado y sin majar, orégano, garbanzos puestos a remojo, almendras mondadas, hojas de *toronja*, una rama de hinojo, una cucharada de *almorí bueno*, y se pone la cazuela a cocer a la lumbre. Cuando ha cocido, se le echa azafrán desleído, y cuando hierve con el azafrán le pones *aceite bueno*, a tu gusto, dejando la cazuela a fuego lento hasta que se evapora un poco el agua y queda por encima la grasa. Entonces lo retiras de la lumbre, lo dejas que se temple y lo *comes*.

De esta, manera se guisa también la liebre, el conejo y el erizo. Entérate.

Wild Game Pottage

Select meat from the breast, ribs, trotters and fatty parts of deer, wild cow, ass, goat or gazelle. Cut it, wash it, clean it and place it in a large pan. Add water, salt, oil, pepper, dried cilantro, a little chopped onion, mashed and whole garlic cloves, oregano, soaked chickpeas, crushed almonds, *orange leaves*, a sprig of fennel and a tablespoon of *good murri* and cook. When done, add dissolved saffron and boil. Add *virgin oil* to taste. Simmer until some of the water evaporates and the grease rises to the surface. Then remove it from the heat, let it cool and serve.

Hare, rabbit and hedgehog may be prepared in the same manner. Try it.

[176] Otro plato

Coges una gallina gruesa, la degüellas, la limpias y la cortas en trozos pequeños: las patas en dos, la pechuga en dos y lo mismo los alones. La pones en una olla con sal, aceite, *almorí*, pimienta, cilantro seco y orégano; lo frías, sin agua hasta que se dora. Luego coges cebollas y cilantro verde y exprimes su agua en la olla, en la cantidad suficiente para cubrir la carne, dejando que hierva una hora. Luego coges un poco de miga rallada de pan leudo, la bates con dos o tres huevos, con pimienta y azafrán, y aderezas con ello la olla, que dejas al rescoldo para que salga la grasa, y lo comes.

Boiled Hen

Choose a robust hen, slit its neck, clean it and cut it into small pieces: the claws, breasts and plucked wings in half. Put them in a pan with salt, oil, murri, pepper, dried cilantro and oregano. Fry them, until browned. Then add onions and cilantro and squeeze the pulp to cover the meat. Let it boil for an hour. Then take some breadcrumbs from leavened bread, beat them with two or three eggs, pepper, and saffron and add this to the pot to decorate the dish. Simmer for the grease to rise and serve.

[216] Receta de la Naryisiyya

Coges una liebre, la lavas, la limpias, la cortas miembro por miembro y la pones en una cazuela de barro vidriado, echando agua, sal, aceite, pimienta, cilantro seco, comino y *almorí macerado*; lo tiñes con azafrán y lo pones a cocer a la lumbre. Cuando está cocido, le pones una cucharada de vinagre bueno y lo llevas al horno. Cuando está dorado y se ha quedado seco lo sacas, lo dejas que se enfríe y lo comes.

Si quieres puedes preparar este plato, del mismo modo, con conejo.

Recipe for Naryisiyya (of Hare)

Take a hare, wash and clean it, remove the limbs and put it in a glazed earthenware casserole, add water, oil, pepper, dried cilantro, cumin and *murri naqi*; color it with saffron and cook. When done, add a tablespoon of vinegar and put it in the oven. When browned and dried remove it and let it cool before serving.

If preferred, rabbit can be prepared in the same manner.

[241] Plato de gallina asada

Se limpian gallinas gruesas y se les pone debajo, para que queden levantadas del fondo de la olla, unas ramas; se tapa la boca de la olla y se mete al horno tal como está, lejos de la lumbre, hasta que están bien cocidas y tiernas. Luego se sacan y la grasa se habrá juntado en el fondo de la olla. Se machaca sal, pimienta, canela y jengibre; se trincha la gallina en la grasa mezclada con las especias, y se sirve.

Roast Hen

Clean robust hens and place them in sitting position at the bottom of a pan, add a few sprigs [of unspecified herbs]; cover and roast in the oven on the upper rack away from the heat until well roasted and tender. Then remove them and the grease used to cover the bottom of the

pan. Grind salt, pepper, cinnamon and ginger; carve the hen[s] in the grease mixed with spices and serve.

[252] Otro plato

Coges los pichones, los limpias, bien limpios, y los pones en una *olla nueva* con agua, sal, pimienta, cilantro seco, un poco de cebolla cortada y aceite, poniendo la olla a cocer a la lumbre. Cuando ha hervido y los pichones están tiernos, coges una sartén limpia, la pones a la lumbre y echas en ella *aceite bueno*. Cuando el aceite hierve, sacas los pichones de la olla y los pones en *lasartén*. y los fries, dándoles vuelta con cuidado, hasta que se doran. Luego coges una cazuela pequeña de barro y echas en ella unos ajos machacados, añades del caldo colado y lo pones a la lumbre. Cuando ha cocido el ajo, le echas vinagre bueno; cuando dé un hervor, lo viertes sobre los pichones y los *comes*.

Boiled and Fried Pigeons

Clean pigeons well and put them in a *new pot* with water, salt, pepper, dried cilantro, a little chopped onion and oil and boil. When the pigeons are tender, take a clean *frying pan* and heat it. Add *virgin oil*. When the oil boils, remove the pigeons from the water and fry them turning carefully until browned. Then take a small earthenware casserole and put crushed garlic in it, add the strained broth and heat. When the garlic is cooked, add good vinegar; when it boils, pour it over the pigeons and serve.

[287] Otro plato, según la receta del Yamali

Se toman peces grandes, se escaman y se les deja pasar la noche en sal, con un peso encima. Luego se lavan y se hierven en agua y sal. Después se lavan y se dejan secar. Tras esto, se colocan en una cazuela, se les echa dos cucharadas de vinagre y una de *almorí macerado*, pimienta, azafrán, jengibre, comino, almáciga, brotes de apio, hojas de *toronja*, hojas de laurel, unas ramitas de hinojo, orégano, ajo y mucho aceite. Se mete en el horno hasta que se seca la salsa y se saca cuando está dorado por arriba.

Yamali's[[10]] Recipe for Baked Fish

Scale large fish and leave them in salt overnight with a weight on top. Then wash them and boil them in water and salt. After this, wash them and let them dry. Place them in a pan, add two tablespoons vinegar and one of *murri naqi*, pepper, saffron, ginger, cumin, mastic, celery sprouts, *orange leaves*, bay leaves, springs of fennel, oregano, garlic and a good deal of oil. Bake them in the oven until the sauce is dry and remove them when browned on top.

[310] Otro plato

Coges la cantidad que quieras de huevos y los colocas, sin cascar, en una olla con agua sola, poniéndose a la lumbre. Cuando estén cocidos y cuajados los sacas y los dejas en agua fría para que se enfríen. Luego los pelas y los cortas con un hilo por la mitad, a lo ancho. Sacas con cuidado las yemas y las pones en un plato. Les echas sal molida, con medida, pimienta, jengibre,

canela, clavo, espicanardi y un poco de almáciga, o, si quieres, en vez de todo esto, un poco de agua de cilantro verde y de hierbabuena. Amasas las yemas con las especias, bien amasadas, con la mano, hasta que quedan mezcladas. Luego formas a modo de yemas con la pasta, las vuelves a poner en su sitio, en las mitades de los huevos vacíos, y los sujetas con un hilo limpio para que no se separen unas mitades de otras, o los atraviesas con una ramita fina de orégano, hasta que quedan como los huevos de antes. Los rebozas con clara de huevo y flor de harina. Cuando acabes de todo esto, coges un *sartén* limpia, le echas *aceite bueno* y cuando hierva pones los huevos, procurando que no se separen unas partes de otras; los fríes y das vuelta con cuidado hasta que se doran. Entonces los sacas, los pones en la *vasija* que quieras y los *comes*, regados de canela.

Stuffed Eggs

Prepare as many hard boiled eggs as needed. Boil them in water. When done cool them in cold water. Then peel them and cut them in half widthwise with a thread. Carefully remove the yolks and place them on a plate. Sprinkle them with ground salt in moderation, pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, spikenard, and a little mastic or instead of this use a little cilantro and mint water. Knead the yolks with the spices by hand until well mixed. Shape this paste into the form of egg yolks; put them back inside the egg whites. Secure them with a clean thread or small oregano sprig. Coat them with egg white and fine flour. Heat a clean *frying pan* and add *virgin oil*. Bring it to a boil and carefully add the eggs to prevent the halves from falling apart; fry them gently turning them until golden brown. Place them in a *serving bowl* and present them sprinkled with cinnamon on top.

[361] Receta de tortilla de berenjenas

Coges berenjenas dulces y las cueces con agua y sal hasta que quedan bien cocidas y se deshacen. Se deja escurrir el agua, se machacan y se revuelven en un plato con miga de pan rallado, huevo batido con aceite, cilantro seco y canela; se bate hasta que queda todo por igual. Luego se fríen tortas hechas con esta pasta en una *sartén* con aceite, hasta que se doran. Hazles una salsa de vinagre, aceite, *almorí* y ajo majado; que dé todo ello un hervor y se lo echas por encima.

Eggplant Omelet

Boil sweet eggplants in water and salt until well cooked and soft. Drain off water and mash and stir in breadcrumbs, an egg beaten with oil, dried cilantro and cinnamon. Beat until all is well mixed. Then fry cakes made with this paste in a *frying pan* with oil until golden brown. Make a vinaigrette with oil, *murri* and mashed garlic; boil and pour it over the omelet.

[377] Guiso de lentejas

Se lavan las lentejas y se ponen a cocer en una olla con agua dulce, aceite, pimienta, cilantro y cebolla cortada. Cuando están cocidas se echa sal, un poco de

azafrán y vinagre; se cascan tres huevos, se dejan un poco a la lumbre y luego se retira la olla. Otras veces se cuecen sin cebolla. Se pueden guisar con colocasia picada a la que se ha dado un hervor. O bien con levadura desleída, a fuego lento. Cuando las lentejas empiezan a espesarse se les añade manteca buena o *aceite dulce*, poco a poco, conforme lo vayan chupando hasta que están suficientemente cocidas y tienen aceite bastante. Entonces se retiran de la lumbre y se espolvorean con pimienta.

Lentils

Wash lentils and boil them in a pan with fresh water, oil, pepper, cilantro and chopped onion. When done add salt, a little saffron and vinegar, break three eggs into the mixture and heat a few minutes. Another version is to omit the onion. It can be made with chopped taro that has been boiled or with starch dissolved over low heat. When lentils begin to thicken slowly add good lard or *virgin oil* as they soak it up until sufficiently cooked and have absorbed enough. Then remove them from the heat and sprinkle with pepper.

[404] Una manera de preparar las aceitunas

Se toman aceitunas negras perfectamente maduras, grandes o pequeñas y se pone cada aceituna... [[11]]; se golpean ligeramente con una piedra hasta que se abren, o bien se estrujan entre los dedos. Se ponen luego todas ellas en un cofín de esparto o de otra materia, se aprietan, cubiertas con el esparto, y se colocan por encima unas piedras para que hagan peso, escurra el agua y queden bien secas. Luego se quitan del cofín, se mezclan las aceitunas con sal lavada, molida, y aceite y se golpean con la mano. Después se ponen en un *avasija* de cristal o vidriada, se recubren de aceite y se les tapa con barro. El aceite empleado tiene que ser de buena calidad, porque de otro modo toma moho y se echa a perder en seguida.

A Way to Cure Olives

Lightly bruise mature large or small black olives...[[12]]. Pound them with a stone until they open or crack them by hand. Put them into an esparto grass mold or one made from other material, press them, covered with esparto grass, by placing some stones over that to weigh them down, drain the water off and let them dry well. Then remove them from the mold. Mix the olives with washed and ground salt and oil and hit them by hand. Place them in a crystal or glass *jar or bottle*, cover them with oil and seal it with clay. The oil used should be of good quality, otherwise mold forms and the preparation is immediately lost.

Footnotes:

[1] Southern Spain, known as Al-Andalus during Muslim domination.

[2] Perry calls them "ka'k" in Arabic explaining they are like Italian biscotti.

[3] Sic. Spices are not thickening agents.

[4] Huici states that this variety is well known in Morocco.

[5] These could include cinnamon, ginger and nutmeg.

[6] Perry explains this is a small, flat, round loaf similar to small pita.

[7] Persian city in the Middle Ages, today part of Kuwait.

[8] Perry calls this "Mujabbana (Cheese Pie)".

[9] Optional seasonings used in Anon Andalus. include cinnamon, pepper, garlic, cilantro, murri, coriander seed and cumin with the addition of ingredients like chopped onion, beaten egg and breadcrumbs.

[10] Kusunda (language on the verge of extinction in Nepal) meaning "middle aunt."

[11] Blank spaces for two or three words in the manuscript.

[12] Granja's footnote states: White [olives] as per two or three words in the manuscript.

Glossary:

aceite bueno, virgin olive oil.

aceite dulce, extra virgin olive oil.

alcuzcuz, couscous. During the Middle Ages in Spain it consisted of handmade granular particles 1-2 mm in diameter of semolina from 100% durum wheat.

arrelde, a medieval weight measurement used especially in Murcia. Four pounds equal one *arrelde*.

almorí, muri, murri, sauce or paste of fermented barley. It was used as a condiment for flavoring food. It is a descendant of garum, a fish sauce which originated in Greece that was a staple in the Ancient World. Garum evolved into fish murri or brine and then into this barley-based sauce or paste. Barley was made into dough which was rotted by sun drying for several months, then beaten, stirred, and mixed with water, spices and herbs. Murri became a major condiment in food, until the 15th C, spreading throughout Andalusia as a result of garum factories established on the Iberian coasts by Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans for exportation in the Mediterranean in particular. Translators of Arab manuscripts currently argue over, which is the best substitute for murri: nuoc-man (a Japanese anchovy sauce), soy sauce or Worcester sauce. See *almorí macerado* and *almorí de pescado*. [Anon Andalus.]

almorí bueno, muria bueno, good murri. Once the barley is rotted sufficiently and mixed with water, herbs and spices, it is strained prior to being sold. The first straining is considered the best, the most pure murri. "Good murri" would be murri from the first or second straining.

almorí de pescado, muria de pescado, fish murri or salt murri, fish sauce made from tuna fish. It was an aromatic brine added as a condiment to food preparations and used to preserve foods like legumes, fruits, olives, and fish. The process took several months to prepare as the undesirable parts of fish were used and sun dried. Fish factories were established at Spanish fishing ports adjacent to rivers where catches were cleaned and prepared for salting by

Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans who exported garum, fish murri and salted fish to their homes while Iberians incorporated garum and murri into their prepared dishes as well. See *almorí* and *almorí macerado*.

almorí macerado, *muria macerado*, murri naqi, macerated or infused murri. It was sauce used as a condiment. According to Perry, 30% of the recipes in Anon Andalus call for one or two teaspoons to be added to the dish while cooking. Perry states that murri naqi was unique in Al-Andalus. This consists of flour mixed with honey, ground raisins, salt, dried fruit and/or nuts made into a loaf and baked in the oven. It is then stored until needed. Then it is added to dishes when needed by crumbling the loaf. The process for making the latter seems very similar to that of murri except that it does take less time. Murri takes some seven months or more to prepare while Al-Andalus murri naqi takes a little over three between sun drying and macerating. See *almorí* and *almorí de pescado*. [Anon Andalus.]

cazuela nueva, see *olla nueva*.

comer, to eat. Directly translated, the majority of recipes seem to instruct the cook to eat the food once it is prepared. Although the cook tasted it he did not eat the same food as the lords. In Muslim Spain there were different menus for different ranks of servants and slaves. A high ranking slave might receive entrails but never meat as the lord for example. English recipes commonly end with "serve it" not "eat it."

hojaldre, leaf-pastry, as per the prefix. This has developed into the puff or flaky pastry known today. In the 15th C it was made with lard and rolled out thin with a "stick," the forerunner of the rolling-pin. [Brigid ftn 112]

manteca, lard. Pork lard is prohibited by Muslim law. Lard is not necessarily from pork. Muslims procure it from lamb. It must be assumed that all lard required is from lamb or mutton. Perry in Anon Andalus only used the word "lard" once; the remainder of the time he calls for butter. This translator questions this, as lamb fat was readily available being the most consumed meat by Hispano-Muslims.

muria, see *almorí*.

muria de pescado, see *almorí de pescado*.

olla nueva, *cazuela nueva*, new pot, new pan. David Friedman indicates that Anushirwan's cookbook explains that new pots are frequently called for in medieval recipes especially if they are not glazed for it was thought that kitchen staff did not properly wash dirty pots. Too, they had the habit of emptying pots on the ground while still warm. It was feared that the dirt could cause rotting to commence and vapors rising from the ground into the pot could make poisons

form in the pores of the pot. If the pot was reused food cooked in it would acquire a bad taste and perhaps become poisoned. [Anon Andalus. Ftn 52.]

paila, sartén, paellera, frying pan. A paellera is a pan for making paella, a deep round pan like a "frying pan" today with two "U" shaped handles on opposite sides. Although a frying pan now has one long handle the evolution of the frying pan is from the Muslim paellera. Recipe 60 is redundant as it instructs the reader to use a paellera or a frying pan which at the time were the same.

soba bien sobada, to knead; to add lard or oil dough during the kneading process. Literally, this consists of dipping hands in grease when kneading dough.

tannūr, tannur, clay or brick oven. Perry's glossary explains that it is a cousin of the Indian tandoor. This type is buried in the ground and is some 125 cm in length, 50 in breadth, and 40 in height. It is defined also as a portable furnace or large pot. [Anon Andalus]

toronjas, from: Hisp Ar. *turunga*, Classical Arabic, *turungah*, Persian *torang*, Sanscrit. *matulunga*, English a globular citrus fruit such as citron and oranges. Today it means grapefruit which was first mentioned in 1750 as a native of the Caribbean thus indicating that medieval recipes calling for *toronjas* were not referring to this item. Lady Brigid in her English translation of Nola's Liber de Coch indicates that this means oranges in Catalan. Although not necessarily so in Castilian for simplicity the word "orange" is used in the above recipes. [Brigid, ftn 105]

vasija, vessel. Although Lady Brigid believes it is most correctly translated as "vessel." It seems clearer to name the type of vessel one would use logically such as a "bowl."

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About the English Translation and Acknowledgements

This Spanish version is of the original extract published by the Faculty de Fine Arts in Madrid in 1960 because other current editions online have slight spelling and punctuation errors. They also contain additional explanations not included in the 1960 edition. My explanations appear in the English translation.

There is some debate as to whether this translation should be expressed in Middle English or modern English. Granja's translation is in modern Castellan. As the text is most difficult due to the obvious omissions and other problems described in the introduction, I believe the text would be more confusing if Middle English terminology is applied.

I must express my appreciation first to Spaniards who gave me access to the Spanish National Library in Madrid with the wealth of resources I have been able to research over the years and to the ever friendly and helpful staff and fellow readers who have untiringly directed me through the maze of overwhelming information. My special thanks go Beverly Walker, retired editor in Texas for her extensive editing of this endeavor. Too, my thanks goes to members of the SCA-Cooks mailing list, the Society for Creative Anachronism, for encouraging me to translate this extract which underlines the importance of Hispano-Muslim cuisine in the culinary history of Europe in particular. For the first time I have found professionals in the history of food, members of this group, who are capable and willing to correct and help me improve my work. and many thanks to Stefan li Rous, SCA participant, in particular, for publishing this on his website. Further I am grateful to Lady Brighid ni Chiarain, Constanza Marina de Huelva, Urtatim and all the other contributors who have been extremely helpful clarifying doubts that a modern reader might have upon reading this work. Google also must be credited for providing online information to improve my efforts. Last but not least, I am most grateful to Spanish-speaking friends, translators, historians and others who have endlessly helped me to clarify my own particular doubts in attempting to explain how to throw all this into the pot.

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