

A BAGHDAD COOKERY-BOOK

[TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC]

Preface

THE banquets served at the royal courts of the Caliphs of Baghdad were proverbial for their variety and lavishness : it is therefore most regrettable that of the manuals of guidance in the noble art of cooking which are known to have been written in the golden age of the Caliphate,¹ none has survived. Until recently, all that we knew of the actual composition and preparation of such famous dishes as, for example, the pasty *sanbūsaj* was contained in that *locus classicus*, the famous passage in Mas'ūdī's *Meadows of Gold*, which may with propriety be quoted here at full length.²

One day Mustakfī³ said : " It is my desire that we should assemble on such and such a day, and converse together about the different varieties of food, and the poetry that has been composed on this subject." Those present agreed ; and on the day prescribed Mustakfī joined the party, and bade every man produce what he had prepared. Thereupon one member of the circle spoke up : " O Commander of the Faithful, I have some verses by Ibn al-Mu'tazz⁴ in which the poet describes a tray containing bowls of *kāmakh*."⁵ Being invited by the Caliph to repeat them, he proceeded :

Accept, I beg, this tray of wicker made
With serried cups symmetrically laid ;
Whate'er yon red and yellow bowls contain
The man of taste will surely not disdain.

1. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 375, mentions cookery manuals by Munajjim, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, Jāhīza and Ibn Miskawayh. " Leider scheint das alles verloren, die erhaltenen arabischen Kochbücher sind alle jüngerer Herkunft," he says, referring to such works as are contained in the Gotha MSS. 1344-6 ; cf. his *Abulḥāsim, ein bagdāder Sittenbild*, pp. xxxix f.

2. *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. and tr. Barbier de Maynard and Pavet de Courteille, viii, pp. 392 ff

3. The unfortunate Baghdad Caliph (333/944—334/946), who was blinded and deposed by the Buyid Ahmad ibn Abī Shujā', and died in 338/949. see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, iii, p. 767

4. The tragic prince who ruled for one day only, and was put to death in 296/908. His *Dīwān* (collected poems) has been published (Cairo, 2 vols., 1891) : for a study, see Loth, *Über Leben und Werke des 'Abdallah ibn ul Mu'tazz* (Leipzig, 1882). His famous monograph on poetics, *Kitāb al-Badī'*, was published in 1935 by I. Kratchkovsky (Gibb Memorial : New Series, x.).

5. A kind of relish.

Here *kāmakh* is of flowering tarragon,
 Here capers grace a sauce vermillion
 Whose fragrant odours to the soul are blown
 Like powder'd musk in druggist's fingers strewn.
 Here, too, sweet marjoram's delicious scent
 With breath of choicest cloves is richly blent ;
 While cinnamon, of condiments the king,
 Unblemished hue, unrivalled seasoning,
 Like musk in subtle odour rises there,
 Tempting the palate, sweetening the air.
 Here crowns the bowl fresh-gathered savory,
 Rival to musk and pitch in fragrancy ;
 Here pungent garlic greets the eager sight
 And whets with savour sharp the appetite,
 While olives turn to shadowed night the day,
 And salted fish in slices rims the tray.
 Behold thereon the onion's argent frame
 Like silver body filled with inward flame ;
 There circles of horse-radish garnished are
 With meat, and blend their tang with vinegar—
 Meat that, in slices white and scarlet laid,
 Like gold and silver coin is arrayed.
 From every corner, gloriously bright,
 A star doth gleam with dawn's refulgent light :
 So might a garden flower in turn be kissed
 By sun and moon, by radiance and mist.

Mustakfī commanded that the bowls should be prepared, exactly as prescribed, adding, "We will eat nothing today except what you portray."

Then another of the company exclaimed : "O Commander of the Faithful, Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusain al-Kushājim¹ has described a dish of rarities as follows"—and he recited :

When to banquet we are eager
 Well the table floweth o'er,
 And the ready cook doth fill it
 With the choicest foods in store :
 Forth it comes with goodly burden,
 Garnished by his precious lore.

1. Poet, astrologer and culinary expert in the service of the Ḥamdānīd ruler Saif al-Daula (303/915—356/967), Kushājim is besides the author of a very curious treatise on table-manners, the *Adab al-nadīm* : see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Suppl. i, p. 137.

First a roasted kid, a yearling,
 With its inwards firmly strung,
 And upon it, well to season,
 Tarragon and mint are hung.

Next a chicken, full and tender,
 Fattened many moons ago,
 And a partridge, with a fledgling,
 Roast with care, and nicely done.

After pastry of *tardīna*¹
 Follows *sanbūsaj*,² well-fried :
 Eggs vermillioned after boiling
 Lie with olives side by side.

Strips of tender meat in slices,
 Dipped in oil of finest make,
 Tempt anew the flagging palate,
 And the appetite awake ;

Lemons, too, with *nadd*³ besprinkled,
 Scented well with ambergris,
 And, for garnishing the slices,
 Shreds of appetizing cheese.

Vinegar that smarts the nostrils
 Till they snuffle and they run ;
 Little dates like pearls, that glisten
 On a necklace one by one.

Sauce of *būrān*⁴ served with egg-plant,
 That will tempt thy very heart,
 And asparagus—enchanted
 With asparagus thou art !

Lastly, lozenge,⁵ soaked in butter,
 Buried deep in sugar sweet.
 And a saki's cloven dimples
 Promise joy when lovers meet :

1. A kind of pastry

2. See below.

3. A mixture of perfumes : see Lane. *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, s. v.

4. From this word the Spanish *alboronia* is derived, for a description of which see Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, 1, p. 126.

5. For an account of this sweet, see below.

There is passion in his glances,
 There is softness in his word ;
 And a ring-dove,¹ cooing softly,
 Sings new measures never heard :

“ Pity for the mournful lover
 Far from home, where she doth mourn :
 No excuse, if thou supposest
 He was not for passion born.”

“ Well said,” Mustakfī cried. “ The poet described the scene excellently.” Then he commanded that everything which had been mentioned in the verses should be brought in, so far as was possible. “ Has any other here any verses on the same theme ?” he demanded. Another then stood up, and recited a poem of Ibn al-Rūmī² describing *wast* :

If thou wouldst know the world's supreme delight,
 Then listen to this tale that I recite :
 Well is my story woven, free of blot—
 A finer panegyrist there is not.
 So come, *feinschmecker*, do as I repeat.
 Take first a pair of loaves, of finest wheat,
 The like of which on earth was never seen ;
 Then cut the crusts around, and lift them clean.
 When naught remaineth but the supple dough,
 Cover one round with fresh-cut slices, so !
 Of flesh of chicken, and of flesh of cock,
 And, blowing, baste about with syrup stock.
 Thereon impose a regimented line
 Of almonds and of walnuts, flavoured fine ;
 With cheese and olives prick the points thereon,
 And add the vowels of mint and tarragon.³
 Let flowing cream the layers twain between
 Like Washy⁴ cloth of Yemen intervene.
 Boil next the eggs, and smear them all in red ;
 With gold and silver⁵ let the *wast* be spread.
 Now dust the lines with salt, yet not in haste,
 But in appropriate measure, well to taste.

1. Metaphorically, for a minstrel.

2. The famous poet, who was murdered by al-Mu'tadid's vizier, probably in 283/896. His collected poems have been edited, in 3 volumes, by the contemporary Egyptian critic and poet, al-'Aqqād, who also published a biographical study of Ibn al-Rūmī in 1931.

3. The poet uses in this couplet similes drawn from Arabic orthography : the 'points' are the diacritical signs which distinguish several of the letters of the alphabet from each other, the 'vowels' are the symbols for a, i, u which are written above the line of script.

4. A kind of silk material, made in different colours, and sometimes threaded with gold : see Dozy, *op. cit.* ii, p. 809.

5. The cream being the silver, and the vermillioned eggs the gold.

With watchful eye examine it anon,
 And let thy gaze with pleasure feast thereon ;
 But when full satisfied hath grown thy sight,
 Replace the loaf, and eat with appetite ;
 With gusto chew, and let thy teeth be filled :
 Destroy in haste the structure thou didst build.

Another then spoke up : “ O Commander of the Faithful, Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm of Mosul¹ described *sanbūsaj* as follows ”—and he declaimed

If thou wouldst know what food gives most delight,
 Best let me tell, for none hath subtler sight.
 Take first the finest meat, red, soft to touch,
 And mince it with the fat, not overmuch ;
 Then add an onion, cut in circles clean,
 A cabbage, very fresh, exceeding green,
 And season well with cinnamon and rue ;
 Of coriander add a handful, too,
 And after that of cloves the very least,
 Of finest ginger, and of pepper best,
 A hand of cummin, *murri*² just to taste,
 Two handfuls of Palmyra salt ; but haste,
 Good master, haste to grind them small and strong.³
 Then lay and light a blazing fire along ;
 Put all into the pot, and water pour
 Upon it from above, and cover o'er.
 But, when the water vanished is from sight
 And when the burning flames have dried it quite,
 Then, as thou wilt, in pastry wrap it round,
 And fasten well the edges, firm and sound ;
 Or, if it please thee better, take some dough,
 Conveniently soft, and rubbed just so,
 Then with the rolling-pin let it be spread
 And with the nails its edges docketed.
 Pour in the frying-pan the choicest oil
 And in that liquor let it finely broil.

1. For an account of this well-known author, who died in 236/851, see *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary* (tr. de Slane), i, pp. 183-7.

2. For a recipe for this seasoning, see below, p. 36, n. 1.

3. These details of seasonings recall most accurately the directions which are given by the author of this book. In this connection it is interesting to recall the words of Mez, *op cit* p. 375 . “ Die erhaltenen arabischen Kochbücher . . empfehlen scheussliche Mischungen von Fleisch, Moschus, Kampter und Rosenwasser, wie sie auch die italienische Renaissance liebte.” Apart from the exaggeration contained in this statement (for which cf. *Abulkāsim*, p. xxxix, where the recipe quoted from Gotha 1345 is almost word-for-word the same as our own author's prescription for *Ibrāhīmiya*, see below p. 34), there appears little justice in the strictures.

Last, ladle out into a thin tureen
 Where appetizing mustard smeared hath been,
 And eat with pleasure, mustarded about,
 This tastiest food for hurried diner-out.

Another added : " O Commander of the Faithful, Maḥmūd ibn al-Husain ibn al-Sindī Kushājīm the Scribe has described asparagus " and he said :

Lances we have, the tips whereof are curled,
 Their bodies like a hawser turned and twirled,
 Yet fair to view, with ne'er a knot to boot.
 Their heads bolt upright from the shoulders shoot,
 And, by the grace of Him Who made us all,
 Firm-fixed in soil they stand, like pillars tall,
 Clothed in soft robes like silk on mantle spread
 That deep hath drunk a blazing flame of red,
 As if they brushed against a scarlet cheek
 Wherein an angry palm its wrath doth wreak ;
 And as a coat-of-mail is interlaced,
 With links of gold so twine they, waist to waist ;
 Like silken *mitraf*¹ that the hands display—
 Ah, could it last for ever and a day !—
 They might be bezels set in rings of pearl.
 Thereon a most delicious sauce doth swirl
 Flowing and ebbing like a swelling sea ;
 Oil decks them out in cream embroidery
 Which, as it floods and flecks them, fold on fold,
 Twists latches as of silver or of gold.
 Should pious anchorite see such repast,
 In sheer devotion he would break his fast.

When the recital ended, Mustakfī observed : " At such a season, in such a land, a vegetable of this kind cannot well be found. Let us write, then, to the Ikhshīd Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj,² and request him to send us such asparagus from Damascus. Meanwhile, rehearse what can be obtained now."

Another then recited the following lines descriptive of *aruzza*,³ written by Muḥammad ibn al-Wazīr, known as the Ḥāfīz of Damascus :⁴

1. A kind of square-shaped wrap with ornamental borders.

2. The founder of the Ikhshīdī Dynasty of Egypt, who died in 334/946. At the time of this narrative, Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj had defeated Saif al-Daula and driven him from Damascus : see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, iii, p. 676.

3. A dish of rice (*aruz*) and sugar

4. Ḥāfīz is the title given to a man who knows the Qur'ān by heart.

O glorious *aruzza* ! What a boon,
 Thou cook as lovely as high heaven's moon !
 Purer than snow that hath been furrowed twice
 By handiwork of wind and frosted ice ;
 Set out in ordered strips upon the dish,
 White as the whitest milk that heart could wish,
 Its brilliance dazzles the beholding eye
 As if the moon ere even shone in sky ;
 While sugar sprinkled upon every side
 Flashes and gleams, like light personified.

Yet another now spoke up : " O Commander of the Faithful, I will quote the verses of a modern poet on the subject of *harīsa* "¹—and he recited :

Of all the foods of man the tastiest,
 When host hath been oblivious of his guest
 And kid or lamb is tardy on the grill,
 Give me *harīsa*, made by woman's skill—
 For women's hands are resolute and pure,
 They have a lightness and a vigour sure.
 Within one saucepan let each other greet
 Kidney and fat of tail, butter and meat ;
 Then goose well-fattened, with the whitest cheese
 Deposit, following with little peas,
 Almonds and nuts, the very choicest kind,
 Which first the millstone thoroughly must grind ;
 And, lastly, sprinkle salt, and galingale
 From knotting which the aching fingers fail.
 When with so fine a dish the lads regale
 The diners, every other dish grows pale.
 Behold it on the table, served at need,
 Surmounted by a vault of bamboo reed,
 While walls support the balustraded roof
 That from auxiliar pillars rides aloof !
 Forth bring the lads these dainties to the board,
 Preferred by starving, as by filled adored :
 All, hosts and guests, are eager to attain
 This food for which the Sultan's self is fain ;
 For by its magic mind and brain both shine,
 And all the body's humours fall in line.
 The Sāsān in his day invented this,
 King Nūshirwān essayed it to his bliss.

1. For our author's recipe, see ch. 4. Barbier de Meynard (*Præfatus d'Or*, viii, p. 438) remarks that the dish as described resembles a kind of *olla podrida*.

When hungry, ravenous men behold this dish,
They cannot wait to gratify their wish.

Another then said : " O Commander of the Faithful, another modern poet has written on *maḍīra*,"¹ and he read :

Maḍīra on the festive tray
Is like the moon in full array :
Upon the board it gleams in light
Like sunshine banishing the night,
Or as the crescent moon, whose beams
Transfix the clouds that shroud men's dreams.
Upon a platter it is brought
Of onyx, in Tehama wrought.
Abū Huraira² gladdened were
Had he been served a dish so rare,
And in his zeal for this repast
Might have forgot the will to fast,
Yet had been cautious not to try
This food beneath the abbot's eye.
Maḍīra cannot rivalled be
To heal the sick man's malady :
No wonder this our meal we make,
Since, eating it, no law we break.
'Tis as delicious as 'tis good—
A very miracle of food.

" O Commander of the Faithful," another then broke in, " Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusain³ has pictured *jūdhāba*⁴ thus," and he declaimed :

Jūdhāba made of choicest rice
As shining as a lover's eyes :
How marvellous in hue it stands
Beneath the cook's accomplished hands !
As pure as gold without alloy,
Rose-tinted, its Creator's joy ;
With sugar of Ahwaz complete
In taste 'tis sweeter than the sweet.
Its trembling mass in butter drowned
With scent the eater wraps around ;
As smooth and soft as clotted cream,
Its breath like ambergris doth seem ;

1. Described by our author below, p. 41.

2. The famous Companion of the Prophet, traditionist and ascetic, who died about the year 57/676.

3. Sc. Kushājim.

4. For the different varieties see below.

And when within the bowl 'tis seen,
 A star in darkness shines serene,
 Or as cornelian's gold is strung
 Upon the throat of virgin young ;
 It is more sweet than sudden peace
 That brings the quaking heart release.

Another next spoke : " O Commander of the Faithful, a certain modern has described another *jūdhāba*," and he sang :

Jūdhāba so bright, no cornelian so fine,
 In flavour, meseems, worthy rival to wine,
 With sugar composed of the purest degree
 And saffron well-brayed, for its tinting to be ;
 In fat of ripe chicken anointed and drowned—
 With such an immersion no finer were found !
 Delightful to taste when to palate presented,
 Like choicest *khaluq*¹ it is coloured and scented.
 The bowl, passed around, spreads its odorous mist,
 Its sweetness is sweeter than soul can resist.

Another said : " O Commander of the Faithful, Maḥmūd ibn al-Husain Kushājim has depicted *qaṭā'if*² also," and he read :

When in my friends the pang of hunger grows,
 I have *qaṭā'if*, like soft folios ;
 As flow of lambent honey brimming white
 So amid other dainties it is bright,
 And, having drunk of almond-essence deep,
 With oil it glitters, wherein it doth seep.
 Rose-water floats thereon, like flooding sea,
 Bubble on bubble swimming fragrantly ;
 As foliated book, laid fold on fold—
 Afflicted hearts rejoice when they behold :
 But when divided, like the spoils of war,
 All have their hearts' desire, and sated are.

The narrator concluded : " Never have I seen Mustakfī so overjoyed, since the day of his accession. To all present, revellers, singers and musicians, he gave moneys, causing all the silver and gold with which he stood possessed to be brought out of the treasury, in spite of his straitened circumstances. Never a day like this did I behold, until the day when Aḥmad ibn Buwaih the Dailamite

1. A kind of scent, which is described by the lexicographers as being viscid, and predominantly yellow or red in colour · it is prohibited for men to use it, since it is reserved for women.

2. Plural of *qaṭīfa*, used as a singular noun. See Dozy, *op cit.* ii, p. 376 ; Lane, *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, ch. 5, n. 99, where the composition of this pastry is fully described.

seized him and put out his eyes."

In 1934, the Iraqi scholar, Dr. Daoud Chelebi,¹ published at Mosul a text which has immensely enriched our knowledge of the culinary art of the Arabs.² He discovered, as he tells us, quite by chance, in the famous library of the Aya Sofya mosque at Istanbul, an autograph manuscript written at Baghdad in the year 623/1226, that is, 33 years before the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols, containing recipes of dishes which were hitherto known only by name, or not known at all. The author, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Karīm al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, is otherwise completely unknown:³ that he was an enthusiast in his subject, however, is manifest from his preface to the book, in which he demonstrates the superiority of eating over every other human pleasure. "For my own part," he writes, "I subscribe to the doctrine of the pre-excellence of the pleasure of eating above all other pleasures:" yet he was a man not without piety, for he justifies his judgement with quotations from the Qur'ān; a man not without taste, for he will have nothing of "strange and unfamiliar dishes, in the composition of which unwholesome and unsatisfying ingredients are used;" a man not without discretion, for he says, "my principle throughout has been brevity and succinctness, and the avoidance of prolixity and longwindedness."

"This book," writes the editor in the preface to his edition, "is quite unique of its kind:⁴ it contains every variety of dish used in the times of the Abbasids, and is written by a man who has described most excellently the methods of preparing each variety in exact language, just as though he were detailing some alchemical operation." To us, who are familiar with the jargon of the kitchen, the language used by the author will not seem so strange, for there is a curiously characteristic ring about his phraseology; while his carefulness in specifying exact quantities is as admirable as it is, in such a context, unexpected.⁵

1 Dr Chelebi's catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in Mosul, published at Baghdad in 1927, is of great value

2. *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* Umm al-Rabi'ain Press, Mosul Price, 45 fils The text is well and, on the whole, accurately printed

3. See Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 904

4 The Gotha manuscripts referred to above (p. 21 n. 1)—and to these add the Cambridge manuscript Qq 196, see Browne's *Hand-List of the Muhammadan Manuscripts*, p. 181, no. 947—evidently draw on the present work, or on an older common source The chapters on food and eating contained in such works as Ibn Qutaiba's *Uyūn al-akhbār* and Ibn 'Abdī Rabbihi's *al-'Iqd al-farīd* are disappointing from the culinary point of view, being mainly concerned with anecdote and "medical" evaluations of the beneficial or harmful properties of various foods.

5. Since this translation and preface were written, I have had the opportunity of examining an old manuscript of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which consists of a *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* by one Abū Muḥammad al-Muẓaffar b. Naṣr ibn Saīyār al-Warrāq (Hunt 187). I hope to show in a forthcoming paper that this work, which is of the greatest interest, was written some time during the 4th/10th century, by a writer who had access to the actual recipe-books of the Abbasid Caliphs

It will be useful to append a table of weights and measures indicating the approximate equivalents of the Arabic terminology of the original.¹

1 raṭl = 12 ūqīya = 16 ounces = 1 pint

1 ūqīya = 10 dirham

1 dirham = 6 dānaq.

1. I am much beholden to Dr. Chelebi for giving me permission to translate his edition of this book. In explaining difficult points, I have drawn upon his excellent footnotes, indicating my indebtedness by adding the letter [C]

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE

Praised be God, creator of days and appointer of times, Who hath brought every creature to life and provided all manner of sustenance ; beast hath He fashioned, and made herbs to grow ; and He encompasseth all mankind with His manifest blessings. For them sent He down water from heaven, whereby He brought forth every kind of fruit ; and He hath made it lawful for man to taste of wholesome things, and hath permitted him to enjoy such foods and potions as be not unlawful. God bless His chosen prophet, Muḥammad, and his family and bring him to the loftiest degree : verily, He heareth prayers.

Now God hath made lawful every wholesome food, and permitted the enjoyment thereof, provided that it be not doubtful or unlawful, for He says : " Eat that which is wholesome, and work righteousness."¹ Certain exegetes indeed have alleged that the word ' wholesome ' in this context means ' lawful : ' but it is sufficiently known among men, what is the true meaning of the word ' wholesome.' God likewise says : " Eat ye of that wherewith We have provided you, lawful, wholesome : "² here God has made distinction between what is lawful, and what is wholesome.

Pleasures may be divided into six classes, to wit, food, drink, clothes, sex, scent and sound. Of these, the noblest and most consequential is food : for food is the body's stay, and the means of preserving life. No other pleasure can be enjoyed, unless a man has good health, to which food is ancillary. It is not prohibited to take delight in food, or to occupy oneself and specialize in it, for indeed God says : " Say, who hath made unlawful the adornment of God which He brought forth for His servants, and the wholesome things of sustenance ? "³ Likewise, whenever the Prophet was invited by any of his Companions to partake of food with him, which he had prepared to the best of his ability, according to his lights, he did not refuse. Lastly, a certain philosopher has said : " Four things comprise all excellence and perfect every blessing : strong faith, sincere endeavour, wholesome food, and healthy drink." It is proved, therefore, that there is no harm in taking pleasure in food, and specializing therein.

I have come across several books composed on the art of cooking, containing mention of strange and unfamiliar dishes, in the composition of which unwholesome and unsatisfying ingredients are used. Now men differ in their judgements concerning pleasures, some preferring food above all other pleasures, while others rank other pleasures more highly, such as clothes, drink, sex, or sound. For my own part, however, I subscribe to the doctrine of the pre-excellence of the pleasure of eating above all other pleasures, and for that reason I have composed

1. *Qur'ān*, xxiii 53.

2. *Do* v. 90 ; xvi 115 . misquoted, the correct reading being " He hath provided you."

3. *Qur'ān*, vii 30.

this book, both for my own use, and for the use of whoever may wish to employ it, on the Art of Cooking. I have mentioned in it dishes selected by myself, perhaps passing over briefly such as are well-known and in common use, and then listing certain choice relishes, savouries, souses, fish, rissoles and sweets.¹ My principle throughout has been brevity and succinctness, and the avoidance of prolixity and longwindedness. I pray that God may help and assist me. The book is divided into ten chapters.

NOTE.—It is important that a cook should be intelligent, acquainted with the rules of cooking, and that he should have a flair for the art. He must also keep his nails constantly trimmed, not neglecting them, nor allowing them to grow long, lest dirt collect underneath them. Of cooking-pots let him choose those made of stone, or as a second-best those of earthenware: only as a last resort should he use pots of tinned copper. There is nothing more abominable than food cooked in a copper pot which has lost its tinning. He should choose dry wood, such as does not give forth an acrid smoke, as for example, olive-wood, ilex, and the like: the wood of the fig-tree should be especially avoided, for it gives off much smoke, as do all sappy woods. He must also know the quantity of fuel required. Of salt he should choose the rock variety,² or, if this is not obtainable, then pure white salt, free from dust and particles of stone. He should choose the following seasonings: of coriander, what is freshly-gathered, green, and dry; of cummin and caraway, the same; of cinnamon, that whereof the bark is thick and luxuriant, strong-scented, burning the tongue; of mastic, the kind with large, bright grains, not small, and free of dust and dirt; of pepper, fresh, not old, large-grained. The utmost care must be taken in cleaning the seasonings, and grinding them fine. So likewise when washing the utensils used in cooking, and the saucepans: let them be rubbed with brick-dust, then with dry, powdered potash and saffron, and finally with the fresh leaf of the citron. For pounding meat, a stone mortar should be preferred; but seasonings must be ground fine in a mill, or else pounded in a copper mortar. In short, it is of the greatest importance that the seasonings shall be well and finely ground, and that the pots and utensils are washed as thoroughly as possible.

Seasonings are used freely with plain dishes, as well as with fried and dry foods, the latter of the sweet rather than the sour varieties; but sparingly in sour dishes that have their own broth. The following rule should be observed in all cooking: when the saucepan is boiling, remove with great care the froth, cream, and dirt of the meat, and whatever else may be floating at the top of the pan, together with the bubbles

1. Sc. ch. 6-9.

2. *Andarānī*: see Ibn al-Batṭār, *Mufradāt*, s.v. *milh*. The adjective is derived from *Andarān* the name of a place near Nishapur. [C].

that rise up. But first the meat must be washed with warm water and salt, to cleanse it of any blood or dirt that may remain on it : the ganglions, veins and membranes are also removed. In plain and fried dishes, the meat is lightly fried in oil¹ before boiling. The cooked meat should be left to settle over a slow fire for a good hour before being ladled out : this it is important to remember.

CHAPTER I—SOUR DISHES

SOME sour dishes are sweetened with sugar, syrup, honey or date-juice : others are not sweetened, but served in their natural bitterness. It seems best, however, to treat of them all in one chapter, as follows.

SIKBĀJ.—Cut fat meat into middling pieces,² place in the saucepan, and cover with water, fresh coriander, cinnamon-bark, and salt to taste. When boiling, remove the froth and cream with a ladle, and throw away. Remove the fresh coriander, and add dry coriander. Take white onions, Syrian leeks, and carrots if in season, or else egg-plant. Skin, splitting the egg-plant thoroughly, and half stew in water in a separate saucepan : then strain, and leave in the saucepan on top of the meat. Add seasonings, and salt to taste. When almost cooked, take wine-vinegar and date-juice, or honey if preferred—date-juice is the more suitable—and mix together so that the mixture is midway between sharp and sweet, then pour into the saucepan, and boil for an hour. When ready to take off the fire, remove a little of the broth, bray into it saffron as required, and pour back into the saucepan. Then take sweet almonds, peel, split, and place on top of the pan, together with a few raisins, currants, and dried figs. Cover for an hour, to settle over the heat of the fire. Wipe the sides with a clean rag, and sprinkle rose-water on top. When settled, remove.

IBRĀHĪMĪYĀ.³—Cut the meat into middling pieces, and place in a saucepan with water to cover, salt to taste, and boil until the juices are given off.⁴ Throw in a bag of stout cotton containing coriander, ginger, pepper, all ground fine, then add some pieces of cinnamon-bark and mastic. Cut up two or three onions very small, and throw in. Mince

1. *Ta'riq* : to fry gently until the juice of the meat exudes like perspiration (*'araq*) [C]. Dozy, *Supplément* II, p. 118 quotes a use of this form of the verb indicating "cooking [dry figs] in water, with a view to preserving them."

2. This appears to be the significance of the word *wasat* (pl. *ausāt*) in this and similar context : cf. the proverb, "The *wasat* (sc. golden mean) of a thing is its best part."

3. Named after the celebrated epicure, Prince Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (162/779-224/839, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, pp. 435 f), who wrote a manual of cookery, see Mez, *Abulḳāsim* p. xxxix (where this recipe is quoted from Gotha 1345), al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (ed. Flügel), p. 317 (where ten other lost cookery manuals are mentioned).

4. This seems to be the meaning here of *ta'arruq*, cf. n. 1. above.

red meat and make into cabobs as usual, and add. When the ingredients are cooked, remove the bag of seasonings. Add to the broth the juice of sweet old grapes, or if unprocurable, of fresh grapes, squeezing in the hand without skinning, or else distilled vinegar: the juice is strained, then sweet almonds are chopped fine and moistened in water, the grape-juice is poured on them, and the mixture is sweetened slightly with white sugar, so as not to be too sour. Leave over the fire an hour to settle. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and sprinkle with rose-water. When settled, remove.

JURJĀNĪYA.¹—Cut the meat into middling pieces, and leave in the saucepan, covered with water, and with a little salt. Cut up some onions small. When the saucepan is boiling, put in the onion, together with dry coriander, pepper, ginger and cinnamon pounded fine. If desired, add walnuts, first shelling and then chopping up into middling pieces. Stir, until the ingredients are cooked. Now take the seeds of a sour pomegranate and of black grapes cut in halves, grind fine, soak in water, and strain through a fine sieve, then throw into the saucepan, together with a little vinegar. Add sweet almonds, peeled and chopped up fine, and soaked in water. When boiling and almost done sweeten with sugar to taste. Throw on top a handful of raisins and sprinkle with a little rose-water. Cover to settle over the fire, then remove.

HUMMĀDĪYA.²—Cut fat meat into middling pieces, and leave in the saucepan with a covering of water and a little salt. Boil, then throw in the stout cotton bag containing the seasonings, namely, dry coriander, ginger, pepper and cloves ground fine: add also a few pieces of cinnamon. Now mince red meat with seasonings, and make into cabobs: when the saucepan is boiling, throw in the cabobs, and as soon as these are cooked, remove the bag of seasonings. Now take the pulp of large citrons, seeded, and squeeze well in the hand, add about a quarter as much of grape-juice, and pour into the saucepan on top of the meat. Boil for an hour. Take sweet almonds, peel, chop up fine, soak in water, and add to the saucepan. Sweeten with sugar, or with syrup if preferred. Leave the saucepan over the fire to settle. Sprinkle with rose-water, wipe the sides with a clean rag, and remove.

DĪKBARĪKA.³—Cut the meat into middling pieces and leave in the saucepan, throwing in a little salt, a handful of peeled chick-peas, dry and green coriander, sliced onions and leeks: cover with water,

1. After Jurjān, a city in Persia.

2. Derived from *hummād*, the pulp of the citron.

3. Sic. Chelebi derives from the Syriac *dīkā barīkā*, i.e., "holy chicken." This seems unlikely, and I conjecture that the name is derived from the Persian *dīg har īk*, sc. "pot on the ember." It is clear that *dīkbardik* is not appropriate here, a medical term derived from Persian—"pot on pot"—and signifying "un remède composé, sublimé et caustique, qui corrode la chair et les ulcères" (Dozy, *op. cit.* 1, p. 481). However, in Mez, *Abulkāsim* (text), p. 40, a dish is mentioned called *al-dīkbārāja* which may be identical, but of which the etymology seems obscure.

and boil. Remove the froth. Now add wine-vinegar and murri,¹ with a little pepper brayed fine, and cook until the flavour is distinct. Some sweeten with a little sugar. When cooked, throw in a little *blattes de Bysance*,² and leave to settle over the fire. Then remove.

ZĪRBĀJ.³—Cut fat meat into small pieces, put into the saucepan, and cover with water, adding a few pieces of cinnamon, peeled chick-peas, and a little salt. When boiling, remove the scum. Then pour in a *ratl* of wine-vinegar, quarter of a *ratl* of sugar, and an *ūqīya* of sweet almonds, peeled and ground fine. Mix together rose-water and vinegar, and throw in on top of the meat. Add a *dirham* of brayed coriander, pepper, and sifted mastic, and colour with saffron. If it is desired to thicken, add starch with the saffron. Sprinkle on top of the saucepan a handful of almonds, peeled and halved, and spray with a little rose-water. Wipe the sides with a clean rag, and leave over the fire to settle: then remove. If desired, a chicken may be added: pluck and clean the bird, cut it into quarters, and when the saucepan is boiling, throw it in on top of the meat to cook with it.

NĪRBĀJ.⁴—Cut the meat into middling pieces and throw into the saucepan with a little salt, cover with water, and boil. Remove the froth, and put in sliced onions, and leeks if desired. Add dry coriander, cinnamon, pepper, mastic, ginger, and a few sprigs of mint. When this is cooked, take the seeds of a pomegranate, and about a third the quantity of the seeds of black grapes, grind up fine, mix with water, strain, and put into the pot. Grind up walnuts fine, stir in water, and add also, putting on top some whole pieces of walnut. Take a few

1 The following recipe for making murri is written at the end of the MS. "Take 5 *ratls* each of penny-royal and flour. Make the flour into a good dough without leaven or salt, bake, and leave until dry. Then grind up fine with the penny-royal, knead into a green trough with a third the quantity of salt, and put out into the sun for 40 days in the heat of the summer, kneading every day at dawn and evening, and sprinkling with water. When black, put into conserving-jars, cover with an equal quantity of water, and leave for two weeks, stirring morning and evening. When it begins to bubble, leave it to settle, then strain, and put the lees back into the trough. Leave in the sun another two weeks, covered with an equal quantity of water, stirring morning and evening: then strain it into the first murri. Add cinnamon, saffron and some aromatic herbs. [Another recipe] Take penny-royal and wheaten or barley flour, make into a dry dough with hot water, using no leaven or salt, and bake into a loaf with a hole in the middle. Wrap in fig leaves, stuff into a preserving-jar, and leave in the shade until fetid. Then remove, and dry."

2. Certainly Chelebi is right in emending *atrāf* to *aẓfār*: this ingredient is mentioned several times in the book. The literal sense of the phrase is "perfumed nails" (in Persian *nākhun-i dīv* "devil's claw"): in J. von Sonthheimer's translation of Ibn Baṭṭār's *Mufradāt*, i, p. 56, the Latin equivalent *Strombus lentiginosus* is given—Ibn Baṭṭār describes in full this odoriferous substance 'of the nature of the shards of shells' as Lane says in his *Lexicon* s.v.—quoting among other authorities Dioscurides—while the French version is due to Leclerc, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, t. 23.

3. Persian *zīrbā* or *zīrbāj*, for which latter see Dozy, *op. cit.* 1, p. 618.

4. Perhaps an alternative form of *Nīraj*, see Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 741.

sprigs of dry mint, and rub them into the saucepan. While the meat is stewing, and its juices are being given off, mince up red meat with seasonings, and make into cabobs. Sprinkle rose-water over the saucepan, wipe the sides with a clean rag, leave over the fire to settle, then remove.

TABĀHAJA.¹—Slice the meat from the bone and chop up small. Cut and slice the tail, and put it into the saucepan with a little water, half a *dirham* of ground salt, and a *dānaq* of saffron: let the tail dissolve, and remove the sediment.² Now throw the meat into the saucepan on top of the oil, adding pieces of onion, sprigs of mint, and celery, and stir until the juices are dry. Then add dry coriander, cummin, caraway, cinnamon and ginger, all ground fine, keeping back half of the seasonings to put in after the meat is cooked. Then take wine-vinegar, grape-juice and lemon-juice, mix, and add a little of all the seasonings: if desired, a little sumach-juice may also be added. Pour in these juices from time to time, until the cooking is complete. Take out the vegetables: sprinkle with old murri, or if this be not available, then with sumach-juice. Now add the remainder of the seasonings, together with a little pepper. Garnish with yolks of eggs, and spray with rose-water. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, leave over the fire to settle, and remove.

TUFFĀḤĪYA.³—Take fat meat and cut into small strips: throw into the saucepan with a little salt and dry coriander, and boil until almost cooked. Remove and throw away the scum. Cut up onions small and throw in, with cinnamon-bark, pepper, mastic and ginger ground fine, and a few sprigs of mint. Take sour apples, remove the pips, and pound in a stone mortar, squeezing out the juice: put in on top of the meat. Peel almonds and soak in water, then throw in. Kindle the fire under it, until the whole is done: then leave over the fire to settle. If desired, add a chicken, cutting it into quarters, and letting it cook with the meat. Then remove.

HIṢRIMĪYA.⁴—Take fat meat, cut up, and throw into the saucepan, adding a little salt and dry coriander. Cover with water, [and boil]: then remove the scum. Cut up onions [and add]. Peel egg-plants, half-boil in a separate saucepan with water and salt, then strain and put into the [other] saucepan, adding a few sprigs of mint and pieces of gourd skinned and pulped. Throw in also pepper, mastic and cinnamon ground fine. Take fresh sour grapes, and squeeze well in the hand, then strain through a fine sieve: add about a tenth part of lemon-juice, and pour into the saucepan. Peel sweet almonds and grind, then mix

1. The usual form is *tabāhaj* (var *tabāhij*), see Dozy s.v., who quotes Lane, *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, and *Lexicon*, p. 1821: the description of the dish in the latter place is somewhat different.

2. The remains of the tail of the sheep after the fat has been dissolved (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 636).

3. From *tuffāh*=apple, which forms the distinguishing flavour of the dish.

4. From *ḥiṣrim*=unripe grapes.

with a little water : flavour to taste with the water and milk of the almond. Take also a little dried mint and rub it over the saucepan : some also add a little sour apple, which is also good. If desired, after the meat has been put in, a chicken may be added, cut into quarters. Spray the saucepan with rose-water, leave over a slow fire for an hour to settle, and remove.

HALAWIYA¹ (also called FARHĀNA).²—Cut up fat meat and tail separately : leave in the saucepan with a little salt, dry coriander, sliced onions, and leeks, covering with water : boil until almost cooked, then remove the scum and throw away. Add pepper, ginger, mastic and cinnamon, ground fine. When cooked, take wine-vinegar and sugar—or syrup or honey—and mix to taste, colouring with saffron, [and add]. When almost cooked, put on top of the saucepan sweet almonds cut into halves, raisins, peeled pistachios and filberts, seeded red raisins, and pieces of *mubāḥṭhara*³ and *qurādīya*⁴ cake (*ḥalwā*). Spray the saucepan with rose-water, wipe the sides with a clean rag, leave over the fire to settle, and remove. If desired, after the meat is half-boiled, add a quartered chicken to cook with it.

RUMMĀNIYA.⁵—Cut fat meat into middling pieces, and put into the saucepan, with a little scented salt,⁶ and cover with water. [Boil, and] remove the scum thoroughly. Strip egg-plant of its black skin, and split well : peel and split onions also. Peel a gourd, remove the pith and seeds, and cut into strips. Throw all these into the saucepan, after half-boiling them in a separate pot. Add coriander, cummin, cinnamon, pepper, mastic, and some sprigs of mint, and cook well. Now take sour pomegranates, squeeze very well in the hand, strain, and throw into the saucepan. Rub in dry mint : pound a little garlic, and leave this also in the pot. A chicken, quartered, may be placed in the saucepan, to cook with the meat. Leave over a slow fire for an hour, then remove.

RIBĀSIYA.⁷—Fry the meat lightly, then boil it with the seasonings, throwing in a little chopped onion. Squeeze out the juice of red-currents, and pour it in. Add a few sweet almonds, peeled and ground fine. Leave over a slow fire until cooked, then remove.

1. From *ḥalwā* = cake, the distinguishing ingredient.

2. This is the name of a white truffle (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2362) : the connection seems obscure.

3. The recipe for this is given in ch. 10.

4. This word is not vocalized in the manuscript, and Chelebi conjectures that it is to be identified with *muqarrada*, the alternative name for *fistiqīya*, see ch. 9. Neither form appears in any of the dictionaries. If we are right in spelling *qurādīya*, it is possible that the name is derived from *qurāda* = "petites pièces de dinār ou de dirhem, que l'on coupait avec les cisailles" (Droz op. cit., II, p. 329), and that the cakes were so called because of their shape.

5. From *rummān* = pomegranate.

6. The recipe for this is given in ch. 7.

7. From *ribās* = red-currant.

SUMĀQĪYA.¹—Cut fat meat into middling pieces and leave in the saucepan, adding a little scented salt. Boil until almost cooked, and remove the scum well. Throw in beet cut the size of a finger, and carrots. Take onions and Nabatean leeks, peel, wash in salt and water, and put in on top. If egg-plant is in season, add this too, peeling off the black skin, and boiling in a separate pot. Take sumach, place in another saucepan with a little salt and the pith of a loaf, boil well, and strain. If desired, pluck and wash a chicken, cut it into quarters, and throw it into the saucepan. Mince red meat fine with seasonings and make into cabobs of middling size, then add these to the saucepan, together with seasonings of dry coriander, cummin, pepper, ginger, cinnamon and mastic ground fine, and a few sprigs of fresh mint. Now take the sumach and put it into the saucepan. Grind walnuts, soak in water, and add : rub over the pot dry mint, and throw in a few pieces of walnut whole. Grind a little garlic, moisten with a trifle of the broth, and pour in. Some garnish with poached eggs.² Leave over a slow fire to settle, then remove.

LĪMUWĪYA.³—Cut up the meat and tail, and leave in the saucepan with a little salt. Cover with water, and boil until done, removing the scum. Then take onions, leeks, and carrots if in season, otherwise egg-plant. Wash the onions and leeks in lukewarm water and salt. Half-boil the egg-plant in a separate saucepan, then add it to the rest : if carrots are used, however, they need not be boiled by themselves. Throw on top dry coriander, mastic, pepper, cinnamon and ginger well-ground, and a few sprigs of mint. Take a chicken and quarter it, then place it in the saucepan : throw in the herbs. Take the natural juice⁴ of lemons, straining off the sediment and pips, and pour into the pot. Peel and chop sweet almonds, soak in water, and add. Rub over the pot sprigs of dry mint, and spray with rose-water. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and leave over the fire to settle : then remove. Some sweeten with sugar : but if sweetening, omit the mint and egg-plant.

MAGHMŪMA⁵ (also called **MUQATṬA'A**).⁶—Cut fat meat small. Slice the tail thin and chop up small. Take onions and egg-plant, peel, half-boil, and also cut up small : these may, however, be peeled and cut up into the meat-pot, and not be boiled separately. Make a

1. From *sumāq*=sumach (the word is derived from the Arabic) The culinary use of sumach is evidently unknown to the editors of the *O E D*, who mention its properties for tanning leather and, medicinally, as an astringent.

2. Literally, "eyes of eggs." when eggs are broken over a hot place, they set, with the yellow in the middle and the white around, so that the yellow is like the pupil of the eye and the white like the white of the eye. [C].

3. From *limū*=lemon.

4. Sc. the juice obtained without squeezing.

5. Literally, "covered."

6. Literally, "chopped up"

layer of the tail at the bottom of the pan, then put on top of it a layer of meat : drop in fine-ground seasonings, dry coriander, cummin, caraway, pepper, cinnamon, ginger and salt. On top of the meat put a layer of egg-plant and onion : repeat, until only about four or five fingers' space remain in the pot. Sprinkle over each layer the ground seasonings as required. Mix best vinegar with a little water and a trifle of saffron, and add to the pan so as to lie to a depth of two or three fingers on top of the meat and other ingredients. Leave to settle over the fire : then remove.

MAMQŪRIYA.¹—Cut fat meat small and throw into the saucepan with a little salt and a covering of water : boil, and remove the scum. When nearly cooked, add the seasonings, coriander, cummin, cinnamon, mastic, pepper, and chopped onion. When cooked, throw in a portion of wine-vinegar with two portions of murri, and sprinkle on top a small handful of dry coriander whole. Spray with rose-water. Leave over the fire to settle : then remove.

HUBAISHĪYA.²—Cut fat meat into middling pieces, throw into the saucepan with a little salt, cover with water, and boil : remove the scum. When nearly cooked, throw in chopped onion washed in tepid water and salt, and peeled carrots from which the hearts have been scooped out. Add dry coriander, cummin, cinnamon, mastic and pepper. Take black raisins as required, pound up fine, moisten with water, and strain : take two parts of the juice of these, and one part of fine sharp vinegar, and pour into the saucepan. Grind in also a few walnuts soaked in the same juice. Rub over the pan a few sprigs of dry mint. Leave the saucepan over the fire to settle. Remove, after wiping the sides with a clean rag.

MISHMISHĪYA.³—Cut fat meat small, put into the saucepan with a little salt, and cover with water. Boil, and remove the scum. Cut up onions, wash, and throw in on top of the meat. Add seasonings, coriander, cummin, mastic, cinnamon, pepper and ginger, well-ground. Take dry apricots, soak in hot water, then wash and put into a separate saucepan, and boil lightly : take out, wipe in the hands, and strain through a sieve. Take the juice, and add it to the saucepan to form a broth. Take sweet almonds, grind fine, moisten with a little apricot juice, and throw in. Some colour with a trifle of saffron. Spray the saucepan with a little rose-water, wipe its sides with a clean rag, and leave to settle over the fire : then remove.

NĀRANJIYA.⁴—Cut fat meat into middling pieces, and leave in the saucepan, covered with water, to boil : when boiling, remove the scum. Add salt to taste. Cut up onions and leeks, washing in salt and

1. From *mamqūr* = soured in vinegar and salt.

2. From *hubaish* = guinea-fowl (the connection seems obscure).

3. From *mishmish* = apricot.

4. From *nāranj* = orange (derived from the Persian).

water : scrape carrots, cut into strips four fingers long, and throw into the pot. Add cummin, dry coriander, cinnamon-bark, pepper, ginger and mastic, ground fine, with a few sprigs of mint. Mince red meat well with seasonings, and make into middle-sized cabobs. Take oranges, peel, remove the white pulp, and squeeze : let one person peel, and another do the squeezing. Strain through a sieve, and pour into the saucepan. Take cardamom-seeds that have been steeped in hot water an hour : wash, and grind fine in a stone mortar, or a copper one if stone is not procurable. Extract the juice by hand, strain, and throw into the pot. Rub over the pan a quantity of dry mint. Wipe the sides with a clean rag, and leave over the fire to settle : then remove.

NĀRSIRK.—This is a Persian word, meaning "pomegranate and vinegar."¹ Cut fat meat into middling pieces, then put into the saucepan and cover with water, adding a little salt. Boil, and remove the scum. When almost cooked, throw in coriander, cummin, pepper, cinnamon and mastic : bray all separately from the cinnamon, leaving this last in its bark. Cut up onions, wash, and put into the pot, with a few sprigs of mint. Add cabobs of red meat minced with seasonings. Take pomegranate seeds, grind up fine, mix with wine-vinegar, strain, and pour into the saucepan. Peel walnuts, grind them fine, soak in hot water, and add, flavouring the mixture to taste, and putting in sufficient walnuts to give it a consistency. Then throw on top a few pieces of whole walnut, and rub in sprigs of dry mint. Spray with a little rose-water : wipe the sides with a clean rag, and leave over the fire to settle. Then remove.

MAŞŪŞIYA.²—Cut fat meat into middling pieces, put into the saucepan, cover with water, add a little salt, and boil, removing the scum. Throw in chopped celery, washed, with roots and stems removed, a little chopped onion, and seasonings, coriander, cummin, mastic and cinnamon-bark. Pour in good vinegar, enough to cover. Colour with a trifle of saffron. Garnish with poached eggs. Leave over a slow fire an hour : then remove.

MILK DISHES

MADĪRA.³—Cut fat meat into middling pieces with the tail : if chickens are used, quarter them. Put into the saucepan with a little salt, and cover with water : boil, removing the scum. When almost cooked, take large onions and Nabatean leeks, peel, cut off the tails, wash in salt and water, dry and put into the pot. Add dry coriander,

1. *Nār*=pomegranate. *sirka*=vinegar.

2. From *maşūş*, "a certain kind of food, of flesh-meat, cooked, and steeped in vinegar, or, as some say, steeped in vinegar, and then cooked" (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2718).

3. See above, p. 28. The word is derived from *maḍīr*=curdled.

cummin, mastic and cinnamon, ground fine. When cooked, and the juices are dried up, so that only the oil remains, ladle out into a large bowl. Now take Persian milk¹ as required, and put into the saucepan, added salted lemon and fresh mint. Leave to boil: then take off the fire, stirring. When the boiling has subsided, put back the meat and herbs. Cover the saucepan, wipe its sides, and leave to settle over the fire: then remove.

BUQŪLIYA.²—Cut fat meat into middling pieces and place in the saucepan with a little salt and water to cover. When boiling, remove the scum. When almost cooked, take vegetable leeks, cut up small, and grind well in a stone mortar, then throw into the pot. Take red meat, mince with the usual seasonings, together with a little of the ground leek, and make into cabobs: add these to the pot. When the juices have dried, add coriander, cummin and pepper ground fine, with cinnamon-bark. Pour in Persian milk as required. Rub in a few sprigs of dry mint. Wipe the sides of the pot with a clean rag, and leave over the fire to settle: then remove.

LABANĪYA.³—Cut up the meat and throw it into the saucepan with a little salt and water to cover, and boil until almost done. When the meat has fried in its own oil, and most of the juice has dried, throw in chopped onions and leeks, after washing them: split egg-plant well, half-boil in a separate saucepan, and then add to the rest, with dry coriander, powdered cummin, mastic, cinnamon-bark, and some sprigs of mint. Boil in what remains of the juices until completely cooked. Add Persian milk to which ground garlic has been added. Rub over the pan a few sprigs of dry mint: wipe the sides with a clean rag. Leave over the fire for an hour to settle: then remove.

MUJAZZA'A.⁴—Cut fat meat into middling pieces and place in the saucepan with a little salt and water to cover: when boiling, remove the scum. Cut up two or three onions and add. Take two or three bundles of beet, according to the quantity of the meat, cut into pieces four fingers long, wash, and throw into the pot. Add dry coriander, cummin, mastic, cinnamon and pepper. When cooked, pour in Persian milk to which has been added ground garlic, as required. When the saucepan has settled over the fire, drop in a little *shūnīz*.⁵ Wipe the sides, and remove.

1 Evidently = curdled milk, although, as Chelebi remarks, the name does not occur in the lexicons.

2 Presumably referring to the *karāth al-baql* = vegetable leeks (as distinct from Nabatean leeks) used in the recipe (see Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, p. 453): not from *baqūl* = mallow

3. From *laban* = milk, esp. sour milk (fresh milk is *halīb*).

4. Literally, "variegated, parti-coloured." used to describe mosaics.

5. According to Ibn al-Baiṭār, *Mufradāt* (tr. Leclerc) s.v., this aromatic herb is *nigelle* (Greek) or fennel-flower. see Dozy, *Supplément*, i, p. 791. Lane (*Lexicon*, p. 1605) translates, "the black aromatic seed of a species of *nigella*, a sort of allspice."

'UKAIKA.¹—Take fresh tail, cut up, and dissolve, extracting the sediment. Then take fat meat, cut up small, and throw into the dissolved tail, stirring until browned. Cover with water and a little salt, and leave to cook and dry, until only the oil remains of the juices. Throw in dry coriander and cummin ground fine, cinnamon, brayed pepper, and mastic. Keep stirring. Take Persian milk as required, to which ground garlic has been added, and throw into the pot, leaving to boil. Now remove from the fire, and leave the saucepan over a gentle flame, until the milk coagulates, when the oil floating on top is thrown away. Then scatter a little fine-brayed cinnamon. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and remove.

MASLIYA.²—Cut fat meat and boil as usual, removing the scum. When cooked, throw in a handful of chopped onion, a little salt, dry coriander brayed, cummin, pepper, cinnamon-bark and mastic. When the juices of the meat are dry and the oil appears, take whey-cake, pound small, pour over it hot water, and dissolve well by hand until it becomes like sour milk and of the same consistency, then throw into the saucepan. Bruise a little garlic and add, with some sprigs of fresh mint. Sprinkle some fine-brayed cinnamon into the pot. Wipe the sides with a clean rag, and leave over the fire an hour to settle: then remove.

CHAPTER II—PLAIN DISHES

ISFĀNĀKHIYA.³—Take fat meat and cut into medium-sized pieces. Slice the fresh tail, dissolve, and remove the sediment. Put the meat into this oil and stir until browned: then cover with water that has been heated separately. Add a little salt: boil, and remove the scum. Throw in a handful of chick-peas that have been soaked and peeled. Take fresh spinach, wash, remove the lower roots, and cut with a knife into fingers, then pound in a stone mortar, and put into the saucepan. When nearly cooked, add dry coriander, cummin, brayed pepper, mastic, small pieces of cinnamon-bark, and a little garlic bruised fine. Now fill with water as required, letting the water be lukewarm. When it has boiled for an hour, add clean, washed rice as required, placing it over the fire until it is set firm and smooth: then leave over a slow flame for an hour, and remove. Meanwhile prepare red meat minced fine and made into cabobs, and fry these in oil with the usual seasonings. When the concoction is ladled out, strew over it this fried meat, together with the oil as required, sprinkle with fine-ground cinnamon, and serve.

1. Apparently diminutive of 'akka = magpie

2. From masl = cooked whey [C]

3. From isfānākh = spinach.

RUKHĀMIYA.¹—Cook rice with milk until set thick, then ladle out. Place on top of this, meat fried in tail-fat and seasonings in the form of cabobs, as in the preceding recipe. Sprinkle with cinnamon. Another recipe: Boil the meat, and when it is cooked, and little juice is left, throw in a quantity of fresh milk as required: add cinnamon-bark and mastic. When thoroughly on the boil, add washed rice as wanted. When cooked and set smooth, ladle out, strew with fried meat as described above, and sprinkle with cinnamon.

ARUZ MUFALFAL.²—Take fat meat and cut into middling pieces. Dissolve fresh tail, and throw away the sediment. Pour in the meat, and stir until browned. Sprinkle with a little salt and dry coriander ground fine. Then cover with water and boil until cooked, throwing away the scum. Remove from the saucepan when the water has dried and it is itself juicy, and not absolutely parched. Throw in dry coriander, cummin, cinnamon and mastic brayed fine, as required, and likewise salt. When quite cooked, remove from the saucepan, draining off all water and oil, and sprinkle with the aforesaid seasonings. Now take a *kail* of rice, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ *kails* of water. Dissolve fresh tail, about one-third the weight of the meat. Pour water into the saucepan, and when boiling, throw in the molten oil, add mastic and cinnamon-bark, and bring thoroughly to the boil. Wash the rice several times, colour with saffron, and place in the water without stirring: then cover the saucepan for an hour, until the rice swells and the water boils. Now remove the cover: lay the meat in strips on top of the rice, and cover again, placing a cloth over the cover, wrapping it up so that no air can get in. Leave the saucepan to settle over a gentle fire for an hour: then remove. Some make it simple, without the saffron colouring.

SHŪRBĀ.³—Cut fat meat into middling pieces. Dissolve fresh tail, and throw away the sediment. Put the meat into the oil, and stir until browned. Cover with lukewarm water, and add a little salt, a handful of peeled chick-peas, small pieces of cinnamon-bark, and some sprigs of dry dill. When the meat is cooked, throw in dry coriander, ginger and pepper, brayed fine. Add more lukewarm water, and put over a hot fire until thoroughly boiling: then remove the dill from the saucepan. Take cleaned rice, wash several times, and put into the saucepan as required, leaving it over the fire until the rice is cooked: then remove from the fire. Sprinkle with fine-brayed cummin and cinnamon. Wipe the sides of the pot with a clean rag, leave over the fire for an hour, and then remove. Do not leave so long that the rice becomes hard set. If desired, add some cabobs of minced meat.

1. Presumably from *rukḥām* = white marble (rather than from *rukḥāmā* = a certain plant bearing a white flower and with a white root).

2. Literally, "peppered rice."

3. Literally, "broth, soup," the Persianized form of *shūrbā* see Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, s.v., Dozy, *op. cit.*, i, p. 740.

MUJADDARA.¹—The recipe for this is the same as for Aruz Mufalfal, except that it is not coloured with saffron. Put in half as much lentils as the rice, then proceed as for Aruz Mufalfal.

İTRİYA.²—Cut fat meat into middling pieces: dissolve tail, and throw away the sediment. Put the meat into this oil, and let it fry lightly, then throw in a little salt and cinnamon-bark, and cover with water. Cut up two onions and throw in, before adding the water, as well as a handful of peeled chick-peas, fingers³ of beet, and about two handfuls of rice, cleaned and washed. When the meat is cooked, add fine-ground dry coriander, a little pepper, and mastic. When thoroughly on the boil, add to the saucepan a handful and a half of macaroni. When the mixture is cooked, scatter in fine-brayed cummin and cinnamon. Wipe the sides of the pan with a clean rag, leave to settle over the fire, and then remove.

RISHTA.⁴—Cut fat meat into middling pieces and put into the saucepan, with a covering of water. Add cinnamon-bark, a little salt, a handful of peeled chick-peas, and half a handful of lentils. Boil until cooked: then add more water, and bring thoroughly to the boil. Now add spaghetti (which is made by kneading flour and water well, then rolling out fine and cutting into thin threads four fingers long). Put over the fire and cook until set to a smooth consistency. When it has settled over a gentle fire for an hour, remove.

'ADASIYA.⁵—Cut up the meat, and dissolve the tail as usual. Put the meat into the oil, and fry lightly until browned: then throw in a little salt, cummin, and brayed dry coriander, and cover with water. When nearly cooked, add beet washed and cut into pieces four fingers long. When thoroughly boiling, add as required lentils, cleaned and washed, and keep a steady fire going until the lentils are cooked. When set smooth and definitely cooked, add as required fine-bruised garlic, stirring with a ladle. Then leave over a slow fire: and remove. When serving, squeeze over it lemon juice.

HİNȚİYA.⁶—Cut fat meat into middling pieces and fry lightly in dissolved tail as described above: then throw in a little salt, brayed dry coriander, and some pieces of cinnamon. When nearly cooked, increase the water as required by the wheat, and add a little dry dill. When properly boiling, take sufficient shelled wheat, crush fine in a mortar, wash, and add to the pot. Remove the dill. Keep a steady fire,

1 The adjective means literally "one having the smallpox:" the designation of the dish by such a name is a grim jest indeed.

2. Chelebi in a learned note quotes authorities for identifying this with *rishta* from one description, however (that of Dāwud al-Antākī), it seems very probable that *ıtrıya* is macaroni

3. Literally, "ribs"

4. A Persian word, literally, "thread," then commonly used for spaghetti in the manuscript it is written *Rāshṭā*.

5. From *'adas*=lentil

6. From *hınṭa*=wheat.

until it sets smooth. When settled over the fire for an hour, remove. Sprinkle with fine-brayed cummin and cinnamon, and if desired add squeezed lemon.

FARĪKĪYA.¹—Cut fat meat small and fry lightly in dissolved oil: then cover with water, adding a little salt and cinnamon-bark. When the meat is cooked, throw in some ground dry coriander, and add a little more water. Take fresh wheat as required, separate from the ear, clean, and add to the saucepan, letting it set thicker than in the preceding recipe. When settled over the fire, take off and ladle out. Sprinkle with fine-brayed cummin and cinnamon, pour on some of the dissolved fresh tail, and serve.

MUHALLABĪYA² (also called **BAHATTA**).³—Boil fat meat after cutting it into middling pieces and frying it lightly in dissolved oil as usual. When cooked, add more water, and leave on the boil for an hour, putting in as required salt, dry coriander, mastic, and sticks of cinnamon. When the meat is cooked, pour in lukewarm water to make a broth as required, by the used quantity of rice. When the water boils, throw in the rice, washed, as required, colour with saffron, and sweeten with syrup or sugar to taste. Leave over the fire an hour to settle: then remove.

ISFĪDBĀJA.⁴—Fry lightly meat cut into middling pieces in molten oil of fresh tail until browned, then throw in salt to taste, fine-brayed dry coriander, cummin and pepper, pieces of onion, a handful of peeled chick-peas, and some sticks of dill. Cover with water, add a little salt, and boil until cooked. Remove the onion, and add a little more lukewarm water. Take a portion of sweet almonds, peel, grind fine, stir in water, and add to the saucepan, making a broth as desired of the milk of almond. Before putting in the milked almond, one may also add cabobs of red meat minced with the usual seasonings, and a chicken, plucked, washed and quartered. Then remove the dill. Garnish with poached eggs. Sprinkle with fine-ground cummin and cinnamon: wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and leave over the fire an hour to settle. Then remove.

SUGHDIYA.⁵—Cut up fat meat and throw into the saucepan, with some pieces of onion, two *dirhams* of coriander and scraped cinnamon-bark, and two *dirhams* of salt. Keep stirring. When juicy and fragrant with the seasonings, throw in a handful of peeled chick-peas, and stir. If desired, add a cock or chicks quartered. Cover with water: add a little oil of sesame, and a little washed dill. When boiling, remove the dill. Take some almonds, peel, grind fine, and mix with water: add to

1. From *farīk* = "mets fait de froment cuit avec du beurre, etc." (Kazimursky).

2. Literally, "shorn."

3. A Persian loan-word from the Hindi *bhāt* = boiled rice.

4. From Persian *isfīd-bā* [j], literally, "white gruel."

5. Named after Sughd, a district of Persia between Bukhara and Samarqand [C]: see *Encyclopaedia Islam*, iv, p. 473 (Soghd)

this the white of egg, beat up well, then throw into the pan, with salt to taste. Now take thin slices of meat that have been half-boiled and flavoured with salt : lay sticks on top of the pot, and place these slices over the sticks to smoke in the ascending vapours. When the saucepan is cooked, throw in on top the slices of meat, together with yolks of egg. Then take red meat, cut up fine with a large knife, and pound in the mortar with seasonings and salt to taste, making into cabobs. Stew with the slices : then remove, and dip them in the whites of egg : let them be hot, so as to absorb the whites and be covered with them. Then put them back into the saucepan with the slices. Wipe the sides of the pan with a clean rag, cover, and leave over the fire an hour to settle. Then sprinkle with fine-brayed cummin and cinnamon, and remove.

SHURBĀ KHADRĀ'.¹—Cut fat meat into middling pieces and fry lightly in dissolved tail. When brown, add salt to taste, fine-brayed dry coriander, pieces of cinnamon, and a handful of peeled chick-peas. Cover with water, and put on the fire : when boiling, throw away the scum. Take two bunches of fresh vegetable leeks, cut small with a knife, pound in the mortar, and throw into the saucepan. Take a portion of red meat, chop up fine with seasonings, adding a handful of peeled chick-peas, washed rice, and a little of the pounded leek : make into cabobs, and throw into the saucepan. When all is cooked, add more water as required. Then take rice, a quarter as much as the water, wash several times, and put into the saucepan : let it continue to boil until thoroughly cooked, a little on the light side. Leave over the fire to settle : then remove.

MĀ' WA-HIMMAS'.²—Lightly fry the meat as usual, as described above : then add salt, coriander and cummin to taste, cinnamon-bark, peeled chick-peas, dill, and chopped onion. Cover with water, and boil until cooked. Pour off the fat. Leave to settle over the fire : then remove.

MĀ' AL-BĀQILĪ'.³—Make in the same way as the preceding : only for chick-peas substitute beans, peeled, soaked and split. When ladled out, add a little lemon juice, or sumach ground fine and seeded.

MĀSH'.⁴—Lightly fry the meat as usual. Take pulse, peel, add a quarter as much rice, and then proceed as for Aruz Mufalfal.

MULABBAQA'.⁵—Make in the same way as Aruz Mufalfal, only let there be half rice, and half lentils, pulse, and skinned chick-peas. Then proceed as for Aruz Mufalfal.

A. J. ARBERRY.

(To be concluded.)

1. Literally, "green soup."

2. Literally, "water and chick-peas."

3. Literally, "bean-water."

4. Sc. pulse.

5. Literally, "softened in fat."