

# Contributions of Medieval Food Manuals to Spain's Culinary Heritage

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## **Abstract:**

This article examines and compares the contributions of five Medieval Muslim and Christian recipe manuscripts to Spain's culinary history. Specifically, it explores notions of authorship and implied reader; the works' structures and shared culinary lexicon; strategies of imitation from vague, shared cultural tastes to exact "borrowings" of recipes; and diverse narrative voices that express pride, satisfaction or even disappointment in describing different recipes. In addition, it examines unique features that contribute to Spain's culinary history. For example, it points to Jewish contributions as recorded in the *Kitab al-tabij*, unique bread recipes from the *Fadalat* found in no other medieval or early modern Spanish cookbook, the development of spices and use of seeds and nuts from Hispano-Muslim traditions into the Christian cooking manuals, among others.

## **Keywords:**

Spain, medieval food manuals – *Fuḍālat-al-Hiwa* – *Kitāb al-tabij* – *Libre de Sent Soví* – *Arte cisoría* – *Manual de mujeres*.

**B**efore Johannes Gutenberg (c. 1400–68) revolutionized printing with his discovery of moveable type, manuscripts of collected recipes from the Iberian Peninsula grew out of several traditions. Most notable are two manuscripts directed toward the urban aristocracy from the waning years of the Almohad dynasty, two works from the aristocracy of Aragon and Castile, and one woman's manual that weaves together recipes for food, home remedies, cosmetics, and general hygiene.<sup>1</sup> These manuscripts and subsequent published cooking manuals are not

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<sup>1</sup> There exist several other culinary manuscripts dating to the late Middle Ages. Joan Santanach references *Llibre de totes maneres de potatges de menjar* [The book of every kind of dish], *Llibre de totes maneres de confits* [The book of all kinds of candied fruit] and *Llibre de aparellar de menjar* [The book of food preparation] (24). The first and the third contain a substantial number of recipes from the *Sent Soví*. In his introduction to Josep Lladonosa's *La cocina medieval* [Medieval cuisine], Martínez Llopis mentions three

the work of any one single author. Even those that carry the name of an individual, like Ibn Razin al Tugibi, author of *Fuḍālat-al-Hiwan Fi Tayyibat al-Ta‘am Wa-l-Ahwan* (*Relieves de la mesa acerca de las delicias de la comida y los diferentes platos*) [The delicacies of the table and the finest of foods and dishes], are better understood as a compilation of previous works that have been amended along the way by other cooks.<sup>2</sup> Recipes overlap from one to another, sometimes word for word and other times in a modified version that reflect changes in taste, regional shifts, or changing political and economic interests. It should also be noted that while several manuscripts may share certain common ingredients, or exhibit parallel recipes, we cannot assume that a direct influence from one to the other has necessarily taken place. There are too many unknown factors, lost manuscripts, or oral traditions, that may have connected the works. This strong possibility of an “*ur*-version”, as Terence Scully reminds us in his introduction to *The Vivendier*, makes the likelihood of claiming anything more than shared cultural tastes difficult (19). Another important commonality is the actual production of the manuals, or more specifically, the errors common to scribes, copyists and later typesetters and publishers who modified the works both intentionally and unintentionally. As Joan Santanach points out in his introduction to *Libre de Sent Soví* [Book of Sent Soví], cooking manuals, even more than literary, historical and juridical texts, were subject to continuous modifications (19-20). This article examines the contributions of five manuscripts to the development of Spanish cuisine. Generally, the essay looks at notions of authorship and implied reader; the works’ structures and shared culinary lexicon; strategies of imitation, from vague shared cultural tastes to cited sources; and diverse narrative voices that express pride, satisfaction or even disappointment in describing different recipes. In addition, this work examines the unique and/or comparative features of each manuscript that contribute to Spain’s culinary history. To understand the culinary literature and history of Spain, one must return to these early manuscripts because they provide a foundation for subsequent culinary publications.

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other medieval manuals of interest. *Llibre de coch de la canonja de Tarragona* [Cookery book of the canon of Tarragona] (1331?), published in Barcelona in 1935, contains a series of food norms following the liturgical calendar for the religious order at la Seo de Tarragona. Francesc Eiximenis also wrote on dietary habits of the Catalan in *Tercer del cristià* [Third part of a Christian] in 1384, which appeared in his work *Lo cristià* [The Christian]. Jaume Roig, physician to Alfonso V and Juan II of Aragón, published *Llibre de les dones, mes verament dit des consells* [Book of women, more truly understood as advice] in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (12).

<sup>2</sup> Many of the titles translated into English are commonly accepted. The textual translations are my own.

### *Fuḍālat-al-Hiwan Fi Tayyibat al-Ta‘am Wa-l-Alwan*

The earliest manuscript available to us today is the *Fuḍālat-al-Hiwan Fi Tayyibat al-Ta‘am Wa-l-Alwan*, written between 1243-1328 by Murcia-born Ibn Razin al Tugibi.<sup>3</sup> This work was first edited in 1960 by Granja Santamaría and later, in 2007, by Manuela Marín.<sup>4</sup> She summarizes the text’s place within Arabic traditions and establishes its link with secretaries, chancellors and other court members who aspired to define themselves by their modes of behavior and eating habits (24-28).<sup>5</sup> Another manuscript, *Kitāb al-tabīj fi l-Maḡrib wa-l-Andalus fi ‘asr al-muwahhidin li-mu’allif mayḥūl* (*Tratado sobre cocina en el Maḡrib y al-Andalus en época almohade, de autor desconocido*) [Treatise on cooking from the Maḡreb and Al-Andalus during Almohad period by an anonymous author], comes from the same period but is an anonymous work.<sup>6</sup> It was first published by Ambrosio Huici Miranda in 1961-62 as an article from a manuscript discovered by George S. Colin.<sup>7</sup> In 2005, Trea reedited the work under the title *La cocina hispano-maḡrebi durante la época almohade. Según un manuscrito anónimo del siglo XIII traducido por Ambrosio Huici Miranda* [Hispano-Maḡreb cooking during the Almohad period. From an anonymous, thirteenth-century manuscript translated by Ambrosio Huici Miranda] and included Manuela Marín’s biographical introduction on Huici Miranda and his contributions to the study of Western Islamic cuisine.<sup>8</sup>

Although for the purposes of this study, the focus of these works is their contribution to the development of Spanish cuisine, it is important to recognize that they also form part of a longstanding tradition of medieval Arab cooking manuscripts that date back to the tenth century. When Bagdad stood as one of the flourishing cultural capitals of the world, gastronomy, like poetry or music, was a sign of distinction (Huici Miranda *La cocina hispano-maḡrebi* 27). From the thirteenth century, four

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<sup>3</sup> Ibn Razin’s full name is: Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Razīn al-Tuyūḡbī al-Andalusī.

<sup>4</sup> This manuscript was also edited in Rabat (1981), Beirut (1984), and Fez (1997).

<sup>5</sup> For more on contemporary Arabic traditions of the East, see Rodinson, Arberry and Perry and Ibn al-Karīm.

<sup>6</sup> The manuscript is in the National Library of Paris (7009). For an English translation of the work, see Martinelli.

<sup>7</sup> Huici Miranda first published this piece in article form in 1961-62 in *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos* and then in 1965 it was published as a book through the Instituto Egipcio de Madrid. Finally, in 1966 the city of Valencia sponsored the publication of the work under the title *Traducción española de un manuscrito anónimo del siglo XIII sobre la cocina hispano-maḡrebi* [Spanish translation of an anonymous 13<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript on Hispanic-Maḡreb cooking].

<sup>8</sup> Beyond the Trea editions of these cooking manuscripts, see García Sánchez, “La alimentación popular urbana en al-Andalus,” and Bolens. For more general information on food in Al-Andalus, see García Sánchez’s edition of *Kitāb al-Aḡḍiyya (Tratado de los Alimentos)* [Treatise on food] and Waines. For the early diffusion of food items from the Middle East to Europe, see Watson and Riera Melis.

manuscripts are available to us today, two from the Abbasid dynasty in the East and the two, already cited, from the Almohad dynasty in the West. Critics agree that the manuals from Al-Andalus reflect dishes consumed by the urban elite, a group that shares class status but cuts across religious and ethnic boundaries. Waines summarizes well when he states that, “the culinary manuals implicitly represent the cooking customs of the broader-based artisan-scholar-bureaucratic segments of urban Andalusí society” (726). Furthermore, derivations of these recipes, that might include a simpler cut of meat or fewer spices, could be found at the table of the urban poor or at the country table. Likewise, a more enhanced version might be found at the tables of the more privileged.

Ibn Razin spent his early years in his native town and continued to live there even after it converted to a *mudéjar* town. But, as Christian-Muslim relations became more hostile and Muslim elite could no longer maintain their way of life in Spain, his family left Al-Andalus to move to Ceuta in North Africa (1248). In both urban centers he was part of the intellectual elite and maintained that connection throughout his adult life in Bugia, Tunis and other Maghreb cities. In fact, throughout his life, he penned various historic, literary and poetic texts. Unfortunately the only work to have survived is his *Fuḍālat al-Himān*. It consists of an introduction and an impressive 432 recipes divided into 12 sections which the author summarized at the end of his introduction: bread and other grain-based recipes (98), meat (90), fowl (79), Sanhagi-style recipes (3), fish and eggs (41), dairy products (13), vegetables (35), legumes (8), sweets (25), pickled and preserved food and oils (28), locust, shrimp, and snails (3) and soaps and scented powders (9).<sup>9</sup>

In his introduction, Ibn Razin states in which order food should be consumed. Specifically, the heavy food in need of greater digestion should be eaten first: dairy products, thick soups, harisas, pasta, fatty cuts of beef and mutton, dried beef, fish, and fried grains. Vegetables are also consumed first, not because they need the more intense digestive powers of the lower stomach but rather because they relax the digestive tract (74). Next are the other savory items while one should finish with sweet items, fruit and roasts. He promotes cleanliness in the kitchen, a theme repeated throughout recipe books of the early modern era. “En mi opinión, la primera exigencia del arte de cocinar es evitar para ello los lugares sucios y desagradables” [In my opinion, the first rule of the art of cooking is to avoid dirty and disagreeable areas] (73). Citing a doctor as an authoritative source, he admonishes that red clay vessels should not be used more than once for cooking and that white clay vessels, no more than five times.<sup>10</sup> Gold, silver, iron, and glass are the recommended materials for cooking and copper should be avoided (73).

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<sup>9</sup> My count differs slightly from that of the editor on p. 28.

<sup>10</sup> Waines also comments on the unusual “disposable” earthenware pots: “These somewhat drastic measures were probably not always adopted, as pots could be adequately cleaned, under proper supervision of the domestics, with hot water and bran. Nevertheless, such circumstances explain the opening expression found in not a few recipes to ‘take a new pot’” (727).

Similar to other manuscripts in the Islamic world and in the Christian part of Spain and to later printed cookbooks of the early modern period, the *Fuḍālat al-Hiwān* embraces a culinary lexicon shared by cookbook writers in Europe and the Arab-speaking world (27). Ibn Razin relies on the experience of the cook to calculate precise step-by-step instructions and cooking times (27). His manuscript includes simple recipes, possibly drawn from popular dishes, to very complex ones that include sophisticated procedures like deboning a hen and stuffing it without removing the skin (Marin, *Fuḍālat al-Hiwān* 52). Like all authors throughout these centuries, Ibn Razin does not feel compelled to cite most sources. He proudly announces that he has created many of the recipes and that he favors Andalusian food: “me he mostrado parcial hacia la comida andalusí, proclamando que los andalusíes, en este capítulo y los relacionados con él, son gente de celo y progreso, a pesar de que hayan llegado tarde a la invención gastronómica” [I am partial to Andalusian food and proclaim, in this chapter and in other related chapters, that Andalusians are progressive people, full of zeal in spite of the fact that they discovered late the invention of gastronomy] (72).

Manuela Marín points out both the similarities with other Arab recipe manuscripts and the unique features of Ibn Razin’s (*Fuḍālat al-Hiwān* 26-27). Additionally, she identifies grains as the most important staple in the 13<sup>th</sup>-century urban elite diet in Muslim Spain. She also calls attention to the fact that of all the recipes those for grains have the most variety (53). Another curiosity of Ibn Razin’s work is that he includes no less than five recipes for bread. Modern readers may think this appropriate as bread was arguably the most important food consumed in the West until relatively recently, but few, if any, medieval or early modern European cookbooks include bread recipes. The grain section is rightly the first section of the manuscript and the most intense of all the sections because of its size, variety of cooking methods, and transformative capacity.

Marin notes that pepper, cilantro and coriander, cinnamon, saffron and ginger are by far the most used spices in cooking (*Fuḍālat al-Hiwān* 39-40).<sup>11</sup> She illustrates how expensive ingredients and elaborate modes of production distinguish elite eating habits from those of the general population (*Fuḍālat al-Hiwān* 30). For me, this manuscript raises questions about the development of cuisine in Spain from the thirteenth century onwards. For example, the use of pasta in many forms (couscous, *fideos* [fine soup noodles], *aletrías* [angel hair noodles]) is fundamental to Hispanic Muslim cuisine yet today few people associate pasta with this part of Spanish cultural heritage. Conversely, everyone knows the connection between rice, key to both Spanish culinary identity today and to Muslim contributions to Spanish culinary history and to Spain’s economy,

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<sup>11</sup> For more on the importance of spices in Hispano-Muslim cooking, see García Sanchez, “Especias y condimentos.” In this article she includes graphs of spices used in the two cooking manuals and in agricultural treatises, as well as their properties according to dietary and medical treatises.

but rice only appears in three recipes. Why, then, did couscous fall out of favor and rice rise in popularity?

A similar question arises when considering other individual foodstuffs. Take, for example, the eggplant, a common ingredient in 13<sup>th</sup>-century Spain. In *Fuḍālat al-Hiwān* there are no fewer than 22 recipes dedicated to eggplant (268-77). Among them are fried eggplant, sautéed with meat, stuffed with hen, prepared with sheep, hare, lamb, cheese, baked, twice baked, and souffléed. Later, in the early modern period it continues to be associated with Muslims. One need only look to *Don Quixote* in which Sancho mistakenly calls the narrator, Cidi Hamete *Berenjena*, instead of Cidi Hamete Benengeli (57) to understand that food and people are intimately connected. Yet its Islamic identity was slowly erased and today eggplant is ubiquitous in Spanish cuisine. Conversely, cilantro, another food item common to Hispanic Muslim cooking, did not find its way into Spanish culinary history rather it was replaced by parsley.<sup>12</sup> One wonders how rice and eggplant successfully transitioned into national food items and couscous and cilantro did not. What role might the early modern cooking manuals have played in the success of some food items and the failure of others? Similar questions arise with the success of almonds and the disappearance of sesame, or the similar fates of saffron and cinnamon in savory dishes, respectively.

Perhaps what most uniquely defines Ibn Razin's work is his pastry section. As Marín states in her introduction, "Es en este capítulo...donde se encuentran muchas de las recetas más típicamente andalusíes de todo el recetario" [It is in this chapter... where many of the most typical Andalusian recipes of the whole manuscript are found] (54). In this section he uses a wide variety of flours, fats, and sweeteners, cooking methods and finishing touches. Many include nuts or dried fruit and are often sprinkled with sugar or drizzled with honey before consumption. When the main character of Francisco Delicado's *Lozana andaluza*, Aldonza, reminisces about her grandmother's kitchen savoring the *bojuelas* [puff pastries], *prestiños* [honey-sprinkled fried dough], *rosquillas de alfaxor* [almond cookies], *textones* [sesame meringues], *nuégados* [nut and honey filled pastries], *xopaipas* [fried dough], and *bojaldres* [phyllo treats], she bears witness to the popularity of the recipes found in the elite cooking manuals (178).<sup>13</sup> In fact, Fernando de la Granja Santamaría, who first edited the *Fuḍālat al-Hiwān* in 1960, states that all the recipes from *Lozana Andaluza* are in the *Fuḍālat al-Hiwān* (15).

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<sup>12</sup> For more on the curious history of cilantro and parsley, see Marín (*Fuḍālat* 39n59).

<sup>13</sup> *Textones* is an especially hard sweet to translate but López Castanier believes they consist of a combination of sugar, honey and seeds that is formed into a sesame meringue (283).

### *Kitāb al-tabīj*

Somewhat larger and less organized than Ibn Razin's manuscript, the *Kitāb al-tabīj* resembles a random composite of over 500 recipes from different authors.<sup>14</sup> As Huici Miranda states in his introduction, the recipes are “bastante desordenadas en su clasificación” [very disorganized in their classification] (46). The manuscript begins with stuffed and chopped meats, roasts and stews, then turns to a dish prepared Jewish-style, advise on what to eat, regional customs, what utensils to use, and how to serve. It then turns to lamb recipes, *almojábanas* [fried cheese pastries], and different savory and sweet pies.<sup>15</sup> In this section one finds scattered throughout a recipe for eggplant, another for stuffed eggs, meat dishes, sweet dishes, dishes for the sick and those for the different seasons of the year. Another chapter includes recipes from specific people, another focuses on fish dishes, another returns to pies but also includes pasta, rice, harisa, and other bread dishes, some stuffed with meat. A different section focuses on vegetable stews and includes ten different sweet dishes. This pastiche of recipes makes up 488 of the 545 recipes. The final five sections are from a different, also anonymous, text and include medicinal syrups, pastes, extracts, powders and gels.

One of the unique features of this anonymous work is the inclusion of several Jewish recipes. Two are pheasant dishes prepared Jewish style; another is a chicken recipe. My favorite is the “Plato judío relleno oculto” [Jewish dish with hidden stuffing], a unique take on spaghetti and meatballs. The recipe is divided into several stages. First, the meat is mashed, seasoned and cooked with onion juice, olive oil and rose water while covered with a heavy rag. It is then mashed again, “aromatized” and shaped into tiny meatballs that are then set aside. Then, two different types of pasta are prepared with eggs, salt, pepper and cinnamon; one must be a thin pasta. Once these three parts are made, in a new pot, oil is heated and one of the pastas is added, covered with the meat, which, in turn, is covered by the other pasta. Once compiled, another mixture of white flour, eggs seasoned with black pepper, cinnamon and rose water, and what remains of the meat is poured over the top. The pot is covered and placed over medium-high heat. When done, the pot is broken; the inside is removed, placed on a platter and garnished with mint, pistachio, pine nuts and aromatic condiments (149-50). This and other recipes contribute to our understanding of Medieval Jewish eating habits, as no works remain today that focus specifically on Jewish cuisine in Spain.

Other recipes in the *Kitāb al-tabīj* acknowledge regions or specific authors. At the end of “Receta de la Almojábana” [Recipe for fried cheese pastries], the author

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<sup>14</sup> Bernard Rosenberger argues that the compiler of the *Kitāb al-tabīj* is from the area of Cordoba-Seville and cites several recipes to support this position (101).

<sup>15</sup> *Almojábanas* also appear in Ruperto de Nola's cookbook (1520) and are still found in Spain today but do not usually include cheese. However, cheese is a common ingredient in *almojábanas* in Puerto Rico.

identifies with Al-Andalus and mentions several of the cities where almojábanas are prepared: “Así lo hace la gente de nuestra tierra en el Oeste de al-Andalus, como en Córdoba y Sevilla, Jerez y otras del país de Occidente [This is how people in our land in the west of Al-Andalus make it, like in Cordoba and Seville, Jerez and other countries of the West] (246). At times the author acknowledges the original inventor of the dish. For example, the recipe, “Torta con carne de cordero y espinacas, leche fresca y manteca fresca” [Lamb meat pie with spinach, fresh milk and fresh animal fat], begins with a history of the dish: “La hacía en Córdoba en los días de primavera el médico Abu-l-Hasan al-Bunani” [This dish was made in springtime in Córdoba by the doctor Abu-l-Hasan al-Bunani] (227). Other fascinating aspects of this cooking manual are the apparent inconsistencies between title and recipe. “Hechura de liebre” [Making (a dish of) hare] contains no hare (210), “Hechura de esclavos” [Making (a dish for) slaves] is a minced lamb dish made with top cuts of meat, certainly not food slaves would eat. Another, “Torta de vinagre, que es una de las mejores” [Vinegar pie, that is one of the best], intrigues the reader as “vinegar pie” is not at first appealing but one is drawn to read through the recipe to see what makes it “the best”. As it turns out, it is a cous cous recipe, mounded with stewed meat, turnips, eggplant and squash, with the perfect amount of vinegar, “hasta que se note su gusto” [to bring out the right flavor]. Like Ibn Razin’s manual, this one also has an abundance of eggplant (some two dozen) and other vegetable recipes. Finally, found in both manuals, and different from those of the East, are abundant recipes for beef and multiple uses of eggs. Waines notes that a popular method of finishing a recipe was to cover the dish with a layer of beaten eggs and seasonings (732-33). This use of egg batter as a finisher is also found in later, Christian cooking manuals, for example, the anonymous *Sent Sovi* (c. 1324) or Maestre Rupert’s *Libre de Coch* [Book of cookery] (1520).<sup>16</sup>

The flavors of Hispano-Muslim cooking traditions are found in early modern Spanish cooking and continue to be enjoyed today. Food stuffs such as rice, cous cous, eggplant, spinach, bitter oranges, sugar, cinnamon, ginger and saffron that were introduced and/or enhanced by Arabs, Syrians, and Berbers when they came to the Iberian Peninsula continued in both the cooking manuals and the literature of the early modern period. In the major recipe manuals of the sixteenth and seventeenth century of Nola, Granado and Martínez Montañón, we see the use of rose water in sauces, sweets made from sugar and nuts, recipes for cous cous, pasta, and egg dishes that are shared with both the *Fuḍālat-al-Hiwan Fi Tayyibat* and the *Kitāb al-tabij*. The culinary manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that come out of Christian Spain provide continued insight into the food habits of the Iberian peninsula.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> For more on the connections between Medieval Muslim and Christian cooking manuals, see Marín, “From Al-Andalus to Spain: Arab Traces in Spanish Cooking,” especially pp. 46-51.

<sup>17</sup> For more on the Muslim influences in Spanish cooking, see Eléxpuru (122).

### *Libre de Sent Soví*

*Libre de Sent Soví* (1<sup>st</sup> half of 14<sup>th</sup> c.) is an anonymous work most undoubtedly compiled from the kitchens of multiple cooks. As is the case with the anonymous *Kitāb al-tabīj* and most other medieval cooking manuals, critics agree that the author of *Sent Soví* collected recipes from earlier sources and brought them together to form a singular text. Joan Santanach explains in his introduction to the text, “Lejos, pues, de ser obra de un solo autor, se trata de un texto que refleja buena parte de las preferencias y de los conocimientos culinarios de toda una etapa de la historia de la gastronomía catalana” [Far from being the work of a single author, we are dealing, then, with a text that reflects a large part of the culinary preferences and knowledge of an entire stage of the history of Catalan gastronomy] (18).<sup>18</sup> Santanach reports that at one point the *Sent Soví* probably contained nearly 100 recipes—considerably more modest than the Hispanic Muslim treatises—but that the manuscript available today shows 72 recipes. However, of those 72 only 58 are consistent with prior *Sent Soví* manuscripts (17-19).

One of the commonalities most medieval and early modern cooking manuals share is a prologue to the text. Generally, prologues explain why the text was written, for whom and under whose authority. The *Sent Soví* is no exception. In this case, the anonymous author explains that he is writing the book so squires and others serving nobility can prepare meals in an appropriate way. The author’s brief prologue ends with confirmation that others who have experienced these recipes (squires, cooks, ministers, servants, subjects of lords) agree with their excellent quality (49).<sup>19</sup>

To the untrained eye, this collection of recipes may seem haphazard but Joan Santanach argues that “en su composición hubo una intervención deliberada, quizá a veces un poco intuitivo, que favoreció la creación de núcleos de recetas afines” [in its composition, there was a deliberative, and perhaps an intuitive, arrangement that favored the creation of groups of related recipes] (32). Santanach points out that of the 58 initial recipes, some 20 deal exclusively with the preparation of all types of sauces: white, camel, lemon, half-roast, goose, game meat, any kind of meat, parsley, fish, mushroom, garlic cheese, green sauce, cheese, eel or onion (32). Other groupings are found for preserving meat, broths, dishes appropriate for Lent, stuffings, fried pastries, and vegetable and bean dishes. Santanach also notes that the first 40 recipes are eaten from a bowl with bread or a spoon and that they are grouped separately from the remaining recipes which are meat or fish dishes that are roasted, grilled, breaded, fried, poached or boiled (34).

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<sup>18</sup> In 2008, Barcino-Tamesis published an English translation of Santanach’s edition entitled *The Book of Sent Soví. Medieval Recipes from Catalonia*

<sup>19</sup> Santanach’s investigation into wills and inventories shows that nobility and clergy alike owned copies of this text (*Libre de Sent Soví* 24).

In comparing this Catalan manuscript to the Arabic ones written a century beforehand, one finds significant differences as well as similarities. The most obvious is the inclusion of two pork recipes and the use of lard in several others in the *Sent Soví* that reflects the accepted religious eating habits surrounding the respective groups. What is more intriguing is that in the *Sent Soví* parsley has replaced cilantro. In fact, there are three different parsley sauce recipes that find no comparison in the earlier texts. Additionally, the herbs marjoram, sage, basil, and oregano are used throughout this cooking manual and are not significantly present in the earlier ones. However, the *Sent Soví* does continue the use of the popular spices found in the Hispanic Muslim cooking manuals: black pepper, cinnamon, ginger, and saffron. The one spice that is noticeably absent is coriander, which coincides with the lack of cilantro. The exception to this is a singular recipe in the *Sent Soví* called “Cilantro” [Coriander]. This recipe, written for the ill, grinds together coriander with peeled almonds, cinnamon, ginger, clove and white sugar. Later, the spices and sugar are mixed with verjuice and sweetener, bittersweet pomegranate juice is recommended, and served with a roasted chicken or pheasant (75).

A similar situation is found with the use of nuts. As with the spices, in the fourteenth-century manuscript we see a strong continued use of almonds and almond milk.<sup>20</sup> Additionally, however is the appearance of hazelnuts, which are not found in the earlier manuscripts. For example, in the “salsa verde” toasted hazelnuts are added to the parsley, cinnamon, ginger, clove and black pepper (72). Other ingredients—sugar, pine nuts, oranges and lemons—appear significantly in both texts while vestiges of important ingredients from the thirteenth-century manuals—spinach, eggplant, semolina, rose water—also appear in recipes in the *Sent Soví* but to a lesser extent. All three works use eggs in a similar way, include sugar in both sweet and savory dishes, offer fried pastry and candied nut recipes, are flexible in what type of meat can be used in certain recipes, and contain references to recipes for the sick and recovering while not dedicating exclusive sections to them.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to the use of parsley and pork, the *Sent Soví* brings to the peninsula a mushroom sauce not seen in previous cooking manuals of the peninsula.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> The use of almonds and almond milk is a good example of how overlaps in ingredients do not necessarily reflect a direct influence from one cooking manual to the next. Almonds and almond milk are found in cooking manuals throughout Medieval Europe. For example, the fourteenth-century German text, *Das buoch von guoter spise* [The book of good food] (c. 1345-54) has several recipes but bears no direct influence on or from the *Sent Soví* or any of the Spanish cooking manuals.

<sup>21</sup> For a comparison of how sugar is used in *Kitab al-Tabij* and *Sent Soví*, see Rosenberger who states that in the former sugar appears in 14.3% of the recipes and in the latter, 16.5 (107).

<sup>22</sup> Six mushroom recipes appear in the oldest European cooking manual Apicius' *De re coquinaria* [On cooking] (1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. CE). Three are also found in the fourteenth-century Italian manuscript, *Anónimo toscano*, and one in the fourteenth-century Italian manuscript, *Anónimo veneciano*. However, mushroom recipes do not appear in the French *Vivendier* (15<sup>th</sup> c.) and do not come into English cooking until late in the sixteenth century. For more on the history of mushrooms in cooking manuals, see Thirsk (41). 100

Si vas a hacer salsa para setas hervidas y prensadas y sofritas con aceite, prepárala así: coge cebolla, perejil, vinagre, especias, májalo todo y mézclalo con vinagre y un poco de agua. Trocea las setas, sofríelas, o ponlas en el sofrito, y después ponlas en su salsa o sírvelas cocidas a la braza con sal y aceite. (69)

[If you are going to make a sauce with boiled, pressed mushrooms sautéed in oil, prepare it thus: take onion, parsley, vinegar and spices, grind them all together and mix them with vinegar and a little water. Mince the mushrooms, sauté them or add them to the sauté and then add them to the sauce and serve them boiled or braised with salt and oil].

The inclusion of this recipe draws attention to a parallel with Italian cooking manuscripts in which mushroom recipes also appear. In contrast to France and England, where we see none until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, respectively, mushrooms find their way into Spanish and Italian cooking manuals centuries earlier. One final similarity with both *Fuḍālat-al-Hiwan* and *Kitāb al-tabij* that reference regional areas of Al-Andalus and acknowledge cooking styles of the east, the *Sent Soví*, in its mustard recipe, acknowledges a French style of preparation: “Si vas a hacerla a la francesa, deslíela con vinagre” [If you are going to prepare it in the French style, dissolve it in vinegar] (71).

Recipes from *Sent Soví* appear in the Catalan cooking manuals *Libro de totes maneres de potatges* and *Llibre d'aparellar de menjar* (*Libre de Sent Soví* 18-19). Additionally, critics have made strong connections between *Sent Soví* and the first book published in Spain, *Libre de Coch* (1520), by Mestre Rupert. This work, and its translation into Castilian five years later, have been recognized as the axis that brings together the earlier Catalan manuscript with the early modern cooking manuals of Spain. Two other manuscripts from the late medieval period, although they are not technically cooking manuals, contribute significantly to the understanding of Spanish culinary history and the different voices that contributed to it.

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years after the appearance of *Sent Soví*, Martino da Como published two recipes in *Liber de arte conquinaria* (1450). For these recipes, see Cruz Cruz, *La cocina mediterránea* (153).

### *Arte cisoría*

Ironically, one of the most important food manuals of fifteenth-century Spain contains no recipes nor is concerned with preparation in the kitchen; rather it focuses on how food is served. In 1423 Enrique de Villena authored *Arte cisoría* [The art of carving] at the request of Sancho de Jarava, official carver for Juan II of Castile.<sup>23</sup> Contrary to many of the authors of medieval and early modern cooking manuals, much is known about the life of Enrique de Villena (1384-1434). He was the son of Dona Juana, the illegitimate daughter of Enrique II, and of don Pedro, a direct descendent of Jaime II of Aragón. He authored several other works, the most famous of which is *Los doce trabajos de Hércules* [The twelve deeds of Hercules] (1417).

Although no recipes are included in this treatise, Villena's work is important to culinary history in several ways. First, in chapter six, *De las cosas que se acostumbra cortar según las viandas de que usan comer en estas partes* [Of things typically carved according to foods usually eaten in these parts], Villena catalogues 30 different fowl; 24 quadrupeds; 47 fish and shellfish; 3 reptiles; 22 types of fruit; and 31 vegetables, herbs and spices (83-84). These foodstuffs serve as connectors between time periods and regions as they link food items in earlier works with those in later works, or in some cases, provide evidence for shifts in changing tastes. In fact, Villena is very aware of these historic shifts when he writes, "Viandas diversas usaron en España, según la diversidad de las gentes que la señorearon, mudaron los usos dellas, siguiendo la costumbre de las tierras donde viñieron, así como los almorávedis, los alanos, los suevos, los alaricos, godos, estragodos, griegos, romanos e marines" [In Spain diverse foods were consumed, depending on the diverse groups that conquered her, they changed how [the food] was consumed by maintaining the customs of their own lands, like the Almoravids, Alans, Sueves, Alarics, Goths, Ostrogoths, Greek, Romans and Phoenicians (83). This chapter also includes a curious list of foods consumed for improving health, including regional and class divisions (84-86).<sup>24</sup>

However, the majority of his treatise is dedicated to the performance of carving and includes detailed descriptions of a carver's proper instruments and how to use them. Among the essentials are a set of five knives, three types of forks, a holder for paring fruit and a shell shucker. Of particular interest is his explanation of forks for

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<sup>23</sup> In her article, "Chivalric Identity in Enrique de Villena's *Arte Cisoría*," Miguel-Prendes argues that the treatise was a manifestation of Villena's desire to exert his influence in the political arena (2003). Since Russell Brown's edition in 1984, Pedro M. Cátedra has published a three-volume edition of Villena's complete works. For editions prior to Brown, see his edition (41n72).

<sup>24</sup> In his catalogue, Villena specifically mentions the regions of Aragón, Granada and Mallorca as areas rich in francolins (pheasant family), water buffalo, and mouflons (wild sheep), respectively (83). The inclusion of Aragón and Mallorca are logical given his own origins but his insertion of Granada, and earlier of the Almoravid influence in Spain, could imply a respect for the culinary traditions from Al-andalus that are likewise acknowledged in the early modern recipe books of Nola, Granada, and Martínez Montañón.

both carver and diner. Made from gold or silver, forks take three distinct forms, one with two prongs, one with three prongs and one with a long handle designed for use over the fire. He suggests that the two-pronged fork,

sirve para tomar alguna vianda e ponerla delante syn tañer de las manos, e pan e fruta, cortados o enteros. *E pueden con aquellas dos puntas comer vianda adobada syn untarse las manos*, e con la otra punta moras o nuezes, confites, gengibre verde e otros letuarios e cosas con ella fazer, tomar e poner. (71-72, emphasis added)

[is useful to pick up food and place it in front (of someone) without dirtying one's hands, the same for bread or fruit, cut up or whole. *And with the two-pronged forks, one can eat prepared food without staining one's hands and with the other prong one can do other things, pick up and put down berries or nuts, sweets, green ginger and other gels*]

This passage provides a very early reference to the fork as it is commonly used today: to bring food from the plate to one's mouth. I emphasize it because the use of the fork will later become a marker of refinement, an indicator that separates social classes by way of eating habits.

Another point of interest in Villena's treatise is his emphasis on professional training and standards.<sup>25</sup> In *Arte cisoria* Villena devotes chapters to standards on the profession, training, hiring and firing practices, distinctions within the profession, and consequences of abusing the position. The importance of sound training of those who work in the kitchen and the responsibility of those who do train appear in virtually all early modern cooking manuals. Here, drawing from the juridical authority of the day, Alfonso el Sabio's *Siete Partidas* [Seven partidas] (specifically, the Second Partida, title IX, law XI), Villena dedicates a chapter on the training of good servants: "Cómo deven ser criados moços de buen linaje acostunbrados, para tomar dellos para el oficio del cortar." [How boys of good lineage should be raised in order to be selected for the office of carving]. Villena asserts that both the boy's unquestionable lineage ("de fidalguez non dudoso") and apprenticeship are key to becoming an excellent servant.

### ***Manual de mugeres***

Three aspects of the *Manual de mugeres en el qual se contienen muchas y diversas reçentas muy buenas* [The manual for women in which is contained many, very good and diverse

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<sup>25</sup> In his introduction, Brown notes that almost one third of the manuscript is dedicated to the character of the carver (20).

recipes] (1475-1525) immediately engage the reader.<sup>26</sup> First, the inclusion of *reçentas* in the title is one of the earliest uses of the word to indicate instructions for preparing food. Previously, it signified a medical prescription or instructions for curing the sick. In the cooking manuals of the day, the words *orden* [order] and *procedimiento* [procedure] were typically used to signify cooking instructions.<sup>27</sup> The appearance of *reçenta* in this and other titles (mentioned below) suggests how the evolution of the word passed from its medical to its culinary usage.

The second fascinating point, very related to the first, is that this manual brings together food, health and hygiene in ways that the other recipe collections do not. Instructions for making sausage, preserving peaches, and baking chicken pie share pages with remedies for earaches and ointments for rashes as well as instructions for making shampoo and tooth powder. This unique collection of 145 recipes, of which 29 are food related, focuses on the multiple kitchen tasks a woman undertakes and is better classified among an entire series of unedited manuscripts that were written specifically for woman who governed large households and estates. Others works similar to *Manual de mugeres* include *Livro de receitas de pivetes, pastilhas e was perfumadas y conserbas* [Book of recipes for incense, perfumed tablets and grapes, and preserves] (16<sup>th</sup> century) with 108 “household” recipes; *Recetas y memorias para guisados, confituras, olores, aguas, afeites, adobos de guantes, unguentos y medicinas para muchas enfermedades* [Recipes and other memoirs for stews, preserves, fragrances, waters, cosmetics, skin softeners, ointments and medicine for many illnesses] (16<sup>th</sup> century), with 207 recipes of which 150 pertain to food; and *Receptas experimentadas para diversas cosas* [Experimental recipes for many things] (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>28</sup> This latter work is enormous and contains over 700 recipes that deal with food preparation as well as beauty, hygiene and health.

The third point, also interconnected to the previous two, is that the target audience is unique compared to other cookbooks. Here, the manual is written for women in charge of an entire household and who are responsible for many kitchen tasks. The others are written for cooks, with the exception of *Arte visoria*, and focus exclusively on dishes to be consumed at the table. The shifts in content and audience are directly tied to one another and bring a substantially different perspective to the history of Spanish culinary manuscripts and books through 1700.

*Manual de mugeres* as well as the other unedited manuscripts follow a long established tradition of treatises written to maintain or improve one’s health that began

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<sup>26</sup> For an English translation of the manuscript, see “The Manual de Mujeres.”

<sup>27</sup> The first appearance of *receta* to signify exclusively cooking instructions came sometime after the 1747 publication of Juan de Altamiras, *Nuevo arte de cocina* [New art of cooking].

<sup>28</sup> These three unedited manuscripts are housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. For more information, see Martínez Crespo (14n14). Another well-known women’s manual from thirteenth-century France is *Le ménager de Paris* [The good wife’s guide]. In this work the older husband instructs his young bride on the moral standards and practical responsibilities of a proper wife so that she might dutifully serve her future husband once he passes away. See Gina L. Greco and Christine M. Rose.

in Antiquity with Hippocrates and Galen, carried through the Middle Ages with Arabic treatises by Persian giants such as Haly Abbas and Avicenna, and continued in Latin with the *regimina sanitatis* genre in Europe.<sup>29</sup> The anonymous *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum* [Salernitan Rule of Health] also known as *Flor medicinae* [Flower of Medicine] (12<sup>th</sup> -13<sup>th</sup> century) is an extensive poem on hygiene and health that was translated into almost every European language during the Middle Ages. In fact, translators at the Escuela de Traductores of Toledo like Gerardo Cremona and Juan Hispano, were responsible for many of the *regimina sanitatis* works available to scholars both in Latin and in Castilian (Cruz Cruz, *Dietética medieval* 18-21). One of the most important works from the “Rule of Health” genre is by the Jewish philosopher Moshé ben Maimón, better known today as, Maimónides (1135-1204). He authored *Tractatus de regimine sanitatis* (1200), which dealt directly with an illness of a sultan’s son but more broadly with the promotion of good health. Later, the Catalan Arnau de Vilanova (c. 1238-1311), who was personal physician to the Aragon kings Pedro el Grande, Alfonso III and Jaime II, wrote his version of the *Regimen Sanitatis* (1307) under the auspices of Jaime II.<sup>30</sup> It was later translated to Castilian in 1606 by Jerónimo de Mondragón.<sup>31</sup>

In the opening table of contents of the *Manual de mugeres*, the recipes are organized into seven different categories: medical remedies (22+1), fragrances (24), facial cosmetics (31), waters and other recipes for the hands (10+1), washes and other remedies for the mouth (13), food recipes (29), and treatments for the hair (13+1) (30).<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> For a summary of the history of medieval dietary manuals, see Cruz Cruz, *Dietética medieval* (14-25) and for those in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Luján (104-06).

<sup>30</sup> For detailed information on the history of Vilanova’s work and for background information on dietary manuals in Spain, see García-Ballester and McVaugh.

<sup>31</sup> To understand more fully the popularity of these texts, the following titles from the sixteenth century prove useful. Alonso de Chirino, physician to King Juan II of Castile and Leon, wrote “El menor daño de la medicina” [The least harm of medicine]. Although written before 1429, it was not published until 1505 and is considered the first of many sixteenth-century “health manuals.” The work includes advice on health, hygiene and diet. Later works that likewise address food’s influence on health include: Fray Bernardino de Laredo’s *Metaphora medicinae* [Medical metaphor] (1522); Fernán Florez’s translation of the Italian *El regimiento de toda la sanidad y de todas las cosas que se comen y beben* [Regiment of everything related to health and of what one eats and drinks] by Miguel de Savonarola (1541), Nicolás Monardes’s edition of Juan de Aviñón’s *Sevillana medicina* [Seville medicine] (1545); Pedro Jimeno’s third part of *Dialogus de re medica* [Dialogue on medical matters] (1549), Luis Lobera de Avila’s *Banquete de nobles caballeros* [Banquet of noble gentlemen] (1530) and later adaptation *Vergel de sanidad* [Orchard of health] (1542), Francisco Núñez de Oria’s *Aviso de sanidad* [Health news] (1572) with at least three subsequent editions and Doctor Mercado’s *Diálogo de filosofía natural y moral* [Dialogue on natural and moral philosophy] (1574, 1586).

<sup>32</sup> The numbers in parentheses indicate how many recipes are found in each category. The +1 sign indicates an exception. In the case of medical remedies, an additional recipe is included entitled “Betum para soldar bidrio” [Bitumen for soldering glass]. Martínez Crespo speculates that the bitumen “cures” a problem or that the verb *soldar*, related to *cicatrizarse* [to scar], might explain why it appears here (40n38). In the case of the other two, the additional recipes are listed in the index under “Tabla de

However, in the manuscript they do not follow said order rather recipes from each section are scattered throughout. Of those dealing with food, 20 of the 29 are grouped together at the end of the manuscript while another seven are grouped in an earlier part of the text. The overwhelming majority are sweet recipes, 19 of 29, that include pastries, fried doughs, sweets, preserves, and one sweet soup recipe. As to be expected, the main ingredients are sugar, egg yolk and almonds/almond milk. Flour and honey are also common and there are occasional references to pine nuts, walnuts, one reference to hazelnuts (in the turrón recipe), rose water and orange blossom water. A representative recipe is the “Reçeta para pasta real” [Recipe for Royal Paste]:

Las almendras mondadas cortarlas heis en quartos como piñones. Y luego tomaréis açúcar molido; y para dos escudillas de açúcar tomá una de agua rosada. Y junto todo, pondréislo a cozer; y como sea cozido, es hecha la pasta real. (85)

[Chop peeled almond into quarters, the size of pine nuts. And then add ground sugar and for every two cups of sugar add one of rose water. Once mixed, cook together and once cooked you will have royal paste].

Of the eight savory recipes, the two pork dishes and three dishes with clear ties to Muslim cooking are representative of the ways in which Spain’s two religious traditions come together in its culinary heritage. “Para adereçar un Obispo de Puerco muy bien” [To season a big blood sausage very well] is flavored with clove, cinnamon and black pepper. The “Olla morisca” [Moorish stew] and the “Caçuela de arroz” [Rice casserole] show their ties to Hispanic Muslims in the titles. The latter dish includes instructions for the rice to be cooked in “caldo de carne gruessa” [stock from fatty meat] and to later add “la carne que quisiéredes” [meat of your choosing] (84). This flexibility in meat choices is common to recipes found in both the *Fuḍālat al-ḥimān* and *Kitāb al-tabīj*. A third recipe, “Reçeta de un manjar dicho viafora” [Recipe for a dish called *viafora*] consists of a strained stock prepared from fatty pieces of mutton or chicken and shredded, toasted almonds. Shredded lamb is added and it is seasoned with sugar, cinnamon and a little ginger. Martínez Crespo notes that although the meaning of *viafora* is unknown, it could be related to the many *tafaya* dishes that appear in Hispanic-Muslim treatises (84n276). *Manual de mugeres* contains one recipe for a beverage, the spiced wine hippocras, and one barley-chicken broth recipe for the sick. The only fruit dishes are for quince and peaches; there are no fish dishes, and, with the exception of recipes that call for the meat of choice, no beef. As in the *Sent Soví*, there is no mention of the popular cilantro and coriander of the Hispanic Muslim works although cinnamon, ginger and black pepper are still common spices.

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lavatorios, polvos y otras cosas para los dientes y ençias contenidas en este libro” [Index of washes, powders and other remedies for the teeth and gums found in this book].

*Manual de mugeres*, together with the other two Christian cooking manuals of the late Medieval period, are modest in size. But, by incorporating new foodstuffs (such as pork and parsley) and by referencing international cooking styles, the Christian manuals provide evidence for a turn in how the cookbooks of the early modern period and beyond will develop. All three show similarities with the more extensive cooking manuscripts of thirteenth-century Muslim Spain and, like their predecessors, value therapeutic aromas, cleanliness, and the connections made between health and eating habits. These characteristics, together with unique Muslim contributions, also significantly factor into the development of Spanish cuisine.

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